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 *tūns* and later into Marcher Lordships.[1] Thus, the influence of the English was initially as much demographic as linguistic. Of the *tūn* 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.[2] The concept of secondary colonization for *tūn* 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*.[3] *Kinnerton* belonged to Cyneheard and John Dodgson has shown that nearby three other *tūns* in Cheshire show a personal name: *Balderton*, *Dodleston* and *Marlston*.[4] Of the other five near *Hawarden* only one, *Bretton*, has a personal name. If this really is the settlement of the *Brettas*, the Britons, it shows a very early Mercian saturation of the area, so that the *Brettas* were as distinctive a feature here as they were perhaps at Wallasey in Cheshire,[5] or as Dr M.L. Faull puts it (of places showing evidence of British survival in the kingdom of Elmet in Yorkshire) 'regarded in the period after the English takeover as having a noticeable British character'.[6]

The four remaining *tūns* are descriptive. *Broughton* is on a brook (*brōc*), *Shotton* is on a steep slope (*scēot*), the lost *Claitone* was on clayey soil, probably near the modern *Clay Hill* in *Aston*. *Aston* itself is interesting but not for any linguistic reason: 'east *tūn*' 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 not '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 *Llys Edwin*,[7] Edwin's court, near *Northop*, considered by some to be the lost Domesday *Castretone* (but which itself appears to be a *tūn*). Additional evidence to support this comes from the village south of *Northop*, the *sūðtūn*, modern English *Soughton*, Welsh *Sychtyn*.[8]

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* (*ūt+tūn*) later corrupted to *Oulton*, as if it were 'Old-town' because of the emergence in 1651 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 Saeson', as if it were some colony rather like the *tūn* of the Brettas. We find *Nant y Saeson*, *Cae yr Saeson*, *Yewl (= Heol) Sais* ('brook', 'field', 'road'); or if his name were known, the additional appellative 'Sais' marked him off so that there was no mistake, as in the mansion or *plas* called *Plac Lysett Says*.

Is there any evidence of a Danish settlement? It has been suggested[9] that there is, mainly on the basis of the concentration of *dale* names near *Hawarden*: *Salladine's Dale*, *Groomsdale*, *Wigdale*, *Dobsdale*, *Tinkersdale*, *Ffearney Dale*, *Dale Hill*, *Martensdale*, *Oakdale*. Because the forms appear fairly late,[10] one is reluctantly drawn to the conclusion that this is only further evidence of immigration from an area in England were *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 *danadl* 'nettles' 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 *Buckley* or [bukli], Welsh *Bwcle*, the result of immigration to further the industrial exploitation of coal and clay. Shropshire, Staffordshire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire[11] appear to be the principal areas from which workers emigrated. Place-names studies ignore this fact at their peril, as did one local account of a few field-names.[12] *Capper T*, 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 *Cowpit Hey*, which when shown recently to the elderly owner of that field was still pronounced unhesitatingly 'Capper T'. He owns a nearby field called *Gatehey* on the Tithe Schedule but pronounced by him [gi:ti:].[13] The two fields are in an area called the *Goody*, [gu:di] or [geudi], from the *Goody Pit* once used for ducking witches, frequently referred to in dialect as 'goody'.

The above *Tinkersdale*,[14] together with *Peddlers field*, reflects the continuous movement of people in this gateway into Wales. There are references to itinerant workers in the Parish Registers[15] and several place-names suggest that many ceased their wanderings here: *Irishman's Moor*, and its Welsh version elsewhere *Rhos y Gwyddel*, *Dublin*, *Cork*, *Vinegar Hill*; *Scotch Row*, *Scotland*, *Scotland field*. *Highland Laddie* is the name of a tavern later abbreviated to the *Highland*, which most confusingly appears on later maps as the *Island*. The national names indicate once more a group, or even ghetto, which on occasions was established by deliberate policy: there are several such examples of *pentre* 'hamlet', one in particular, *Pentre* near the Dee, showing an enclave of Welsh workers coming down to the traditionally English area into a *pentre* or hamlet built for them by the local coal pit owners, Rigby and Hancock. Another colliery owner, Catherall, built a similar *pentre* near Argoed, Mold, which became known as *Pentre Catherall*, but before long, no doubt to reflect local working conditions and repressed labour relations of the times, *Pentre Catherall* 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. *Stryt* 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 Gwernies* have a plural of *gwern* 'bog, swamp'. There is ample evidence of the English *gorse* being used for the Welsh *cors* 'marsh, swamp' with the plural *corsi* corresponding to Welsh *corsydd*. Did the *Person's Croft* indicate that that Welsh *person* 'parson, vicar' was commonly used in both languages? Not by all, it would appear, because it adjoins *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: *Cape Mount* is *cae pen mount* 'the field at the top of the hill'; *Key Mount* is the 'hill field'. *Kidlace* is *cadlas* 'enclosure, yard', while *Street lace* is the tree-lined 'green street'. *Dole* is an acceptable English term but is in fact Welsh *dôl* 'meadow'. Some documents consistently spell *plas* 'house' as *place*.[18] *Gwaen* or *waen* 'moor, meadow' lends itself to 'wain' especially in hybrids as in *Gravel pit Wain* or the rather confusing *hay waen* which ends up as *Hay Wain*. *Drain field* did have a watercourse running through it but is more likely to be Welsh *drain* 'thorn-bushes'. Splendidly resounding with its martial ring is *Campabellam*, far more exciting than *camfa bella* 'the further stile'. *Tiperdown* has a pleasant English ring to it, far more pleasant than the original *tŷ purdan* 'purgatory house'; we will never know whether the original householder was bemoaning the loss of his spiritual salvation or his marital 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 fall 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 version of the field-name. Hence we find *White field* adjacent to *Cae Gwyn*, *New field* adjacent to *Cae Newydd*, *Barn field* to *Cae Ysgubor*, *Long Croft* to *Erw hir*, *Spring field* to *Werddon*, *Lime field* to *Tir Calch*, *Lake field* to *Cae Pwll*. Occasionally the Welsh tenant may have been pulling his co-tenant's leg: *Cae Glas* is '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 Englishmen, or his own command of English did not stretch to cover the ambivalence of *glas*. A similar example is *Ddol wlanog*, 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 *Bretton*, the ghetto of *Pentre*, or the implanted suburban development of *Garden City*. In the most Welsh areas the English field-names are prominently 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 produces a clear pattern, in so far as one can judge the language of the tenant from his name at a distance of two centuries, but that it is a reasonable guide has been confirmed by the reverse of this process in the township of *Bannel* 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. Rheinallt), Bennion, John Thomas, Samuel Huett, Edward Griffith, while the other 'normal' English fields 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 there a Welsh spirit as well as a Welsh tongue? 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 Mutton field' or 'Corner field' but as *Erw Delyn* 'the harp acre'. It is more mystically Celtic and redolent of another world to hear a tumulus, a burial mound, referred to as *Arffedogaed y Wrach*, 'the witch's apronful'.[21] All the public houses, however, have English names.

Some pay due respect to local gentry or distant landowners: Glynne Arms, Derby Arms, Roper Arms, Talbot Inn; others have one eye on the English Lion and paint him Red, White, or Black, and the other eye on the Shakespearian Boar's Head; others more hopeful of secular preferment pay their respects to the Crown; others with more ecclesiastical ambition trust in the Cross Keys.

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 factors which today can only be deduced. Professor Melville Richards has proved that while every other prēosta-tūn, 'tūn of the priests', became in time Preston, it was the Welsh system of accentuation with the stress on the penultimate syllable which caused présta-tun to become prestátun to give us modern Prestatyn.[22] Professor K. Jackson has similarly shown that the Anglo-Norse hybrid Carlatun withstood the normal English syncope which would have given 'Carlton'; instead the Cumbrian stress on the second syllable preserved it as Carlattan.[23] It is contended in this paper that this stress system explains the discrepancy between the spelling and pronunciation of Hawarden 'the high enclosure' (hēa + worðign). The modern pronunciation 'Harden' represents the normal elided English development whereas the 'Hawarden' spelling represents the Welsh stress. There is adequate evidence that Harden and Hawarden were used side by side in spelling and pronunciation until the last century.[24] If that is the case it testifies to a Welsh presence in the area for longer than has been thought. It must not be forgotten that in the Lordship of Hawarden where the percentage of Welsh place-names is minimal, Hawarden town, the administrative and ecclesiastical centre of the Lordship, still carries its Welsh name, Penarlâg, 'the enclosure of Alaawc', the 7th century king.[25] The probability is that despite the strong Anglicization of the town, the Welsh presence in the adjacent Lordship of Ewloe and Hope preserved the Welsh name, probably in reference to the dense woodland to the north west of the town, where, for example, Owain Gwynedd so successfully ambushed Henry II's troops in 1157. This particular event is described in Welsh texts as happening in koet pennardlaoc, 'the wood of pennardlaoc'.[26]

Before leaving Welsh pronunciation it is well to note two places which characterize the area: Aston and Estyn. OE tūn was raised to Middle Welsh tun and later to tyn.[27] Aston in the Lordship of Hawarden followed the regular English pattern but in the Lordship of Hope's Estyn the final tyn produced a different result: the ME e was preserved by the following y.[28] It is all the more interesting since Aston 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 speakers. But it could also indicate, as in Penarlâg, 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 Rhydderch in the 11th century; it also indicates, he argued, the importance of local scriptores 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 'churl, peasant' perhaps found in the genitive plural, ceorla-lēah, which would indicate according to EPNE 'a communal and not individual ownership ... and a fairly advanced state of manorialism', a clearing or wood allocated for their use. Were these churls Welsh? Was this another ghetto, very near Bretton? There are two Chorleys[31] in Cheshire and three Chorltons,[32] but regrettably none has evidence of Sh-, and neither Chorley has an intrusive d. The more probable element in Shordley is sceard 'a gap in a fence, a cleft' as in Shardley (Lancashire) and Sharstone[33] (Cheshire); the Shord- as opposed to Shard- development perhaps shows the influence of Cheshire Chorley and Chorlton. There are also two examples in Wiltshire both at gaps in the Wansdyke.[34] This Shordley in Hope was probably en route to an access point on the Wat's Dyke.

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.[35] Ewloe has the element hlāw 'mound, 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 Yeld, a variant of *hælde 'slope, hill'; Owler Hey and Ollegrene have a variant of alor 'alder'; Slang 'narrow road-side strip' is very common together with its diminutive slanget; The Pikes 'a narrow pointed piece of land'; Swang a 'low-lying piece of land liable to be flooded'; Steeles is a variant of stile; Blind Gill is indeed 'a narrow valley with a stream'. Pinge, Pinga, Pingo, Pingw are variants of pingle, itself a nasalized form of pightel '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. Greitt or grits is common in one small area referring to the sandstone outcrop upon which Hawarden town stands. 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 Gorsty for 'gorsey', on the other hand, appears regularly, well into the last 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 modern version 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, Ifor Williams, B.G. Charles, and Gwynedd O. Pierce have all highlighted features similar to those discovered by John Dodgson in Cheshire and Margaret Gelling in Shropshire. It is becoming clearer that the border counties or areas within those counties manifest a 'grey' area, 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

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Abbreviations:

EPNE	A.H. Smith, The Place-Name Elements (Cambridge 1956)

NCPN	B.G. Charles, *Non-Celtic Place Names in Wales* (London 1938)
NTCB	Margaret Gelling, W.F.H. Nicolaisen, Melville Richards, *The Names of Towns and Cities in Britain* (London 1970)
PNCh	J.McN. Dodgson, *The Place-Names of Cheshire* (Cambridge 1970-)
PNWRY	A.H. Smith, *The Place-Names of The West Riding of Yorkshire* (Cambridge 1961-63)
W	Welsh

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 Ewloe 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, and 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 to those found in Cheshire.)

2. Flintshire: *Aston*, *Axton*, *Bretton*, *Broughton*, '*Claitone*', *Golftyn*, *Mertyn*, *Mostyn*, *Prestatyn*, '*Radingtone*', *Soughton*;
Denbighshire: *Allington*, *Eyton*, *Sutton*.
They have been analysed by Gwynedd O. Pierce in 'Enwau Lleoedd Anghyfiaith yng Nghymru', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* XVIII (1958) 255-6.

3. *PNCh* IV 159.

4. *ibid*.IV 157 *Bealdhere*, *Dod(d)el*, 163 *Mǣrel* (but a different etymology, from *(ge)mǣre* + *lēah*, is allowed for in *PNCh* V (i) xliii).

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

6. 'Place-Names and the Kingdom of Elmet', *Nomina* 4 (1980) 23.

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

8. This particular Welsh sound-change (from OE *þ* to Modern Welsh *ch*) has not yet been satisfactorily explained. B.G. Charles does note it in 'The Welsh, their Language and Place-names in Archenfield and Oswestry', *Angles and Britons: O'Donnell Lectures* (Cardiff 1963) 107. Cf. the confusion in English of *þ* with ME *gh* [x] revealed in *Keighley*: *Cichelai* (DB) (discussed in *PNWRY* VI 2, VII 91); the original [x] appears intact in *Cichle* (Anglesey), land held by a man from *Keighley* in the fifteenth century (according to Professor Bedwyr Lewis Jones in *Papur Menai* 8 (1977) 11).

9. By Dorothy Sylvester in 'Settlement Patterns in Rural Flintshire', *Flintshire Historical Society Transactions* XV (1954-5) 6-9.

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

11. Discussion of the demographic factors is to be found in D. Sylvester, *The Rural Landscape of the Welsh Borderland: A Study in Historical Geography* (London 1969); K. Davies, *The Growth and Development of Settlement and Population in Flintshire* (unpublished M.Sc. dissertation (Wales) 1970); W.T.R. Pryce, *The Social and Economic Structure of Northeast Wales 1750-1890* (unpublished D.Phil. dissertation (Lanchester Polytechnic, Coventry) 1971).

12. Dennis Griffiths, *Talk of My Town* (Buckley 1969) 39.

13. But cf. some Cheshire field-names which are descriptive of that shape: *Door Tee* (*PNCh* II 40), *Tee Field* (*ibid*. 71), *German - & Roman-Tee* (*PNCh* IV 43).

14. Cf. *Tinkers Dale*, Wirral (*PNCh* IV 281) and *Tynkers Hill*, Bollington (*PNCh* I 190).

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 *plas* derives from ME *place*, *plas*, 'town-house; a residence, mansion-house'; there are several such examples of *place* in Cheshire listed in *PNCh* V (i) s.v. *place* (e.g. 'Cranage manor and place', 1536 *PNCh* II 224). In Flintshire, when *place* appears as a first element however, it is certainly W *plas*: *Y Place Maen* (1523, 'the cairn mansion'), *Place Teg* (1607, 'the fair mansion'), *place y Bould* (1628, belonging to Sir Richard Bold 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 emended by one Parish Clerk to *Hope's Plas* (1731); he was either an early nationalist or, touching a respectful forelock, considered *plas* a more fitting description of the abode of the descendants of Hugh Hope of Hawarden (fl. 1297). *Place* was now obsolete; *palace* was too pretentious; the need for social distinction was answered only by W *plas*. (Significantly *Stanley Palace*, Chester (*PNCh* V (i) 20) is a local variant of *Stanley Place*, and *Plâs-Newton* (*PNCh* IV 143) is pseudo-Welsh.)

19. See H.W. Owen, 'The Welsh Place-Names of the Township of Bannel', *Buckley* 4 (1976) 2-5 which includes a distribution map.

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. *Barclodiad y Gawres* 'the apronful of the giantess', a megalithic passage grave in Anglesey. This is a fairly common concept for tumuli in Wales (see *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (Cardiff 1950-1967) s.v. *arffedogaid*, *barclodiad*, and the useful discussion by Melville Richards, 'The Derivation and Meaning of the Name' in T.G.E. Powell, G.E. Daniel, *Barclodiad y Gawres* (Liverpool University 1956). Generally it is used in Welsh folk-lore of an apronful 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 Barclodiad in Caerhun was deposited there instead of being carried to build a causeway across to Anglesey.

The shape of the recently restored earth-covered Anglesey Barclodiad seems more symbolic of pregnancy than of petulance; such a supernatural attribution might be quite apt (cf. Dá Chích Anann '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 naming, whether mound of earth or heap of stones, cannot be determined: 'the wind and the rain of the centuries, assisted by needy farmers and road-menders, 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 I (Cardiff 1962), 20).

22. 'Welsh Influence on some English Place-names in North East Wales', Otium et Negotium (1973) 216, and NTCB 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 Carden in Cheshire (carr 'rock' + worðign): Kauerthin 1230, Kaurdyn 1320, Carden alias Cawarden 1601 (PNCh 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: Howarden also hardinge 1600, Howarden alias Hawarden or Harden 1828, Harden otherwise Hawarden 1839. Another factor in influencing the retention of the medial syllable is that the Welsh trilled lingual [r] would be stronger than the English [ɹ]; 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 Simeon Potter, Modern Linguistics (London 1957) 29 and the relevant sections in E.J. Dobson, English Pronunciation 1500-1700 (Oxford 1957) II).

25. There is a reference to a 'kradog Alauc filius' (c.600) reputed to have persecuted Holywell's St Winifred (in George Owen's The Description of Pembrokeshire ed. Henry Owen (Cymmrodorion Record Series I, London 1892) IV 56) later referred to as 'Kradoc ap Alnoc [? = Aluoc] brenin penn ar laog', 'the king of penn ar laog' (ibid). Melville Richards differs on semantic rather than etymological grounds. He takes the personal name Alaawc or Alaog to be a derivative of the adjective alafog 'rich in cattle' in reference to the worðign, the enclosure which may have been used to store cattle (NTCB 107), perhaps as a protective measure (Y Cymro 13/3/1970).

26. In the 14th century Brut y Tywysogion Peniarth MS 20 (ed. Thomas Jones, Cardiff 1941) 166b/20-2, and in the reference to gastell Pennardlaawc in the slightly earlier Brut y Tywysogion or The Chronicle of the Princes. Red Book of Hergest Version (ed. Thomas Jones, Cardiff 1955) 375.

27. See T.H. Parry-Williams, The English Element in Welsh (Cymmrodorion Record Series X, London 1923) 28, 30; Melville Richards, 'Welsh Influence' (see n.22) 216; B.G. Charles, 'The Welsh' (see n.8) 107; B.G. Charles, NCPN xxiv, xxxix, 228. Reference has already been in this paper to prēostatūn becoming Prestatyn, sūðtūn becoming Sychtyn, and to Golftyn, Mertyn and Mostyn.

28. See also B.G. Charles, NCPN xxxvi, A.H. Smith, PNWRY VII 84 and A.H. Smith, EPNE I s.v. ēast.

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

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

31. PNCh I 225, III 115.

32. PNCh III 59, IV 27, 174.

33. EPNE II s.v. sceard.

34. ibid.

35. Cf. the very relevant comment (here edited) in the Introduction to NTCB (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 EPNE and Joseph Wright, The English Dialect Dictionary (London 1989-1905).

36. See PNCh V (i) s.v. pingel, pingot.

37. ibid. s.v. brēc.

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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