Leeds Studies in English

Neutralization:
On Characterizing Distinctions between Old English Proper Names and Common Nouns*

Fran Colman

I First-Name Terms

I know it would seem redundant, in a paper dedicated to H. L. Rogers, to observe that our primary materials for reconstructing a language no longer spoken are written records. But what I want to emphasize here is that such materials in themselves do not constitute evidence for linguistic reconstruction. Evidence comes from interpretation of the materials, and my interest here is in delineating some theoretical bases relevant to interpretation of a particular type of record of Old English: proper names on coins. The proper names I am concerned with are the personal names (of moneyers) recorded on the several thousand surviving OE coins from the reign of Edward the Confessor (A.D. 1042–65/66). Forms of OE proper names, specifically personal names, have long been acknowledged as data providing potential evidence about OE.[1] Their linguistic value lies primarily in the similarities between OE personal-name elements and common-word vocabulary: similarities which allow assumptions about the interpretation of written records of names, and on which I will elaborate shortly. But, as a corollary, an attempt to analyze OE name forms as potential evidence has to acknowledge not only similarities between names and common words, but any linguistic differences which may contribute to different patterns in the representation of the two types of words, and which therefore ask for consideration in analyses of the available representations. This, then, is why I am focusing here on characterizing differences, or distinctions, between OE proper names and common nouns. But first some remarks on the similarities.

Old English personal names, in accord with Germanic types of nomenclature, are formed from elements, or themes, cognate with common words. So, for

instance, *Beorhtwine* has a prototheme cognate with OE *beorht*, 'bright', and a deuterotheme cognate with *wine*, 'friend'; the elements of *Godhere* are cognate with *god*, 'good' and *here*, 'army' respectively; *Brid* has a single theme, cognate with *brid*, 'bird', and *Cild*, one cognate with *cild*, 'child'. This etymological identity allows a working assumption that, just as variation in the orthographic representation of an OE common word may be evidence of linguistic variation, variation in the representation (epigraphic in the case of the coin data) of a proper name may represent the same sorts of variation as attested for its common word cognate. Thus the forms <BRIHTⱣINE> and <BERHTⱣINE>, representing *Beorhtwine*, with variant vowel graphs for the prototheme, might appear to be evidence of variation of the vowel; and if it is, the question arises as to the significance of the variation. It could represent a regional dialectal difference, that is, diatopic variation, or a chronological dialectal difference, that is, diachronic variation. It is possible, however, that it may suggest something about the linguistic structure of proper names, as different from that of common words. The form <GODERE> for *Godhere*, with no deuterotheme-initial <H>, may be evidence of phonological loss, specifically [h]-loss. This in turn is interpretable as evidence for stress reduction on the second element, since OE [h] occurs only in word- or foot-initial position (a distribution evidenced by, among other things, that of Present-day English /h/). And this evidence of foot-loss then suggests evidence of morphological structure, in this instance 'obscuration' of an original compound.[2]

The major value of OE forms of proper names as potential linguistic evidence lies, then, in the etymological association between name-elements and common words, a value no longer consistently accruing to English proper names after the Norman Conquest and the adoption of non-English types of nomenclature. But there are particular values, too, deriving from the specific material nature of records of the late OE personal names. I will give here just the bare bones of the sorts of numismatic and epigraphic information we can invoke as crucial to the discussion.[3] Since every coin of our period has on its reverse ('tails' side) the name of a moneyer, the guarantor of the coin's weight, purity of metal, and conformity to the current design; since minting was not confined, as at present, to London, but carried out at a considerable number of regional mints (identified by abbreviations of the town-names on the reverse); and since several moneyers could operate at the same time for the same mint, the number of names recorded offers a sizeable corpus. In addition, association of moneyers' names with particular mints allows identification of variant personal name-forms as representing the same moneyer's name. At the mention of variant forms, it is worth pointing out that some forms, of course, may

be classified as errors: given the epigraphic shapes, and what can be reconstructed about procedures of coin manufacture, certain spellings may be dismissed as potential linguistic evidence. An isolated <C> for <G>, for instance, or <B> for <R>, could be produced simply by the accidental omission or addition of a single stroke. But if a form is attested on more than one die (rather than on more than one coin from the same die), it demands being taken seriously as a deliberately repeated spelling. It has been suggested in the past that assumptions about levels of literacy of die-cutters may be relevant to assessment of forms of moneyers' names; but, as I have remarked elsewhere, we have no evidence on which to base any such assumptions, whatever interpretation one places on 'literacy'.[4]

The coins are datable by factors external to linguistic evidence (crucially, evidence of hoards, of differences in design, and of the size and weight of the coins: see Colman, 'Anglo-Saxon Pennies', §4) to within two or three years, allowing variant forms of the same name to be chronologically ordered. We can group, then, the forms <EDPERD> (e.g., H.246), <ÆDPARD> (e.g., K.585) and <EADPARD> (e.g., K.592), on coins from the Lewes mint, as representing the same name, *Eadweard*. The first of these forms is recorded on coins from the mid 1040s; the other two are from the early to late 1050s. Interpretation of the phonological significance of the epigraphic variations <E>, <Æ>, and <EA>, bearing on the late OE monophthongization of [æː],[5] must then take this chronological sequence into account. This kind of example has, for instance, interesting repercussions for several recent interpretations of OE spelling forms as direct evidence for sound-change 'in progress'. The theories of Bezalel Elan Dresher and Thomas Toon for example, assuming a simple correlation between graph and sound, take variation between certain graphs in the same lexical items in Mercian manuscripts as evidence of chronological ordering of sound-changes (specifically, [ɑ]-fronting and [æ]-raising).[6] Such application of Labovian theories of sound change to interpretations of OE spelling forms (themselves in manuscripts dated with, at best, uncertainty) appear less convincing when confronted with the sorts of coin-data cited above; their interpretation requires more subtle formulation than one assuming a simple correlation between graph and sound: specifically, given that OE [æːɑ], represented by <EA>, MS <ea>, appears as a monophthong in ME, it would be perverse to interpret the chronological sequence of coin-spellings as evidence of an eleventh-century change from [eː] or [ɛː] to [æː] and then to [æːɑ].

So the primary value of OE proper names lies in their etymological similarities with common words; but certain differences between the two nominal types have been frequently alluded to. Forms representing the elements *Ælf* and

Heathu (cognate with *ælf*, 'elf', and *heaðu*, 'war', respectively), which never appear in West-Saxon form, are claimed to be invariant;[7] on the other hand, variant representations of the element *Æthel* (cognate with *æðel*, 'noble'), provide evidence of weakening and loss in the name-element, of the medial fricative retained in the common word.[8] Even two such observations suggest disparate behaviour of proper names and common words: in the former, the name-elements fail to show a variation evidenced by forms of common words; in the latter, the name-element changes while the common word does not. Clearly we must aim at a more specific account of linguistic differences between OE proper names and common words, in an attempt to interpret forms of the former as evidence for reconstructing OE.

II Word- and Morphological Structures

A distinction between proper names and common nouns pertinent to those in any period (of English, and possibly of any language) lies in the lexical semantic properties of each nominal type. This claim accepts interpretations and continuations of that of John Stuart Mill, as presented, for example, in John Lyons, *Semantics*, and in Bent Conrad, 'Two Essays on Reference without Meaning' (and in contradiction to Aimo Seppänen, *Proper Names in English*), that proper names have reference but not sense.[9] This semantic distinction may be captured formally in a framework expressing concepts inherent in an extended word-and-paradigm model, which distinguishes word structure from morphological structure. A representation of the former specifies the lexemic component of a word, along with the derivational and inflexional morphological categories expressed in the morphological structure of a particular form of that word, which is in turn realized by the phonological structure(s). So, for instance, the word-structure of the OE word form <fæstness> may be represented as in Figure 1:
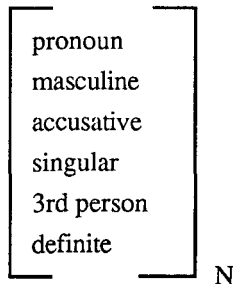
Figure 1

'FÆST'

abstract

jó declension

feminine

nominative

singular
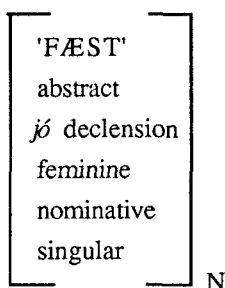
N

where the outer 'N' specifies major word class as noun. The lexemic component of common words consists of a denotational component only. That of the adjective from which the noun in Figure 1 is derived is represented in capitals in inverted commas, as an abbreviation and encapsulation of all its possible semantic denotations. The word structure specified in Figure 1 is realized by a bimorphemic morphological structure which may be formally expressed as {{fæst}nəs}, with root plus suffix. The arrangement of the brace notation here reflects the assumption that the root is the head of the construction, with the suffix as its modifier. I will be invoking this type of dependency relation with respect to the phonology, in Section *III*, below. This morphological structure is in turn realized by the phonological structure /fæstnəs/.[10]

A proper name has, however, in principle, only one referent, and so its lexemic component will not contain a denotational component; it will not be represented as an abbreviation for the sense common to all possible referents, but will contain only the constant referential component of the name. Compare pronouns, whose lexemic components are empty, having no denotational content, and whose referents (like those of nouns) are variable. Figure 2 exemplifies a word structure for a pronoun form, OE <hine>:

Figure 2

$$
\left[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{pronoun} \\
\text{masculine} \\
\text{accusative} \\
\text{singular} \\
\text{3rd person} \\
\text{definite}
\end{array}
\right]_{N}
$$

Here the word form <hine> (with morphological structure {{χi}nə}, and phonological structure /χinə/) is specified exclusively by the statement of major word class (noun) and the bundle of morphological categories (note that the category 'definite' is necessary given the OE indefinite pronoun <mon>): no other word form could realize this word structure, and therefore no lexemic component need be specified.[11] In summary, the lexemic components of common nouns have only denotational content, those of proper names have only referential content, and those of pronouns are empty. Compare Figures 1 and 2 with the representation of an OE proper name, *Ælfræd* in Figure 3:

253

Figure 3

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┌─      ─┐
│ ÆLFRÆD  │
│ (definite) │
│ masculine │
│ nominative │
│ (singular) │
└─      ─┘ N
```
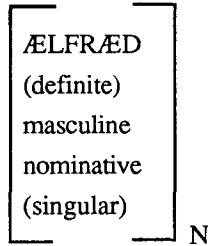
where the stated referent (in capitals, without inverted commas) identifies the word as a proper name; therefore specification of the category 'definite' is redundant (its contrast with 'indefinite' is relevant only to pronouns), as is specification of 'singular'.

Differences between representations of word-structures for common nouns and proper names correlate with differences in morphological structure (as well as differences in their syntax). With respect to inflexional morphological categories, proper names do not express, for instance, plural number. In terms of derivational morphology too, OE proper names can be seen to dispense with distinctions operative in the formation of common words. These include distinctions between structures consisting of a root alone (simplex: e.g., <fæst>: {fæst}); of a root plus an affix (complex: e.g., <fæstness>: {{fæst}nəs}, and <undæd>: {un{dæ:d}}); and of a root plus a root (compound: e.g., <ealdfæder>: {{æɑld}{fæder}}). Affixes do not occur independently of roots and may be identified by their roles in productive word-formation processes to express distinctions between major word class or semantic class: the affix -nəs}, for instance, expresses the major word class distinction between adjective and noun; the affix {un- expresses the semantic class distinction (within the same word class) between positive and negative. To pre-empt a little the concerns of Section *III*, below, we can note at this point the correlation between morphological and suprasegmental phonological structures. A compound has a tonic associated with each of its elements, the first of which is the more prominent, but each is nevertheless associated with a foot. A complex word form has a tonic associated only with its first element. Depending on whether compound obscuration and concomitant stress reduction has occurred, the second element may, or may not, be associated with a foot.

Now, etymologically, an OE personal name can be classified as monothematic or dithematic, according to whether it is composed of one or two elements cognate with common-word morphemes: see, for instance, *Brid, Cild, Beorhtwine,* and

Godhere in Section *I*, above. Some dithematic names have as their deuterotheme an element cognate with the common-word suffix '-ing' (e.g., *Bruning*, *Leofing*, with protothemes cognate with *brun*, 'brown' and *leof*, 'beloved', respectively), perhaps suggesting that the compound/complex distinction is pertinent to an analysis of personal names. But this is difficult to motivate in terms of an onomastic system reconstructable for (at least late) OE. Consider first what evidence may be adduced for complex structures of the names. Certain name-elements occur only as protothemes, for example, *Ælf*, and others only as deuterothemes, for example, *-ræd* (cognate with *ræd*, 'advice, counsel'); this, and their attachment to a variety of elements (e.g., *Ælfnoth, Ælfræd, Ælfwine; Ælfræd, Æthelræd, Wulfræd*) might allow their classification as affixes within the onomastic system. On the other hand, neither 'affixes' such as these, cognate with independent common words, nor the one cognate with the suffix '-ing', can have the effect of an affix in expressing distinctions between major word class or semantic class: all proper names are nouns, and proper names have no sense. Moreover, the name *Ælfræd* illustrates the possibility of proper-name structure of 'affix' plus 'affix', a morphological structure not attested for OE common words, and one that thus further qualifies the appropriateness of invoking 'affix' to classify the function of a name-element.

   With respect to compound structures, we can observe that certain name-elements occur both independently, as simplex names, and in combination, for example, *Wulf, Manna*, and *Wulfman*, the last representing what could be taken as a compound structure, composed of two independently occurring roots. And indeed, the appearance of unetymological graphs between the forms of the elements of some late OE dithematic names gives evidence of linking vowels, which are attested in OE common words only for compounds, not for complex structures,[12] for example, <LEOFENOÐ>, J.361 (*Leofnoth*); <HⱣATEMAN>, K.196 (*Hwætman*); <CEOLEⱣI>, e.643 (*Ceolwig*); <LEOFISTAN>, N.206 (*Leofstan*). On the other hand, there is ample evidence from the coin-spellings of dithematic names, of phonological developments associated with 'obscuration' of compounds, which, in common words, is associated with alteration of the function of an original second element to that of either a suffix, or an intra-root syllable. The development of the independent OE root *dom*, 'judgment', which acquires suffix status in *wisdom*, for example, and becomes transferable to other stems in word-formation processes, exemplifies the former; and the classic instance of the latter is OE *hlaford*, a disyllabic root historically developed from two roots *hlaf* and *weard*. A concomitant of compound-obscuration is phonological reduction (as in *hlaford*; and compare, for instance, the PE reflexes of the OE independent root *dom*,

viz., *doom*, with a long vowel, with the vowel reduction in the suffix [dəm]); and this may be illustrated for late OE names by the following forms: <ᚹULGAR> (*Wulfgar*, K.1062); <GODERE> (K.973) (see Section *I*, above); <BRVMAN> (*Brunman*, K.441) (with consonant loss at the boundary); <ÆLFᚹALD> (*Ælfweald*, K.774); <ÆLFᚹOLD> (H.419); <ÆLFᚹORD> (B.35a); <ÆLFᚹARD> (K.34); and <ÆLFᚹERD> (H.19) (with variation in representation of the deuterothemic vowel as evidence of vowel-reduction under reduced stress).

It looks, then, as if the dithematic names can behave either as complex or compound structures — or both: that is, distinctions between these types of structures are not applicable to OE proper names. These show both compositional vowels appropriate to compounds and phonological reduction appropriate to obscured compounds; and these can co-exist in a single form. The form <BUREᚹINE> (*Burgwine*), e.g., K.1281, K.1294, and K.1296, shows both phonological reduction (loss of prototethic final [ð]) and a compositional vowel (represented by <E>): it is important to note, since this form is evidenced by at least ten dies,[13] that the <E> is not to be dismissed as an error for <G>. The distinction between compound and complex structures is neutralized for OE proper names. The pertinent contrast with respect to morphological structure is between simplex and non-simplex (compare the three-way contrast for common words between simplex, complex, and compound, presented above). This means that only two morphological structures are contrastive for proper names; and since we have evidence for the realization of the neutralization of non-simplex names as compounds, these may be represented as { } or {{ }{ }} — the structures {{ } } and { { }}, as in the common words *fæstness* and *undæd*, are not invoked for proper names.

III Phonological Structures

Sections *I* and *II* claimed that a crucial difference between common nouns and proper names is that the latter have only reference but not sense; and that this difference, which may be captured within an analysis of word structures, is reflected in morphological structures of late OE names (in turn reflected by certain phonological developments shown in the spelling-forms). The notion that proper names lack sense correlates with neutralization of contrasts which are evidenced for common words. I turn now to evidence of neutralization of phonological contrasts in late OE personal names.

It has been remarked that OE name-forms may fail to show some of the sorts of variation evidenced by forms of OE common words; the elements *Ælf* and *Heathu*, for instance, appear only in non-West Saxon forms (see Section *I*, above). But the evidence of late OE moneyers' names shows that name-forms are by no means invariant (see Section *II*, above). Now, in many cases, variation in the representation of the same name correlates with common-word form evidence of phonological variation. In some instances this variation may be diatopic, i.e., related to regional differences. But diatopic variation, as I will illustrate below, is hard to associate in any principled way with the sorts of variations found on the coins and with the areas of the mints for which variants are recorded. By the late OE period, too, and given the range of variants for a single name, it is impossible to associate apparent regional forms with any identifiable region in which the name may first have been popular.[14] In other instances the variation is diachronic. So, for instance, variation in the representation of the vowel in *Ead* correlates with the attested late OE monophthongization of diphthongs (see Section *I*, above); <ALF-> (e.g., K.1337) and <ÆLF-> (e.g., K.1350) for *Ælf*, with the late OE merger of [æ] and [æɑ] in [a];[15] and <ᚹIN-> (e.g., K.170) for *Wyn*, with late OE unrounding of [y(:)] and merger with [(i:)].

For a number of name-elements recorded on late OE coins, however, the range of variations is greater than that attested for their cognate common words and is, moreover, not always directly explicable in terms of diachronic or diatopic phonological variation reconstructed for common words. Nor is it to be associated with vowel-reduction in reduced stress, given its appearance in forms representing first elements, the more prominent in suprasegmental structure (see Section *II*, above). Consider the following representations for selected protothemes with (a) etymologically short vowels and (b) etymologically long ones (examples of coin-references and of mints are given):

a) i)

Brid   <BRID> Hastings (e.g., K.494)

Cild   <CILD> Bedwine (e.g., K.28)

a) ii)

Ælf   <ÆLF>, <ALF>, <ELF>. The forms <Æ>, <A>, and <E> occur, for
         example, at Chester (e.g., K.639, S.17305, H.266) and Wilton (e.g.,
         K.1325, K.1330, K.1350); <Æ> and <E>, for example, at Winchester
         (e.g., K.1375, K.1385)

Æthel	<ÆGEL>, <AGL>, <EGEL>. The forms <Æ>, <A>, <E> occur, for example, at London (e.g., K.809, K.870, K.950); <Æ> and <E>, for example, at Bath (e.g., K.2, g.63) and York (e.g., H.103, D.699)
Eald	<EALD>, <ALD>, <ÆLD> London (e.g., K.786, K.1002, A.834)
Heathu	<HEAÐE>, <HEÐE> Droitwich (e.g., N.217, K.1486)

a) iii)

Dud	<DUD>, <DOD> London (e.g., H.448, e.560)
Styr	<STYR>, <STVR>, <STOR>, <STIR> York (e.g., K.311, L.4332, H.152, K.334)
Wudu	<ᚹUD>, <ᚹYD> Shaftesbury (e.g., K.1166, H.644)

a) iv)

Beorht	<BEORHT>, <BRIHT>
Beorn	<BEORN> York (e.g., H.115); <BIORN> Wareham (e.g., K.1306)
Seolh	<SEOLC>, <SELC> Gloucester (e.g., Q.110, K.463)
Sidu	<SIODE>, <SIDE> Wareham (e.g., K.1308, K.1309)

b) i)

Brun	<BRVN>, <BRYN> Chester (e.g., H.259, H.261)
Ceol	<CEOL>, <CILL>, <CYL> Dover (e.g., L.192, K.175, H.80)
Deor	<DEOR> London (e.g., H.444); <DIOR> Steyning (e.g., K.1213); <DIR> London (e.g., K.837); <DVR> London (e.g., K.1036); and <DER> Steyning (e.g., K.1217)
Leof	<LEOF> Warwick (e.g., M.336); <LIOF> Chester (e.g., K.658); <LEF> Stamford (e.g., H.689); <LIF> Warwick (e.g., M.363); <LVF> Warwick (e.g., K.1268); and <LYF> Warwick (e.g., M.379)

b) ii)

Sæ	<SÆ>, <SE> York (e.g., K.249, K.250)
Ead	<EAD>, <ÆD>, <ED> London (e.g., H.459, K.1026, H.472)

b) iii)

Gar	<GAR> Worcester (e.g., H.754)
Stan	<STAN> Colchester (e.g., K.145)

b) iv)

God   <GOD> Cambridge (e.g., K.479)

b) v)

Hwit   <VHIT> London (e.g., K.889)

Wig   <ᚹI> Cambridge (e.g., K.481)

The forms are grouped above, within the sections (a) and (b), according to alternations of graphs in the representations of the name-elements in relation to etymological OE vowels for the cognate common words. Some variants apparently conform to evidence of diachronic changes in common words; others might have possible diatopic significance. But I will argue that this is by no means always so. Let me now explicate what emerges from this presentation.

    For elements with OE [i] (outwith environments in which diphthongization is attested in common-word forms), exemplified in (a) (i), no graphic variation is attested. Forms under (a) (ii) show alternation between <Æ>, <EA>, <A>, and <E>, in elements with OE [æ] or [æɑ]. The first three graphs may be interpreted as evidence for the late OE monophthongization of [æɑ] → [æ], and merger of [æ] and [ɑ] in [a] (see Section *I*, above), and therefore as explicable in terms of attested diachronic developments. The <E> forms, very frequent in representations of elements with OE [æ], are not, however, consistently etymologically transparent. *Æthel* has [æ] from 'First Fronting' of Proto Germanic [a]. Now, in Mercian and Kentish this [æ] is subject to raising (see Campbell, §203, note 1; §289), and some <E> forms may perhaps reflect these diatopic varieties. But the geographical distribution of <E> forms would not correlate directly with areas associated with either of these dialects. *Ælf* has *i*-umlaut of Anglian [ɑ] (← [æ] / -[l] + C): raising of this [æ] to [e] attested for common words in Anglian (notably in *Ru.*[1]) would appear to be a diachronic development, with <e> forms replacing <æ> ones before the end of the OE period (see Campbell, §193. a). The <A> in *Ælf* is attributed by Campbell (§200. 2, note 4) to failure of umlaut. That orthographic <a> and <æ> co-exist may be explicable in the light of suffix confusion, evidenced by various common-word forms (with different etymological sources of stressed vowels from that in *Ælf*), which show both umlauted and unumlauted vowels, for example, <hælig> and <halig>, 'holy' (Campbell, §204. 7; and see §203, note 1 on <æþþilæ>). But the coin-spellings show all three graphs, <Æ>, <E>, and <A>, in representations of the same name referring to the same person — alternations not to be explicitly related to either of the explanations just suggested. Moreover,

alternation of the same three graphs in representations of the element *Æthel*, with a different etymological source of stressed vowel, is not to be accounted for in the same ways. *Heathu*, with Mercian Back Umlaut of 'second-fronted' [æ] (← [ɑ]← PG [a] before a back vowel), has even less etymological basis for <E>. That <E> enters into alternation with <EA> as well as <Æ> and <A> representing short vowels suggests loss of distinction between vowels represented not only by these three graphs, but by <E> as well.

Alternation between <V>, <Y>, <O>, and <I> in (a) (iii) represents OE [u], and, in *Styr*, its umlaut [y]. Historically, the vowel in each instance is a reflex of Proto Germanic [u], which lowered to [o] before non-high vowels, or fronted by *i*-umlaut before high front segments ([i] or [j]). Interestingly, both lowered and unlowered, umlauted and unumlauted, vowels are represented in forms of the same name, with the same second element (compare <DODINC>, <DVDINC>; <STORCOL>, <STVRCOL>, <STYRCOL>; see further, Colman, 'Anglo-Saxon Pennies', §6. 2. d). Unlike at least some instances of <EA>, <Æ>, <E>, and <A> discussed above, alternation between <O>, <V>, and <Y> is not even potentially explicable in terms of diachronic or diatopic variation within OE. The <I> forms, however, are to be interpreted as evidence of late OE unrounding of [y] → [i], and therefore as of diachronic significance: note that these forms are more common on late than on earlier coins of Edward the Confessor. Forms with OE non-low short diphthongs are exemplified in (a) (iv). Old English [iu] shows alternative developments in common-word forms (usually associated with diatopic variation; see the discussion after Figures 4 and 5, below): [iu] merges with [eo] (as evidenced by <IO> / <EO> alternation, unless the former reflects North Germanic *Bjorn*), or with [i] (compare <SIDU>). For OE [eo], <E> represents late OE monophthongization (or, in the case of <BERHT>, Anglian smoothing; see Campbell, §222). Alternations between <IO>, <EO>, <I>, and <E> therefore correlate with late OE common-word phonology; but the coin-forms do not correlate with diatopic variation associated with any particular region, and the overwhelming prevalence of <I> forms for *Beorht* would not fit with the variation attested for the cognate common word.

The greatest variation in representation of the long vowels occurs for OE [i:u] and [e:o], as exemplified in (b) (i). For these, <V> and <Y> appear, as well as the <IO>, <EO>, <I>, and <E> set found for the short diphthongs (see (a) (iv)), and the alternations are much more pervasive for the long ones, represented in name-elements which recur commonly, and at a variety of mints (notably in *Deor* and *Leof*). For <I> forms of these elements, von Feilitzen (pp. 64–65)

invokes developments of [e:o] (from both [i:u] and [e:o]) characteristic of the South West and West Midlands, and of Kent; but their occurrence, for example, at Buckingham, London, and Nottingham, does not invite such diatopic correlation. For <V> and <Y> forms, only an indirect, and tentative, correlation might be drawn with diatopic or diachronic common-word developments; one possible interpretation might see <Y> as a back spelling for <I>, and <V> as an epigraphic variant for <Y>. The latter might be invoked also for forms of *Brun*, with OE [u:]; but even an interpretation of <V> / <Y> alternation as belonging purely to the epigraphic level implies loss of distinction between the segments represented in manuscript orthography by <u> and <y> (the late coins give no instance of protothemic OE [y:]).

   Variation in representation of long low front vowels is represented in (b) (ii) and reflects late OE monophthongization of [æ:ɑ], which merges with [æ:]. The <E> forms correlate with the ME representation of this low front monophthong by <e> (ambiguous with respect to [e:] and [ɛ:]). Elements with OE [ɑ:], as in (b) (iii), with OE [o:], as in (b) (iv), and with OE [i:], as in (b) (v), show no epigraphic variation in the representation of the vowel.

   The coin-forms discussed above represent reflexes of OE stressed vowels which may be systematized as in Figures 4 and 5:

Figure 4

                        Short Vowels

         iu   i   y   u

         eo   e   o

         æɑ   æ   ɑ
Figure 5

                        Long Vowels

         i:u   i: y: u:

         e:o   e: o:

         æ:ɑ   æ: ɑ:

Evidence of late OE and ME common-word forms suggests monophthongization of the OE short and long diphthongs, with some diatopic variation in the monophthongal outputs. The short high diphthong merged with the [eo] in all dialects (Campbell, §§293–97; and also §329, on Northumbrian); and this mid diphthong monophthongized to [ø], represented in ME by <eo>, <ue>, <oe>, and <o>.[16] The short low diphthong merged with the low monophthongs in [a]. A revised 'overall' pattern for late OE short vowels may therefore be given as in Figure 6:[17]

Figure 6

	i	y		u
	e	ø		o
		a		

The development of the long vowel system differed from that of the short as follows: the high diphthong merged with the mid one, but the merger is represented by <io> in Kentish (where the high diphthong is further assumed to have become rising), and <eo> elsewhere. The long mid diphthong monophthongized to [ø:], represented in ME by <eo>, <oe>, <ue>, <o>, <eu>, and <u> (Fisiak, §1. 40). The low diphthong merged with the long low front monophthong, which remained contrastive, at least for late OE, with the long low back one (see interpretations of <eo> and <ea> spellings in the *Lindisfarne Gloss* as possible evidence of the Northumbrian merger of the mid and low diphthongs[18]). Figure 7 gives the revised 'overall' pattern for late OE long vowels:

Figure 7

	i: y:		u:
	e: ø:		o:
	æ:		ɑ:

Now, the ME reflexes of these systems show diatopic variation (see, for example, Fisiak, §2. 14–31); and for OE, too, not all regional dialects had all the contrasts posited here: Kentish, for instance, had a front vowel contrast only

between [i(:)] and non-[i(:)]. But mint-identities of late OE coins give no pattern of regional association with the variant name-forms recorded thereon. Sets of variants of single name-elements occur for a single mint; and, moreover, the same set may occur for a different, and distant, mint: see, for instance, the forms of *Ælf* recorded at Wilton and Chester. And not all the variants are to be interpreted as evidence of diachronic phonological variation. I suggest, rather, that variant name-forms are evidence of neutralization in name-elements of certain phonological contrasts evidenced for common words.

The sorts of epigraphic variation illustrated above suggest that, for the name-elements, only a three-way contrast pertained for the short vowels (compare the seven contrastive units of Figure 6), and a four-way one for the long vowels (compare the eight units of Figure 7), as represented in Figures 8 and 9:
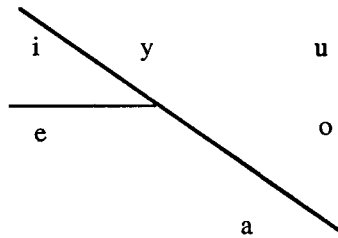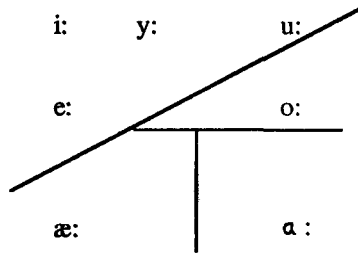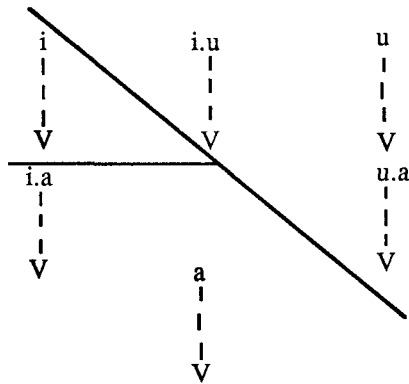
Figure 8

Figure 9

Note the absence of [ø(:)] from Figures 8 and 9: the coin-spellings give no evidence of mid front rounded vowels, since the reflexes of OE [e(:)o] are represented only by <EO> and <E>. (Compare the variety of ME representations which give clearer evidence of rounded vowels.)

In theories of phonological representation involving binary features, the natures of the neutralizations posited here are not easy to capture: the short system, for instance, seems to involve neutralization of contrast between vowels which are [+round], whereas no such generalization applies to the long system; the long

system would seem to involve neutralizations between vowels characterizable as [-back, -lo] (and even this does not capture [uː]), whereas in the short system a contrast is maintained between [-back, -lo, +hi] and [-back, -lo, -hi]. The proposed neutralizations are less plausible, failing characterization of the types of vowels involved. But representations of the segment-types involved, in terms of a framework of dependency phonology,[19] allow a more transparent and compelling formulation both of the neutralizations and the vowel systems resulting from them, in OE personal names. Briefly, and with respect to our present concerns only, Dependency Phonology invokes the potential of an intra-segmental dependency (head-modifier) relationship pertaining between unary features. It distinguishes two systematic groupings of features, or gestures: the articulatory (roughly comparable to place of articulation) and the categorial (roughly comparable to manner of articulation). The unary features necessary for this account of vowels in OE personal names are 'i', 'u', and 'a', in the articularity gesture; and 'V', in the categorial (see below, Figure 11). In the characterization of a segment, unary features in each gesture may occur independently or in combination, and combination may either be simple, or involve a dependency relation, as emerges in the discussion of the representations in Figures 10 and 11, below:

Figure 10

Neutralization: a segment uniquely 'i' is distinctive; {|i|} ≠ ~ {u} ≠ {u} (that is, for any segment not uniquely 'i', ~ {u} contrasts with {u}); ~ {u} represents a gesture lacking the 'u' feature).

Figure 11

i	i.u	u
V,V	V,V	V,V
i;a		u.a
V,V		V,V
	a;i	a
	V,V	V,V

Neutralization: {u.a} ≠ {a;i} ≠ {IaI} ≠ { } (that is, contrasts pertain between /o:/, /æ:/, /ɑ:/, and everything else).

The unary features 'i', 'u', and 'a', characterizing the articulatory gesture of a segment (either uniquely or in combination) may be regarded as expressing palatality or acuteness, roundness or gravity, lowness or sonority, respectively.[20] The categorial gesture is characterized as vocalic by 'V', or, for long vowels, 'V' combined with 'V'. Where a combination of unary features characterizes the articularity of a segment, dependency relations are represented by punctuation as appropriate to capture the relevant contrasts within the phonological system in question. A semi-colon expresses government, by the former feature, of the latter: that is, the second feature is dependent on the first. For instance, in the OE system of long vowels evidenced for common words, 'i;a', with dependent 'a', characterizes /e:/. This contrasts with /æ:/, characterized also by the unary features 'i' and 'a', but with governing 'a': hence 'a;i'. A point expresses simple co-presence of features, for a phonological system in which dependency relations between them need not be invoked contrastively; so 'i.u' characterizes the articulatory gesture for /y(:)/, given that no other contrastive segment-type in OE combines 'i' and 'u'; 'u.a' characterizes /o(:)/, given that no other contrastive unit combines 'u' and 'a'; and in the absence of a high-mid/low-mid contrast for the short front vowels, 'i.a' characterizes /e/ (distinct from /a/, which is characterized uniquely by 'a').

The neutralizations characterized above are more readily expressed for the short system than for the long, where 'everything else' is invoked for the unspecified segment-type. But viewed in terms of the vowel contrasts for the onomastic system which result from these neutralizations, both sets of vowels show

265

simple combinations of the three basic unary feature specifications. The short vowel system is as in Figure 12:

Figure 12

{i}   {u}

{a}

and the long as in Figure 13:

Figure 13

~{a}

{i,a}   {u,a}

{lal}

where the contrasts are between segments characterized as uniquely 'a', as 'a' in combination with one or another of the other two unary features ('i' or 'u'), or as lacking 'a' altogether.

IV The Neutralizations

This short exploration of aspects of the linguistic behaviour of proper names in relation to common words sees as basic to the distinction between the two nominal types the lexical semantic property of names as having reference, but lacking sense. Correlating with this distinction are differences in morphological and phonological behaviour. Old English names provide an ideal source for comparison, given their etymological relationship to OE common words and the size of the corpus of name-forms available. But an attempt to characterize differences between proper names and common words is part of an attempt to assess the value of OE name-forms as evidence for reconstructing OE. It can be too easy to be beguiled by the similarities and take at face value the variations in representations of the names. An analysis of word-, morphological, and phonological structures of

late OE names, as evidenced by coin-spellings, suggests that at least something of the linguistic differences between proper names and common words may be characterized in terms of neutralizations, in the former, of oppositions pertaining to the latter, that is, between types of word forms at the morphological level, and between types of segment structures at the phonological. Given the reduced semantic function of names, there is a natural correlation between the different semantic properties of common words and proper names, and the morphological and phonological neutralizations in the latter.

NOTES

* Leslie Rogers introduced me to the delights of Old English coin-spellings in the early seventies. These delights, and the influences of his teaching, his good sense and good humour, remain un-neutralized. Some of the ideas presented here have benefitted from airing at the University of Umeå, and the University of Katowice. My debt to John Anderson, too, is more than purely nominal; though even he cannot entirely save me — or the reader — from myself.

The abbreviations for the Coin Collections, in accordance with the conventions used in Fran Colman, *Money Talks: An Account with Compound Interest* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, at press), are as follows:

B: Coins from Bristol, in L. V. Grinsell, C. E. Blunt, and M. Dolley, *Bristol and Gloucester Museums*, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, 19 (London, 1973)

D: M. Warhurst, *Merseyside County Museums. Ancient British and Later Coins from English, Irish and Scottish Mints to 1279, with associated Foreign Coins*, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, 29 (London, 1982)

e: J. D. Brady, *Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon and Norman Coins in American Collections*, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, 30 (London, 1982)

g: Museum of London

H: B. E. Hildebrand, *Anglosachsiska Mynt* (Stockholm, 1881)

J: E. J. E. Pirie, *The Willoughby Gardner Collection of Coins with the Chester Mint Signature*, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, 5 (London, 1964)

K: C. F. Keary and H. A. Grueber, *A Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series*, 2 vols (London, 1887–93)

L: British Museum, London, acquired since Keary and Grueber

N: C. E. Blunt, F. Elmore Jones, and R. P. Mack, *Collection of Mrs Emery May Norweb: Ancient British, Romano-British, Anglo-Saxon and Post-Conquest Coins to 1180*, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, 16 (London, 1971)

Q: Coins from Gloucester, in L. V. Grinsell, C. E. Blunt, and M. Dolley, *Bristol and Gloucester Museums*, Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, 19 (London, 1973)

S: Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm, acquired since Hildebrand

The following conventions are used in this paper:
Italic type identifies citation-forms of both common words and proper names, the latter distinguished by Capitalization; < > enclose spelling forms, given in capitals for coin-epigraphy and lower case for manuscript orthography; [ ] enclose broad phonetic reconstructions, for

allophonic realizations, or where phonemic status is not at issue; / / enclose phonemic reconstructions; { } enclose morphemic reconstructions.

[1]   For references and discussion, see, for example, Fran Colman, 'A Philological Study of the Moneyers' Names on Coins of Edward the Confessor' (unpublished D. Phil. dissertation, Oxford, 1981); *idem, Money Talks: An Account with Compound Interest* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, at press), Appendix, for a full catalogue; Veronica Smart, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles: Cumulative Index of Volumes 1–20* (London, 1981), XXVIII, xv–xvi; and Fran Colman, 'Anglo-Saxon Pennies and Old English Phonology', *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 5 (1984), 91-143 (§6. 2. a. iii).

[2]   I return to this in Section *II*, below; see further, Colman, 'Anglo-Saxon Pennies', §6. 2. a. iii; and *idem, Money Talks,* chapter 6, §9. 10.

[3]   For more on numismatic, including epigraphic, theory invoked in interpreting the materials, see Colman, 'Anglo-Saxon Pennies', §4; and *idem, Money Talks,* chapter 1, §4, chapters 4, 5.

[4]   For references and discussion, see Colman, 'Anglo-Saxon Pennies', §2. 2.

[5]   See, for example, A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), §329. 2.

[6]   Bezalel Elan Dresher, 'The Mercian Second Fronting: A Case of Rule Loss in Old English', *Linguistic Inquiry*, 11 (1980), 47–73; and Thomas E. Toon, *The Politics of Early Old English Sound Change* (New York and London, 1983), pp. 197–212.

[7]   See Olof von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of 'Domesday Book'* (Uppsala, 1937), p. 38; and Campbell, §200. 1, note 4.

[8]   See Fran Colman, 'The Name-element *Æðel-* and Related Problems', *Notes and Queries*, n.s. 28 (1981), 295–301.

[9]   John Lyons, *Semantics,* 2 vols (Cambridge, 1977), I, 219–23; and Bent Conrad, 'Two Essays on Reference without Meaning: Suppositio materialis and Proper Names', *Acta Linguistica Hafniensa*, 19 (1985), 1–129; compare Aimo Seppänen, *Proper Names in English: A Study in Semantics and Syntax,* 2 vols (University of Tempere, 1974).

10   For more on this type of notation for morphological structures, see Fran Colman, 'On some Morphological Formatives in Old English', *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 6 (1985), 267–83.

11   For further details and examples of this type of analysis, see Fran Colman, 'What *is* in a Name?', in *Historical Dialectology*, edited by Jacek Fisiak and Werner Winter (Berlin, 1988), pp. 74–92 (§2).

12   See Raymond Hickey, 'On syncope in Old English', in *Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries*, edited by Dieter Kastovsky and Aleksander Szwedek, 2 vols (Berlin, 1986), I, 359–66 (p. 365).

13   Colman, *Money Talks*, Appendix: Wallingford.

14   For more on possible diatopic variation represented by OE name-forms, see Colman, 'What *is* in a Name?', §5.

15   Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, §329. 3.

16   Jacek Fisiak, *A Short Grammar of Middle English* (Warsaw, 1968), Part I, §1. 27.

17   For the concept of an 'overall' system for OE phonology, see R. P. Stockwell, 'On the Utility of an Overall Pattern in Historical English Phonology', *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Linguistics* [Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962] (The Hague, 1964), pp. 663–69.

18   See Fran Colman, 'Luick and Templates: some (other) Old English Digraphs', in *Luick Revisited*, edited by Dieter Kastovsky, Gero Bauer, and Jacek Fisiak (Tübingen, 1988), pp. 139–58.

19   See especially John M. Anderson and Colin J. Ewen, *Principles of Dependency Phonology* (Cambridge, 1987).

20   See, for example, John Anderson and Jacques Durand, 'Dependency Phonology', in *Dependency and non-Linear Phonology*, edited by Jacques Durand (London, 1986), pp. 1–54 (pp. 25–34).