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СООБЩЕНИЯ

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The paper focuses on the British family name *Broderick* that for many years was believed, but never adequately explained, to derive from the British personal name *Rhydderch*. However, in the recently published *Oxford Dictionary of Family Surnames in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford University Press, 2016) the editors have changed tack and suggested that the name may in fact be a nickname derived from Middle English meaning 'broad-backed, broad shouldered', found also in English place-names in the north of England to mean 'broad ridge', etc. The editors supply ample examples of both the family name and the place-name in all its spellings. Whilst the forms may be suitable in place-names the given forms in the context of the family name *Broderick* seem to be late, as the name itself looks to be of much earlier provenance. In looking at the name the author argues that the family name *Broderick* in fact derives from the British personal name *Rhydderch* and seeks to explain the relevant phonological developments.

K e y w o r d s: Welsh language, Celtic languages, English language, British anthroponymy, surname, personal name, nickname, etymology.

1. Introduction

The British family name *Broderick* has generally been held to be a Welsh surname, developed from the British personal name *Rhydderch* or *Rhyddyrch*. The latest known discussion on the matter is to be found in [Morgan & Morgan, 1985, *183–185*], where it is believed that *Rhydderch* is the basis of the name. However, [Ibid., *185*] express doubts about certain aspects of the phonological development. In the recently published *Oxford Dictionary of Family Names in Britain and Ireland*, edited by Patrick Hanks,

Richard Coates, and Peter McClure [ODFNBI], the editors approach the matter from quite a different standpoint, suggesting under the header *Broderick* (q.v.) that the name is a nickname of Middle English provenance meaning 'broad-backed', or as a locative name referring to a broad ridge of land. This is, indeed, a thought-provoking suggestion and its locative references to my mind are credible, in that quasi-parallels can be found outside Yorkshire, for instance, in the Isle of Man. There the headland name *Bradda* near Port Erin [PNIM, 6, *362*] is believed to derive from ON *bratt-höfuð* 'steep headland', or possibly from ME *bradhou* 'broad headland'.

However, with regard to a personal name my own view is that, though a ME solution is possible and cannot be ruled out, a ME form would seem to be late and that the name appears to be much older. The editors of [ODFNBI] briefly discuss a possible derivation from the British personal name *Rhydderch*, but cast doubt on certain phonological aspects of the explanation.

2. Oxford Dictionary entry of the family name *Broderick*

The editors of the *Oxford Dictionary of Family Names in Britain and Ireland* begin their entry of the family name Broderick as follows [ODFNBI, s. n.]:

> **Variants:** Brodrick, Broadrick, Bretherick
> **Current frequencies:** GB 2133, Ireland 2093
> **GB frequency 1881:** 989
> **Main GB location 1881:** N England: esp. Lancs
> **Main Irish location 1847–64:** S Ireland: esp. Galway
> 1 English: (i) locative name perhaps from Middle English brad (Old English *brād*) 'broad' + northern Middle English *rigg* (Old English *hrycg*) 'ridge of land'. The 1301 reference suggests that the source would be an unidentified locality near Reeth in upper Swaledale (NR Yorks). (ii) nickname from Middle English *brad + rigg*, denoting someone with a broad back. Compare the synonymous Lincs nickname Brathebak', 1327 (first element in a Scandinavian form), Bradbak', 1332 in Jönsjö, Nicknames, p. 62.

The dictionary article also notes:

> The *-a-* in *Bradrigg* was often pronounced long, as indicated in *Braydrigge* (1656). Through the influence of Standard English broad it came to be altered to *Broadrig*, *Brodrigg* and *Broderick*. In WR Yorks it appears as *Bredrick* and *Bretherick* (with a shortened form of the *-ay-* vowel), side by side with *Broderick* and *Brotherick*. For similar names see *Bradridge* and *Brotheridge*.

The [ODFNBI] provides the following information on the early bearers of the name:

> William Bradrigg, 1301 in Subsidy Rolls (Reeth, Swaledale, NR Yorks); Thomas Braderyg, 1470 in York Freemen's Register; Simon Bradrigge, 1539 in Rievaulx Cartulary (Oxnop, Swaledale, NR Yorks); Tho. Bretherick, 1617, Anthony Brederický, 1634, Bethel Brodericke, 1664 in IGI (Leeds, WR Yorks); Mgt. Brodrigg, 1639, Mgt. Bradrike, 1642, Geo Bradrick, 1694, Wm. Brodrick, 1763 in IGI (Muker, Swaledale, NR Yorks);

John Broadrig, 1655, Christopher Bradrig, 1660, Ann Broderick, 1793 in IGI (Whitby, NR Yorks); Edward Brederike, 1656 in IGI (Upholland, Lancs); Sara Bretherick, 1669, Grace Brotherick, 1709 in IGI (Armley, WR Yorks); Elizabeth Brodrick, 1756 in IGI (Preston, Lancs).

And gives some further information on the name's phonology:

Some dictionaries suppose that *Broderick* is a Welsh patronymic, *ab + Rhydderch* (anglicized as *Roderick*). There is no biographical evidence for this (it is an Irish family name in Wales) and, as Morgan and Morgan point out, it is phonetically improbable since *ab* before the voiceless Welsh R- regularly becomes *ap* (see *Prothero*). Morgan and Morgan wonder if there might be parallels for this irregular sound change in *Brobbin*, if for Probyn, and in *Brothero(e)*, if for Prothero, but these are English names of quite different origins; see Brobin, Brothwood.

However, I would see matters differently.

3. *Rhydderch* in *Welsh Surnames* by Morgan & Morgan

If we look at [Morgan & Morgan, 1985, *183–185*] v.s. *Rhydderch* we find the following:

One of the North British rulers of the sixth century was called *Rhydderch*; his epithet at times being *Hen* ['old'], but generally *Hael* ['generous, liberal']; for early references to *Rodarchus*, *Rodercus*, *Rederch* v. LHEB 658, 662, 710, and TYP 504-05; in Nennius he is *Riderc hen*, in other genealogies *Retherc hael* <…>. It was a fairly common name in the med<ieval> period, and it was the kind of name which by its very nature brought about a variety of adaptations and spellings <…>. The simple straight-forward development would be to have an 'English' spelling *Rhytherch*, and for *ab +* to give *Prydderch*, *Prytherch*. The other changes took place in the final syllable, in the writing system of English words such as '-burgh, borough, boro, thorough' produced *Rohero*, *Protherough*, *Protheroe*, so that the pronunciations, in the English and official context came to follow the spelling. As a result *Prydderch* (*Prytherch*) and *Protherough*, *Protheroe* have quite different pronunciations. And one may surmise that the first syllable came to have *-o-*, as in 'mother, brother', it tended to change to the quality of 'bother'. Quite apart from the orthographic adaptation on the pattern of 'borough, boro', the sound of *-erch* as pronounced in Welsh was extremely difficult to put into writing and scribes seemed to have heard an epenthetic sound between *r* and *ch* which is shown by such spellings as 'Rotherech'.
The other change was the use of *Roderick* to replace *Rhydderch*, so that it came to be regarded as the standard form <…> *Roderic* came to be used in the first place for another name, i.e. *Rhodri*. <…>. The custom of calling persons named *Rhodri* "Rodericus" or *Roderick* doubtless partly came from falsely equating the Welsh name with the similar Gothic one <…>, then followed other examples of 'equation' such as *Edward* and *Iorwerth*, and actual examples of treating *Roderick* as anglicised from *Rhydderch* <…> [Morgan & Morgan, 1985, *183–184*].

Morgan & Morgan [1985, *184–185*] now cite the following examples. In early and early modern texts:

B13, 229, SR1292:[1] **Treharn ab Retherech**.[2]
B24, 187, Fasti Cist. Camb. 204: **John Rodryke / John Rotherith** (**Rotherhithe**).
BBSt.D 50: **Rether ap Cadogan**.
Cat.AncDeeds V.13268: Anglesea [sic]: **Rederych ap David**, V.12144 Hereford: **...sons
of Wronou son of Rethergh**, VI. 4273 Chester date 1333 **Thomas, son of Rothoric**.
CAP 1455: **Rethergh...Retherg, Rethregh ap Rees**.
B6, 73, Eliz. Docs: **Rotherche dd ap Rotherche alis Gwyn**.
B10, 85: **John ap Rutherch** suber = 86, **John ap Ryddz** syber, Kemes Pems 16c.
DLancaster (Kidwelly 1609) 181...**Redderch**; 230: **David Pretherake**.
Star CP 158: Cards **Ievan ap Rudder**, 161: **Php Protheroth**.
WPortBooks 222: **Owen Rotherugh** = 224: **Rotherghe**.
InvECP 17 Caerns 1538: **John ap Redragh**, 29 Merion 1538: **Ritharche...**
CRHaverford 22: **Henry Preddergh**, 186 **Harry Retheraughe**.

In the Shropshire Registers:

Ludlow 14 (1585): **John ap Rothers**, 17 (1590): **Elnor Throwtherege**.
Winstanstow 39 (1691): **Pothero**.
Easton-under-Heywood, 1 (1627): **Prothro**, 4 (1663): **Prutherock**.
Condover 89 (1637): **Pritherg**, 165 (1706): **Putheror** (Index **Putheroe**).

Another variation:

Hodnet 79 (1717–18): **John Protherah**, 231 (1780): **Martha Protheroe**, 156 (1756):
Mary Prothera.
Edgmond 173 (1766) **Pruthery** (MM185).

Some examples with *B*-:
 Meole Brace 216: **Broderick**.
St. Chad's, Index **Braderick** <...>.
(Provision of a *B*-form with an etymology):
Wrockwardine 187 (1756): **Ann. d. of Robert Brotheroe**, 190 (1758): **Elizabeth d.
of Robert Brotherwood and Mary**.

The modern electoral registers provide the following examples:

Rederick: Ludlow, Much Wenlock, Cheadle, Heald Green Ward 1.
Rotherick: Leominster, Eye.
Broderick: fairly widespread — Ludlow, Much Wenlock, Wrekin, Stockton-Albrighton,
Tong-Albrighton, City of Hereford, Stroud, Chalford 3, Painswick, Stonehouse, etc.
Brodrick: CT, Coln St Aldwyn, Stroud, Nailsworth; Bromsgrove (No.-3 S. West).
Bretherick: Bromsgrove (No.-3 West), Wirral, Barnston, Haswell; West Flint, Rhyl
East, East Flint, Hawarden (Manor and Rake).
Boderick: Bl. Gwent, Abertillery, Nantyglo.
Brotherwood: Monmouth, Trelech United (v. PRWrockwardine above);

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[1] With the exception of CT and TYP, which are noted below, see [Morgan & Morgan, 1985, *36–40*]
for the other abbreviations and references.
[2] Bold forms are mine. — *G. B.*

Brotheridge (? -*idge* from -*erch*) CT, Chipping Camden, Chipping Camden Lower / Upper, Leckhampton; Kidderminster, Tenbury, Cheadle, Marple (South Ward 1) [Variants of *Broderick* occur frequently, and the *Br*-form is difficult to explain at present. The same difficulty arises with names like *Brobben*, *Brobbin*, etc., occuring side by side with *Proben*, *Probyn*, etc.].[3]

Other examples:

Rotheray is not frequent, Runcorn, Lymm — Booths Hill; Copeland, Ennerdale and Kinniside; South Worcs., Malvern East — Langland;
Rothery is widespread and frequent in the constituencies of Barrow-in-Furness, Copeland, Workington.

Putting things on hold for the moment Morgan & Morgan [1985, *185*] state:

Because of the frequency of the name <Rothery & var.> in N.W. England, it would be safer to conclude that it is indigenous to the area, although it could still be of British origin, but the name is best left to scholars approaching from another direction. We also find that it occurs fairly early in the records of the North West <of England>:
PR Great Orton 10 (1612): **George Roddery** = 11 (1617) **...Rothery**.
PR Penrith 1559: **Roddery**, PR Penrith (St. Andrews) Index: **Rodderie** (several).
PR Bridekirk Index: **Rothery** (several) and **Rotherie** (MM185).

In comparing the two lists, i.e. that made by the Oxford Dictionary editors and that of the Morgans, two things become immediately apparent: 1) the similarity of the name *Broderick* in its various orthographical forms, and 2) the frequency of the British personal name *Rhydderch*[4] (vel sim.), not only in Wales, but also in many parts of Northern England, which in the latter case would to my mind speak for a close co-existence between Briton and Anglo-Saxon at an early stage of their encounter.

4. A possible solution?

The crux of the matter is whether the family name *Broderick* is a nickname, as maintained by the editors of [ODFNBI], or is a derivative from a British personal name, as hoped for by [Morgan & Morgan, 1985] above, and as believed to be the case by the present writer. The heart of the matter lies in the development of Welsh L and R in Wales. In this regard, Kenneth Jackson [LHEB, *475–477*] has this to say:

Pr.W. non-lenited L, LL, and initial R(< R(R)-) <…> are the immediate source of λ and ρ̇ <…>. We must regard λ and ρ̇ <…> as having come into being as a secondary

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[3] Square bracketing by Morgan & Morgan. — *G. B.*
[4] Earlier *rydyrch*, *Rydirch* < Br. *ry dyrch*, *derc* 'good sight, good-looking; famous, illustrious, excellent' [cf. GPC, 50, *3131–3132*] < PIE **derk* 'blicken', OIr. *derc* 'Auge', *air-derc* 'berühmt' [IEW, 1, *213*]. The British patronymic *fab Rydyrch* would enter OE something like */brə'dɛrɪk/, with stress on the second (middle) syllable; with OE initial stress it would become something like */'bradərɪk/, */'brɛdərɪk/ or */'brɔdərɪk/ with variable initial syllable; with syncope */'bradrɪk/, */'brɛdrɪk/, */'brɔdrɪk/, etc. It would not necessarily be regarded as a patronymic in OE, but simply as an ordinary name, as later *Protheroe*, *Brobbin*, etc.

feature out of non-lenited L and R by being unvoiced through keeping their strong articulation. In the case of non-lenited R the unvoicing took place only in the Pr.W. initial, and in the secondary homorganic groups after /n/ and /r/ (as in *penrhyn*, *y(r) rhan* (fem.). Otherwise <…> the R fell together with the lenited variety in r, including the geminate RR which became mere voiced rr, not ṙṙ <…>. The spelling *rh* for ṙ was not invented until the sixteenth century [LHEB, *475–477*].

As to the timing of these developments in Welsh Jackson comes to the following conclusion:

> The conclusion appears to be as follows: In Late Brit., non-lenited L, R and -LL-, -RR- stood side by side with lenited l, r. With R there was probably, and with L and LL possibly, already a facultative voiceless variety; with initial R this allophone has remained to the present in Breton, and in Cornish it appears to have survived at least into the later tenth century; in Pr.W., however, the voicelessness of both liquids must have become sharpened and increased to such an extent that it resulted finally in new phonemes, λ (with λλ) and ṙ. The process seems to have been a slow one, and neither λ nor ṙ were sufficiently exaggerated to be noticed as peculiar sounds by the English during the settlement period, nor at all until the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries <…>. Probably we may regard λ and ṙ as being fully established by the tenth century [LHEB, *480*].

What does all this mean in practical terms? As Jackson notes above that "neither λ nor ṙ were sufficiently exaggerated to be noticed as peculiar sounds by the English during the settlement period, nor at all until the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries," this would suggest that until the tenth century the English would hear a fortis initial /R-/, the name written something like *ruderik (vel sim.) in English, later *ruderik (vel sim.), later Roderick (cf. above), in the personal name *Rhyddyrch*, and a fortis /vab R-/ in its use as a patronymic, viz. *fab Rydderch*, written something like *brəderik (vel sim.) in English, later *bradrik / *bredrik / *brodrik (vel sim.), later Broderick (vel sim.).

But when in the tenth century Early Welsh (and apparently only in Welsh — in no other British dialect) fortis initial R- became voicesless, viz. ṙ, later written *rh*-, in the simple personal name and *ap Rh-* in the patronymic (leading to forms such as *Protheroe* — vel sim.), already existing forms in English, such as *brodrik from the pre-tenth century form *fab Rydderch* would not be affected by the devoicing in Early Welsh of fortis R- to ṙ, but that this devoicing would create new forms in English with initial *Rh-* in simple names, and *ap Rh-* in patronymics, viz. *Protheroe*, etc. That is to say, we now have a series of doublets in English for *Rhydderch*, forms in /R-/, /vab R-/ before the tenth century and forms in /ṙ-/, /ap ṙ-/ after the tenth century, i.e. *brodrik ~ *prodrik / protheroe (spelling pronunciation), Brobben ~ Proben, Brobbin ~ Probyn?, etc., but in Welsh only. In other dialects, such as Cumbric, where *Rhydderch* does appear from time to time,[5] no alteration at all in the name would take place, i.e. /R-/, /vab R-/ all the way through.

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[5] Cf. Morgan & Morgan [1985, *183*] above.

With regard to the possibility of the family name *Broderick* being a nickname, Richard Coates has already pointed out that Germanic peoples are "past masters in the art of analogical reformation," i.e. at seeking to explain names unfamiliar to them in terms of their own language. As an example Coates [1988, *22*] cites the Scandinavian forms for various Hebridean islands:

- their *Ljódhús* (Lewis) as if 'song-house',
- their *Í-vist* (Uist) as if 'inner-abode' [cf. Field, 1980, s.n.],
- their *Skið* (Skye) as if 'wooden hut',
- their *Tyrvist* as if 'food-land' (from a folk-etymology of G. *Tir-ithe* — OIr./MIr. *ithe* 'act of eating' translated by *vist*),
- their *Íl* (Islay) (monosyllable) as if 'spring',
- their *Orknaeyjar* (Orkney Islands) as if 'seal islands' (ON *orkn* 'seal') instead of the expected ***Orkeayjar* (cf. Ptol. II, 3, 31 Ὀρκάδες {Orkades}).

In addition, given the frequency of the name *Rhydderch* (Eng. *Rothery*, variously spelt), in Wales, the Welsh borders, and in Northern England, as noted by Morgan & Morgan [1985, *184–185*] above, this name is in my view responsible for English forms in *r-*, *br-*, including those in *br-* noted by the Oxford Dictionary editors for Yorkshire (above), and that suggestions of nicknames deriving from Middle English, in the context of analogical reformation, would be secondary, if at all.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Br./Brit.	British	ON	Old Norse
CT	*Canu Taliesin* [see Williams, 1960]	PIE	Proto Indo-European
Eng.	English	PR	Parish Registers
G	Gaelic	Pr.W.	Primitive (i.e. Early) Welsh
OE	Old English	Ptol.	Ptolemy
OIr.	Old Irish	TYP	*Trioedd Ynys Prydein* [see Bromwich, 1961]

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RHYDDERCH — BRODERICK?

Статья посвящена британской фамилии *Broderick*, которая, как давно считается (хотя эта версия так и не получила всестороннего адекватного объяснения), является производным от британского личного имени *Rhydderch*. В недавно опубликованном «Оксфордском словаре фамилий Британии и Ирландии» (*Oxford Dictionary of Family Surnames in Britain and Ireland*, 2016) редакторы заняли иную позицию, интерпретируя эту фамилию как прозвище, восходящее к среднеанглийскому слову со значением '<имеющий> широкую спину, широкие плечи', которое также зафиксировано в топонимии севера Англии в значении 'широкий мост'. Составители словаря дают множество вариантов соответствующих фамилии и топоосновы, приводя примеры их функционирования. И хотя для объяснения топонимных образований приводимые формы вполне пригодны, они не могут объяснить появление фамилии *Broderick*, которая, по мнению автора, возникла существенно раньше упоминаемых в словаре случаев. Автор отстаивает традиционную точку зрения, согласно которой фамилия *Broderick* восходит к личному имени *Rhydderch*, и пытается объяснить соответствующие фонетические переходы.

К л ю ч е в ы е с л о в а: валлийский язык, кельтские языки, английский язык, британская антропонимия, фамилия, личное имя, этимология.