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The Empowerment of Welsh:¹

Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*

and his Concept of 'native language'

Yoko HEMMI

1. The mystery of the Elvish-speaking Hobbits

In *The Two Towers*,² in the all-engulfing darkness of Shelob's lair, Sam the Hobbit was faced with a giant spider, Shelob, who was about to crush and sting him to death. He was alone; he thought his master Frodo was dead, lying cocoon-like beside him bound entirely in Shelob's thread. Sam was however inspired to seek the Phial of Galadriel and when he muttered the name of the Elf-Queen, he recalled the Elvish song praising the goddess Elbereth which he had heard twice in the past. Once he invoked the name of Elbereth, 'his tongue loosed and his voice cried in a *language which he did not know* (emphasis added):

A Elbereth Gilthoniel

o menel palan-diriel,

le nallon sí di'nguruthos!

A trio nin, Fanuilos! (*The Two Towers*, pp. 338-39; emphasis added)

The language was Sindarin Elvish.³

How could it be possible for a Hobbit, Sam, to speak a whole stanza

of a hymn in a language which he was totally ignorant of? Tolkien seemingly tries to offer a 'rational' explanation by mentioning Sam's previous two experiences of hearing the song, but in fact it hardly suffices as an explanation because Tolkien stated clearly that Sam had no practical knowledge of the Elven-tongue when he heard the song in the woods (*The Fellowship of the Ring*, p. 88),⁴ and that he was fast asleep when the song was again heard in the hall of Elrond (*The Fellowship of the Ring*, p. 250). What makes Tolkien's explanation even less convincing is the fact that Sam made considerable changes to the wording of the hymn in his own version.

The Elves' original version runs as follows:

*A Elbereth Gilthoniel,
silivren penna míriel,
o menel aglar elenath!
Na-chaered palan-díriel
o galadhremmin ennorath,
Fanuilos, le linnathon
nef aear, sí nef aearon!*

(*The Fellowship of the Ring*, p. 250; emphasis added)

Tolkien left both Sam's and Elves' versions untranslated in *The Lord of the Rings*, but he provided English translations for both fourteen years later in 'Notes and Translations' included in *The Road Goes Ever On*.⁶ Here, Sam's version is translated as: 'O! Queen who kindled star on star, white-robed from heaven gazing far, here overwhelmed in dread of Death I cry: O guard me, Elbereth!'. The Elves' version on the other hand is translated as: 'O! Elbereth who lit the stars, from glittering crystal slanting falls with light like jewels from heaven on high the

glory of the starry host. To lands remote I have looked afar, and now to thee, Fanuilos, bright spirit clothed in ever-white, I here will sing beyond the Sea, beyond the wide and sundering Sea' (emphasis added).

It is clear that Sam's version reflects his predicament as indicated in the underlined phrase, whereas the Elves' version mirrors the longing peculiar to them for the Undying Lands beyond the Sea. Why did Tolkien endow Sam, who had no knowledge of Sindarin, with an ability to arrange the words to meet his impending needs?

We must take Frodo's invocation in Elvish into consideration as well. It was again the star-glass given by Galadriel that induced the Elvish speech, this time in Quenya, a kind of 'Elven-latin', with which Frodo was even less familiar than with Sindarin. Tolkien describes this peculiar moment as follows:

'Aiya Eärendel Elenion Ancalima! he cried and knew not what he had spoken; for it seemed that another voice spoke through his, clear, untroubled by the foul air of the pit. (The Two Towers, p. 329; emphasis added)

Tolkien left it untranslated, but he later rendered the Quenya phrase as 'hail Earendil brightest of Stars'.⁷ It is noted that Tolkien states in both instances that neither Sam nor Frodo knew the meaning of their words. However, both invocations bear such religious overtones that the reader is left with a vague impression that invocations in the totally unknown languages might have been made possible by some mysterious religious inspiration 'in moments of extreme peril'.⁸ This may be what Tolkien seems to suggest, if only partly, by describing that, to Frodo, 'it seemed that another voice spoke through his'. Though Tolkien chose to present this as some oracular moment in *The Lord of the*

Rings, it is hard to believe that he, who took trouble to prepare detailed etymological comments on the word ‘hobbit’ which he once scribbled on a blank page of some school exam paper, did not have certain ‘linguistic’ grounds to justify this.⁹ Tolkien himself acknowledged that ‘there is a great deal of linguistic matter (other than actually “elvish” names and words) included or mythologically expressed in the book’ and that *The Lord of the Rings* was to him ‘largely an essay in “linguistic aesthetic”’ (*Letters*, p. 220).

The present paper attempts first to demonstrate that the mystery of Elvish-speaking Hobbits can be explained as part of ‘a great deal of linguistic matter mythologically expressed’ in *The Lord of the Rings*. I would like to suggest that the linguistic matter here in question is his concept of the ‘native language’, expounded in the lecture ‘English and Welsh’.¹⁰ The concept of the ‘native language’ itself concerns the languages of the Primary World, English and Welsh. However, it will be apparent that Tolkien did pursue, in constructing the linguistic Secondary World, what he called an ‘unexplored desire’ to go home to the native language (‘English and Welsh’, p. 194). By studying the history of the languages of Middle-earth together with Tolkien’s ‘native language’ concept, we can further discern that in his Secondary World, the language-power relationship between English, which has established hegemony in the Primary World, and Welsh, which has been driven to the political and geographical periphery of Britain, is in fact totally inverted.

2. British: the indigenous, ancient, and once dominant language of Britain

Tolkien delivered a lecture titled ‘English and Welsh’ as the first of the O’Donnell Lecture Series in Oxford. It was on 21 October 1955,

incidentally the day after *The Return of the King*, the final part of *The Lord of the Rings*, was published. At the beginning of the lecture, Tolkien referred to *The Lord of the Rings* as ‘a large “work” [. . .] which contains, in the way of presentation that I find most natural, much of what I personally have received from the study of *things Celtic*’ (‘English and Welsh’, p. 162; emphasis added). We can assume that ‘things Celtic’ in the particular context of this lecture signifies ‘Welsh’, and ‘British’, the ancestor language of Welsh.¹¹ Although he did not clarify the relationship between ‘things Celtic’ and *The Lord of the Ring* in the lecture, he did so in a footnote provided in a later published version of it. He informed us that ‘the names of persons and places in this story were mainly composed on patterns deliberately modelled on those of Welsh (closely similar but not identical)’ (‘English and Welsh’, p. 197). In other words, the names of persons and places in *The Lord of the Rings* are in Sindarin Elvish, one of the two Elvish languages devised by him, which was ‘in fact constructed deliberately to resemble Welsh phonologically’ (*Letters*, p. 219).

As we will see below, Sindarin (Ilkorin /Beleriandic), which is closely associated with Welsh, is a later development and virtually indigenous to Middle-earth. In contrast, the Quenya (Valarin) is an ancient tongue developed in the Blessed Realm, beyond the Sea. Quenya is based on Latin and is transcribed into a spelling closely resembling that of Latin. It is composed with two other main elements, that is, Finnish and Greek.¹² Tolkien asserts that Sindarin is constructed to have a relation to Quenya ‘similar to that existing between British [. . .] and Latin’ (*Letters*, p. 219). That is to say, the two Elvish languages, Quenya and Sindarin, share their roots just as Latin and British have Proto-Indo-European as their common origin.

First of all, we may need to clarify Tolkien’s usage of the term

'British', which is strictly linguistic and therefore at variance with general usage. Tolkien's usage basically accords with the first definitions, 1a and 1b of the *OED*:

1. a. Of or pertaining to the ancient Britons. Now chiefly in ethnological and archæological use.
- b. Of or pertaining to the Celtic (Brythonic) languages of the ancient Britons; later, =Welsh, occas. Cornish. Also as n.

Tolkien's own usage seems even more linguistically precise; we may assume it agrees with the definition given by his contemporary, Celtic linguist Kenneth H. Jackson, whose work Tolkien mentioned in his notes added in 1963.¹³ Tolkien most probably based his definition of the term 'British' on that of Jackson's, proposed in his *Language and History of Early Britain*, published in 1953, two years prior to Tolkien's lecture. Jackson uses 'British' as 'a general term for the Brittonic language from the time of the oldest Greek information about it (derived from Pytheas of Marseilles, c. 325 B.C.) down to the sub-Roman period in the fifth century and on into the sixth'.¹⁴ He further distinguishes between '*Early British*, during the Roman occupation and as far as the coming of the Saxons in the middle of the fifth century' and '*Late British*, from that time until and including the earlier half of the sixth century' (p. 4). According to Jackson's linguistic classification, therefore, British is the *ancient* language, while Welsh, Cornish and Breton, its offshoots, are the '*Neo-Brittonic*' tongues and therefore '*mediaeval*' (p. 5).

This differs considerably from the general usage of the term 'British' today: 'Of or belonging to Great Britain, or its inhabitants' (*OED* 2a). The *OED* explains that in earlier times it was only a geo-

graphical term adopted from the Latin *Brittannia*, 'the island of Britain' but 'from the time of Henry VIII frequently used to include English and Scotch', and it was 'in general use in this sense from the accession of James I [1603]'. At present, it is used mainly in 'political or imperial connexion, as the *British army*, *British colonies*, *British India*, etc.'. Tolkien denounces this as 'the misuse of British', brought about by 'the maleficent interference of the Government with the usual object of governments: uniformity' ('English and Welsh', p. 182).

To Tolkien it bears great significance that 'British' is the 'ancient language' of Britain.¹⁵ He draws our attention to the fact that 'there is no evidence at all for the survival in the areas which we now call England and Wales of any pre-Celtic speech' (p. 171). British therefore comprises the oldest language stratum in the isle of Britain. It was also a dominant language: by the first century A.D., the whole of Britain south of the Forth-Clyde line shared a British civilization, 'which so far as language goes formed a single linguistic province from Dumbarton and Edinburgh to Cornwall and Kent' (p. 174). <See Figure 1.>

Tolkien emphasizes the fact that British is an 'old' tongue in Britain, and that it has become 'acclimatized to and naturalized in Britain' (p. 177). British, he says, thus 'had become already virtually "indigenous" when English first came to disturb its possession' (p. 177). This view of British is applied to Welsh, its descendant, as well. He also places great importance on the fact that he receives strong aesthetic pleasure when in contact with Welsh, heard or read. He asserts that he feels pleasure in 'the phonetic elements of a language' and in 'the style of their patterns', and then in a higher dimension, in 'the association of these word-forms with meanings' (p. 190). Tolkien declares that for himself two things are important: 'Welsh is of this soil, this island, the senior language of men of Britain; and Welsh is

beautiful' (p. 189). Though he admits that it is impossible to analyse the pleasure that makes one feel a language is beautiful, for Tolkien, it apparently cannot be separated from its being indigenous and old.

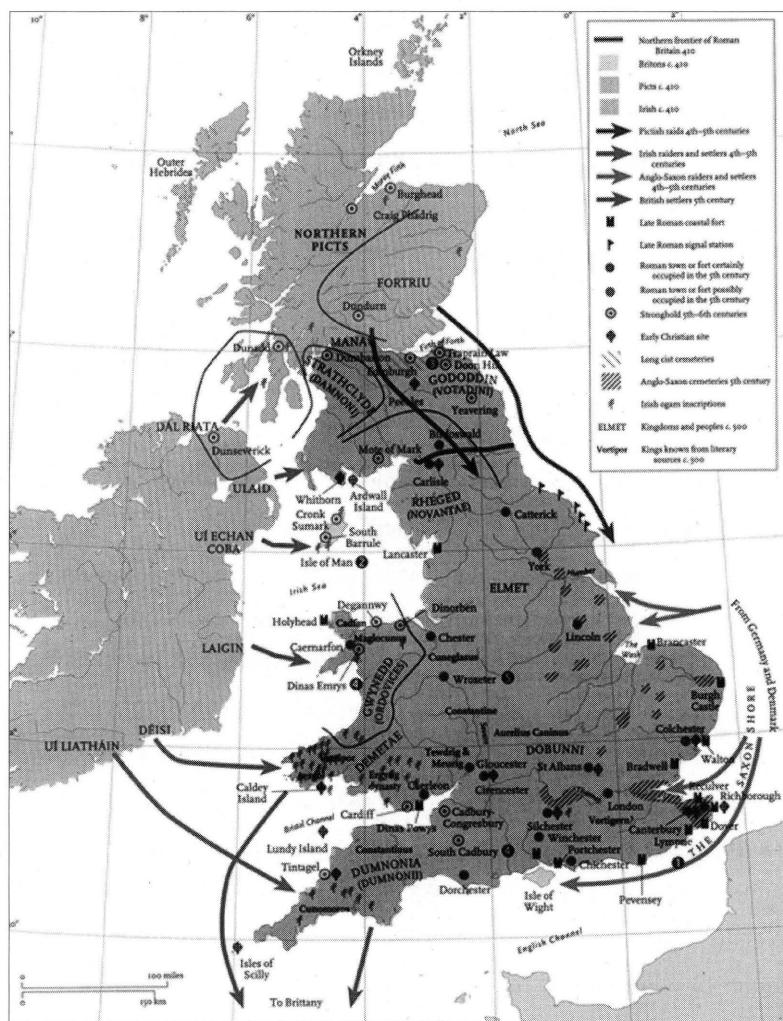


Figure 1: ‘Britain AD 300-550’, from John Haywood, *The Historical Atlas of the Celtic World* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), p. 89 emphasis added

3. British-Welsh as the 'native language'

Based on this view of British-Welsh, Tolkien proposes an extremely unique concept of 'British-Welsh' as a 'native language' of the people of Britain, including himself, an Englishman. According to Tolkien, one's native language is not 'the first-learned language, the language of custom' but it is an individual's 'inherent linguistic predilections' (p. 190).¹⁶ He tries to explain the strong aesthetic pleasure he perceives when in contact with Welsh: 'this pleasure is quite distinct from the practical knowledge of a language, and not the same as an analytic understanding of its structure. It is simpler, deeper-rooted, and yet more immediate than the enjoyment of literature' (p. 190). Since his childhood he had found pleasure in various second-learned languages: Latin, Greek, Spanish, Gothic and Finnish. However, it was Welsh that pierced his linguistic heart (pp. 191-92). Moreover, he claims that his pleasure in the Welsh linguistic style is not peculiar to himself among the English, rather it may be present in many who live in England speaking English, though it lies dormant, buried, unnoticed.¹⁷ Therefore, it may be stirred, for example, by 'contacts with the names in Arthurian romance that echo faintly the Celtic patterns of their origin', and he believes that 'it may with more opportunity become vividly aware' (p. 194).

Tolkien cites *The Lord of the Rings* in evidence: as the names of persons and places in the story were mainly composed on patterns deliberately modelled on those of Welsh, this element in *The Lord of the Rings*, he believes, 'has given more pleasure to more readers than anything else in it' (p. 197, n. 33).¹⁸ He asserts that 'for many of us it [Welsh] rings a bell, or rather it stirs deep harp-strings in our linguistic nature. In other words: for satisfaction and therefore for delight — and not for imperial policy — we are still "British" at heart. It is the native language to which in unexplored desire we would still go home' (p.

194). Tolkien here says ‘in unexplored desire’ but we might assume that what he attempted in *The Lord of the Rings* was to explore that very desire to go home to the native language.

4. In search of the ‘native language’ — the ‘dominant’ languages of Middle-earth

Now let us examine how Tolkien explored that hitherto ‘unexplored desire’ in *The Lord of the Rings*. First of all, we need to discern the ‘native language’ of the Westron-speaking peoples of Middle-earth. If we were to apply Tolkien’s ‘native language’ concept to his Secondary World, 1) the ‘native language’ in Middle-earth must be as ancient and indigenous a tongue as British was in Britain, 2) it must be a language once dominant in Middle-earth as British once was in Britain, and 3) it must bring the strong aesthetic pleasure, quite distinct from the practical knowledge of a language, as British-Welsh did to Tolkien. Obviously it would be the tongues of the Elves that can fulfill all three requirements but that is to be proved by probing the history of these languages. In that process, we would also be able to perceive how Tolkien delineated the power relationship among the Elvish, Westron and other tongues of Men in the Secondary World.²⁰

(i) The history of the Elvish languages

Tolkien left three versions of the work called the *Lhammas* in which he described the evolution of the Elvish languages and their offshoots: *Lhammas A*, *Lhammas B* and *Lammasethen*.²¹ There are also three versions of ‘The Tree of Tongues’ accompanying the *Lhammas* texts. As is evident from the varying features among the three versions, Tolkien’s creation of the Elvish languages is characterized, as pointed out by Christopher Tolkien and by Hostetter, by its unceasingly changing

nature, and thus it would be erroneous to assume any final or complete forms.²³ However, all versions here accord as regards the origin of Elvish: it derives from the speech of the Valar, the gods. As the table of ‘The Peoples of the Elves’ (Figure 2) and its later form (Figure 3) show,²⁴ there occurred divisions among the Elves, with possible allu-

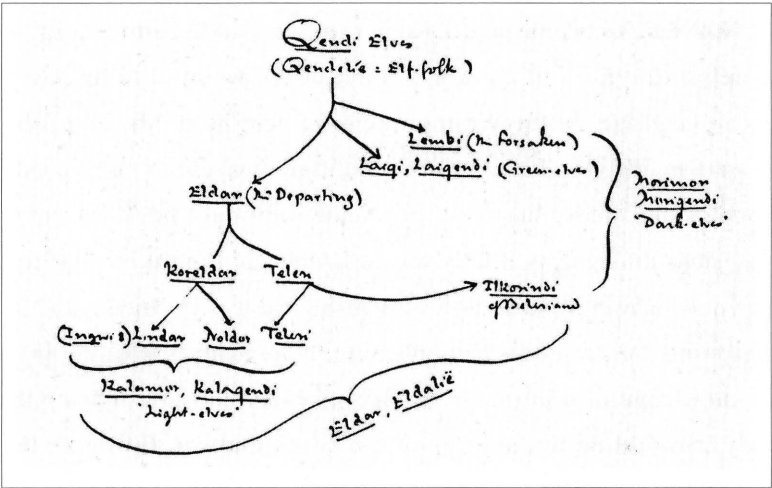


Figure 2: ‘The Peoples of the Elves’ from *The Lost Road*, p. 197

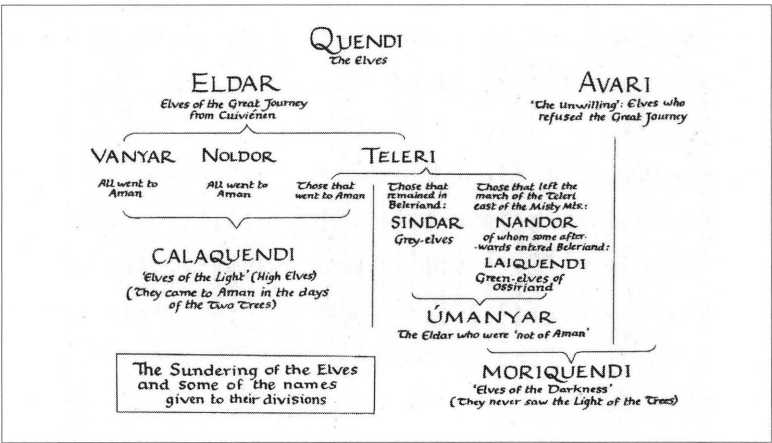


Figure 3: ‘The Sundering of the Elves and some of the names given to their divisions’ from *The Silmarillion*, p. 309

sions to the 'orders', so to speak, according to their graded levels of proximity to the Light of the Two Trees of Valinor (the Blessed Realm). Those who answered the summons of the Valar to come to Valinor and departed to join the Great Journey are the Eldar, whereas those who refused to join the Great Journey are called Lembi (Avari, in later form). The Bliss of Valinor is symbolized in the Light of the Trees and the differentiation between the Eldar and the Lembi/Avari came from the fact that the former were willing to seek the Light whereas the latter were unwilling to do so: the religious implication is inevitable. Among the Eldar, there is further division: those who came to Valinor and actually saw the Light of the Two Trees are 'Light-elves' or 'High Elves', while those who departed but did not reach Valinor and therefore never saw the Light of the Trees are 'Dark-elves'.²⁵ The Sindar/Ilkorindi are counted among the Eldar but as they remained in Middle-earth, they are Dark-elves, grouped together with the Lembi/Avari. The Grey-elves (the Sindar) were, however, associated with the Light indirectly through Thingol, their king, who was one of the Light-elves (*The Silmarillion*, p. 56) and also through his Queen, Melian, whose face mirrored the Light of Valinor (*The Silmarillion*, p. 58). Some of the High Elves who saw the Light returned to Middle-earth afterwards in exile and they, in turn, came to represent the Light of the Trees of Valinor. They were thus regarded as the noblest, the most powerful and the wisest of all the peoples of Middle-earth.

The language the High Elves developed in Aman is Quenya.²⁶ It was brought to Middle-earth by the Exiled High Elves. Galadriel, who ruled the Elven realm of Lothlórien and sang a 'lament' in Quenya (*The Fellowship of the Ring*, p. 394), was one of them and was regarded as the noblest of all. Quenya was used 'for ceremony, and for high matters of lore and song, by the High Elves' ('Appendix F', p. 406). Sindarin (or

Ilkorin in the *Lhammas A* and *B*, Beleriandic in the *Lammasethen*) on the other hand was developed wholly in Middle-earth. Sindarin and Quenya were originally related but Sindarin was the language that was 'indigenous' and 'old' in Middle-earth. As the Exiled High Elves adopted Sindarin for daily use,²⁷ it became a dominant tongue, used by all the Elves who appear in *The Lord of the Rings* and also by mortals who were Elf-friends.

Among the numerous Elvish tongues in the 'Tree of Tongues', Danian, the language of the Green-elves, is important because Taliska, the ancestor language of Westron, came from Danian. Danian is peculiar in that it is presented in all three versions of 'Tree of Tongues' as branching from the Quendian line of descent between Lemberin and Eldarin.²⁸

(ii) The history of the Westron, Common Speech

Taliska²⁹ was the language of the Edain, Men of the Three Houses of Elf-friends. When an Exiled High Elf, Finrod Felagund, encountered some of the Edain, Bëor and his folk, Felagund discovered that he could interpret their language easily because 'the languages of the Quendi [Elves] were of one origin, the language of Bëor and his folk resembled the Elven-tongue in many words and devices' (*The Silmarillion*, p. 141). From Taliska came the 'tongues of Western Men'.³⁰ Chief among them was the common tongue of Númenor, called Adûnaic.³¹ Númenoreans, the Kings of Men, whom the Elves called the Dúnedain, also used Sindarin widely, while they revered Quenya and used it for names of both places and men. Adûnaic was spoken on the western coast of Middle-earth where the Númenoreans maintained forts and havens, and there it evolved into a Common Speech, mingled with the kindred languages of Western Men. After the Downfall of Númenor, the survivors went back to Middle-earth and as Tolkien explains in 'Appendix F', while they

adopted the Common Speech, Westron,³² for daily usage, 'they enlarged the language and enriched it with many words drawn from the Elven-tongues' (p. 407). Subsequently this ennobled Westron became so dominant a language in Middle-earth that it was used even by their enemies. Although Sindarin and Quenya came to be known and used by fewer and fewer people over time, Gondor could still be regarded as rich in Elvish tradition because 'the names of nearly all places and persons in the realm of Gondor were of Elvish form and meaning' (p. 407).

As Westron is of Elvish origin and its history thus interwoven with Sindarin and Quenya, we may safely infer that Tolkien regarded Elvish, especially Sindarin, which was indigenous and once dominant in Middle-earth, as the 'native language' of the speakers of Westron. It must be ascertained finally by examining the Westron speakers' reaction to the 'native language', whether Elvish brings a strong aesthetic pleasure, quite distinct from the practical knowledge of the language.

(iii) The 'native language' comes to expression

Tolkien was aware that 'our native language comes seldom to expression' ('English and Welsh', p. 190), but in the following two scenes in *The Lord of the Rings* he seems to have depicted those very rare moments, giving proof of the fact that Elvish, in these two cases Sindarin, was indeed the 'native language' of the Westron-speaking Hobbits:

The singing drew nearer. One clear voice rose now above the others. It was singing in the fair elven-tongue, of which Frodo knew only a little, and the others knew nothing. Yet the sound blending with the melody seemed to shape itself in their thought into words which they only partly understood. (*The Fellowship of the*

Ring, p. 88)

Frodo heard the song again in the hall of Elrond while Sam was fast asleep beside him:

At first the beauty of the melodies and of the interwoven words in elven-tongues, even though he understood them little, held him in a spell, as soon as he began to attend to them. Almost it seemed that the words took shape, and visions of far lands and bright things that he had never yet imagined opened out before him; and the firelit hall became like a golden mist above seas of foam that sighed upon the margins of the world. (*The Fellowship of the Ring*, p. 245)

It seems as if the meaning of the Sindarin words could be transmitted via channels other than by an actual knowledge of the words, and this agrees with Tolkien's claim that the pleasure he perceives when in contact with Welsh, the 'native language', is 'distinct from the practical knowledge of a language' and that it is 'simpler, deeper-rooted, and yet more immediate' ('English and Welsh', p. 190).

We can now see why Tolkien made Sam speak a stanza of a hymn in Sindarin: for Tolkien, it was a mythological expression of an important linguistic concept of the 'native language'. As for Frodo's invocation in Quenya, Tolkien's reasoning must have been that although Quenya is neither 'indigenous' nor 'dominant' in Middle-earth, its influence on the evolution of Westron, and its shared origin with Sindarin, provide plausible linguistic grounds for Frodo, who is learned enough to know a little Sindarin, to utter a phrase of Quenya, an Elven-latin.

5. Reflections of the language relationship of the Primary World

(i) The ‘minor’ languages of Men

There exist other tongues of Men derived from Taliska, but developed separately and distinctly from Adûnaic. As their languages were originally related to Adûnaic, however, they preserved a likeness to Westron (‘Appendix F’, p. 407). The Men of the Long Lake and of Dale, whom we encounter in *The Hobbit*, and the Rohirrim, Men of Rohan, are among them. While Westron was ‘translated’ into Modern English, Tolkien selected Old Icelandic for the words of the Men of the Long Lake and of Dale, and Old English for the tongue of the Rohirrim.³³ The linguistic relationship between the Germanic languages of the Primary World is thus reflected in the languages of Men in the Secondary World.³⁴

(ii) The languages of ‘Swarthy men’³⁵ or ‘Wild Men’

There are, moreover, Wild Men who learned language from the Lembi/Avári who themselves were unwilling to seek the Light of the Two Trees in Valinor. The Lembi are counted as Dark Elves and also called Silvan Elves because they lived in forests or mountains. It is from their language, Lembian, that the ‘manifold tongues of Men’, except those of the Men of the West, are derived (*The Lhammas*, p. 176). In the ‘Tree of Tongues’ illustrating the *Lammasethen*, their languages are called ‘tongues of Swarthy men’ (*The Lammasethen*, p. 196). The term ‘tongues of Swarthy men’ here seems to be used generically to indicate the various languages of Wild Men. This usage, besides its perhaps racist connotation, is problematic because it does not accord with Tolkien’s usages of the term in some other texts, which in turn are themselves inconsistent and thus cause further confusion.

Tolkien used the terms ‘Swarthy Men’ and ‘Swertings’ to denote different peoples, although the etymologies seemingly point to the com-

mon origin of the peoples: 'swart' and 'swert' are both derived from Old English 'sweart', the latter being a spelling variation of the former.³⁶ In the accounts of the First Age, Tolkien used the term 'Swarthy Men' specifically to denote the Easterlings whom the Edain encountered, whereas in *The Lord of the Rings*, the term 'Swertings' is the Hobbits' appellative of the Haradrim (*The Two Towers*, p. 255). The 'Swarthy Men' of the First Age are described as 'short and broad, long and strong in the arm', with their skins 'swart or sallow', their hair and eyes 'dark' (*The Silmarillion*, p. 157). These First-Age Easterlings or 'Swarthy Men' are probably akin to the Easterlings who periodically attacked Gondor in the Third Age, and are described as 'not tall, but broad and grim, bearded like dwarves, wielding great axes' (*The Return of the King*, p. 95). It is argued that they are partly based on historical and legendary images of the Huns.³⁷

The 'Swertings' of the Third Age, on the other hand, have 'dark faces', 'black eyes, and long black hair, and gold rings in their ears' and some have 'red paint on their cheeks, and red cloaks' and they fight mounted on *oliphaunts* (*The Two Towers*, pp. 254-55). These elements, together with the Sindarin term 'Haradrim' ('south-people'), imply that Tolkien's images of these 'Southrons' reflect those of the peoples of the Near East, India, and above all, Africa.³⁸ McFadden pointed out that Tolkien depicted his 'Swertings' based on the images he acquired from his reading of Latin and Old English descriptions of the *Sigelwara*, or the Ethiopians.³⁹ Tolkien's depictions of ethnic 'others' apparently reveals a racism shared by his contemporaries,⁴⁰ but they are at the same time accurate reflections of the medieval European views of Africa and its people, with which Tolkien was well acquainted.⁴¹

We can discern from Tolkien's application of the term 'Swarthy men' to Wild Men collectively that swarthinness for him was the defin-

ing and symbolic characteristic of Wild Men. They are regarded as 'dark' not only in their physical appearance but also in a 'religious' sense, being distant from the 'Light'. Faramir explained to Frodo that there are three kinds of Men: the High (Men of the West, Númenoreans), Middle (Men of the Twilight), and Wild (Men of Darkness) (*The Two Towers*, p. 287). Wild Men or Men of Darkness are associated with evil, being unvaryingly in the service of the Dark Power; Morgoth in the First Age and Sauron in the Second and the Third Ages.⁴² It should be noted that a sinister Bree-lander is described as 'swarthy', and he, together with a 'squint-eyed southerner', seems to work as a spy for Mordor (*The Fellowship of the Ring*, p. 172).

(iii) The language of the 'wild men of the hills': the Dunlendish

The languages of 'Swarthy men' are associated with various layers of 'darkness' in the *Lhammas*: these Men learned 'wholly or in part of the Orcs and of the Dwarves' (*The Lhammas*, p. 179). Among these languages, only two are referred to in 'Appendix F' to *The Lord of the Rings*: the speech of the Wild Men of Drúadan Forest and that of the Dunlendings. About the former, however, nothing is said beyond its being 'wholly alien' (p. 407), which implies that they learned wholly of the Orcs and of the Dwarves. The Dunlendish, a language of the Dunlendings, which is given greater importance as we will see below, is described as 'wholly alien or only remotely akin' to the Westron' (p. 407).

The speech of the 'wild hillmen and herd-folk of Dunland' (*The Two Towers*, p. 132) sounds, to the ears of Éomer, a prince of Rohan, like 'the scream of birds and the bellowing of beasts' (p. 142). However, Gamling, who knows that tongue, explains that 'it is an ancient speech of men, and once spoken in many western valleys of the Mark' (p.

142). The Dunlendings were a remnant of the peoples that had dwelt in the vales of the White Mountain, and they are a 'secret folk, unfriendly to the Dúnedain, hating the Rohirrim' ('Appendix F', p. 408). These 'wild hillmen' are described, not surprisingly, as 'swarthy' ('Appendix F', p. 408).

Outside of Dunland, their language survives only as remnants in the languages of the Men of Bree, and of the Hobbits of the Southern Stoors. The Bree-landers had roots in Dunland and are described as 'brown-haired, broad, and rather short, cheerful and independent' (*The Fellowship of the Ring*, p. 161). They were descended from those who had moved to the empty lands as far north as the Barrow-downs, the ancient landscape marked with standing stones and burial mounds, and haunted by barrow-wights. In other words, they represent a primitive branch among the tongues of Men that survive as 'relics' on the wildest and darkest periphery.

The Hobbits of the Southern Stoors adopted Dunlendish while they lived in Dunland before their emigration to the Shire.⁴³ Remnants of Dunlendish are therefore found in the names of Buckland and the Marsh,⁴⁴ where the Southern Stoors settled down.

(iv) The 'survival' of Celtic elements in England: Dunlendish and British

Tolkien argues that 'since the survival of the older language of the Stoors and the Bree-men resembled the survival of Celtic [i.e. British-Welsh] elements in England', he has sometimes imitated the latter in his translation ('Appendix F', pp. 413-14). For instance, Gorhendad, the first name of Gorhendad Oldbuck, is a Welsh word meaning 'great-grandfather'.⁴⁵ He modelled Bree-land names such as Bree, Combe (Coomb), Archet and Chetwood on relics of British nomenclature, that

is, on Modern Welsh *bre* ‘hill’, *cwm* ‘narrow valley’ and *coed* ‘wood’ (‘Appendix F’, pp. 413-14). According to Jackson’s *Language and History in Early Britain*, all these can be traced back to British and went through the following changes:

British **brigā* > Late British **bre₃a* > Welsh/Cornish/Breton *bre* (p. 445)

British **cumbo-* > Primitive Welsh **cumb* > Welsh *cum* ⁴⁶ (p. 510)

British **caito-*, later **cēto-* > Primitive Welsh **cēd* > Welsh *coed* (p. 327)

These ‘Celtic’ elements survive in Modern place-names in England, in the Primary World: the British element **bre₃* is found in ‘Bredon’ in Worcestershire; this is **bre₃* hill’ + explanatory Old English *dūn* ‘hill’.⁴⁷ Brewood in Staffordshire has British **bre₃* + Old English *wudu* ‘wood’.⁴⁸ Chetwode in Buckinghamshire has Primitive Welsh **cēd* + Old English *wudu*.⁴⁹ There was an Anglo-Saxon place-name Archet in Dorset, which can be traced back to Primitive Welsh **Argēd* but now the British element has been erased and becomes East Orchard (Jackson, p. 327).

It is intriguing that Tolkien used actual words of British origin to represent Dunlendish, one of the ‘tongues of Wild Men’, the traces of which barely survive in the time of *The Lord of the Rings*, while he used Modern English to represent Westron,⁵⁰ one of the ‘tongues of Western Men’, which, by contrast, has become the Common Speech of Middle-earth. Here, the linguistic power relationship in the Primary World between British-Welsh and English is reflected directly in the Secondary World. It is surmised that Tolkien used invented language, Elvish, modelled on Welsh phonologically, to express his desired version of the linguistic power relationship between British and English.

(v) British-Welsh in the Primary World

It is manifest that in the Primary World of Britain in the past, British was, as Figure 1 shows, a dominant language. Tolkien values British greatly as the 'native language' of the peoples of Britain, but there survives no substantial literature written in British. *Y Gododdin*, attributed to the poet Aneirin, is one of the earliest poems but the language is either Old or Early medieval Welsh, not British. However, *Y Gododdin* is considered to mirror the heroic ethos of ancient British society. Ironically, though, it is a poem about their loss of sovereignty over Britain; it is an elegy for the warriors of the British kingdom of Gododdin,⁵¹ killed in battle against the Saxons in c. 600. The poem is preserved in only one manuscript, *Llyfr Aneirin* (the Book of Aneirin), dated c. 1250 or in the second half of the thirteenth century.⁵²

With the possible exceptions of poets like Aneirin and Taliesin, who allegedly described the continued British tradition first hand, there exists no primary text concerning the Britons. Because tales about them were related by outsiders, often by conquerors, they were loaded with prejudiced images of 'otherness' or 'darkness'. The description of British women, with wild-hair and brandishing torches, whom the Romans encountered on their invasion of the Druid sanctuary of Mona is a typical example.⁵³ Here we may detect the germ of a stereotype, termed the 'Visionary Celt' by Sims-Williams,⁵⁴ which was to be expanded by Ernest Renan and Matthew Arnold in the nineteenth century. Tolkien's depiction of the 'Wild Men' and their language, however, reminds us rather of the 'hard' primitivism of John Aubrey's seventeenth-century view on the Ancient Britons that depicted a savage or barbarian people in an unfavourable and unromanticised light.⁵⁵ It can easily shift to 'soft' primitivism, which portrayed the Ancient Britons as the Noble Savage, and as Sims-Williams observes, racial antitheses

survive even the reversal of their polarity.⁵⁶ Tolkien himself was well aware of the fallacy of such racial myths and he rebuked the problems of Celticism⁵⁷ in 'English and Welsh' (pp. 170-73). By comparing the remnants of the tongues of 'Wild Men' with the survival of British elements in England, and by endowing the Dunlendings and their descendants with images reminiscent of the Ancient Britons, Tolkien may be translating the problems of Celticism in the Primary World into his Secondary World.

6. The Empowerment of Welsh

In Tolkien's Secondary World, the stories preceding the time of *The Lord of the Rings*, that is, *The Silmarillion* and other legends, are written from the Elvish point of view. They are therefore free from the misguided conceptions about the Elves/fairies, which, Tolkien laments, abound in the Primary World.⁵⁸ Tolkien directs attention to the fact that *The Silmarillion* is peculiar and differs from all similar things that he knows in not being anthropocentric (*Letters*, p. 147). In fact, he declares that 'the "stories" were made rather to provide a world for the languages than the reverse' and that he 'should have preferred to write in "Elvish"' (*Letters*, p. 219).

In the 'present' in Tolkien's Secondary World, that is, the time of *The Lord of the Rings*, it seems that, at first glance and at least as far as the prevalence of languages is concerned, Westron, the tongue of Men, has already become dominant. With the destruction of the Ring, the Age of the Elves is ended and the new Dominion of Men begins. However, the new era is blessed with the marriage of Aragorn the mortal and Arwen the Elf, 'inheriting all that can be transmitted of Elfdom' (*Letters*, p. 160).⁵⁹ *The Lord of the Rings*, in contrast to *The Silmarillion*, is written mostly from Hobbits' point of view, but the Elves' per-

spective does exist and there are a considerable amount of references to the Elder Days, especially to the Light of the Trees, embedded throughout the stories as items symbolizing 'Hope': the Phial of Galadriel, Eärendil's Star, the White Tree, and so on.

The power relationship in Tolkien's Secondary World is determined, as we have observed above, according to proximity to the Light of the Two Trees of the Blessed Realm. The High Elves are therefore the most powerful and the noblest among the Elves, and the Phial of Galadriel, which contains the Light,⁶⁰ proves to be the most powerful weapon against Shelob. Elvish languages are deemed 'powerful' because of their association with the Light; directly in the case of Quenya, indirectly in the case of Sindarin, even more indirectly in the case of Danian, which is the immediate origin of Westron, and only remotely in the case of Lembian, from which the tongues of Middle-earth such as Dunlendish and other minor Wild Men's tongues were derived. In this language landscape of Middle-earth, Elvish dominates as the most 'powerful'. We might call this the 'empowerment' of Elvish.

Finally, if we turn to the 'present' in the Primary World, British civilization, which once covered the whole of Britain south of the Forth-Clyde line, has receded to the western-most periphery of Britain.⁶¹ <See Figure 4.> As regard the area where actual speakers of Welsh survive, the domain further dwindles. <See Figure 5.> English hegemony was long since established in the Primary World and the British-Welsh elements have survived only as fragmented relics in English. In the Primary World, where the power relationship is decided according to value judgement based on elements such as numbers, political influence and physical dominance, Welsh as a minor language is considered as disempowered. Tolkien, by regarding Welsh as the 'native language' of the peoples of Britain, declaring 'we are still British at heart', restored the

dominance British once enjoyed. However, the ‘native language’ it may well be, yet it lies dormant and unnoticed, unless ‘stirred’ by chance. By stark contrast, Elvish, the ‘native language’ of the peoples of Middle-earth, is presented as ‘powerful’. In Tolkien’s Secondary World, a different value system is at work; the power relationship is determined by the proximity to the Light of the Blessed Realm. Tolkien has empowered



Figure 4: ‘The Celtic countries’, from Haywood, *Historical Atlas*, 139 emphasis added

NOTES

- 1 The present paper is based on one read at the 18th Biennial Congress of IRSCL, in August 2007. I owe special thanks to Professor Nicholas Henck of Keio University for proofreading.
- 2 J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Two Towers* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1954, 1978).
- 3 There is a vast amount of scholarship on the languages invented by Tolkien, which is impossible to refer to in the limited space of this article. For a very thorough and detailed survey on the history of Tolkienian Linguistics, see Carl F. Hostter, 'Tolkienian Linguistics: The First Fifty Years', in *Tolkien Studies*, 4 (2007), 1-46. As for resources for Tolkienian Linguistics see <<http://www.elvish.org/resources.html>>. See also 'Carl F. Hostetter: A Checklist', compiled by Douglas A. Anderson, in *Tolkien Studies*, 4 (2007), 47-50. As for Tolkien's writings in and concerning his invented languages, see 'Elvish compositions and grammars', in *J. R. R. Tolkien Encyclopedia: Scholarship and Critical Assessment*, ed. by Michael D. C. Drout (New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 155-59. See also 'Languages invented by Tolkien' in *ibid.*, pp. 332-44.
- 4 J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Fellowship of the Ring* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1954, 1980).
- 5 Shippey calls this Tolkien's 'major linguistic heresy' and annotates as follows: 'he [Tolkien] thought that people could feel history in words, could recognize language "styles", could extract sense (of sorts) from sound alone, could moreover make aesthetic judgements based on phonology. [. . .] He clearly believes that *untranslated* elvish would do a job that English could not.' Tom Shippey, *The Road to Middle-earth* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982; rev.edn, London: Harper Collins, 2005), p. 130.
- 6 J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Road Goes On: A Song Cycle* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968, 1978), pp. 63-75 (p. 72).
- 7 J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, ed. by Humphrey Carpenter (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1981), p. 385. Frodo may not have known, but it was actually a very appropriate invocation inspired by the star-glass, which was filled with the light of Eärendil's star, that is, a Silmaril. It is as if Frodo shared the experience of the people of the Middle-earth at the end of the First Age, thousands of years before, when the Eärendil's star was first seen: 'Now when first Vingilot was set to sail in the seas of heaven, it rose unlooked for, glittering and bright; and the people of Middle-earth beheld it

- from afar and wondered, and they took it for a sign, and called it Gil-Estel, the Star of High Hope'. J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Silmarillion*, ed. by Christopher Tolkien (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977), p. 250.
- 8 Tolkien refers to Varda/Elbereth as a 'divine' or 'angelic' person: she was 'often thought of, or depicted, as standing on a great height looking towards Middle-earth, with eyes that penetrated the shadows, and listening to the cries for aid of Elves (and Men) in peril or grief. Frodo (Vol. I, p. 208) and Sam both invoke her in moments of extreme peril. The Elves sing hymns to her. (These and other references to religion in *The Lord of the Rings* are frequently overlooked.)' *The Road Goes Ever On*, p. 73.
 - 9 Shippey discusses this famous episode concerning the word 'hobbit' in *The Road to Middle-earth*, p. 76. See also Tom Shippey, *J. R. R. Tolkien: Author of the Century* (London: Harper Collins, 2000), pp. 2-5.
 - 10 J. R. R. Tolkien, 'English and Welsh', in *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*, ed. by Christopher Tolkien (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983), pp. 162-97. John Garth offers an excellent summary in *Tolkien Encyclopedia*, pp. 162-63.
 - 11 On other occasions, he uses the phrase 'Celtic things' in a more general way to refer to the literature composed in medieval Celtic languages, that is, in medieval Welsh and Irish, for which he says he feels a certain distaste because of their 'fundamental unreason' (*Letters*, pp. 26, 144). On Tolkien's use of 'Celtic things' in his works, see Verlyn Flieger, 'The Other World' (Chapter 6) of *Interrupted Music: The Making of Tolkien's Mythology* (Kent & London: Kent University Press, 2005); Marjorie Burns, *Perilous Realms: Celtic and Norse in Tolkien's Middle-earth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005); Dimitra Fimi, "'Mad" Elves and "elusive beauty": Some Celtic Strands of Tolkien's Mythology', *Folklore*, 117.2 (2006), 156-70; Dimitra Fimi, 'Tolkien's "'Celtic" type of legends": Merging Traditions', *Tolkien Studies*, 4 (2007), 51-71.
 - 12 *Letters*, p. 176.
 - 13 Kenneth H. Jackson, 'The Pictish Language', in *The Problem of the Picts*, ed. by F. T. Wainwright (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1955).
 - 14 Kenneth Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain: A Chronological Survey of the Brittonic Languages 1st to 12th c. A. D.* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1953), p. 4.
 - 15 Deidre Dawson compares Tolkien's and Macpherson's linguistic and historical preoccupations and finds their concern for 'authenticity' and 'sincerity' of

- languages similar. Deidre Dawson, 'English, Welsh, and Elvish: Language, Loss, and Cultural Recovery in J. R. R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*', in *Tolkien's Modern Middle Ages*, ed. by Jane Chance and Alfred K. Siewers (New York: Palgrave, 2005), pp. 105-20 (p. 108).
- 16 As Garth points out, 'Tolkien had previously fictionalized it as a psychic key to access prehistory in "The Lost Road" and "The Notion Club Papers"' (*Tolkien Encyclopedia*, p. 162).
- 17 It seems Malcolm Chapman who criticized Tolkien's account as providing 'no satisfactory answer to the question of where the "native language" was lodged in the meantime [that is, before he came to Welsh in adulthood], failed to notice this sentence. Malcolm Chapman, *The Celts: The Construction of a Myth* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1992), p. 246.
- 18 Although Tolkien was convinced that his 'heresy' (Shippey's term) worked, Shippey finds it most doubtful that it did (*The Road to Middle-earth*, p. 88). Allan Turner explains Tolkien's 'linguistic heresy' in more detail (*J. R. R. Tolkien Encyclopedia*, pp. 330-31).
- 19 Here he uses the term 'British' in its original sense; it is not that he has accepted what he denounces as 'the misuse of British'. He is well aware that in Britain, as Fimi says, the different traditions merge (Fimi, 'Tolkien's "Celtic" type of legends"', p. 66), but in this particular context where he is talking about the 'native language', he is arguing that many of the inhabitants of Britain, including himself 'who today live in Lloegr and speak Saesneg' ('English and Welsh', p. 194) are *still* British or ancient Britons deep down. In other words, he asserts that the people with 'merging traditions' can be regarded as *still* British because they share the 'native language', British-Welsh, in common. Therefore his use of the term 'British' here is not necessarily to be regarded as reflecting the 'transition' of his views as Fimi claims (p. 66).
- 20 There are tongues other than Elvish and Mannish, such as those of Ents, the Orcs and the Dwarves (see 'Appendix F', 'Of Other Races', in J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Return of the King* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1955, 1978), pp. 405-16 (pp. 408-11)).
- 21 J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Lhammas*, in *The Lost Road and Other Writings: Language and Legend before 'The Lord of the Rings'*, ed. by Christopher Tolkien (London: Unwin Hyman, 1987), pp. 167-98.
- 22 'The Tree of Tongues (earlier form)' in *The Lost Road*, p. 169; 'later form', p. 170; 'illustrating the *Lammasethen*', p. 196.

- 23 J. R. R. Tolkien, 'Etymologies', in *The Lost Road*, pp. 341-400 (pp. 341-46); Carl F. Hostetter, 'Elvish as She Is Spoke', in *The Lord of the Rings 1959-2004: Scholarship in Honor of Richard E. Blackwelder*, ed. by Wayne G. Hammond and Christina Scull (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2006), pp. 231-55 (pp. 235-36).
- 24 As *The Lhammas* were earlier texts, written some time prior to the end of 1937 and the beginning of 1938, the names are considerably different from the ones we see in *The Silmarillion* and *The Lord of the Rings*.
- 25 As regards the development of ideas concerning the Dark-elves and the Light-elves, see Tom Shippey, 'Light-elves, Dark-elves and Others: Tolkien's Elvish Problem', in *Roots and Branches: Selected Papers on Tolkien by Tom Shippey*, Cormarë Series 11 (Zurich and Berne: Walking Tree Publisher, 2007), pp. 215-33 (first publ. in *Tolkien Studies*, 1 (2004), 1-15).
- 26 In the *Lammasethen* the account of the development of Quenya is slightly different from the other two versions in that it makes Quenya a language apart from the other forms of Elvish (*The Lost Road*, p. 195). However, Quenya and other branches of Elvish still share a common origin.
- 27 This situation, which appeared in *The Silmarillion*, was a conception developed later than *The Lhammas* (*The Etymologies*, in *The Lost Road*, pp. 343-400 (p. 346)).
- 28 *The Lhammas* texts are not consistent on the question of whether the Danas were considered to be Eldar or not. It seems they are counted as neither Eldar nor Lembi. Christopher Tolkien explains this problem by postulating that the Danas abandoned the Great Journey early enough to be counted among the Lembi but as they still felt a desire to seek the Light, their position is anomalous and might well be classified either as Eldarian or as not Eldarian (*The Lhammas*, p. 188). In the *Lammasethen* Tolkien explains that they 'have a middle place' (*The Lhammas*, p. 195).
- 29 *Tolkien Encyclopedia*, pp.341-42. On the historical background of Taliskan, see Christopher Gilson, 'Elvish and Mannish', *Vinyar Tengwar*, 4.33 (1994), 10-26 (pp. 11-12).
- 30 As Christopher Tolkien points out, it is not clear why in the *Lammasethen* Tolkien states Taliskan to be 'of Quendian origin' while in 'The Tree of Tongues' accompanying the *Lammasethen*, 'influence' not direct descent is suggested (the *Lhammas*, p. 196).
- 31 Tolkien describes the Adunaic in his 'Lowdham's Report on the Adunaic Language' in *Sauron Defeated: The End of the Third Age (The History of The*

- Lord of the Rings Part Four*), ed. by Christopher Tolkien (London: Harper Collins, 1992), pp. 413-40. See also *Tolkien Encyclopedia*, p. 342; Gilson, 'Elvish and Mannish', pp. 10-11.
- 32 On the Common Speech, Westron, see *Tolkien Encyclopedia*, pp. 342-43; Carl F. Hostetter and Patrick Wynne, 'There are Fairies at the Bottom of our Garden!', *Vinyar Tengwar*, 4.32 (1993), 11-14.
- 33 Thomas Honegger points out the contradiction 'between Tolkien's theoretical conception of the "relative linguistic distance" between the Mannish languages and his concrete implementation of these languages as Old English (for Rohirric) and modern English (for the Westron) in his narrative works', in 'The Westron Turned into Modern English: The Translator and Tolkien's Web of Languages', in *Translating Tolkien: Text and Film*, ed. by Thomas Honegger (Zurich and Berne: Walking Tree Publishers, 2004), pp. 1-20 (p. 17).
- 34 See 'Simplified Depiction of the Development of Some Mannish Languages' and 'Simplified Depiction of the Development of the Germanic Languages' in Honegger, 'The Westron Turned into Modern English', pp. 12-13. See also Tsukus Ito, *Yubiwa-monogatari: elf-go wo yomu [Elvish in Middle-earth]* (Tokyo: Seishun Shuppan, 2004), pp. 77-79.
- 35 Tolkien uses 'men' with a lower case 'm' when referring to the language spoken, but an uppercase 'M' when referring to the people. I have retained this practice below.
- 36 According to the *OED*, 'swert' is a spelling variation used in the 15th and the 17th centuries.
- 37 *Tolkien Encyclopedia*, pp. 140-41.
- 38 *Tolkien Encyclopedia*, p. 622. See also Paul Kocher, *Master of Middle-earth: The Achievement of J. R. R. Tolkien* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974), p. 20.
- 39 Brian McFadden, 'Fear of Difference, Fear of Death: the *Sigelwara*, Tolkien's Swertings and Racial Difference', in *Tolkien's Modern Middle Ages*, pp. 155-69. See also Jane Chance, 'Tolkien and the Other: Race and Gender in Middle-earth', in *Tolkien's Modern Middle Ages*, pp. 171-86; J. R. R. Tolkien, 'Sigelwara Land', *Medium Ævum*, 1 (1932), 183-96 and 3 (1934), 95-111.
- 40 Regrettably, limitations of space preclude here a detailed analysis of Tolkien's use of the word 'swarthy', an adjective also employed by G. K. Chesterton and Arthur Conan Doyle in pejorative contexts.

- 41 *Tolkien Encyclopedia*, p. 622. See also Anderson Rearick, 'Why is the Only Good Orc a Dead Orc? The Dark Face of Racism Examined in Tolkien's World', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 50 (2004), 861-74.
- 42 In the moral geography of the Middle-earth, both the East and the South are connected with evil and the enemy. See *Tolkien Encyclopedia*, pp. 138-40, 622.
- 43 According to 'Appendix F' (p. 408), there is no record of any language peculiar to Hobbits; they seem always to have used 'the language of Men near whom, or among whom, they lived'. The Hobbits of the Shire and of Bree had adopted Westron for probably a thousand years by the time of the *The Lord of the Rings*. Hobbits' own tongue before they adopted Westron was a Mannish language related to that of the Rohirrim. In other words, it was related to Taliska, the ancestor language of the Westron.
- 44 To the Shire-folk, the Hobbits of Buckland, who live near or in the Old Forest which is 'a dark bad place' are perceived as 'queer' (*The Fellowship of the Ring*, p. 30). The folk of the Marish are also 'in many ways peculiar' ('Appendix F', p. 413). See Jane Chance, 'Tolkien and the Other', p. 176.
- 45 J. R. R. Tolkien, 'Guide to the Names in *The Lord of the Rings*', in *A Tolkien Compass*, ed. by Jared Lobdell (New York: Ballantine, 1975), pp. 168-216 (p. 183).
- 46 'Occurs in numerous place-names in *coombe*, and has become a common-noun in English' (Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, p. 510).
- 47 A. D. Mills, *A Dictionary of British Place-Names* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, 2003), p. 74.
- 48 Mills, p. 75.
- 48 Mills, p. 111.
- 50 Allan Turner discusses the 'pseudotranslation' device in Allan Turner, *Translating Tolkien: Philological Elements in 'The Lord of the Rings'* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2005), pp. 34-40.
- 51 Malcolm Chapman finds an allusion to the northern British kingdom of Gododdin in Anor, from where a descendant of the kings [=Aragorn] comes to restore the greatness of former years. He says 'the Elves are, in a sense, p-Celts of a British (perhaps Welsh or Cumbrian) type, while the Men (or at least all the good men) are mostly Anglo-Saxons or Scandinavians' (Chapman, p. 247).
- 52 Aneirin, *Y Gododdin: Britain's Oldest Heroic Poem*, ed. and trans. by A. O. H. Jarman (Llandysul: Gomer Press, 1988, 2005) pp. xiii-xiv.

- 53 *The Celtic Heroic Age: Literary Sources for Ancient Celtic Europe & Early Ireland & Wales*, ed. by John T. Koch (Oakville: Celtic Studies Publications, 1994, 2001), p. 34.
- 54 Patrick Sims-Williams, 'The Visionary Celt: The Construction of an Ethnic Preconception', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 11 (Summer 1986), 71-96 (p. 78).
- 55 Stuart Piggott, *Celts, Saxons, and the Early Antiquaries* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), pp. 1-23 (p. 17).
- 56 Sims-Williams, p. 76.
- 57 See Joep Leerssen, 'Celticism' in *Celticism*, ed. by Terence Brown (Amsterdam-Atlanta: Rodopi, 1996), pp. 1-20. Needless to say, Tolkien did not use the term 'Celticism' as it was brought into currency by W. J. McCormack in 1985.
- 58 Cf. 'Appendix F', p. 415; J. R. R. Tolkien, *Tolkien On Fairy Stories: Expanded Edition, with Commentary and Notes*, ed. by Verlyn Flieger and Douglas A. Anderson (London: Harper Collins, 2008), pp. 28-32. Tolkien claims that an English fairy-lore is 'more true than anything to be found in Celtic lands', where the Irish and Welsh 'tell garbled things'. *The Book of Lost Tales, Part II*, p. 290. Fimi points out the 'Anglo-Saxon pride syndrome' in Tolkien (Fimi, "'Mad" Elves and "elusive beauty"', pp. 160-61).
- 59 See Eliabeth Massa Hoiem, 'World Creation as Colonization: British Imperialism in "Aldarion and Erendis"', *Tolkien Studies*, 2 (2005), 75-92 (p. 83).
- 60 The Phial of Galadriel, the star-glass, contains the Light of Eärendil's star, which was a Silmaril, which in turn gathered the Light of the Two Trees before they were destroyed by Ungoliant, from whom Shelob is descended.
- 61 Tolkien warns us, however, that it is too simplistic to view the process whereby the English language was established in Britain as "'Teutons" driving out and dispossessing "Celts"' ('English and Welsh', p. 169). In fact it is now believed that there were large numbers of Brittonic speakers within the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms for several centuries but the fact remains that Brittonic failed to remain the *lingua franca* of Britain. This phenomenon has not been adequately explained either by historians or linguists (Christopher A. Snyder, *The Britons* (Malden: Blackwell, 2003), p. 255).