Brittonic personal name, showing that the place-name was coined by English-speakers, not Brittonic-speakers; it is not a Celtic place-name. This is what one would expect anyway, in a name with an English generic element.

This derivation allows us to rule out Sawyer's hesitant identification, in a Kentish charter of 724, of *Brentingesleag* (where the nuns of Minster-in-Thanet possessed swine pastures) with Brenchley.[10] (Perhaps *Brentingesleag* lay further east than Brenchley, near other places mentioned in the charter.) There is therefore no reason to think Brenchley had been cleared for swine pasture as early as the eighth century.[11] In fact, if the *Brengi* of Brenchley were a Cornishman, it would be unlikely to be an ancient settlement at all. The subjection of Cornwall culminated in the battle of Hingston Down in 838, though the Cornish still had some measure of independence a century later, in the time of Athelstan.[12] It is thus difficult to think of the Cornish as settling elsewhere in England until the conquest was long past, and they were assimilated into English society. The name *Brenchley* may, therefore, be of the eleventh century or little before. It is worth remembering here how late it was before the clearing of the High Weald was carried out, even if we must not be too ready, in Lennard's words, 'to fill the vacant spaces of the Domesday map with imagined woodland'.[13] Analysis of the name Brenchley thus provides unusual evidence for the kind of men who first settled the great Wealden Forest, as also for the movement of population in late Anglo-Saxon England.

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[10] P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters. An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968), no. 1180.

[11] cf. F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1971), pp. 283–84, discussing the charter of 724.

[12] Jackson, *Language and History*, p. 206.

[13] R. Lennard, *Rural England 1086–1135* (Oxford, 1959), p. 9 (cf. pp. 12–15); P. F. Brandon, 'New settlement: South-Eastern England', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, II, *1042–1350*, edited by H. E. Hallam (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 174–89 (pp. 179–80).

Four Devon Place-Names

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The Devon place-names Clyst, Countisbury, Creedy (a river giving its name to Crediton, near Exeter), and Croyde have all been of disputed origin. What follows argues that all four names can be shown to be of British origin, and that they are thus evidence for Celtic survival in Devon. The four names are discussed in alphabetical order.

Clyst

The Clyst, for most of its length more a stream than a river, runs some twelve miles through low-lying country in south-east Devon, entering the estuary of the Exe five miles below Exeter. It gives its name to ten villages, hamlets, and farms. Closest to the sea is Clyst St George, then Clyst St Mary, Bishop Clyst, Clyst Honiton, West Clyst, Broad Clyst, Ashclyst, Clyst St Lawrence, Clyst Hydon, and Clyst William (the last deriving from Old English *æwielm* 'spring', and not the Christian name).

Ekwall relates the name *Clyst* to Latin *cluo* 'I wash', Old English *hluttor* 'clean', the river-names Clyde in Scotland and Clydach in Wales, and proposes the meaning 'clean stream'.[1] But the present note tries to show that Ekwall's association of Clyst with these cognates is unfounded, and that another and simpler solution is possible.

Clyde and Clydach may be dealt with first. Clyde is certainly a British name meaning 'the washer, the strongly-flowing one', presumably the name of the river-goddess, as Watson observed.[2] Clydach, a

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[1] E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn (Oxford, 1960), pp. 113–14; compare J. E. B. Gover and others, *The Place-Names of Devon*, English Place-Name Society, 8–9 (Cambridge, 1931–32), I, 3.

[2] W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), p. 44; A. L. F. Rivet and Colin Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman*

common stream-name in South Wales (but unknown further north), was taken by Thomas as a borrowing from Irish. He compared Irish *cladach* 'shore; rocky foreshore', yet saw an ultimate link with Clyde.[3] However, Vendryes regarded the etymology of *cladach* as unknown.[4]

Unfortunately, it is not easy to relate either of these with Clyst, recorded in 937 and 963 in exactly this form. Jackson described Ekwall's etymology as not wholly satisfactory, since it had no Welsh, Cornish, or Breton equivalent (though he admitted that the word postulated by Ekwall 'might well have had *-st*'). Jackson's hesitation over Ekwall's arguments is understandable, since the survival of *st* poses difficulties in the light of instances such as Cornish *guas* 'man-servant' < **upo-stho-*, *glas* 'blue' < **glasto-* (cf. Gaulish *glastum* 'woad'), and *ros* 'moorland' < **pro-sth-*.[5]

Another approach is therefore possible. It seems not to have been noted that Middle Welsh *clust* 'ear' is used in the figurative sense 'estuary, inlet, reach of river'. In a poem written between 1367 and 1382 to Tudor ancestors of King Henry VII, Iolo Goch (*c*.1325–*c*.1400) praises their Anglesey home as *Clostr im yw ger clust y môr*, 'A cloister for me it is, by the sea's inlet', where the reference is to the Menai Straits.[6] In a love poem, Bedo Brwynllys (flourished *c*.1460) of Brecknock calls himself *Gleisiad wyf ar glust afon*, 'A young salmon am I in a reach of river.'[7] If these late-medieval figurative senses 'sea inlet, river reach' existed in Brittonic at an early date, they would give an appropriate meaning for the name of the Clyst, especially the first.

Welsh *clust* 'ear' is cognate with Old Irish *clúas* 'hearing; ear', and goes back to **klous-ta* (cf. Sanskrit *srustih* 'obedience'; Old English *hlyst*

Britain (London, 1979), p. 310.

[3] R. J. Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd a Nentydd Cymru* (Cardiff, 1938), pp. 8–12.

[4] J. Vendryes and others, *Lexique étymologique de l'irlandais ancien* (Dublin and Paris, 1959–), p. C-110.

[5] K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), pp. 530 and 533–34.

[6] *Gwaith Iolo Goch*, edited by D. R. Johnston (Cardiff, 1988), p. 23.

[7] *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, edited by R. J. Thomas and others (Cardiff, 1950–), I, 511; cf. *Cywyddau Serch y Tri Bedo*, edited by P. J. Donovan (Cardiff, 1982).

'hearing' > Modern English *listen*).[8] Indo-European and Celtic *ou* gave Old Welsh, Cornish, and Breton *ü* (spelt *u*).[9] Primitive and Old Cornish *ü* can be shown to have been borrowed as Old English long *ȳ*.[10] There seems therefore no phonetic difficulty in deriving the Old English river-name *Clyst* from Primitive Cornish **Clust* 'ear; sea-inlet'. As far as situation is concerned, the Clyst on its lower reaches is a sluggish meandering tidal river, with embankments to prevent flooding: a salt-water inlet with a broad mouth opening onto the estuary of the Exe. This mouth would presumably have been the original *Clyst* 'Inlet', the name then being applied to the river above it, and then the settlements on its banks. The name would have been borrowed by English in the late seventh century, after the Exeter district was occupied by Wessex, apparently following the battle of *Posentesbyrig* (Posbury, south of Crediton) in 661. If the English captured Exeter from the sea, they would know the Clyst from the sea approaches to the city (not the land ones).

It is submitted, then, that Welsh *clust*, in its fourteenth-century figurative sense 'sea inlet; river reach', provides an explanation for the Devon name Clyst. The river flows directly into salt water. This suits the sense 'sea inlet', which would not suit an inland river. On the other hand, the Clyst falls less than a hundred feet in its lower ten miles, so is not obviously the strongly-flowing river or 'clean river' of Ekwall's etymology. His comparison with the Clyde seems out of place both linguistically and geographically. But comparison with the special sense of Welsh *clust* apparently suits the evidence well. It is thus likely the Devon Clyst derives its name from the Primitive Cornish equivalent of Welsh *clust* 'ear'; also 'sea inlet, reach of river'.

Countisbury

Countisbury is a small village on a large hill, two miles east of

[8] R. Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin, 1946), p. 454; Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique*, pp. C-126–27.

[9] H. Lewis and H. Pedersen, *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* (Göttingen, 1937), p. 8.

[10] Jackson, *Language and History*, pp. 310 and 311.

Lynton on the north Devon coast. Situated on a ridge half a mile wide, which drops over 800 feet to the sea on one side and the same to the river Lyn on the other, Countisbury is a natural defensive site, and was the scene of a battle in 878 between English and Dane, described by Asser in chapter 54 of his life of Alfred. After wintering in Dyfed, the Danish leader Ubba came to Devon in early 878. There, 'acting on an erroneous assumption, he met an unhappy death with 1,200 men, at the hands of the king's thegns and in front of the stronghold of *Cynuit* [Countisbury].' When Alfred's men shut themselves in the fort, the Danes prepared to starve them out, avoiding direct attack 'since by the lie of the land that place is very secure from every direction except the east, as I myself have seen.' But the English made a surprise sortie at dawn, killing the Danish leader and many others, 'a few escaping by flight to their ships.'[11]

Although Stevenson denied it, it has long been accepted that Asser's *Cynuit* is the Old Welsh name of Countisbury, as proposed by Earl and Plummer,[12] and accepted by Ekwall and the English Place-Name Society.[13] But this is not quite accurate. It will be argued below that *Cynuit* is just part of the Old Welsh name of Countisbury, Asser's *arx Cynuit* representing a name which would be **Caer Gynwyd* or **Dinas Cynwyd* in modern Welsh.

Besides this, we can take issue with the actual interpretation of *Cynuit* given by Ekwall. He states, '*Cynuit* is identical with COUND and KENNET and with CYNWYD in Wales, but the name here refers to a hill. Countisbury is thus British *Cunet*, to which was added an explanatory Old English BURG. British *Cunēt* became normally Old Welsh *Cynuit*,

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[11] S. D. Keynes and M. Lapidge, *Alfred the Great* (Harmondsworth, 1983), pp. 83–84.

[12] *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, edited by Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford, 1892–99), II, 93; compare *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, edited by W. H. Stevenson, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1959), pp. cxxxiv–cxxxv and 265 n. 3; F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1971), p. 255; *English Historical Documents c. 500–1042*, edited by Dorothy Whitelock, 2nd edn (London, 1979), p. 195 n. 16; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 248.

[13] Ekwall, *Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 125; Gover and others, *Place-Names of Devon*, I, 62.

Welsh *Cynwyd*.'[14] We may note that Ekwall had to drop the explanation (given in his first edition) of *Cynuit* by reference to a Celtic stem **kuno-* 'high'. No such word exists, as Jackson pointed out.[15] But Ekwall still claimed that Countisbury derived from a Celtic hill-name, even when his main evidence for this had vanished.

Ekwall's account thus needs modification. Rivet and Smith considered doubtful any etymological link between *arx Cynuit* and the British place-name *Cunetio* (Mildenhall, Wiltshire), which survives in the river-name Kennet (Wiltshire), cognate with such river-names as the Kent (Westmorland) and the village of Cynwyd (Merionethshire), on the River Dee near Corwen in North Wales. Although Jackson thought a link between British **Cunetiu* and *Cynuit* possible, Rivet and Smith objected that we have no other examples of hill-fort names from river-names. They regard the actual derivation of *Cunetio* as unresolved.[16]

It is therefore worth investigating whether *arx Cynuit*, and thus Countisbury, in fact derives from the personal name represented by Welsh *Cynwyd*. One Cynwyd figures in a Strathclyde genealogy. He was the son of the Coroticus denounced by St Patrick, and therefore belongs in the fifth century.[17] Another is Cynwyd Cynwydyon, also a chieftain in southern Scotland, whose three hundred men, 'on whatever expedition they might go together, they would never fail'.[18] A third is St Cynwyd of South Wales, who gave his name to Llangynwyd, near Maesteg in

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[14] Ekwall, *Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 125.

[15] K. Jackson, 'On some Romano-British place-names', *Journal of Roman Studies*, 38 (1948), 54–58 (pp. 56–57); compare K. H. Jackson, 'The sources for the Life of St Kentigern', in N. K. Chadwick and others, *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 273–357 (p. 298 n. 1).

[16] Rivet and Smith, *Place-Names of Roman Britain*, pp. 328–29.

[17] *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts*, edited by P. C. Bartrum (Cardiff, 1966), pp. 10 and 126; R. P. C. Hanson, *Saint Patrick: His Origins and Career* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 22–25.

[18] Bartrum, *Genealogical Tracts*, pp. 73 and 147; K. H. Jackson, *The Gododdin. The Oldest Scottish Poem* (Edinburgh, 1969), p. 16; cf. *Trioedd Ynys Prydein. The Welsh Triads*, edited by R. Bromwich, 2nd edn (Cardiff, 1978), pp. 11 and 325.

western Glamorganshire.[19] Other, obscure bearers of the personal name *Cynwyd* occur in early Welsh documents. The twelfth-century Book of Llandaff contains a grant datable to *c.*765 of land at the unidentified *Villa Gueruduc*, an otherwise unknown *Conuit* being amongst its lay witnesses.[20] The life of St Cadog, written *c.*1100 by Lifris at Llancarfan in the Vale of Glamorgan, mentions property of the Llancarfan community at 'the court of *Albryt* son of *Cynuyt*, with the homestead *Alt Cynuit.*'[21] So *Cynwyd* was not a rare name in early Britain.

In the light of this, it makes sense to interpret Asser's *arx Cynuit* as referring to a fort which took its name from a person, and not from a hill or river. It would be reasonable to take *Cynuit* as the name of the British chieftain who built it or possessed it before the English occupied north Devon in the early eighth century, when the name would pass into English (if it was not already known to English soldiers or mariners). It is worth pointing out that Countisbury Hill is a landmark conspicuous from the sea, which is why Asser was familiar with the place, which he would see sailing up the Bristol Channel from St Davids. Countisbury must long have remained familiar to the Welsh by some such name as **Caer Gynwyd* or **Dinas Cynwyd*, which Asser translated as *arx Cynuit*.

Jackson established that Brittonic long close *ē¹* became Old Welsh *ui* and Old Cornish *ui* or *oi* in the later seventh century.[22] We can thus assume the borrowing by English of a Primitive Cornish **Cunuit*, to which was added the English genitive *-es*, with Primitive Cornish **cair* 'fort' or **dinas* 'fort' translated by *burh*. Old English stress upon the first syllable and consequent reduction would then naturally produce the form *Contesberie* recorded by Domesday Book.

We thus discover the name of an early occupier of Countisbury. His name contained the element *Cuno-* 'hound' abundantly attested in Celtic

nomenclature. Jackson remarks that the Celts admired their hunting dogs greatly, so that *Cuno-* in their personal name had much the overtones that 'lion' has for us. It was a name-element born by kings (like *Maelgwn* 'princely hound') and saints (*Kentigern* 'hound-like lord').[23]

This concludes the arguments on the origin of Countisbury. Once we accept Asser's *arx Cynuit* as resulting from a personal name, and not a hill- or river-name, we overcome Rivet and Smith's doubts about associating the Devonshire *Cynuit* with the Wiltshire town *Cunetio* on the River Kennet. We may add a postscript on these river-names, the Wiltshire Kennet, Shropshire Cound Brook, Westmorland Kent and other rivers deriving from British **Cunetiu*. Jackson dismissed the idea that a root in **Cuno-* 'dog' is likely in a river name. But his conclusion is surprising in view of the menagerie of names applied to modern Welsh rivers and streams. Thomas listed nearly sixty examples, including rivers named after swan, heifer, bear, donkey, pig (*Banw*; cf. the woman's name *Myfanwy*, and Banff in Scotland), marten, wolf, crow, buck, mare, cat, cock, whelp, raven, puppy (Colwyn, one of which gives its name to Colwyn Bay), dog (the Cynlais in Breconshire), chick, beetle, hind, goat, heron, glow-worm, swallow, bees, slug, wrasse, gnat, seagull, boar, hawk, ewe, swine-lice, sow, ram, hen, roebuck, horse, adder, bull, oxen, wood pigeon, and hare.[24] Especially interesting here are streams called Cenau 'puppy, whelp' in Pembrokeshire, Colwyn 'puppy' (examples in Caernarvonshire, Cardiganshire, Radnorshire, Monmouthshire and Montgomeryshire), and Cynlais 'dog brook' in Breconshire.[25] Another (lost) stream *Cenou* is recorded in the Book of Llandaff, in the region of Llandeilo'r-fân, Breconshire.[26] If the medieval Welsh named streams after dogs, the ancient Britons might do so too.

[19] J. Lloyd-Jones, *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg* (Cardiff, 1931–63), p. 263.

[20] *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*, edited by J. Gwenogvryn Evans and J. Rhys (Oxford, 1893), p. 211; for the date, see Wendy Davies, *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberystwyth, 1979), p. 118.

[21] *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae*, edited by A. W. Wade-Evans (Cardiff, 1944), p. 121.

[22] Jackson, *Language and History*, pp. 330–35.

[23] Jackson, 'Life of St Kentigern', p. 298.

[24] Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd*, p. 52, cf. Ifor Williams, *Enwau Lleoedd* (Liverpool, 1945), pp. 34–35, and K. H. Jackson, *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 80.

[25] W. F. H. Nicolaisen, M. Gelling and M. Richards, *The Names of Towns and Cities in Britain* (London, 1970), p. 76.

[26] *Book of Llan Dâv*, edited by Evans and Rhys, p. 155; cf. Davies, *Llandaff Charters*, p. 101.

The conclusions to draw from the above are, first, that the first part of Countisbury in Devon derives from a Celtic personal name, not a river-name, still less a hill-name (despite Ekwall's claim); second, that this personal name includes a Celtic element meaning 'hound'; and, third, that the same root may lie behind the various British rivers called Kennet, Kent, and so on, either because the animal-name was for some reason incorporated in the river-name, or because a personal name was applied to the river (as may be the case with some of the Welsh names cited above).[27] This would also suggest that *Cunetio* (at Mildenhall, a mile east of Marlborough, Wiltshire) was called after the river Kennet, the name of which either meant 'hound-like stream', or was taken from a man called *Cunetiu*. Given the plurality of rivers called Kennet and the like, the former seems more likely.

Creedy

Crediton is a small town seven miles north-west of Exeter. Its name is attested as *Cridie* in 739 (11th), *Cridiantun* in 930 and (in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle) 977, and *Chritetona* in Domesday Book. The name means '*tūn* (settlement) on the river Creedy'; the river itself is attested in 739 (11th) as (*on*) *Crydian*, *Cridian*, and in 1244 as *Cridia*.[28]

The sense of the name Crediton is widely recognised.[29] Yet the sense of Creedy is left unclear by Jackson, who discusses its form alone, and by Ekwall in his *Dictionary*, who calls it merely 'a British river-name'.[30] The purpose of this note is to clarify the meaning of Creedy, using material published since Ekwall's account of the name in 1928, when he derived Old English *Cridie* and *Crydie* from Primitive Cornish

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[27] cf. Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd*, p. 52.

[28] Ekwall, *Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 129; Gover and others, *Place-Names of Devon*, II, 404, and I, 4.

[29] *English Historical Documents*, edited by Whitelock, p. 496.

[30] Jackson, *Language and History*, pp. 286 and 673; idem, 'The British language during the period of the English settlements', in H. M. Chadwick and others, *Studies in Early British History* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 61–82 (p. 71); Ekwall, *Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 129.

Cridi < British *Critio-* or *Cridio-*.[31]

The Devon Creedy apparently has a namesake in the Cryddan or Crythan Brook, a stream south of Neath in West Glamorgan. The Cryddan is recorded as *Crudan Brooke* in 1397 and *Cryddan-Brook* in 1684–85, while Melincryddan 'Cryddan Mill', now a suburb of Neath, occurs as 'the mill of *Credan*' in 1296. Thomas linked the name with the Welsh verb *cryddu* 'to shrink, lessen, waste away, pine', suggesting the stream had a feeble flow with little water, and thought a derivation of Cryddan from Welsh *crydd* 'shoemaker' was unlikely.[32]

Welsh *cryddu* is a familiar word. It appears in *Armes Prydein* 'The Prophecy of Britain', a call for Welsh vengeance on the English composed in the tenth century, possibly in 940 following the capitulation by Edmund the Elder of Wessex to Olaf Guthfrithson at Leicester.[33] The poem ends invoking the power of God: *Ny wyw, ny wellyc, ny phlyc, ny chryd* 'He does not wither, he does not despise, he does not waver, he does not diminish', because God is unchangeable.[34] Sir Ifor Williams here compared the line in a poem (of uncertain date) also in the fourteenth-century Book of Taliesin, which declares *Gogwn pan dillyd, gogwn pan wescryd* 'I know why it [a river] flows, I know why it ebbs away', where the verb *gwesgryddu* is from the prefix *gos-* + *cryddu*.[35] The use in this second poem of a compound of *cryddu* for water in flow accords well with the river-names Creedy and Cryddan. Another sense of *cryddu* occurs in the fourteenth-century Book of the Anchorite's account of St Paul's vision of the damned, 'the fire burning them on one side, the ice shrivelling them up (*yn y crydu*) on the other.'[36] In modern

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[31] E. Ekwall, *English River-Names* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 103–04; cf. Gover and others, *Place-Names of Devon*, I, 4; Jackson, *Language and History*, pp. 286 and 673.

[32] Thomas, *Enwau Afonydd*, p. 61.

[33] cf. A. C. Breeze, *Medieval Welsh Literature* (Dublin, 1997), p. 5.

[34] *Armes Prydein*, edited by Ifor Williams, translated by R. Bromwich (Dublin, 1972), pp. 14 and 72.

[35] Ifor Williams, *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry* (Dublin, 1944), pp. 58–59; *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, II, 1650.

[36] *The Life of St David*, edited by J. Morris-Jones (Oxford, 1912), p. 70; *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, I, 621; cf. Breeze, *Medieval Welsh Literature*,

Merioneth and Powys dialect, *cryddu* is still used of animals wasting away or getting thinner.[37]

Welsh *cryddu* has been compared to Middle Breton *crez* 'avare', *crezni* 'avarice', Old Irish *credbad* (verbal noun) 'corroding, shrinking, wearing away', and, less certainly, Sanskrit *krdhu-* 'raccourci, petit, défectueux'; Vendryes cites Loth for an original British **krid-* > Welsh *crydd-*, Breton *crez*.[38]

The above allows a sense 'dwindler, river of weak or limited flow' for Creedy. That this would make excellent sense is clear from the Ordnance Survey map, where the Creedy appears as scarcely a brook in comparison with the river Yeo, which it joins a mile south-east of Crediton. The contrast would be very obvious in time of flood, for which Devon rivers are still known.

Creedy, then, provides interesting evidence for Celtic speech in Devon. It must have been borrowed by English before the late seventh century, because the English saint Boniface was supposedly born in Crediton in about 675 (he is known to have gone to school in Exeter). By that date the dialects of Brittonic in this region did not have long to survive, since the independence of Devon ended in 710, when Ine of Wessex fought the British king, Gerent. Celtic speech in Devon must thereafter have soon come to an end.[39] It is interesting to note that Primitive Cornish [ð] was here borrowed as Old English [d]; this was normal in the settlement-period, and the standard explanation is that this was a necessary sound-substitution, before Old English acquired [ð] by the voicing of [Θ].[40] Surprisingly, it may not be until we cross the River Tamar into Cornwall (where immediately we find names such as Trewithick, in the parish of St Stephen by Launceston, equivalent to Welsh *Tre-wyddog* 'wooded farm') that we find Primitive Cornish [ð] actually appearing as [ð] in place-names.

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p. 105.

[37] *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, I, 621.

[38] *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, I, 621; Vendryes, *Lexique étymologique*, p. C-227.

[39] Jackson, *Language and History*, pp. 206 and 558.

[40] Jackson, *Language and History*, p. 558.

Croyde

Croyde is a somewhat remote village in north Devon, eight miles west-north-west of Barnstaple. It is surrounded by high land except to the west, where it is open to the sea at Croyde Bay. North of Croyde Bay is Croyde Hoe, a headland rising to 326 feet; to the south is a parallel ridge, rising to 518 feet. Croyde village thus lies at the bottom of a valley resembling a trough, about a mile long.

The standard etymology for Croyde is still that given by Ekwall. He quotes the forms *Crideholde* from Domesday Book, *Crideho* 1242, *Crude* 1276 and *Cridenho* 1307. The third refers to the village, the others to the *hoe* or headland. Ekwall argues that Croyde is really the old name of the headland, which he derives from Old English *crȳde* from *crūdan* 'to press, to make one's way' (whence 'to crowd').[41] But this is not a very convincing etymology; nor is it obvious that the village takes its name from the headland, and not vice versa. It would also be difficult to accept an alternative derivation from the Old English place-name element *crȳde* 'weeds, plants'.[42] The English Place-Name Society suggests that the village is named from a stream, of identical name to that of the river Creedy elsewhere in the county.[43]

A fourth etymology, which would far better suit the geography of Croyde's trough-like valley, is in a cognate of Welsh *crud* 'cradle'. This word, attested in Welsh from the thirteenth century, has been derived from Celtic **krou-to-*, from the root **(s)qer-* 'to fold, twist'.[44] Indo-European and early Celtic *ou* gave *ü* (written *u*) in Old Welsh, Cornish, and Breton: hence Greek *boukolos* 'cowherd', but Welsh *bugail* 'shepherd', Cornish and Breton *bugel*.[45] Jackson notes that Primitive Cornish *u* was taken into Old English as a long *ȳ* in the Somerset name Creechbarrow. A charter dated 672 (for 682; 16th-century copy) calls it

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[41] Ekwall, *Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 134.

[42] A. Campbell, *An Old English Dictionary: Enlarged Addenda and Corrigenda* (Oxford, 1972), p. 16.

[43] Gover and others, *Place-Names of Devon*, I, 43.

[44] *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, I, 613.

[45] Lewis and Pedersen, *Comparative Celtic Grammar*, p. 8.

a hill *qui dicitur Brittannica lingua Cructan, apud nos Crycbeorh*.[46] He notes the same feature in the Old Cornish name **Iudicael*, spelt *ȝyðiccael* in the Bodmin Manumissions in a tenth-century Anglo-Saxon context.[47] So there is no phonological objection to a derivation of Croyde, from Middle English *Crude*, from Old English **Crȳde*, itself from Primitive Cornish **Crüd*. The name would presumably have been borrowed in the seventh or eighth century, during the English settlement of the county. The phonological development of Middle English *Crude* to Modern English Croyde is due to Early Modern confusion between *ī* and *oi*; compare Bystock, elsewhere in Devon, formerly *Boystok(e)*, for the opposite confusion.[48]

[46] W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 vols and Index (London, 1885—99), I, 97 (no. 62).

[47] Jackson, *Language and History*, pp. 310-11.

[48] Gover and others, *Place-Names of Devon*, I, 43, and II, 600.

Review Article:
Gillis Kristensson, *A Survey of Middle English Dialects 1290–1350: The East Midland Counties* (Lund UP, 1995), xiv + 199 pp., 16 maps.

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This is the third instalment of the project on which Dr Kristensson has been working since 1959, to map Middle English dialects on the basis of the county tax documents known as Lay Subsidy Rolls. Its appearance is welcome; we should be glad that there still exist universities willing to support scholars in such long-range activities. The first volume appeared in 1967, too early to be reviewed in *Nomina*. The sympathetic review of the second by the late John Dodgson (1989) concentrated mainly on what happens in the county of Cheshire for which there are no Lay Subsidy Rolls. Here as it were normal service is restored. I take the opportunity to acquaint readers with aspects of Kristensson's methods in general as well as conspicuous elements of his findings in this volume.

Not all Middle English specialists share Kristensson's belief in the truly 'local' character of Lay Subsidy Rolls. A classic statement of the case against was made by McClure (1973). The proof of the pudding is in the eating, which for dialect sources means internal consistency and consistency and/or coherent relation with the evidence of sources of other kinds. The internal consistency of Kristensson's material is high enough to confirm its validity as a broad-brush picture but not the reliability of its every detail. There is a general probability that circumstances will not have been exactly the same for every contributor to every Lay Subsidy Roll. This may be a factor when, as remarked by Insley (1992.155–56), distributions of competing dialect forms mapped by Kristensson tend to be ragged at the edges. On the other hand, complementary dialect distributions in languages generally more often show gradual transitions than sharp demarcation-lines, though both kinds of behaviour occur. Recent investigations of the conditions under which they do in mediaeval French by van Reenen (1989) and in modern Flemish by Taeldeman (1989) may well both have some applicability to Middle English. The variability of transitional zones and how they are brought into