Irish prefixes and the alphabetization of personal names

Róisín Nic Cóil

Ireland is a bilingual nation and one of the earliest countries to evolve a system of hereditary surnames. ‘Mac’s and ‘O’s abound, but ‘Fitz’s and other prefixes as well. Surnames vary for men and women bearing the same family name; the prefix changes to Mhic, Nic, Úi or Ní. Further complications are created by transliteration and translation from Irish to English. Róisín Nic Cóil explores the problems this presents for alphabetization and some possible solutions.

‘Irish’ and its usage

‘Irish’ is a term that identifies something of Irish nationality and also the language spoken in Ireland. ‘Gaelic’ most frequently refers to the native language of Scotland, but ‘Gaelic’ also relates to the grouping within Ireland of Irish speakers and those close to the native culture. In Irish, the language is called Gaeilge. ‘As Gaeilge’ means ‘in Irish’. ‘What is your name as Gaeilge?’ is not an uncommon question to be asked of an Irish person by an Irish person. The traditional alphabet in Irish has 18 letters: a b c d e f g h i l m n o p r s t u. The five vowels may be accented (‘síneadh fada’ or ‘fada’): á é í ó ú. The convention regarding the alphabetization of vowels with a síneadh fada is to alphabetize that letter after the same vowel without the síneadh fada.

The 2002 census claims that almost 1.7 million inhabitants from a population of 3.6 million are ‘Irish speakers’. The teaching of the language in all government-funded schools has been compulsory since the founding of the Free State in 1922. Knowledge of Irish was a requirement for civil servants and the police, and with a few exceptions, for admission to university. It is one of 23 ‘official and working languages’ of the European Union. Today all Irish speakers also speak fluent English, and therefore the language is not widely used as a working language, with the exception of a few Gaeltacht areas. Gaeltacht areas are designated geographical areas where the spoken language is strong.

Not just an Irish problem

Matheson’s Surnames of Ireland refers to ‘Mc’ and ‘O’ as ‘Celtic Names’ (1909: 15). Scottish, Welsh, Breton and Cornish names are usually placed in the same category, and present many of the same issues as do Irish names, the Scottish use of ‘Mac’ being of particular relevance in the context of this article.

Irish is not the only language to have surnames with prefixes (sometimes attached, sometimes not). For example, Welsh surnames are sometimes prefixed with ‘ab’ or ‘ap’; Arabic surnames sometimes use ‘ibn’, ‘al’, ‘bin’; the Dutch have surnames containing ‘van’ and ‘de’, the French have ‘de’, the Germans ‘von’, the Spanish ‘de’. And some share the Irish phenomenon of changes to the form of names depending on gender. [The problems these can present are explored in various Indexer articles including Moore (1986 and 1990) (on Welsh place and personal names, reprinted in this Centrepiece) and other Centrepiece articles to be found at http://www.tinyurls.indexercenrepieces.Ed.]

Variations on a name

The following names all use a variation of the same name (Loingseach) but it is unlikely they would be found next to each other in an alphabetized list:

Labhraidh Loingseach
Leathlobhar mac Loingseach
Lynch
McLynch
Mhic Loinsigh
Ní Loingsigh
Nic Loinseach
Ó Loingsigh
Uí Loinsigh

The list includes a name with an epithet, a patronymic, surnames in the English language, and surnames in the Irish language for men, wives and daughters.
Prefixes in Irish surnames

The use of surnames in Ireland dates back to the 10th century (De Bhulbh, 1997: 4). MacLysaght writes in *The surnames of Ireland* that ‘Ireland was one of the earliest countries to evolve a system of hereditary surname’ (1985: ix), and that Mac and O are the most common prefixes, O being somewhat more numerous in Ireland than Mac. ‘[M]ac was taken from the name of the father and [Ó] from that of the grandfather of the first person who bore that surname’ (Woulfe, 1923: 15)

- Mac/Mc/Mc – prefix to father’s Christian name or occupation
- Ó/O’ – prefix to grandfather or earlier ancestor’s name

The prefix ‘mac’ sometimes appears with a lower case initial ‘m’. Names in this format predate the use of surnames and should be entered in the index under the forename:

- Fergus mac Léti
- Leathlobhar mac Loingseach

The ‘mac’ denotes the literal ‘son of’ the person whose name follows. For once there is a clear, easy rule for deciding on the appropriate form for a pre-modern personal name. Here are some other prefixes used in Irish surnames:

- De – Gaelicization of Norman surnames (e.g. Burke/De Búrca; Woulfe/De Bhulbh)
- Fitz – Norman ‘filius’ or ‘fils’ (Latin and French respectively for ‘son’); usually attached to succeeding word; the succeeding word is sometimes, but not always, capitalized, depending on the family preference (e.g. FitzPatrick or Fitzpatrick)
- Mac Giolla + saint’s name – giolla: lad or fellow, i.e. servant or devotee; son of the devotee of that saint (e.g. Mac Giolla Phádraig)
- Mag (and Mhig, Nig) – used in place of Mac where appropriate for the pronunciation of the succeeding word (e.g. Mag Shamhráin)
- Mhac (Máire Mhac an tSaoi)
- Úa – form of Ó.

MacLysaght noted the practice of dropping and resuming the Mac and O prefixes from birth registration and voters’ lists between 1866 and 1944. Daniel O’Connell’s father was Morgen Connell, Edward MacLysaght’s father was Lysaght.

- O’Connell/Connell
- O’Sullivan/Sullivan
- MacLysaght/Lysaght.

Not all Irish language surnames have prefixes, for example those formed from epithets (*sloinnte aidiachta*).

- Breathnach/Walsh – meaning Breton/Welsh
- Caomhánaigh/Kavanagh – relating to a devotee of St Kevin (Naomh Caomhin)
- Loinseach (or Loingseach)/Lynch – mariner.

Irish or English or both?

Surnames in Ireland have been affected by alternating Gaelicization and Anglicization. The appearance of a name changes during different periods of history. In the introduction to his book, *Sloinnte na hÉireann: the surnames of Ireland*, Seán de Bhulbh wrote that ‘The process of Anglicization properly commenced in the 16th Century, when the Tudor civil servants were active in Ireland recording surnames and placenames . . . all Irish surnames were turned into gibberish’ (De Bhulbh, 1997: 4, translated by RNC). The play *Translations* by Brian Friel, set in 1833, portrayed a debate between a character from the Royal Engineers and a local man about the most fitting translations for placenames during cartographical research; should, for example, Bun na hAbhann become Banowne, Binhone, Owenmore or Burnfoot (Friel, 1984: 410)? Similar to the work done on placenames, surnames were transcribed in many different ways. The following are some transcriptions of the Irish/Gaelic surname Mac Craith:

- McGrath, Magrath, MacGrath
- MacLysaght/Mac Giolla Iasachta
- O’Sullivan/Ó Súilleabháin
- Doyle/Ó Dúill
- Magennis/Mac Aonghasa.

In 1936, the British Museum recommended that, for the purposes of cataloguing printed material ‘where a writer has written under both the Gaelic and the English forms of a name, the English form is generally adopted’ (British Museum, 1936: 51). Transliteration was recommended according to the following rules:

prefix Ó is substituted for Ua, Uí, Ni; Mac for Mag, Mic, Oc, Nic; De for A and also Ni where name is Anglo-Norman; aspirate is ignored after Ui, Mic, Ni, Nic; small h before and after Ó or Mac is treated as an ordinary part of the surname; accents are retained.

(British Museum, 1936: 50–1)

Spelling it right, or at least consistently

In modern-day use, variations in the spelling of a surname should not present a problem because recent generations of families will all use the same spelling (and can be quite particular about it). The advent of email and the practice of spelling out surnames that are contained in an email address helps to correct misspellings – the most obvious name to gain advantage from this practice is Smyth/Smith
but it also applies to Mc/Mac names and others mentioned in this article.

Irish-language spellings of surnames (but not the English version) typically include a space between the prefix and the succeeding word. The prefix changes for surnames of females. Feminine variants in surnames occur in Slavic languages too. For example, the Russian Tatyana Tolstaya is a relative of Leo Tolstoy; the variation occurs at the end of the surname.

As a guide for registration officers and the public for searching the indexes of births, deaths and marriage records, Robert Matheson of the General Register’s Office published two pamphlets in Dublin in 1901 and 1909. No reference was made in the pamphlets to feminine variants, although there was a paragraph entitled ‘Note on the irregular use of Maiden surnames’ which related that widowed women may revert to using their maiden surname (Matheson, 1901: 25).

The feminine prefixes in Irish stem from the abbreviation for ‘wife of’ or ‘daughter of’:

- Bean – wife/woman/Mrs
- Iníon – daughter/Miss.

Sons’ and fathers’ names do not change because surnames are always patriarchal (see Table 1).

### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Daughter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mac</td>
<td>Mhic</td>
<td>Nic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ó</td>
<td>Uí</td>
<td>Ní</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Female surnames in the Irish language, as well as having different prefixes, may cause an alteration in the main or succeeding word. The following are some examples of the masculine and feminine variations of the same surnames:

- Ó hÓgáin/Uí Ógáin/Ní Ógáin
- Ó Máille/Uí Mháille/Ní Mháille
- Mac Donncha/Mhic Dhonncha/Nic Dhonncha
- Breathnach/Bhreathnach

Note the ‘h’ before a vowel in the masculine form but not in the feminine variant (e.g. Ó hÓgáin). Note also, the insertion of an ‘h’ after the first letter of the main word in the feminine variant which was not present in the masculine form: this is a lenition, called séimhiú (e.g. Mháille, Dhonncha, Bhreathnach). Phonetically, the sound changes thus:

- M > Mh (Máille): /mˠ/ becomes /w/
- D > Dh (Donncha): /dˠ̪/ becomes /ɣ̪/
- B > Bh (Breathnach): /bʲ/ becomes /vʲ/.

In the Gaelic script, a dot over the letter signifies a séimhiú; the word appears the same but a reader is aware of a pronunciation difference. This practice has ceased because the Roman alphabet has now superseded the Gaelic one.

- Ó Sé/Uí Shé/Ní Shé > Ó Sé/Ú Shé/Úí Shé
- Ó Murchú/Uí Mhurchú/Ní Mhurchú
- Mac Tomáis/Mhic Thomáis/Nic Thomáis > Mac Tomáis/Mhic Tomáis/Nic Tomáis

Not all names require an initial mutation:

- Ó Riain/Uí Riain/Ní Riain
- Mac Cóil/Mhic Cóil/Nic Cóil

Mc is an abbreviation of Mac. An issue with Mc/Mac surnames is whether or not the user or searcher knows how the name is spelled. For example, the phonebook contains a note under ‘M’ regarding the ordering of Mc/Mac (Eircom, 2011: 272). As the ordering of the phonebook is letter by letter, this also applies to Irish-language surnames which mostly include a space after the prefix.

How to find a name starting with Mac, MAC or Mc.:

Names such as Macey, Machines, Macken, Macroom etc. appear in order of the fourth letter of the name. The prefixes Mac and Mc are both treated as Mac and the position of the entry is determined by the next letter in the name.

An Oxford University Press publication, *A dictionary of surnames* (Hanks and Flavia, 1989), went further than simply providing an explanatory note; none of the surnames are spelt Mac, all have been entered as Mc.

**Mac**- For Scots and Irish names beginning thus, see Mc-.

The *Chicago manual of style* (2003) suggested:

18.71 Mac or Mc: alphabetized letter-by-letter as they appear.
18.72 Ó: as if the apostrophe were missing.
18.74 Arabic names beginning with *Abu*, *Abd*, and *ibn*, elements as integral to the names as Mc or Fitz, are alphabetized under those elements.

Nancy Mulvany wrote ‘In regard to the abbreviated forms of ‘Mac’ and ‘Saint’ . . . the primary reason one might wish to sort these names as if they were spelled out is to gather these similar names together in one place’ (1993: 159–60). She advised that ‘readers will be guided to alternative spellings of homophonous names by use of cross-referencing, otherwise most people . . . expect an index to be arranged in alphabetical order’. She suggested following the guidelines in *Anglo-American cataloguing rules* (AACR2). AACR2 stated:

22.5E1 If the prefix is regularly or occasionally hyphenated or combined with the surname, enter the name under the prefix. As required, refer from the part of the name following the prefix

FitzGerald, David
MacDonald, William

(AACR2, 1998: 400)
The 2011 published telephone directory for the Dublin area is poorly produced (Eircom, 2011). The use of apostrophes, accents and capitalization is inconsistent and cannot be trusted. It has been compiled from the listing held by the National Directory Information Unit, which is generated from listings from the various telephone companies operating in Ireland; it demonstrates the disregard in Ireland for native surnames, and how and why they are formed. Feminine variants of surnames are entered under the appropriate prefix: Nic, Ni, Mhic, Uí. Needless to say there are very few entries under Mhic and Uí as these are the married forms, and typically the phone number is entered under the husband’s surname.

Wellisch wrote on behalf of the indexer that ‘probably no other detail of personal names generates as many headaches as the treatment of names with prefixes – an article, a preposition, a combination of both, or a word indicating filial or paternal relationship’. He recommended referring to AACR2 and the IFLA manual Names of persons: national usages for entry in catalogues, and claimed that ‘biographical dictionaries are notoriously unreliable’ (Wellisch, 1991: 362–3).

The variations in language and spelling can cause bureaucratic complications, particularly when service providers are not familiar with them. As a consequence, some people have made changes to their names to simplify the format. For example, the space between the prefix and the succeeding word is ignored and the two words combined while otherwise retaining the Irish language version of the name:

- Mac Cáithgh > MacCarthaigh

Women may choose to retain the feminine prefix but not to change the surname grammatically, in order for their surname to appear less different from that of their husband:

- Mhic Shuibhne (married to Mac Suibhne) > Mhic Suibhne

Or they may choose to use the masculine form of the surname:

- Mhic Aodha/Nic Aodha > Mac Aodha
- Uí Dheirg/Ní Dheirg > Ó Deirg

The sineadh fada is sometimes omitted by preference, creating a new form of the surname:

- Ó Deirg > O’Deirg

Historical and genealogical surname reference books, for example De Bhlubh, Hanks and Hodges, MacLysaght, Matheson, and Woulfe, list names under the masculine form and contain no entries under the feminine prefixes. Ideally, they would at least contain a reference from the generic form of the feminine prefixes so that future researchers could make sense of such surnames.

The surnames of Ireland (MacLysaght, 1985) is a source widely used by genealogists. The prefixes are ignored and surnames are alphabetized under the English version of the main word:

- Dunny. A variant of Downey in the midland counties.
- (Mac) Dunphy Mac Donnchaidh. Cognate with MacDonagh. This is quite distinct from (O) Dunphy.
- (O) Dunphy, Dunfy Ó Donnchaidh. A small Òssory Sept: though of the same name in Irish, unrelated to the O’Donoghues elsewhere.

One Irish language speaker saved the contacts on his mobile phone by surname, saying ‘they’d all be under Mac or Ó if I chose to alphabetize by prefix’. His chosen method was to enter the names by the main part of the surname with the prefix after the forename:

- Aodha, Càit Nic
- Dónaill, Éamonn Mac
- Stúilleabháin, Pól Ó

Conventions and an acceptance of basic principles are required. According to the British Museum ‘the preponderance of O and Mac prefixes tends to render the catalogue unwieldy’ (Glynn, 1930).

Library catalogues are electronic nowadays, and therefore the alphabetic ordering need not be detectable. Electronic database records can be sorted by any chosen field. Wildcards can usually be used when searching, e.g. M*c*Ilwaine; *úilleabhán.

Cataloguing of Irish surnames

Articles on the subject of the arrangement of Irish surnames have been published in the journal of the Library Association of Ireland, An Leabharlann, since the first volume was published in 1930.

Mary J. Hogan (or Máire Úi Ógáin), compiled the results of a questionnaire from the International Conference on Cataloging Principles in 1961 which was returned to the library of University College Dublin by nine other libraries in Ireland. Regarding their practice for cataloguing Irish surnames, six of the libraries stated that surnames bearing prefixes were entered under the prefix, one library entered surnames under the part of the name following the prefix, and two other libraries suggested that the alternative might be considered although their practice was to enter under the prefix (see Table 2). She concluded that the most common habit in Ireland is to give alphabetical recognition to all prefixes and complicated changes that occur in women’s surnames (Hogan, 1964).

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of libraries queried</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Surnames catalogued under prefix</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surnames catalogued under ‘main word’</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practice is to enter under prefix but the alternative might be considered</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In response to Mary Hogan’s article, Michael Durkan wrote in the same journal later that year that ‘the proposal for entry under the part of the name following the prefix . . . has little to recommend it . . . [it] is merely a practical device with the sole merit of redistributing the large accumulation of entries under Mac and O’ (1964: 100). Regarding the cataloguing of the names of female authors, he suggested cross-referencing, from either the masculine or the feminine form of the name.

The use of cross-references for the surnames of females is the method recommended by P. J. Quigg in his article on ‘The entering and systematic arrangement of Irish Names in catalogues, indexes and directories’ (1967).

In the index to their magnum opus, Beathaíseáis, Máire Ní Mhurchú and Diarmuid Breathnach entered the surname under the masculine form with a generic cross-reference from each particular feminine prefix. Beathaíseáis is the dictionary of biographies of Irish-speaking personalities who died between 1882 and 1982. The cross-referencing, however, is applied inconsistently. There is no entry under Mhic, and there are two different texts used in the notes: ‘see’ and ‘see under masculine form of the surname’, the former being useful as a reader may not be familiar with ‘the masculine form’ (Ní Mhurchú and Breathnach, 1997):

Ní: see under masculine form of the surname
Níc: see under masculine form of the surname
Úa: see Ó
Uí: see Ó

For females, although the surname is entered under the masculine form, a note is provided in brackets after the name. The note contains the grammatical change necessary to form the correct surname for that particular person:

Mac Néill, Seosaimhin [Mhic N.]
Ó Mcoileoin, Eibhlín [Ní Mh.]

Pat Booth offers advice which is very relevant to this discussion: ‘It must be remembered that the bearer of a name may have an individual preference for its form of entry; this should always be followed if it can be ascertained’ (2001: 89). In an index, the entry refers to a specific woman and therefore it could be argued that it is more appropriate for the entry to be under the form of her surname that she herself used than to cross-refer to the masculine form of her surname or to provide a generic cross-reference from the feminine prefix(es).

Íosold O’Deirg (she was also known as Ó Deirg and Ní Dheirg) wrote an article in An Leabharlann in 1981 to reopen discussion about an official code of practice for the ordering of Irish surnames. O’Deirg agreed with the opinions of others regarding the most appropriate method for entering women’s surnames. The widely recommended solution was that ‘the main entry should be made under the masculine prefix and form, with a reference from the feminine form’ (1981: 14–15):

Ní Shuílleabháin, Siobhán See Ó Suílleabháin, Siobhán

She noted that the practice of entering Irish surnames under the prefix is ‘compatible with existing English practice’ (O’Deirg, 1981: 15):

Ó Suílleabháin, Seán
O’Sullivan, Seán

She also discussed the alternative: to ignore the prefix and enter under ‘the surname proper’. O’Deirg devised a method for laying out a book index which alphabetized according to the main word in an entry and avoided inversions in all cases except for forenames. The words were alphabetized in a column, with prefixes and preceding letters and words indented to the left. This method was used in some publications, as per this extract from As an nGéibheann (Ó Cadhain, 1973: 211):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mac</th>
<th>Laghmainn, Riobard</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ó</td>
<td>Laoghaire, an Táth. Peadar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mac</td>
<td>Laverty, Michael</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Fanu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The</td>
<td>The Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life and Letters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ó</td>
<td>Lochlainn, Colm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lúb na Cailighe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg, Rosa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is an innovative method for alphabetizing and ordering a back-of-the-book index which indexing software would have no difficulty in handling. However it is not widely used in Ireland.

Indexing software

The difficulty is to decide on what conventions to follow, not how to achieve the desired result – this is something indexing software programs are well equipped to do. The default setting on Macrex recognizes the Mc/Mac debate and interfiles the words with these prefixes, but the indexer can use hidden text or a command in the background to override all settings. Sky software has the option of a tickbox for ‘treat as Name index’ thus giving the option of interfiling Mac/Mc. Sky does not recognize the character Ó automatically, and orders words with this initial letter under ‘unspecified’ at the head of the index. Cindex sorts Mac and Mc separately in the default settings.

Conclusion

[S]urnames are heirlooms – not mere words.

(MacLysaght, 1985: 307)

It is important to show respect for names, and for the indexer to develop and maintain appropriate conventions and provide familiar and consistent methods for users. For this, the role of the human, learned, cognisant indexer counts for much, as does an understanding of the reasons and the history behind all these names.
Nic Cóil: Irish prefixes and the alphabetization of personal names

Notes
1 ‘Tiontaíodh gach sloinne Gaelach ina ghibris gan aird.’
2 International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA)
3 For examples of the problems because of a lack of familiarity with the conventions relating to the definite article in Irish, see Flynn (2006) and O’Leary (2006).

References
Eircom (2011) 01 Phonebook. Truvo Ireland Limited.
O’Deirg, Í. (1981) “‘Her infinite variety” – on the ordering of Irish surnames with prefixes, especially those of women.’ An Leabharlann 10(1), 14–16.
Woulfe, P. (1923) Sloinnte Gaedheal is Gall: Irish names and surnames, collected and edited with explanatory and historical notes. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

Róisín Nic Cóil has recently indexed An Chláirseach agus an Choróin (The harp and the crown), an impressionistic diary based on the seven symphonies of the Anglo-Irish composer, Charles Villiers Stanford, by Liam Mac Cóil. Róisín lives in Dublin and was reared bilingually with Irish and English. She is a member of the Society of Indexers (Irish Branch).
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The indexing of Welsh personal names

Donald Moore

Welsh personal names sometimes present the indexer with problems not encountered when dealing with English names. The Welsh patronymic system of identity is the most obvious; this was normal in the Middle Ages, and traces of its usage survived into the mid-19th century. Patronyms have since been revived as alternative names in literary and bardic circles, while a few individuals, inspired by the precedents of history, are today attempting to use them regularly in daily life. Other sorts of alternative names, too, have been adopted by writers, poets, artists and musicians, to such effect that they are often better known to the Welsh public than the real names. A distinctive pseudonym has a special value in Wales, where a restricted selection of both first names and surnames has been the norm for the last few centuries. Apart from the names themselves, there is in Welsh a linguistic feature which can be disconcerting to those unfamiliar with the language: the ‘mutation’ or changing of the initial letter of a word in certain phonetic and syntactic contexts. This can also occur in place names (see the other article by the same author in this Centrepiece). Some of the observations made there about the Welsh language are relevant here also.

Indexing English names

According to English practice a person is indexed under his or her surname. First names, taken in alphabetical order, word by word, are then used to determine the sequence of entries when the same surname recurs in the index (‘first’ = ‘Christian’ = ‘baptismal’ = ‘given’ = ‘forename’).

When an individual has no surname, his or her unique personal name (or regal name) is used as guideword, followed by any epithet which might aid recognition. Ordering then may be helped by the initial letter of an epithet. Single names may also be distinguished by the individual’s place of origin, for instance Anne of Brittany, as distinct from Anne of Cleves.

The surname system in England reflects male pre-eminence in society. Marriage has normally obliged a woman to abandon her maiden surname and assume her husband’s. Moreover, strict etiquette formerly demanded that when describing herself as ‘Mrs’, she should not use her own first names, but her husband’s, before her new surname, unless she is widowed or divorced. This means that indexers may have difficulty in establishing the complete female identity of a married woman. Conventions, however, have changed as more married women have tended to pursue independent careers, sometimes retaining their birth name for business, sometimes amalgamating their own names with their husbands’, and sometimes using their own first names before their husband’s surname.

An indexer may face problems in the ordering of medieval names preceded or followed by de or fitz. The main criterion is whether the second of a pair of names has become a fixed surname; if it has not, the first name becomes the guideword. For example, ‘Ralph de Chaddesdon’ appears under ‘R’ and ‘Edward FitzOtho’ under ‘E’, but ‘Fitzwarin family’ under ‘F’ and ‘Sir John de la Mare’ under ‘D’ (the last, though French, being domiciled in England).1

Indexing Welsh names

English conventions of nomenclature apply today in Wales as much as in England, but there are three circumstances where Welsh personal names may cause special difficulties for the non-Welsh indexer:

• where patronyms, male or female, are used
• where words change their initial letter
• the extent to which pseudonyms are used in certain activities.

It need hardly be said that when Welsh names are indexed in an English-medium publication, they normally obey the conventions of the English alphabet. In a Welsh-language context they will be indexed according to the Welsh alphabet, which differs from the English in some respects. Certain sounds (some strange to English) are expressed by means of double letters, or digraphs: ch, dd, ff, ng, ll, ph, rh, th, which stand as letters of the Welsh alphabet in their own right. The letters k and v, once found in Welsh, have been superseded by c and f respectively, and ff has virtually supplanted ph; j is used only in borrowed words, and there is no x. The complete alphabet of 28 letters is reproduced below:

A, B, C, Ch, D, Dd, E, F, Ff, G, Ng, H, I, L, LI, M, N, O, P, Ph, R, Rh, S, T, Th, U, W, Y.

Welsh mutations

There exists in Welsh a system by which a word may change or ‘mutate’ its initial letter (or sometimes its last) so as to indicate its relationship with a preceding or following word. The nature of the change depends to some extent on the sounds concerned, and also, in the case of nouns and adjectives, on the gender of the word (Welsh nouns are either masculine or feminine). This phenomenon is deeply rooted in speech and writing.
The present context concerns only nouns and adjectives used side by side, or nouns together in opposition. The second element in each case may be affected by the 'soft mutation' or 'lenition'. Not all letters are involved. The top line of Table 1 shows those consonants that are liable to change when serving as the initial letter of a word. The lower line shows the forms they take when changed. It will be noted that the ‘G’ disappears altogether.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radial form</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>Li</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>Rh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Softened form</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Dd</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 1 Soft mutations in Welsh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Welsh patronymic system</th>
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<td>A person’s status in Welsh medieval tribal society depended on his or her descent in a kindred, and this had to be remembered or recorded. Since society was male oriented in landholding, custom and law, it was essential for a man to know the names of his father, his father’s father, and so on, as well as collateral relations.</td>
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<td>A typical example may be cited from the 15th century: ‘Rhys ap Llywelyn ap Rhys ap Llywelyn ab Ieuan’ was a Beadle or Bailiff Itinerant for the King in the royal county of Carmarthen (Griffiths, 1972: 314). He was the son of Llywelyn, who was the son of an earlier Rhys, who was the son of an earlier Llywelyn, who was the son of Ieuan. The fact that he knew the names of his great- and great-great-grandfathers will appear remarkable today.</td>
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<td>The word meaning ‘son’ is ap (used before consonants) and ab (before vowels); there is no need for ‘of’ in Welsh, since the genitive is expressed by the juxtaposition of nouns (there are no case endings in Welsh). Ab is a shortened form of mab, which may also appear in its mutated form fab; mab corresponds to the Gaelic mac and the Norman-French Fitz. There was much repetition of names, in both alternate and successive generations (which is not peculiar to the Welsh), but it is particularly confusing to find sons of the same father bearing the same name as the father and each other. For example, a certain David ap Llewellyn (Anglicized spelling) had two sons, each named David. Epithets were added to distinguish one son from the other: the first was called David Goch (from coch = ‘red-haired’), and the second David Vychan (from vch = ‘younger’) (Williams, 1961, part II: 71).</td>
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<td>By the 15th century Anglicized forms of Welsh names and borrowed English names were becoming common, replacing in popular favour the older and more sonorous heroic names such as Cadwaladr, Caradog and Gwênhyfar, some of which had survived from pre-Roman times. The spelling of names in documents, even when referring to the same person, was far from consistent. Efforts have been made to classify variants under standardized forms for modern listing; these will be discussed later.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The explicit sign of the male patronymic, ab or ap, gradually disappeared, but the idea behind it remained a widespread and powerful influence on naming practice for a long time. Between the true patronymic and the modern surname there was an intermediate stage lasting from the late seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, when it was common to use a Christian name followed by an unfixed surname, the latter determined according to the old patronymic custom, usually the father’s Christian name, but sometimes the grandfather’s, or even the father’s and grandfather’s together. For example, the great Methodist leader John Elias (who died in 1841) was the son of Elias Jones, who was the son of John Elias. An allied phenomenon was the alternative unfixed surname, such as ‘David Morgan Huw’ of Trefilan, Cardiganshire, who was also known as ‘David Morgan’. Such an entry will require a cross-reference under one or the other form.</td>
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<tr>
<td>There is an example from Glamorgan in a report of the Charity Commissioners, dated 1837, quoting a charitable bequest by a certain David Thomas of Eglwysilan parish, in the hundred of Caerphilly, by Will dated 16 March 1709 ‘to his son William David’. The latter is clearly a patronymic without ap, and it may safely be assumed that the father’s name was such also (Grant, 1988: 8).</td>
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### Women’s names in the patronymic system

| A woman could be described as the daughter of her father, the daughter of her mother (less often), or if married, the wife of her husband, or his widow. She was not expected to substitute part of her name for her husband’s, as in a surname system, and it would have been ridiculous for her to ‘adopt’ her husband’s father’s name. Thus she stood in her own line of descent. The Welsh for ‘daughter’ is merch; in its ‘softened’ form verch (modern spelling ferch), it formed the link word between the daughter’s name and the father’s. So ‘Gwladys verch Ithel’ would be ‘Gwladys, daughter of Ithel’. In matrilineal descent, ‘Gwenllian vergh Angharad vergh Mally’ provides an example with three female names in succession. Verch (or vergh) is frequently found in abbreviated forms, such as vch, uch, vz, ver and ach. The usage has died out and there has been no attempt to revive it. Syntactically, the use of ferch should soften the initial letter of the following word, but this rule was not always observed in the case of proper names. |
| The term verch became confused with ap. An instance occurred in Cardiff in a document dated 1514, where a mention of ‘Amabilla Verz David ap Howell ap Jevan’ was endorsed ‘Amabilla ap David’, no doubt by a clerk whose knowledge of Welsh was limited (Williams, 1961: 57). |
| The next historical stage in the development of women’s names was the omission of the link word, verch, with the result that the daughter’s Christian name simply preceded that of the father. An example without verch may be seen in the parish register of Mydrim (Meidrim), Carmarthenshire. A certain Amy, daughter of Griffith David of Abernant, was baptized on 19 June 1745. She married David Bowen of St Ishmaels on 2 November 1769 and signed the marriage register as Amy David, but in the same document she was described as Amy Griffith. |
| Women’s names in early documents are far fewer than men’s. While there were certainly important and influential ladies in medieval Wales, women generally did not play an overt part in war and public life. Under Welsh law they... |
suffered the disability of not being allowed to inherit land, which rules out one source of prolific documentation.

Even so, in married partnerships the wife continued to be known by her original name, whether patronymic or surname. An elaborate memorial in St Mary's church, Tenby, Dyfed, commemorates Thomas ap Rees of Scroby and Margaret Mercer, his wife (died 1610). Another memorial, in Brecon Priory church (now the cathedral), records Elizabeth Morgan, the wife of Lewis Price, who died in 1704, aged 70. The historian of Brecknock, Theophilus Jones, stated that the custom continued down to 1805 in the western parts of that county (Jones, 1909, vol. 2: 25).

Lists of tenants can be a fruitful source of women’s names. In the 14th century there was a large enclave of Welsh people in the north-west corner of Shropshire. A document ‘Extenta Manerii, 1393’, transcribed by W. J. Slack in The lordship of Oswestry 1393–1607 (1951) includes the following names:

- Duthguy verch Ieuan ap Egnon (Dyddgu, daughter of Ieuan, son of Eignon)
- Wenhorva verch Grono (Gwenhwyfar, daughter of Grono)
- Gwenhevar relictam Egnon Saer (Gwenhwyfar, widow of Eignon the carpenter)
- Wenllian Lloyd (Gwenllian Lloyd; probably an early surname here)
- Wenllian verch Madoc (Gwenllian, daughter of Madoc)
- Wirvull verch Madoc Meillor (Gwerful, daughter of Madoc of Maeilor).

The medieval scribe clearly had difficulty with Welsh names, and in four instances he recorded the mutated forms. This raises a problem for the indexer: should the variant forms (which all happen to represent the soft mutation of ‘G’) be indexed under the standard (or ‘radical’) forms beginning with ‘G’? The answer here will be ‘yes’ from anyone familiar with the mutation, but cross-references to the variants could be useful under ‘W’ in order to guide the unknowing or to indicate the capriciousness of scribes. More difficult is the question of standardizing the whole spelling of a name, as opposed to rectifying a mutation. Various attempts at a solution will be examined later.

The soft mutation in patronymic expressions

The foregoing discussion on the soft mutation anticipates a wider issue of the same kind. While each name in a patronymic chain is usually single, occasionally a noun or adjective may be added to a name to denote occupation, place of origin or personal characteristic. Such words may look like surnames (and at a certain stage of historical development they often became so), but at first they are simply descriptive. Another itinerant bailiff recorded in the county of Carmarthen was ‘Gruffydd Welydd ab Ieuan ap Gruffydd ab Ieuan’ (Griffiths, 1972: 314). ‘Welydd’ was not a surname, but an occupational description, from gwehydd, a weaver. The mutation is caused because there is a noun in apposition immediately following the personal name. The same rule applies to adjectives similarly used.

The epithet tew, meaning ‘fat’, might be applied to a person called Dafydd, and he would become ‘Dafydd Dew’. The following examples of epithets attached to the name ‘Dafydd’ all occur in the index to The principality of Wales in the later Middle Ages (Griffiths, 1972):

- Fychan, from bychan, meaning ‘small’. Anglicized into ‘Vaughan’, which was eventually used as a surname and Christian name.
- Gam, from cam, meaning ‘bandy’, or possibly ‘squinting’.
- Goch, from coch, meaning ‘red-haired’. Eventually used as a surname: ‘Gough’, ‘Goff’ and other forms.
- Hir, unchanged from hir, meaning tall.
- Hydra ap Llywelyn ap Hywel. This Dafydd was the ‘eldest’, hynaf, which has lost its final f.
- Lleial, from lleiaf, meaning ‘youngest’.
- Llwyd (not mutated here), meaning ‘grey’ or ‘light brown’. This became a fixed surname as early as the fourteenth century; widespread today as ‘Lloyd’ and ‘Floyd’, less frequently as ‘Loyd’.
- Nanmor, a proper noun referring to the birthplace of this Dafydd, near Beddgelert, Gwynedd.
- Sais, meaning generally ‘Englishman’. Often curiously applied to obvious Welshmen, where it must mean ‘English-speaking’ or ‘having lived in England’.

The decline of the patronymic system and the formation of surnames

The steady penetration of Wales by influences from its much larger and more powerful neighbour from the 15th century onwards had two consequences as far as personal names were concerned. First, names within the patronymic system frequently became Anglicized, and many of the older Celtic names fell into disuse. Second, the patronymic system itself was undermined by pressure to conform with the surname system, which had taken root earlier in England.

In passing it may be noted that Welsh names were often ‘Latinized’ when cited in medieval documents, just as English names were. This process took them further from their original Welsh sound, and if anything, nearer to English. For example, ‘Griffinus’ was common for ‘Gruffydd’ and ‘Leolinus’ for ‘Llewelyn’. The same person might be cited in a Welsh, Latin or English form, and one cannot be sure which form, if any, was considered definitive at the time.

One obvious way of calling a halt to the patronymic succession and creating a surname was to adopt the father’s name as such. Many surnames of this kind incorporated a vestigial consonant, b or p, from ab or ap. Thus ‘ab Owen’ gave ‘Bowen’, ‘ap Hywel gave ‘Powell’ and ‘ap Rhys’ gave ‘Price’, ‘Price’ and ‘Preece’. But the old habit was tenacious, and the fact that ap had already been assimilated in a name presumably used as a surname did not prevent that name being recycled into the patronymic system. Thus we find among the tenants of Popham manor near Barry, Glamorgan, in 1584, a Jenkin ap Poel and a Hoel ap Poel (Moore, 1984: 123).

On the other hand, names without a vestigial consonant
often became surnames: for example, Owen, Howell, Rees and Rice to parallel the forms cited above. In some cases there was a temptation to add a genitive ‘s’ to do duty for the *ap*. These included Evans, Jones and Davies. Occasionally a ‘familiar’ (‘hypocoristic’) form of a Welsh name formed the basis of an Anglicized surname, such as ‘Gutyn’, from Gruffydd, which gave ‘Gittins’. Epithets, too, became surnames. Already mentioned is *vychan*, which gave ‘Vaughan’. Finally, some surnames were formed from the names of places of origin: for example, Barry, Picton and Mostyn.

In the adoption of surnames the Welsh gentry led the way. As they came into increasing contact with their counterparts in England, they found it unfashionable and inconvenient to be without surnames. The most noteworthy example was Owain ap Maredudd ap Tudur ap Gronw Fychan (c. 1400–1461), who took his grandfather’s name ‘Tudur’ as his fixed surname. He was the grandfather of Henry Tudor, who became King Henry VII. Had Owain chosen to be Owain Maredudd, England would have had a ‘Meredith’ dynasty, to use the Anglicized form. In sixteenth-century Glamorgan Sir Roger Williams, who was the son of Thomas ap William, took the name of his grandfather, with the genitive ‘s’. In the following century Sir Leoline Jenkins took his father’s name; he was the son of Jenkin ap Llew ‘ap Gwilym Gwyn. Colonel Philip Jones of Fonmon was the son of David Johns, son of Philip ap John; here the ‘ap John’ became ‘Johns’ and then ‘Jones’ (Williams, 1961, part 2: 60).

The dominance of the father’s name in the patronymic system meant that the surnames that developed out of it were from male names. There were exceptions, for reasons which are not certain. Forms of ‘Gweirful’ and ‘Gwen-hwyfar’, for instance, can be traced as surnames. Another phenomenon relating to women’s names is the incorporation of a surname from the female line into a family name for reasons of inheritance, as in the Williams Wynn family of Wynnstay, where the ‘Wynn’ is derived from an heiress. Unconnected with this is a modern Welsh custom of including the mother’s surname before that of the father in a family name, such as ‘Robert Williams Parry’. For a detailed treatment of these and similar topics the reader is referred to T. J. and Prys Morgan, *Welsh surnames* (1985).

Indexing historic patronymic names

In the original patronymic form the first name is the significant one and becomes the guideword. Since most recorded Welsh patronymics belonged to the Middle Ages, they will tend to occur in works on Welsh history, where the narrative function has received more attention than the classification of names. Attempts to standardize methods of indexing names have been few and unconcerted. There is great variation in practice. Some indexers put a sequence of surnames before that of the father in a sequence. Some make separate sequences for *ab* and *ap*, some amalgamate. Some make a separate sequence for single names followed by epithets, others incorporate them into a combined *ab* and *ap* sequence. Finally, some incorporate all forms in one sequence.

J. G. Edwards in *Littere wallie* (1940) made two sequences of entries under ‘Dafydd’, separating *ap* forms from names with added epithets:

- Dafydd ap William
- Dafydd ab Ybryth
- Dafydd ab Ydean
- Dafydd Fychan
- Dafydd Goch

James Conway Davies in *The Welsh assize roll*, 1277–1284 (1940) attempted the same thing (though with a few anomalies), taking Gruffydd ap David through to Gruffydd ap Rewathlan Llwyd, and then beginning a new sequence with Gruffydd Ddu Foel.

J. E. Lloyd in *A history of Carmarthenshire* (1939) had three sequences, for *ab*, *ap* and those with epithets, for example Maredudd ab ———, Maredudd ap ———, Maredudd Ddall (from *dall* = ‘blind’). T. I. Jeffreys Jones in *Exchequer proceedings* . . . (1955) made one sequence for Griffiths and variants with *ap*, another for Griffith and variants without *ap*, and a third for Griffiths (with ‘s’) as a surname.

E. A. Lewis and J. Conway Davies in *Records of the Court of Augmentations* . . . (1954) made three sequences under Lewis: first, Lewis as a surname; second, Lewis as patronymic with *ab* or *ap*; and third, Lewis with added epithets.

A quite different procedure was followed by Ralph A. Griffiths in *The principality of Wales* . . . (1972), who consolidated all patronymics, with or without *ab* or *ap* and including those with epithets, so that the sequence was determined by the initial letter of the second name or the epithet, thus:

- Dafydd ap Gwilym ap Llywelyn Llwyd (ap before consonants)
- Dafydd ap Gwilym Payn
- Dafydd ap Gwilym ap y Person (y Person = ‘the Parson’)
- Dafydd Gwyn (Gwyn here either adjectival = ‘fair or white-headed’, or proper name of father, with *ap* missing)
- Dafydd Gwyn ab leuan ap Madog (ab before vowel)
- Dafydd Gwyn ab leuan ap Morys (different individual, since grandfather is different from previous)
- Dafydd Hir ap Llywelyn ap Philip (hir = ‘tall’)
- Dafydd Hyna ap Llywelyn ap Hywel (hyna = ‘eldest’)
- Dafydd Hywel (ap lost)
- Dafydd ap Hywel
- Dafydd ap Hywel ap Cadwgan

There were no surnames in the form of Dafydd in this index, but elsewhere in the same work a separate sequence was used for surnames, if needed. This practice was also followed by T. B. Pugh in *The marcher lordships of South Wales* (1963). George T. Clark in *The genealogies of Morgan and Glamorgan* (1886) consolidated not only *ab* and *ap* forms and epithets, but also surnames in the same sequence. The foregoing examples are from indexes in historical publications.

The reader will wonder what efforts have been made to produce systematic indexes of Welsh names which might serve as patterns to follow. Three significant works may be cited. The first is the massive works in manuscript and typescript (facsimile editions) by Peter C. Bartrum, *Welsh genealogies A.D. 300–1400* (1972), and *Welsh genealogies*
A.D. 1400–1500 (1983). For the present purpose Volume XII, Index of surnames, and Volumes XIII onwards: Index of persons, are the relevant sources. Variants of names are grouped under standardized forms and indexed according to the English alphabet.

A more accessible and much smaller publication is the 25-page Indexes to schedules: introduction, published by the Department of Manuscripts and Records of the National Library of Wales (1978). This is simply an introduction to the extensive card index relating to the schedules (not documents) held by the Department. The section pertinent to the present enquiry is the select personal-name index, which is divided into two parts: the Welsh index and the English index. The Welsh index is based on first names: that is, patronymics. For the standard forms modern Welsh spelling is used, and the index follows the modern Welsh alphabet. Ap and ferch (or their equivalents) do not affect the ordering. Presumed patronymics without ap and the like are all included in the one sequence. Thus under the standard form ‘RHYS’, a sample part of the sequence runs:

(Rees Hywel Harry
(Rys Howell Parry
(Res Powel Harry
(Rees Powell Parry
Rees Hywel Harri Goch
Rys Howell Goch Parry
Rees Howell Llywd ap HARRI
Ris Goch ap Howell ap HARRY

The bracketed names are exactly equatable and have to be ordered according to date.

The English index lists persons and families along familiar lines, and deals primarily with surnames, except in the case of persons without surnames, such as monarchs and saints, if they do not appear to be Welsh. This index follows the English alphabet. As with first names in the Welsh index, standard forms are adopted; for instance, ‘JONES’ includes ‘Johnes’, ‘MORRIS’ includes ‘Maurice’ and ‘Morys’ and ‘REES’ includes ‘Rhys’ and ‘Rice’. Hyphenated surnames are ordered according to date.

Third Welsh surnames by T. J. Morgan and Prys Morgan (Cardiff, 1985), deals not only with surnames, but inevitably with their sources, including the patronymic system. Again, the authors adopt standard forms and group variants within them. For example, ‘Gruffydd’ covers ‘Gruffydd’, ‘Griffith(s)’, ‘Guto’, ‘Gittins’, ‘Griffyn’ and so on.

The International Genealogical Index

An index of personal names still to be considered is the International Genealogical Index (IGI), published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in microfiche; hence its popular description, ‘the Mormon fiche’. It is a worldwide project, containing some 88 million names which date from the early 1500s to c. 1875. It has been created for religious reasons (which need not be elaborated here), but at the same time it can prove a useful tool for genealogical research generally. The information has been gathered from parish registers, wills and so on. A consoli-
was a nonconformist minister. A capital 'A' was used in each of the above cases because the expression stood alone.

As distinct from 'ornamental aliases' invented for bardic and eisteddfodic purposes, a new category of patronymics has emerged in the twentieth century, names devised by nostalgic language enthusiasts seeking to establish a modern identity for themselves in the old style. In the 1930s a well-known Welsh headmaster, Evan Thomas Griffiths, used to address letters to his son, a student at Aberystwyth, in the form Islwyn ab Ifan ('Ifan' = 'Evan'). The son did not retain this style in later life, but found it of some advantage in college to distinguish himself from another student of the same name but of different parentage.4

Indexing modern patronymics

In the modern world the making of indexes is not confined to the last few pages of a printed book, it is part of the machinery of daily life. In a hospital, a doctor's surgery, a bank, an office or any context where personal service is dispensed on a large scale, the retrieval of names is crucial to the effectiveness of the service. In a society which assumes the existence of definitive surnames transmitted from one generation to another (which still applies when a woman changes her name by marriage), the idea that a full identity resides in one personal name is incomprehensible; this is assumed to be a 'first' name and therefore not capable of becoming a guideword. When the patronymic principle is explained, it becomes obvious that the second name, the father's, is quite inappropriate as a guideword, so that leaves only \( ab \) or \( ap \). This last is the solution chosen by the telephone directory, where separate sequences are adopted for \( ab \), \( ap \) and agglutinated forms. In the volume for North West Wales dated July 1987, the patronymic entries were arranged as follows under 'A' (punctuation of British Telecom):

Ab Eurig Arfon Wyn (Arfon Wyn being two first names)
Ab Ifor G. (G being the initial of a first name)
Ab Iorwerth R.

Ap Cynan M.
Ap Gomer Elfed
Ap Griffith Dafydd
ap Gwilym E.
Ap Iorwerth H. M.
Ap Rhobert D. Li.
Ap Thomas E.
Ap Thomas G.
Ap Thomas Dr I.
Ap Thomas Partnership
Ap Thomas

Aphrys Dr T. Li. (presumably the subscriber's chosen form)
Ap-Thomas D. R. (in Telecom rules the hyphen evidently joins rather than separates for the purpose of indexing)
Ap-Thomas I.

This practice is followed in The phone book for other parts of Wales. As would be expected from the geographical distribution of Welsh users, the north-west has produced more entries of this kind than elsewhere. In the south-west one subscriber has seen risks in the situation: the firm Ap Gwent & Co. has one entry under 'A' and another under 'G' as 'Gwent Ap & Co.'. This expression shows the patronymic tradition in terminal decline: first, it refers to a corporate institution, not an individual, and second, the indispensable first name is not mentioned.

When the sons of the present generation of patronymic subscribers wish to be entered in the telephone directory, they will have to decide whether to substitute the father's name for that of the grandfather (and thus probably move the entry in a different place in the Ap sequence), or to allow the grandfather's name to become a quasi-surname preceded by Ap, hyphenated to Ap or amalgamated with Ap. This was essentially the dilemma of the Welsh in the late Middle Ages, when patronymics first became surnames. Of course, if a craze for patronymics swept the Welsh nation, and half the telephone directory came to be filled with \( Ab \) and \( ap \) entries, the compilers might be induced to adopt a true patronymic sequence with the subscriber's first name as guideword. Unfortunately, the prevalent use of initials rather than first names would seriously hamper such a move. A choice would next have to be made on whether to include patronymics within the main sequence or deal with them separately.

Other Welsh personal names affected by mutation

Many biblical and non-Welsh historical personages have been given Welsh names, and under the appropriate conditions mutation may take place, as in the names of Welsh people. Indexers familiar with Welsh will not find this a problem, but others might like to be forewarned in case such expressions are quoted in an English text. In English 'William the Conqueror' would be indexed under 'W' with a possible finding-reference 'Conqueror' under 'C'. The Welsh equivalent is 'Gwilym Orchfygwr'; the second element has mutated from its radical form gorchfygwr (= 'conqueror') because it is in apposition to 'Gwilym' and if given as a finding-reference it should be in the radical form under 'G'. Similarly, 'John the Baptist' is 'Ioan Feddyddiwr' in Welsh; the radical form of faddyddiwr (= 'baptist') is beddyddiwr, to be indexed under 'B'. However, in the case of 'Dewi Sant' (= 'Saint David'), the 'S' does not mutate (see table of mutations already given). 'Dewi' is an earlier Welsh form of 'David' than 'Dafydd' and is always used for the patron saint. In Welsh, 'Dewi Sant' is indexed under 'D', while in English 'St David' will sometimes be under 'S' and sometimes under 'D' according to the nature of the work indexed.

Mutated names will obviously create difficulty in computer word-searches.

Welsh ornamental aliases

The Welsh have never been backward in inventing extra names for themselves and their compatriots. Some of these names arose from a spirit of humour or satire, some were
designed to make the holder feel grander than his normal name would suggest, and some were needed to distinguish between a host of individuals bearing the same name. These were not the names entered in the parish register at the time of birth and death, not the names that gave an individual a legal and fiscal identity.

The Welsh edition of the dictionary of Welsh biography, *Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig hyd 1940* (1953), contains a list by M. Beatrice Davies of nearly 500 pseudonyms referring to prominent Welsh people included in the dictionary who had lived at any date up to 1940. Apart from a handful of medieval origin, the vast majority originated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the preponderance in the latter. This is hardly surprising, for the population was then increasing greatly and Welsh cultural awareness and national consciousness were reaching a climax. At that time, too, real names in Wales demonstrated the ultimate in dullness and repetition, with David Davieses and John Joneses by the thousand. Most of those who received or gave themselves such additional names were intellectuals of one kind or another – writers, poets, painters, ministers of religion, musicians and so on.

What were the sources of inspiration for these pseudonyms? The old patronymic style has already been mentioned, and various other examples have appeared in the text. Some celebrities took names from Welsh history, such as ‘Caradog’, ‘Giraldu’ and ‘Gwrgan’, others from classical tradition, such as ‘Brutus’, ‘Nicander’ and ‘Vulcan’. The teacher and bard David Richards (1751–1827) was called ‘Dafydd Ionawr’ because his birthday was in January (Ionawr). John Ceiriog Hughes (1832–1887) used his middle name ‘Ceiriog’, which referred to a river near his birthplace. In the twentieth century the Reverend Albert Evans Jones is much more recognizable in Wales under his bardic name ‘Cynan’, and the Reverend William Evans as ‘Wil Ifan’. Both served as archdruids of the Gorsedd. Such names may well be the principal form used in a publication, and thus require indexing as guidewords carrying the main entry. This occurs in W. J. Gruffydd’s anthology of Welsh poetry, *Y Floseugerd Gymraeg* (1946). Bardic pseudonyms are not just a phenomenon of history; they are created in significant numbers annually as new members are admitted to the Gorsedd of the Bards of the Isle of Britain by examination or *honoris causa* at the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales. Not only poets and writers but public figures of distinction are honoured.

**Conclusions**

Amidst all the complexities of Welsh names, what simple rules can be offered in summary to the indexer? While certain basic principles can be commended after examining many divergent practices, it has to be admitted that in this field, perhaps more than in others, one has to take a relativist position. Much depends on the purpose of the index itself, if it stands alone, or of the publication which it is to serve. Quite opposite conclusions may be reached in different cases.

A true patronymic, whatever its length, should undoubtedly be indexed under its first element; any other solution destroys its identity. Thus ‘Llywelyn ap Gruffydd’ will appear under ‘L’ in an English work and under ‘Li’ in a Welsh; similarly, ‘Gwenllian ferch Madoc’ will appear under ‘G’ in either language. In the case of an incomplete patronymic, that is, one without the first element, as ‘Ab Ithcl’, there is no alternative but to index it under ‘A’ (examples beginning Ferch do not occur); since such forms are invariably alternative names of recent creation, they can be cross-referred to a conventional surname. So, too, when *Ap* has become an integral part of the second name to form a quasi-surname, such as ‘Aprhys’, the name appears under ‘A’. Difficulty arises when some modern administrative decision places all names containing *ap* under ‘A’ regardless. Such a situation can only be discovered from experience. Another difficulty is in recognizing a patronymic at all in a possible example where no connecting *ap* or *verch* is present. It is not practicable to offer rules on how to recognize a ‘hidden’ patronymic; only experience, knowledge and a scrutiny of the context can provide the answer; and even then not every time.

The real problem with patronymics is to decide how many sequences there should be. Strict adherence to general indexing conventions would indicate five:

- names with *ab*
- names with *ap*
- names with *ab* or *ap* understood but not expressed
- names followed by an epithet before *ab*
- names followed by an epithet before *ap*.

However, since *ab* and *ap* are identical in meaning and function and their omission is merely an accident of history, common sense and ease of retrieval would impel one to make a single sequence, provided the purpose of the publication was not specifically to demonstrate the relative frequency of *ab*, *ap* and so on.

It can be argued that surnames are a different kind of name and deserve a separate sequence from patronymics. This is the point of view of P. C. Bartrum and the National Library of Wales in their large-scale classificatory systems. On the other hand, in a relatively short index to his *Genealogies* (1886), G. T. Clark opted for one sequence for patronymics and surnames. Next is the matter of mutations. These will normally be expected in epitaphs following a Christian name (though not in all initial letters). Exceptionally, an obvious mutation is found in a Christian name, and it can also occur in the historical development of surnames. The normal aim should be to retrieve the radical form for the main entry, and, if the variant is considered to be sufficiently important, to give a cross-reference, such as ‘Wenllian, see Gwenllian’.

In any classification of Christian names or surnames, some grouping of cognate forms may be necessary, with a standard version as guideword. The three indexes, Bartrum (1972, 1983), National Library of Wales (1978) and Morgan and Morgan (1985), can offer useful precedents, though they will not be unanimous in every particular.

Finally, the question of pseudonyms will loom large in works of Welsh interest relating to literature, history, religion and certain cultural activities. Usual indexing practice places the main entry under the real name and gives a cross-reference...
under the pseudonym, but again the nature of the publication or classification involved will have to be taken into account. In many works on Welsh literature, whether in Welsh or English, pseudonyms (bardic names) are used as main references in the text; in such cases the index must reflect the text and use the pseudonyms as guidewords, with cross-references, if thought appropriate, under the real names. Happily, one is not likely to be troubled by variants or by mutations in this category (Stephens, 1986).

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First publication

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This publication

This version has been reprinted from *The Indexer* 17(1) (April 1990), pp. 12–20. It has been edited to conform to modern *Indexer* style, and some of the bibliography entries have been expanded and brought up to date.

Notes

1 See for instance the index to Alexander and Binski (1987).
2 Information from Dr Prys Morgan.
3 This work was published in two editions: the main volume (Lloyd and Jenkins, 1953) and supplement (Jones and Roberts, 1970), and the English edition (in effect a revised edition of the Welsh) (Lloyd and Jenkins, 1959).
4 Personal knowledge.
5 Unfortunately the list of pseudonyms does not appear in the English edition; the information is absorbed in the text as cross-references.

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Commander Donald Moore, RD, BA, MEd, FSA, FMA, RNR (Retd.) was a past president of the Cambria Archaeological Association; he was convenor of the Association’s Index Sub-Committee for more than 30 years and saw through the press three volumes of the Index to Archaeologia Cambrensis. He wrote or edited numerous publications on archaeology, art, museology and local history. After retiring from the post of Keeper of Pictures and Maps at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, in 1984, he worked as a consultant on various projects concerned with art and museums in Wales. Sadly, Donald Moore died very shortly after agreeing the proofs of this reprint of his excellent articles.
The indexing of Welsh place-names

Donald Moore

The indexing of Welsh place-names poses two special problems: certain initial letters which are subject to change (‘mutation’) according to fixed rules, and the use of hyphens. Both problems are discussed, and many examples cited. Lists and gazetteers that have been influential in attempts to achieve consistency in the spelling of Welsh place-names are cited. The merits and demerits of letter-by-letter and word-by-word sequences in this field are considered.

Introduction

Why should the indexing of Welsh place-names require special explanation? How could they differ from English place-names? After all, one might say that the indexer has only to record what an author wrote, and arrange the words in alphabetical order. The short answer is that Welsh place-names pose two sorts of problem not encountered in English.

First, the initial letter of a Welsh noun, common or proper, is not constant in all types of usage, but is liable to change according to certain linguistic rules. This phenomenon obliges the indexer to be aware of possible identities among apparently different words, and some times to make a personal decision on the alphabetical position of the main entry.

Second, the orthography of Welsh place-names often involves the use of hyphens between the elements which constitute the name. This convention has two main functions, which will be explained later; but for the indexer it means that the hyphenated components must be treated as separate words. The indexer will then be surprised to discover what is apparently the same place-name spelled as a single word, or even completely separated into two or more words. If a word-by-word sequence is being employed, the implications are obvious: two separate sequences could arise in what is logically one group of place-names. Since these difficulties will also affect the user, the indexer must take care to provide suitable cross-references.

Mutation

Let us begin with the problem of the initial letter. The Welsh language has a peculiarity known as ‘mutation’, which it shares with its kindred languages, Cornish and Breton. The first (and occasionally the last) letter of a word may change so as to indicate its relationship with a preceding, or following, word. The nature of the change depends to some extent on the sounds concerned, and also, in the case of nouns and adjectives, on the gender of the word (Welsh nouns are either masculine or feminine). This phenomenon is deeply rooted in speech and writing, and is an essential part of classical Welsh, giving a distinctive character to the strict metres of Welsh poetry.

Some examples are necessary to demonstrate the effects of mutation. The letter c (always hard in Welsh) may appear in three other forms: g, ngh and ch. Thus the noun caer (= fort) may appear in a Welsh text also as gaer, nghaer or chaer, depending on the associated words. A Welsh-language indexer would disregard the changes brought on by mutation, and index all forms under the ‘radical’ or dictionary, form, in other words, caer. This word, as might be expected, is a frequent element in place-names, where it is sometimes preceded by the definite article y, and sometimes not. In the former case, because it is a feminine noun, it becomes y gaer. This change is known as a ‘soft’ mutation. To denote a ‘large fort’, the adjective mawr has to be added, but it, too, must be mutated after a feminine noun, so that we have y gaerfawr.

There is such a place near Merthyr Cynog in Brecknock, but it has lost its article in common usage and appears as Gaer Fawr. By contrast, there is a place of the same description near Llanfaredd in Radnorshire, known as Caer Fawr, where the initial mutation has not taken place! These are the present accepted forms, but the indexer cannot assume that they will have been so in older references, scattered in the transactions of antiquarian societies over the last hundred-odd years. A large-scale Ordnance Survey map may thus be necessary to determine whether similar-looking place-names denote the same or different localities.

To complete the story of caer, it must be said that where it is followed by a dependent noun, as opposed to an adjective, it does not require the definite article and is therefore not mutated. Thus Caer Gybi (the site of a Roman fort at Holyhead) means Gybi’s fort, where the name of Gybi (a Celtic saint) has been mutated after the feminine caer. The two other possible mutations of c do not occur after the definite article, so that we may say, in short, that caer names may be found under c or g, and that there may be doubtful identities necessitating a see also.

The word moel is an adjective meaning ‘bald’, but it is used also as a noun, often feminine, meaning ‘bare mountain’. When the noun is regarded as feminine, the initial m becomes f (= English v); thus we have Y Foel for a hill near Clun, Gwynedd. But thereafter consistency is hard to find. Almost all the foel names have lost their article; they usually activate a ‘soft’ mutation in the following word, but curiously do not necessarily revert to moel before a proper or common noun. There are many moel names, some of which activate a soft mutation, such as Moel Ddu (du = black), while others do not, such as Moel Tywysog (tywysog = prince). The question of how to find the authoritative
version will be answered later, but even then it has to be said that practice regarding *moel* and *foel* is so variable that some cross-reference, in general or in particular, is inevitable.

Explaining the whole system of Welsh mutations would be a lengthy task, and fortunately it is not necessary for the present purpose. Suffice it to say that there are three categories: ‘soft’, ‘nasal’ and ‘aspirate’, depending on the sound involved. Various syntactical situations can bring changes about, and the learner can find tables in which they are set out. The indexer dealing with Welsh place-names in a predominantly English text will need to know about the ‘soft’ mutation, but only as it affects certain feminine nouns of topographical significance.

**Topographical names affected by mutation**

First, there are various words for rock, stone and heaps of stone (hardly surprising in a mountainous country): *carreg* and *cnaf*, which may appear in their mutated forms of *garreg* and *graig*, and *cam* and *carnedd*, which may appear as *gam* and *carnedd* respectively. Again, there is some variability over the inclusion of the definite article *y* with the mutated forms. *Cam* and *carnedd* usually refer to prehistoric burial places, but by extension may apply to the mountain on which a cairn stands. Again, there may be radical and mutated forms in use for the same place-name, while a particular place-name may be duplicated elsewhere.

The only safe criterion of the identity of variants is a map reference. Thus *Garnedd Wen* (= white cairn) will be the same as *Carnedd Wen* if it can be shown that both refer to the site at SJ 0035, near Llandrillo, Merioneth. These ‘rock’ names are often found in the plural: *cerrig*, *creigiau*, *carnau* and *carneddau*, or *carneddau*, are plurals of *carreg*, *craig*, *cam* and *carnedd* respectively. These plural forms tend not to be used with *y*, but even if they were, there would be no mutation. Note that a word of similar appearance and meaning, *crug* (plural *crugiau*), is masculine, and therefore will not mutate in the singular after *y*.

Other frequently occurring elements in place-names are *coes* (= cross), *melin* (= mill), *pont* (= bridge), and *tre* (= town or settlement). Because they are feminine, they become *coes*, *felin*, *bont* and *dre* respectively after the definite article *y*. The *f* in *felin* is pronounced *v*, as in English, and is found written *v* in older Welsh orthography.

Place-names starting with *pont* show an overwhelming preference for the unmutated form, even when linguistic logic would seem to demand otherwise. Thus we find Pontnewydd (Gwent), meaning ‘New bridge’; we might have expected Y Bontnewydd (*p* does not mutate). Near Caernarfon is found Bontneifydd, and near Llanaber in Merioneth is found Y Bont-y-gwaith, ‘worksbridge’, as already demonstrated under *caer*.

One further mutation of a somewhat different kind remains to be considered: where an initial *g* disappears completely when its noun is preceded by the definite article. This does not occur often. A simple example is *Y Lasynys*; the unmutated form would be Glasynys, ‘blue, or green, island’. Less obvious is Yr Orsedd, representing *gorsedd* (= tumulus), preceded by the article *y*, which here, as always before a vowel, takes an intrusive *r* for euphony, becoming *yr*. The Anglicized form of this place-name is Rossett, a village in Clwyd.

So far we have met five versions of the soft mutation. There are altogether nine, but the remaining four are less likely to concern the indexer. An initial *f* can be the mutated sound of *b* as well as *m* (the latter change has already been discussed under *moel*). For example, the word for a birchtree is *bedwen*; when preceded by the definite article it becomes *y fedwen*. In its collective or plural form, *bedw*, it occurs in place-names over much of Wales, but curiously it is treated as feminine, singular in most instances, giving rise to *Fedw Fawr*, ‘much birch’, in several counties. Again, the article has been lost. However, there are few *bedw* forms, and these are distinct from the *fedw* names. In a similar case, the word for a peak is *ban*, found in Brecon as *bannau* in the plural (= beacons) and as *Fan* (or *Van*) in its mutated form, but without its article. But the indexer will not be troubled by a *ban* alternative.

The letter *d* at the beginning of feminine nouns can change to *dd* (this is a voiced *th* sound). A word meaning meadow, *dol*, may be found on its own as *Ddol*, but, more usually, unmutated in the plural, *Dolau*, or in compound, *Ddol-y-bont*. Again, this is of academic rather than practical interest. The remaining mutations of the soft variety, *ll* into *l*, and *rh* into *r*, need not detain the indexer. Neither *ll* nor *rh* mutate after the definite article *y*.

**The Welsh alphabet**

(28 letters)

A, B, C, Ch, D, Dd, E, F, Ff, G, Ng, H, I, L, LL, M, N, O, P, Ph, R, Rh, S, T, Th, U, W, Y

The letter *J* is used in borrowed words.

**Table 1 Soft mutations in Welsh**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radical form</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>Ll</th>
<th>Rh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Softened form</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Dd</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Welsh orthography**

At this stage some explanation of the Welsh alphabet is called for. There are certain sounds in Welsh which are not found in English. On the other hand, there are no distinctive typographical characters in Welsh to represent these sounds, although more than one reformer has attempted to introduce them. Welsh uses the same characters as English, but in Welsh certain pairs of characters, or ‘digraphs’, are considered letters in themselves; these are *ch*, *dd*, *ff*, *ng*, *ll*, *ph*, *rh* and *th*. The vowels in Welsh are *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, *w* and *y* (i and *w* may also serve as consonants). The letters *k* and *v* were once frequently used, but have now been superseded by *c* and *f* respectively (so indexers of older publications need to be vigilant). The letters *z*, *q* and *x* are not part of the Welsh

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alphabet, and the letter j is used only in borrowed words. The remaining letters of the English alphabet are found also in the Welsh. Note that the values of the Welsh f and ff are exactly as in the English 'of' and 'off' respectively.

Welsh is a phonetic language; its pronunciation and spelling are straightforward once the basic rules have been learned, and it does not have such a host of anomalies as English. Before proceeding to the second part of this article, which deals with the ordering of Welsh place-names within a given letter, it is necessary to make some general remarks about their orthography. It must be admitted that the situation is still confusing, even to the Welsh themselves. Much has been done to achieve a consensus among Welsh users, but there remain difficulties in Anglicized contexts.

Ever since Welsh place-names have been reproduced in written form they have been subject to distortion and misinterpretation. To a great extent this is because they were often first recorded for official purposes in Latin, Norman-French or English, and by scribes who were not conversant with Welsh. This process continued in the early years of the Ordnance Survey, which was a formative period in the dissemination of standard forms of place-names. There is now liaison between the Ordnance Survey and Welsh official bodies, but it is not difficult to find numerous inconsistencies in the recording of Welsh place-names on Ordnance maps. Those who wish to trace the history of this matter may do so in an article in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (1982) by J. B. Harley and Gwyn Walters.

**Gazetteers**

Not until 1958 was there an authoritative list of the principal Welsh place-names to guide current practice. This was prepared by the Language and Literature Committee of the Board of Celtic Studies of the University of Wales, and was published as *A gazetteer of Welsh Place-names*, edited by Elwyn Davies (1958). The list was based on the place-names to appear in the sixth edition of the Ordnance Survey one-inch maps relating to Wales, and it was intended to record the best Welsh forms of the place-names, without implying that they were the only ones or that they should generally supersede English alternatives. But the promoters did hope that where places had only Welsh names, any ‘debased or incorrect versions’ would be superseded by the Board’s recommended forms, even in English writing.

In 1968 another and larger compilation of Welsh place-names was made, also based on the one-inch Ordnance Survey map, but recording the forms actually used, whether in accord with Welsh academic opinion or not. This important work of documentation was carried out by Gwyn Ellis of the Botany Department of the National Museum of Wales at Cardiff, but unfortunately was published in typewritten form and received only limited circulation. It was produced county by county (the pre-1974 dispensation), and, like the *Gazetteer*, gave four-figure map references to the place-names.

Eleven years after the publication of the *Gazetteer*, the Board of Celtic Studies sponsored another, longer list of place-names, this time of a historical nature, entitled *Welsh administrative and territorial units, medieval and modern*, by Melville Richards (1969). This was based on the orthographic principles enunciated in the *Gazetteer*, but also contained many obsolete and variant forms to guide the historical researcher.

These compilations were made during a period which saw a growing desire among writers for consistency in the spelling of Welsh place-names, and pressure from various quarters for the official use of Welsh in road signs. The latter meant the display of the distinctive Welsh form of a name where it differed from the English form (which had hitherto appeared alone on the signs). These Welsh forms were not academic inventions, but words that had been in daily currency among Welsh-users for centuries.

**Bilingual and Welsh pairs**

Since these alternatives may well give rise to cross-references in indexing, it is worth providing some details. There are three kinds of bilingual pairs. First, there are those of separate derivation, stemming from divergent historical tradition, such as Cardigan/Aberteifi; Fishguard/Abergaun-waun; Brecon/Abertirion; Swansea/Abertawe; Newport (Gwent)/Casnewydd; Newport ( Dyfed)/Trefdraeth; Montgomery/Trefaldwyn; St Asaph/Llanelwy; Chirk/Y Waun; Holyhead/Caergybi (the Caer Gybi quoted earlier referred to an antiquity, a Roman fort). Note that some Welsh place-names require the definite article (cf. Le Havre in French).

Second, there are pairs that express exactly the same meaning in both languages, such as Newtown (Powys)/Y Drenwydd; New Quay (Dyfed)/Cei newydd; Golden Grove (Dyfed)/Gelli-aur.

Third, there are pairs of related names. Some are parallel descendants in Welsh and English from a common, but different ancestral form, such as Penfro/Pembroke and Caerdydd/Cardiff. Other pairs consist of a pure Welsh form and an anglicized adaptation, such as Llanillud Fawr/ Llantwit Major (in the Vale of Glamorgan); Glandwr (near Swansea)/Landore; Llanbedr/Lampeter (there are two in Dyfed, distinguished by suffixes). Both Tenby (Dyfed) and Denbigh (Clwyd) are derived from the Welsh Dinbych, ‘Little Fort’; in Welsh the southern is differentiated from the northern by a suffix, giving Dinbych-y-pysgod (* pysgod* = fish, for which Tenby was famous until quite recently). Finally, in this third group are names of English origin adapted into Welsh, for example Newborough (Anglesey) gives Niwbwrch; Buckley (Clwyd) gives Bwcle; Haverfordwest (Dyfed) gives Haford; Milford Haven (Dyfed) gives Milford.
To return to the place-names of Wales, it has to be emphasized that the Gazetteer, already referred to, will exercise a considerable influence on the spelling of Welsh place-names in the future, not only on road signs but in all kinds of written references. Consequently its forms will increasingly come to the notice of indexers. One aim of the Gazetteer was to indicate in the orthography how the name was pronounced; to this end it made use of hyphens. It also sought to distinguish the names of natural features and antiquities on the one hand from inhabited localities on the other. The latter aim was achieved by making separate words of the diagnostic elements of names for natural features and antiquities, and running them together in the case of inhabited localities; for instance Bryn Mawr (a mountain); Bryncethin (a village). But if a word consisted of more than one syllable, the problem of showing the correct accentuation arose. Welsh words of more than one syllable are normally accented on the penultimate syllable, but there are many place-names where usage places the accent clearly on the last. This fact is now indicated in writing by inserting a hyphen between the penultimate and ultimate syllables; for instance Bryn-mawr, this time a village; and Cefn-brith, a farm, as opposed to Cefn Brih, a mountain.

Problems of indexing

In any indexing task the first decision has to be whether to use a letter-by-letter or a word-by-word sequence. In a simple index comprising only geographical names, a letter-by-letter sequence is the most straightforward, since the separation of elements in a name by hyphens or spaces is irrelevant for this purpose, and a single sequence can be used for all names. This is the method of The Reader’s Digest complete atlas of the British Isles (London, 1965); there, Cwmogwr, Cwm Owen, Cwm-parc and Cwmpenygair all follow in the same single sequence, according to the English alphabet. The Gazetteer used the same method, but in Welsh, not English, alphabetical order.

A point to remember when consulting a Welsh index is that the ‘digraphs’ (double letters), mentioned above, is that the ‘digraphs’, an alphabetical order. The latter aim was achieved by making separate words of the diagnostic elements of names for natural features and antiquities, and running them together in the case of inhabited localities; for instance Bryn Mawr (a mountain); Bryncethin (a village). But if a word consisted of more than one syllable, the problem of showing the correct accentuation arose. Welsh words of more than one syllable are normally accented on the penultimate syllable, but there are many place-names where usage places the accent clearly on the last. This fact is now indicated in writing by inserting a hyphen between the penultimate and ultimate syllables; for instance Bryn-mawr, this time a village; and Cefn-brith, a farm, as opposed to Cefn Brih, a mountain.

How does this work out in practice? Let us take the commonest of all Welsh toponymies, the llan compounds. The word llan can denote a sacred enclosure, then, by extension, a church within it, and finally an associated settlement. It normally appears combined with the name of a saint, usually, though not always, a Celtic saint with local associations; hence Llanddewi, a church dedicated to Dewi (= David). Since llan is feminine, the following noun or adjective is mutuated, so Dewi becomes Ddewi. In the Gazetteer there are 557 llan guide-words, some referring to more than one location; they cover 15 pages. The second volume of the Index to Archaeologia Cambrensis also contains 15 pages of llan names, this time in double columns. Convenience and common-sense suggest that it would be desirable to have all llan names in a single sequence. This was effected in the Gazetteer by means of a letter-by-letter system of indexing, rather than a word-by-word system. Thus it made no difference whether place-names had hyphens or not.

The same llan name may occur in different parts of Wales, and curiously, with the stress on a different syllable. This is quite easy to indicate, as in the examples Llan-bedr and Llanbedr, which are two different places, one in Gwent and the other in Merioneth, the former with the accent on the last syllable, the latter on the first.

In a word-by-word system all hyphenated forms should be dealt with first, as if they were separate words: Llan-bedr, Llan-cwys, Llan-dawg, Llan-faes, Llanfair, Llan-fryn, Llanygain, Llan-gan and so on. Then a new sequence would begin: Llanaber, Llanaelhaearn, Llanafan, Llanallog, Llanandras, Llananno, Llanarmon, Llanarth and so on. Should this be necessary, a suitable warning to the user would be helpful.

Curiously enough, in the Index to Archaeologia Cambrensis 1901–1960 (published well after the recommendations of the Gazetteer had been disseminated), it was possible to get almost all llan names into one sequence, on the grounds that they had not been hyphenated in their original chapter and verse. The convenience to the user was judged to outweigh the academic correctness of current orthography. What would happen in the third volume had yet to be decided when this article was written.

There are numerous other toponymic elements which can give rise to the above situation, but the separation of sequences is not so serious for the user, since the entries are far fewer than those for llan, and thus can be perceived by rapid inspection. The most common elements that can give rise to hyphenated names are aber (= mouth or confluence of rivers), allt (= steep hill), blaein (= summit or upper reach), bryn (= hill), caer (=fort), cefn (= ridge), coed (= wood), cwm (= valley), dol (= meadow), gelli (= grove), glan (= bank), glyn (= valley), hen (= old), llyn (= lake), maes (= field), nant (= brook), pant (= hollow), pen (= lop), pentre (= village), pont (= bridge), pwll (= pool), rhos (= moor), rhyd (= ford), tal (= end), tre (= town or settlement), tyf (= house), waun (= moor) and ystod (= vale). A few examples will suffice (accent have this time been inserted as reminders of the pronunciation): Aber-sôch, Abrsýchan, Bryntéifi, Bryn-y-grôes, Cwmfedin, Cwm-pen-grâig, Maes y Gâer, Maesygarneedd, Porthcéri and Porth Sgâdan.

Finally an exception: a circumflex has the effect of putting an accent on the final syllable, even without a preceding
hyphen, as in Aberdâr and Cwmbrân. The introduction to the 
Gazetteer declares ‘It is almost vain to seek rigid uniform-
ity in a list such as this’, so the user is warned to expect 
anomalies.

Summary

After an exposition of such detail, it is worth summarizing 
the main points:

- The initial letter of certain Welsh place-names may 
  change or ‘mutate’ according to set rules when a definite 
  article is placed (or assumed to exist) in front, and some 
  place-names have come to possess two forms, obliging 
  the indexer to make a choice for the main entry.
- Some Welsh place-names have parallel versions of quite 
  different appearance, which may need cross-references.
- A letter-by-letter method of indexing will provide a 
  single, straightforward sequence, despite the various ways 
  of writing Welsh place-names, whether with hyphens or 
  gaps, or as continuous words. This is true for the English 
  and for the Welsh alphabet.
- The orthography and make-up of Welsh place-names 
  is nowadays likely to reflect the nature of the place 
  concerned, as well as the way in which the name is 
  pronounced. These characteristics may run counter to the 
  indexer’s logic.
- A word-by-word method, appropriate for mixed indexes, 
  will often create two sequences of similar names, 
  depending on whether their elements are separately 
  written or not. This may mislead a user unfamiliar with 
  Welsh orthographic conventions, and some rubrics may 
  need to be inserted as warnings.

The whole field is increasingly attracting both scholarly 
and popular attention, and various related topics suggest 
themselves for further investigation: the etymology of the 
place-names, the difference between apparently synony-

mous elements, the role of the Ordnance Survey in fixing 
the form of place-names, and the presentation of bilingual 
road signs.

The question of the orthography of the Welsh language 
generally has not been discussed, though it naturally has an 
imimate connection with that of place-names. Again, there 
have been numerous attempts to improve existing practice 
and set agreed standards. The vital prerequisite for effec-
tive action was an organization to present a consensus of 
 scholarly opinion for general acceptance, and this came into 
being in the Board of Celtic Studies of the University of 
Wales in 1919. It published its recommendations on general 
orthography in 1928, and these now hold the field. Refer-
ences to this and other topics raised above will be found in 
the bibliography which follows.

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