ENGLISH AND WELSH PLACE-NAMES IN THREE LORDSHIPS OF FLINTSHIRE

The north-east corner of Flintshire, from the Cheshire border to the Clwyd hills and from the River Dee south to the borders of Denbighshire, is an area which has never fitted easily into the administrative pattern of the rest of the Welsh principality but has exhibited an English system of organization, first into Mercian tuns and later into Marcher lordships. Thus, the influence of the English was initially as much demographic as linguistic. Of the tuns place-names in The Domesday Book for the whole of Wales, a high proportion are in N.E. Wales - 14 out of the 25 in fact. The concept of secondary colonization for tuns can be seen as a distinct pattern around the primary settlement of Hawarden. There are no fewer than 6 of these Mercian satellite settlements within a few miles of Hawarden. One of them, Higher Kinnerton, is shared with Cheshire's Lower Kinnerton; Kinnerton belonged to Gwyneuried and John Dodgson has shown that nearby three other tuns in Cheshire show a personal name: Balderton, Dodleston, and Marlston. Of the other five near Hawarden only one, Bretton, has a personal name. If this really is the settlement of the Brettons, the Britons, it shows a very early Mercian saturation of the area, so that the Brets were as distinctive a feature here as they were perhaps at Malpas in Cheshire, or as Dr M.L. Fauld puts it: 'places showing evidence of British survival in the kingdom of Elmet in Yorkshire' (regarded in the period after the English take-over as having a noticeable British character).

The four remaining tuns are descriptive. Broughton is on a brook (brêch), Shotton is on a steep slope (scof), the lost Clifton was on clayey soil, probably near the modern Clay Hill in Aston. Aston itself is interesting but not for any linguistic reason: 'east' tuns is fairly clear from the early evidence - but there lies the trap. Aston is not east of Hawarden; if anything it is to the west. Why was it 'Weston'? The answer is that it must be east of somewhere, a satellite of a centre other than Hawarden. The linguistic evidence is plain. The historian and archaeologist would do well to consider more carefully the importance of Elys Edwin, Edwin's court, near Northop, considered by name to be the lost Domeday Castetton (but which itself appears to be a tun). Additional evidence to support this comes from the village south of Northop, the Shoton, modern English Soughton, Welsh Sychlyn.

The English influence continued in the imposition of a manorial system. One township in the Lordship of Hawarden is called Manor, and Warren is still the name of an area south of the castle. Another area on the outskirts of Hawarden town was Outon (Ol-tun) later corrupted to Oulton, as if it were 'Old-town' because of the emergence in 1631 of a Newtown alongside the River Dee. In the Welsh areas the Englishman became a distinctive feature rather than the norm as in the saturated English areas. We have reference to land as the property of some anonymous Englishmen, 'y Sassen', as if it were some colony rather like the tuns of the Brets. He finds Nan y Sassen, Caer y Sassen, Ynol y Sassen, Ynol y Eol (heol) Sais ('Brook', 'field', 'road'); or if his name were known, the additional appellation 'Sais' marked him off so that there was no mistake, as in the mansion or plac called Plas Lysett Says.

Is there any evidence of a Danish settlement? It has been suggested that there is, mainly on the basis of the concentration of dun names near Hawarden: Saladin's Dale, Croomdale, Warmdale, Dobbsdale, Linkerdale, Fearnley Dale, Dale Hill, Martensdale, Oakdale. Because the forms appear fairly late, one is reluctantly drawn to the conclusion that this is only further evidence of immigration from an area in England where dale is a common element rather than actual evidence of a Danish settlement. There is even a stream running through this very area near Hawarden called Dana Brook. Again
reluctantly, 'Danes' is rejected (on the grounds of late appearance) and the Welsh form is offered. However it must be acknowledged that the dale-group and the brook are sufficiently close to Hawarden town to indicate a Danish occupation of this strategic position.

It was inevitable that the Englishman should leave his linguistic mark and later in this paper attention is drawn to a few dialect variants which need to be considered in any dialect study of the West Midlands and the north of England. Here it will suffice to note the distinctive accent and dialect associated with Budleigh, Welsh Dulcie, the small Anglicization to further the industrial exploitation of coal and clay. Shropshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire appear to be the principal areas from which workers emigrated. Place-names studies ignore this fact at their peril, as does local account of a few field-names: In Capper I, a field name, was ingeniously explained as the personal-name Capper, found occasionally in the area, and the T-junction formed at the main road by the footpath running through this field. However the Tithe Schedule has quite clearly Copewell Hey, which when shown recently to the elderly owner of that field was still pronounced unhesitatingly 'Copper'! He owns a nearby field called Catheby on the Tithe Schedule but pronounced by him 'gittis'.13 The two fields are in an area called the Goody, (guddi) or (gudd), from the Goody Pit once used for ducking ditches, frequently referred to in dialect as 'goody'.

The above Tinkersdale,14 together with Pedders Field, reflects the continuous movement of people in this gateway into Wales. There are references to itinerant workers in the Parish Registers15 and several places-names suggest that many ceased their wanderings here: Irishman's Moor, and its Welsh version elsewhere Rhos y Gywddel, Dublin, Cork, Vinegar Hill; Scotch Row, Scotland. Welsh Field in England Laddie is the name of a tavern later abbreviated to the Highland, which most confusingly appears on later maps. The national names indicate once more a group, or even a ghetto, which on occasions was established by deliberate policy: there are several such ethnic hamlets, one in particular, the Pentre, the Pentrehamlet, from the Dictionary of National Biography. An early 20th century and more Welsh workers coming down to the traditional English area into a hamlet built for them by the local coal pit owners, Rigby and Hancock. Another colliery owner, Cathall, built a similar hamlet near Arged, Mold, which become known as Pentre Cathall, but after long, no doubt to reflect local working conditions and repressed labour relations of the times, Pentre Cathall had become Pentre Cythrel, 'the devil's hamlet'.16

In 1910 the pattern still prevailed with the building of a village near Queensferry to accommodate 250 Staffordshire workers for Shotton Steelworks.17

It is inevitable in such a bilingual cauldron that the separate linguistic ingredients will blend to produce a new mixture with its own characteristic flavour. To use another metaphor, the line between one language and another becomes blurred. We could think in terms of a Welsh dialect of English. Strut appears regularly for 'street' and was evidently used by English and Welsh speakers: caia is a spelling and pronunciation of the plural of cae 'field', and is the name of an electoral ward in Wrexham today. The two Gwerries have a plural of gwer 'dog, swamp'. There is ample evidence of the English goose being used for the Welsh core 'marsh, swamp' with the plural core corresponding to Welsh coesyd. Did the Person's Croft indicate that the tribe had a common usage of names in two languages? Not by all, it would appear, because it adjures Parson's Garden.

Other words, however, were too infrequently used to have become a recognizable part of a dialect of English; popular etymology made short work of them. Cae was recognizable in caia but when compounded with another element frequently lost its significance: Cae Mount is cae pen mount 'the field at the top of the hill'; Key Mount is the 'hill field'. Kidlake is cadas enclosure, yard, while Street lane is the tree-lined green street. Dole is a Welsh term but is in fact Welsh dowl 'meadow'. Some documents consistently spell 'house' as place.18 Green or 'moor, meadow' lends itself to 'wain' especially in hybrids as in Gravel pit Wain or the rather confusing hay wain which ends up as Hay Wain. Drain Field did have a wider sense running the Ticky but has been drained through a thorn-bushes. Splendidly resounding with its martial ring is Cwmbethall, far more exciting than camfa bells 'the further stile'. Tiperdown has a pleasant English ring to it, far more pleasant than the original Ty purdan 'purgatory hollow'. It is not known whether the original hollow or the loss of his spiritual salvation or his martial bliss - perhaps the English version of Tiperdown had - in fact a more sinister significance.

The preceding examples show the natural process of one language absorbing another, the immigrants accepting the names as they stood and hearing them so frequently that they became part of their own everyday usage. Another contrary process is also at work: a disregard of the existing names and a fresh start in naming fields or places; the vast majority of English names in the area fell into this category. There is however a third category, neither an attempt to adapt nor a determination to reject, but a conscious effort to translate the Welsh name. This usually took place when an English tenant took over land from, or shared land with a Welsh tenant and gave an English name to the field-name. Hence we find White field adjacent to Cae Gwn, New field adjacent to Cae Newbyd, Barn field to Cae Ysgubor, Long Croft to Erw Hir, Spring field to Hendog, Lane Field to Erw Cain, Lake Field to Erw Fwl. Occasionally the Welsh names were still left but a tenant was pulling his co-tenantry's coat (Pentre Dulas 'green field') but of course glas can mean 'blue' and there are examples of Blue field, Blue Croft, Upper Blue Croft. Perhaps he thought blue more appropriate to the political affiliations of the Englishman, or his own command of English did not match: he would live here, enjoying the atmosphere of the usual olive-green or the occasionally more 'true' Dduol'r Iaenog, itself a corruption of dolennog 'meandering, winding' used of a river, but ends up as the English Wooley Meadow. Was this another linguistic joke at the expense of the credulous newcomer?

It is worthwhile to note briefly here a pattern of settlement which is becoming increasingly obvious, but which in fact merely repeats the colony of Breton, the ghetto of Penre, or the implanted suburban development of Garden City. In the English field-names the Welsh core names are permanently uncharacteristic but almost invariably form a group. The English immigrant settled, bought or rented land, a croft, or a house, and his property formed an English nucleus, an island of Anglicization. Distribution maps make the field-name group obvious: collating this with tenant or owner might give a clearer pattern, in so far as one can judge the language of the tenant from his name at a distance of two centuries, but that is a reasonable guide has been confirmed by the reverse of this process in the township of Hannel in the Lordship of Hawarden.19 Here a very English area had pockets of Welsh field-names which were held by tenants with traditionally Welsh names: Beavan, Davies, Rynalt (i.e. Rheinau), Bennon, John Thomas, Samuel Huett, Edward Griffith, while the other 'normal' English names were held by such people as Atkins, Hill, Lee, Prince, Wainwright, Wilcox, and Astbury.20

The question might be asked: how does this area differ from England in character? Is it a Welsh spirit as well as a Welsh tongue? How do we have to depend on Croeso i Gymru to know that we are in Sealand, Garden City, Queensferry, and Aston? It is certainly more poetic to find a triangular field described not as 'Leg of Hutton field' or 'Corner Field' but as Erw Delyn 'the harp acres'. In the more mystical Celtic and relatively Celtic and relatively English way of life we have to hear a tumulus, a burial mound, referred to as Arfeddogaedd y Wrasch, 'the witch's apron'.21 All the public houses, however, have English names.
Some pay due respect to local gentry or distant landowners: Glynne Arms, Derby Arms, Harper Arms, Talbot Inn; others have one eye on the English Lion White Lion, while, or Black and the other eye on the conspicuous Boar's Head; others more hope of secular preferment preserve their respects to the Crown; others with more ecclesiastical ambition trust in the Crown.

Buckley could have been transplanted from Staffordshire and more latterly taken to be a suburb of Merseyside. But it would have been fascinating many centuries ago to observe some of these Welsh and English place-names evolving, to listen to changing sounds, the result of which today can only be deduced. Professor Melville Richards has proved that while virtuous presta-Ton, 'ton of the priests', became in time Preston, it was the Welsh system of accentuation with the stress on the penultimate syllable which caused presta-ton to become prestu-ton to give us Mr Preston, 24 Professor K. Jackson has similarly shown that the Anglo-Norse hybrid Carlauten withstood the normal English syncope which would have given 'Carlton', instead the Cumbran stress on the second syllable preserved it as Carlatten. 23 It is contended in this paper that this stress system explains the discrepancy between the spelling and pronunciation of Hawarden 'the high enclosure' (hha = ward) The modern pronunciation 'Harden' represents the normal elided English development whereas the 'Hawarden' spelling represents the Welsh stress. To Buckton is adequate evidence to the one small example the stress upon which Hawarden town stands. 25 Peg occurs 38 times in the Lordship of Hawarden, meaning a 'field or area pegged out', presumably a division of a field shared by several tenants. The archaic 'Pegott' or 'gorse', on the other hand, appears to have been given the label 'Peg' by the one person who had the opportunity upon which Hawarden town stands. If the place is not Hetherne's said to be a name of the Welsh tribe. 26 There is a later Welsh name, Penarlach, 'the enclosure of Alsaw', the 7th century king. 25 The probability is that despite the strong Anglicization of the town, the place-name presence in the adjacent Lordship of Eaton and Hope preserved the Welsh name, probably in reference to the dense woodland to the north-west of the town, where, for example, the town was so successfully ambushed Henry II's troops in 1157. This particular event is described in Welsh texts as happening in Aest penarlach, 'the wood of penarlach'. 26

Before leaving Welsh pronunciation it is well to note two places which characterize the area; Aston and Estyn. OE Æstun was raised to Middle Welsh Ústun and in the Lordship of Hope the final òn was regular English pattern but in the Lordship of Hope's Éstun the final òn produced a different result: the ME ë was preserved by the following ë. 28 It is all the more interesting since Astron and Estyn are only 6 miles from each other. This adds support to the suggestions made by Professors Jackson 29 and Richards 30 that there was some kind of resettlement of English centres by Welsh settlers. But it could also indicate, as in Penarlach, the language of the surrounding area and not the actual centre. Professor Richards did admit this possibility when he noted that much territory east of the Dyke was reoccupied by Gruffydd ap llywelyn and Gruffydd ap Rhysderr in the 11th century; it also indicates, he argued, the importance of local scribes who were more likely to record existing forms.

Estyn is east of Wat's Dyke. Also east of it, very much in the Anglicized quarter, is Shordley. One attractive possibility presents itself: ceorl ('tenant farmer') perhaps found in the genitive plural, ceorla-xen which, when indicated according to EPPE 'a communal and not individual ownership ... and a fairly advanced stage of manorialism', a clearing or wood allocated for their use. Were these our Welsh? Was this another ghetto, very near Bretton?

There are two Chorlews in Cheshire and three Chorley in Lancashire, but none of Chorley has evidence of ëne, and neither Chorley has an intrusive ë. The more probable element in Shorley is ëccord 'a gap in a fence, a cleft' as in Shorley (Lancashire) and Sharstone 32 (Cheshire); the Shor- -as opposed to Shor- -as opposed to Shor- as opposed to Shor-

It has already been suggested that a detailed place-name study of N.E. Flintshire can make a contribution to English dialectology and most certainly add to the present knowledge about the distribution of place-name elements. 32 Eaton has the elements 'maund, hill' in its N.W. Midland form of low. Some elements have hitherto been associated with Cheshire, Derbyshire, or West Riding of Yorkshire, as in Yeald, a variant of Whitley 'slope, hill'; Oxler Hey and Dilgorgre have a variant of alder'; Slings 'narrow place'. This composite is very common together with its diminutive slings; The Pikes 'a narrow pointed place of land'; Swang a 'low-lying piece of land liable to be flooded'; Steelegh is a variant of stile; Blind Gill is indeed 'a narrow valley with a stream'. Pinghe, Pinghe, Pinghe are variants of pingle, itself a nasalized form of giphe 'a small enclosure'; it does occur frequently in Cheshire 36 but has hitherto been described as characteristic of Nottinghamshire and Warwickshire. Breechesfield also occurs in Cheshire 37 but has hitherto been associated with Southern England. Brent or brent is quite common, especially well into the 13th century. There is also evidence that the Welsh word gwedd 'a yoking, a team of horses' has come to carry the sense of the English yoking 'a measure of land', 38 a hitherto unrecorded Welsh usage, a point which reminds us once more of the blurring of linguistic edges.

Research in recent years has several times touched on the problems mentioned in this paper, problems which are in reality nothing new. The area presents a mode of lower Latinity of the historical juxtaposition of Latin, English, Norman-French, Norse, Danish, Gaelic, Cornish, Welsh, Manx, and so on, and serves to point the lesson that important though vertical historical etymological considerations may be, horizontal socio-linguistic factors cannot be forgotten. The place-name research in Wales, local, or general of Melville Richards, for Williams, B.G. Charles, and Gwynedd 9. Pierce have all highlighted features similar to those discovered by John Hodgson in Cheshire and Margaret Gelling in Shropshire. It is becoming clearer that the border counties or areas within these counties were not a simple case, a bilingual phenomenon belonging to the last five centuries. This bilingualism consisted at some period of two monolingual societies but who nevertheless influenced the formation and later development of place-names: it was also the bilingualism more familiar today, a bilingual 'Welsh' society and a monolingual 'English' society, with their co-existence absorbing or rejecting elements of the separate languages, but in the realm of the language of places, having produced an interlanguage to which neither Welsh nor English can lay exclusive claim.

NOTES

1. This is an edited version of a paper given at the Thirteenth Conference of the Council for Name Studies at Hull, 28 March 1981.

Abbreviations:

EPPE A.H. Smith, The Place-Name Elements (Cambridge 1956)
1. The material for this paper has been taken from H.W. Owen, *The Place-Names of the Lordship of Hawarden* (unpublished M.A. (Wales) 1977) and a place-name survey of the two lordships of Elwes and Hope (containing an analysis of the whole area) shortly to be presented as a doctoral dissertation. The format and the detail of the research have been based on the EPNS volumes. The decision to work in this area was prompted not only by a local interest in and familiarity with the territory, but also by the opportunity to work in a bilingual area, but also (and in the long term more importantly) because it was possible to proceed westward from Cheshire. John Dodgson generously allowed me to see proofs of the first part of the final Cheshire volume, containing the glossary of elements; discussions with Dr Margaret Gelling on features in Shropshire have underlined the onomastic problems peculiar to border counties. Thus, this part of Flintshire (and ultimately the whole of the county) is not being studied in isolation but as part of a continuum of place-names. (For that reason, references to elements or place-names in England tend to be those found in Cheshire.)


3. PNCH IV 159.

4. *ibid* IV 157 Readhead, Dod(dal), 163 164 (but a different etymology, from *geleade* + *leah*, is allowed for in PNCH V (1) x.11.

5. *ibid* IV 324 'Welshmen's or Britons' island'.


7. The identification of this Eadwine is confused, but the site on Celynn Fm, Northop, was excavated in 1931 and revealed traces of an early manor settlement. See T.A. Glenn, in *The Griffins of Garn and Plas Newydd* (privately printed London 1934).

8. This particular Welsh sound-change (from OE *pto Modern Welsh *ch*) has not yet been satisfactorily explained. B.G. Charles does note It. 'The Welsh, their Language and Place-names in Archetfield and Oswestry', *Angharad and Britons* *O'Donnell Lectures* (Cardiff 1963) 107. Cf. the confusion in English of *twit* ME *gh* [x] revealed in Keiglehy: *Cwichel* (OE) (discussed in PNCH VI 2, VI 91): the original [x] appears intact in *Cwichile* (Anglesey), used hand by a man from Keiglehy in the fifteenth century (according to Professor Bedwyr Lewis Jones in *Papur Mamg* 4 (1977) 11).


10. 1662, 1716, 1591, 1739, 1689, 1623, 1687, 1716, 1662, respectively.


13. But cf. some Cheshire field-names which are descriptive of that shape: *Doddy, Tree* (PNCH II 40), *Tee Field* (ibid, 71), *German & Roman-Tree* (PNCH IV 63).


15. E.g. 'Watkin, son of Emmanuel Williams, a Tinker' (1743).

16. Megalomania and slander were superseded by the innocuous and the insipid when it was renamed New Brighton in the nineteenth century.

17. The attraction was assured from the start by naming it Garden City.

18. That in itself is not significant, since W plac derives from ME *place*, *plas*, *town-house; a residence, mansion-house*; there are several such examples of *place* in Cheshire listed in PNCH V (1) s.v. *place* (e.g. 'Crewe, Nantwich, etc.'? place'), 1356 PNCH II 522). In Flintshire, when *place* appears as a first element, however, it is certainly W *plas*: *Y Place Maen* (1523, 'the cavern mansion'), *Place Teag* (1607, 'the fair mansion'), *Place y Boud* (1628, belonging to Sir Richard Boulde or Bould). These three appear in Welsh parishes. There is a reversed process evident in some documents where a palpably English residence, *Hope's Place*, a quarter of a mile from the Cheshire border, was silently appended by one Parish Clerk to Hope's *Plas* (1731); he was either an early nationalist or, touching a respectful form of patriotism, considered placing a more fitting description of the abode of the descendants of Hugh Hope of Hawarden (Fl. 1297). *Place* was now obsolete; *plas* was too pretentious; the need for social distinction was answered only by W *plas*. (Significantly Stanley Palace, Chester (PNCH V (1) 20) is a local variant of *Stanley Place*, and *Plas-Newton* (PNCH IV 44) is pseudo-Welsh.)


20. John Dodgson has drawn my attention to a similar pattern in Cheshire where a group of W field-names can only be explained by the language of a recent immigrant. Note also the bilingual nature of another border area described by B.G. Charles (see n.8) 105-110.

21. Cf. *Barcuid y Gawres* the 'son of the giantess', a megalithic passage grave in Anglesey. This is a fairly common concept for tumuli in Wales (see *Gorauad Iflfrig y Cymru* (Cardiff 1950-1967) s.v. *affrogogac*, *barcuidia*, and the useful discussion by Melville Richards, *The Derivation and Meaning of Name* in T.G.D. and Powell, *G.d. of the Name* (Cardiff, 1936), and by Dr. Daniel, *Barcuidia Gawres* (Liverpool University 1956). Generally it is used in Welsh folk-lore of an 'spron of stones thrown down in disgust by a giant's wife duped into believing her journey longer than expected. In
Caernarfonshire, for example, one such Barclediadh in Caerhun was deposited there instead of being carried to build a causeway across Anglesey.

The shape of the recently restored earth-covered Anglesey Barclediadh seems more symbolic of pregnancy than of petulance; such a supernatural attribution might be quite apt (cf. Dá Chích Anam 'The Paps of Anu', twin hills in Co. Kerry, which are, however, natural topographic features). But what these barrows looked like at the time of nailing, whether mound of earth or heap of stones, cannot be determined: 'the wind and the rain of the centuries, assisted by needy farmers and roadmakers, have together reduced the barrow or cairn in many cases to a mere skeleton or cromlech' (A.H. Williams, An Introduction to the History of Wales (Cardiff 1962), 20).

22. 'Welsh Influence on some English Place-names in North East Wales', Otium Neptuni (1973) 216, and NCPN 154. See also B.G. Charles NCPN xxiv.

23. 'Angles and Britons in Northumbria and Cumbria', Angles and Britons (see n.8) 83.

24. Cf. the similar Cædgen in Cheshire (cæt 'rock' + worgion: Kauerthin 1220, Kaurdun 1578; Cærchen alias Cawarden 1601 (PMcH IV 54). Whereas 1601 was the last recorded alias Cawarden, in Hawarden, however, the elided form does not appear until Ardin 1536, Harden 1545, and moreover dual forms clearly existed for very much longer: Hawarden also brandge 1600, Hawarden alias Hawarden or Harden 1628, Harden otherwise Hawarden 1639. Another factor in influencing the retention of the medial syllable is that the Welsh trilled lingual [r] would be stronger than the English [r]: it is significant that Harden begins to appear (and conversely Cawarden begins to disappear) at the time the trilled lingual was beginning to disappear from English speech (see Simon Potter, Modern Linguistics (London 1957) 29 and the relevant sections in E.J. Dobbson, English Pronunciation 1500-1700 (Oxford 1957) 11).

25. There is a reference to a 'kradog Alaca filius' (c.600) reputed to have persecuted Hwoll's St Winifred (in George Owen's The Description of Pembrokehire ed. Henry Owen (Cymrodorion Record Series I, London 1892) 105) later referred to as 'Krædag ap Alonec ['r - Alonec brenin penn ar laeg', 'the king of penna ar laeg' (ibid). Melville Richards differs on semantic rather than etymological grounds. He takes the personal name Almac or Algoq to be a derivative of the adjective alafog 'rich in cattle' in reference to the worgion, the enclosure which may have been used to store cattle (NCPN 107), perhaps as a protective measure (Y Cymer 11/3/1970).


27. See T.H. Parry-Williams, The English Element in Welsh (Cymerdorion Record Series X, London 1923) 94; ‘Melville Richards, 'Welsh Influence' (see n.22) 216; B.G. Charles, 'The Welsh' (see n.8) 107; B.G. Charles, NCPN xxiv, 192, 228. Reference has already been in this paper to prifostafon becoming Prestatyn, goEdOÅn becoming Sychtyn, and to Goltyn, Mertyn and Meostyn.


29. 'Angles and Britons' (see n.23) 83.

30. 'Welsh Influence' (see n.22) 216.

31. PAMHY I 225, III 115.

32. PAMHY III 59, IV 27, 174.

33. EPPE II a.v. secred.

34. ibid.

35. Cf. the very relevant comment (here edited) in the Introduction to NTCA (8) in reference to the need for an overall view of the distribution of elements: 'it has always been very unsatisfactory, especially [for] those investigating the geographical distribution of a certain name-type or element, to find English onomastic studies [finishing] at the present-day border'. The evidence of geographical distribution for the elements that follow is taken from EPPE and Joseph Wright, The English Dialect Dictionary (London 1899-1905).

36. See PAMHY V (I) a.v. pingel. pingel.

37. ibid. a.v. brec.

38. See the fuller note on this word shortly to be published in the Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies.

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