

- treß* > *tre* 'farm' > 'village'
treχ 'stronger'
**trīχt* 'ferry' (from Latin *traiectus*)
troyd > *troid* 'foot'
trūm 'ridge, summit'
trux 'broken'
tull 'hole, holed'
turχ '(wild) boar' (genitive singular and general plural *tūrχ*)
**-ū* declensional ending of the nominative dual in British
ūch(-) prefix or preposition 'above, super-'; 'higher'; also 'trans-', 'further' (Richards 1964/5)
**-ūc-* British PN-forming suffix
wāyn > *wāun* 'marsh'; apparently generalizing to any non-arable land, thus 'moor', 'upland pasture', the latter especially in Cornwall as *goon*
welt 'grass'
welw > *welu* colour-term, 'of the colour of turned milk', 'pale (blue)'
went ancient term found in the names of tribal capitals, possibly amounting to 'central place', 'market'; not certainly Brittonic
wer- prefix, 'over, super-'; possibly intensive
wern 'alder-swamp'
wīg 'wood', though formally apparently the same word as Old Breton *guic* 'occupied site in parish'; hence the affective derivative *wīgan*
wūnn 'white, bright'; 'fair', 'blessed' (feminine *wenn*)
wīð 'wood, trees'
wlib 'wet'
wlið 'mild, merry, pleasant'
wo- prefix, 'under', 'sub-'
**wogof* > **wogo* 'cave', whence the derived adjective *wogoβōg* (OW *Guo-cobauc* in Asser's life of Alfred) 'marked by caves'
wraged 'women' (singular *wraig*)
Wined 'Gwynedd', a medieval principality, roughly the land that is now called by that name in north-west Wales

River-names

RICHARD COATES

The purpose of this list is to rectify what might be perceived as a deficiency in the gazetteer, which does not include place-names derived from river-names where the river-name is still in independent use. The reason for this exclusion is straightforward. Take the river Exe in Devon, for instance, which is certainly Celtic, even if it is harder to be more specific about its language of origin. On its banks are Exmoor, Exford, Exton, Exebridge, West Exe Manor, Upexe, Exland, Exwick, Exeter, Exe Island, Exminster, another Exton, and Exmouth. These 13 names are all formulated in English, and happen to contain as their base a single non-English river-name. Clearly it would be a distortion of the extent of Celtic influence to place all these in the gazetteer and to map them. Equally clearly, we should register the river-name itself somehow, for to omit it would equally distort the extent of the Celtic impact. That presents us with a practical problem, because the gazetteer is organized on a county basis, and rivers do not on the whole neatly fit into counties (especially not Celtic-named ones, which are typically the most significant watercourses in a given area). The Exe rises in Somerset and flows through Devon. The Trent traverses or touches five counties, and the Thames nine. What follows is a list of rivers organized by language of origin (as far as can be determined), and by name-TYPE. The rivers called *Lymn*, *Lympne*, *Lemon* and *Leven* share an origin and are categorized together. It is left to the reader to reason from place-names which are absent from the book such as *Brentford*, *Tweedmouth*, *Luton* and *Tenbury Wells* that the names in question are English but have a Celtic or pre-Celtic river-name as their first element. Place-names which are simply transferred earlier RNs with no linguistic adjustment, such as *Thame*, *Lavant* and *Frome*, are also omitted. But a river-name suspected of being Celtic or pre-Celtic may be checked in the list which is offered below. Rivers whose names are back-formed from Celtic place-names, such as the *Penk* in Staffordshire, are of course omitted, because the name from which they derive is included in the gazetteer, and because, more importantly, in almost every instance the back-formation took place in the minds of English-speakers, as witness what is from the Brittonic point of view the nonsensical result of the process. This condition is relaxed only where the resulting RN is a Celtic expression, as with the *Burth* in Cumberland (Welsh *buarth* 'yard'); even this relaxation may be misleading as this may not be a Brittonic name of the river, even allowing for the possibility of metaphorical application or transfer.

Many river-names in England are of Brittonic origin, and others show to varying degrees the appearance of Celtic origin. Others are pretty well completely mysterious. The classified list which has just been introduced is derived essentially from Ekwall (1928a); the judicious introduction of this book,

especially pp. xlviii-lxiii, can be read still with great profit, and it would have been far beyond the intended scope of this work to attempt to reconsider and discuss the etymology of every river-name in England when the major focus is on the names of inhabited places. I cannot stress strongly enough that the categorization offered is beset with uncertainties, and scholars may well conclude that some name really belongs in a different place from where it is found.

In most cases, Ekwall's considered view of the most likely etymology is adopted here. Where he gives several competing ones, we normally accept the Brittonic one if it meets the strict criteria set out below, and a Celtic one, again as defined (narrowly) below, if there is no satisfactory Brittonic one. Where the authors of this book have ventured a new interpretation, the label (Breeze) or (Coates) is appended to the river-name. Where a different author's name appears, it means that a selection has been made from among Ekwall's offerings, including sometimes Ekwall's own preferred solution. But we have not often done this.

The basis of the classification is the degree of probability of Brittonic or more remote origin. The categories we have used are:

1. Brittonic

A river-name (RN) in this category consists of elements all of which can be interpreted as lexical units attested in Brittonic languages, whether Welsh, Cornish, Breton or, marginally, Cumbric. These units can be words, of course, or affixes whose meaning is fully understood. A RN may fall into this category if it is not itself structurally a RN, or even a noun, but can be understood in terms of syntactic processes such as the non-expression of a head noun in a phrase or the generic element in a compound.

Examples: RNs fully self-explanatory in form: *Douglas*, *Whimble*. RNs which are nouns used in a metaphorical sense: *Clyst*, *Taradr* (Welsh for 'auger'). RNs which have Brittonic root and derivational morphology, including instances where that morphology is found only in proper names: *Omny*, *Lyvennet*, *Yare*. RNs which are adjectives with the generic or head understood: *Dove*, *Chew*, *Crummock*.

2. Root-Brittonic

A RN in this category consists of a root, or where there is more than one at least the generic, which is Brittonic, but whose derivational morphology is not firmly identifiable. Examples: *Arrow* (Herefordshire), *Camlad*, *Denis Burn*. Also in this category are RNs which, although having a Brittonic root, are of a form which appears to make them inappropriate RNs, for example those which are

nouns with a meaning inapplicable to topography and which have no derivational morphology to make them into names. Examples: *Ight* (apparently related to Welsh *iaith* 'language'), *Lew* (apparently related to Welsh *lliw* 'colour, hue').

It should not be inferred that root-Brittonic names, defined as above, are not Brittonic.

3. Structurally Brittonic

A RN in this category has the morphology of a Brittonic word, whether as in 1. or 2. above, but a root which is not demonstrably Brittonic.

Examples: *Styric* (where the suffix is the adjective-former appearing in Welsh as *-ig*), *Fonthill* (assuming this to contain the adjectival suffix **-jal-/*-jāl-(-ial/-iāl-)* fully discussed by Padel (1985: 138-9) with all its attendant problems).

Also in this category are RNs whose root is uncertain but which are compounded with specifiers which are Brittonic. Examples: perhaps *Medway* 'mead Wye', *Okement* 'swift/active [something unidentified]', *Coforth Brook* '[something unidentified] stream'. RNs in this category are of course Brittonic, as they could only have been constructed by people using the word-formational principles of Brittonic.

4. Celtic

A RN in this category has a root which is attested in exactly the expected form in a non-Brittonic Celtic language, but which is absent from the Brittonic branch. It may be inferred from the most secure instances in this category that the relevant word or morpheme may have existed in earlier Brittonic and may have been lost by the time the neo-Brittonic languages are attested.

Examples: *Tees* (cf. Irish *teas* 'fervent'), *Exe* (cf. Irish *iasc* 'fish'), *Loddon* (cf. Scots Gaelic *lòn* 'marsh, etc.'), *Granta* (cf. medieval Latin, believed to be of Celtic origin, *gronna* 'bog', Watson 1926: 379).

5. Ancient

A RN in this category cannot be securely placed in any of the previous four categories, and may be regarded, at least provisionally, as non-Celtic. Some fall into the characteristic patterns of morphological alternation that are ascribed to Old European. Many of these names have a vaguely Celtic appearance, for example

through being related by ablaut in the root to accepted Celtic names, but that is no reason to call them Celtic.

Examples: *Don*, *Lavant*, *Nidd*, *Aire* and *Parrett*.

Some of these occur so frequently that it is tempting for that reason alone to believe they must be Celtic, but that would be slack thinking. Their Celticity, and not just their having an Indo-European root, needs to be demonstrated. When that is done, we should cheerfully accept them into the Celtic fold. But for the moment, we should not accept for instance *Humber*, *Itchen*, *Severn*, some instances of *Coln(e)* - those in Hertfordshire and Essex - though there are grounds for suspicion that these may ultimately prove Celtic, and the complex including *Tame*, *Team/Teme*, *Tamar* and *Thames*.

Brittonic river-names

Several names in the list below are offered as *types* and subsume a number of different instances which may differ slightly in spelling. Differentiating marks are placed where a RN appears in more than one place but has different origins; see for instance *Cam* in the list which follows specified as the one in Somerset, not Cambridgeshire.

H _a	Andover	W-H _a , D, W-S _o -G _L T	G _L , N _H -L _{ei} -G _L -W _o , H _a	++
W	Avon (but note that this represents a lexical word not a proper name)			
W	Bedwyn			
W	Biss			
	<i>Beferic</i> W _o			
D	Bray??? (by back-formation)			
	Breamish N _b			
B	Brent H _{rt} -M _x			
D _o	Bride			
S _o	Brue			
	Burth (by back-formation) C _u			
S _o	<i>Caduc</i> (as in Cad Green (Breeze))			
	Cairn C _u			
S _o 7 ₁₀ G _L	Calder/Kielder	Y _W , L _a x 2, C _u x 2, N _b		
S _o 7 ₁₀ G _L	Cam (Somerset) (by back-formation) - also C _u , S _o			
D _o	Camel			
H _a	Candover			
	Cant Beck L _a			
G _L	Carant			
D _o S _o	Carey??? (by back-formation)			
	Ceiriog W _{ales} -S _a			

	Chalk Beck C _u			
D _o , B _{rk} , S _o	Charn			
S _o	Chew			
G _L -W	Churn??? (Breeze)			
D	Clyst (Breeze)			
S _o	Cock Beck??? Y _W			
	Cocker L _a , N _t , D _u , C _u			
	Coll W _a -W _o , L _a			
D	Coly			
	Conder??? L _a			
	Coquet (Williams 1949; Rivet and Smith 1979: 311) N _b			
S _o , W	Corse			
D	Craddock H _e ?			
L _o	Crake??? ?L _a			
K	Cray (Breeze) Y _W			
	Crimple Beck Y _W			
	Croome W _o x 2			
	Crummock Y _W , C _u			
S _o D	Culm (Breeze)			
	Cunkel??? L _a			
	Dacre C _u , Y _W			
	Dane (Turner 1966-8: 111-4) S _t -C _k			
K, D x 3	Darent/Darwen/Derwent??? (more likely Ancient, see Kitson 1996: 77-9) L _a , D _b , Y _E -D _u -N _b , C _u			
	Dee W _{ales} -C _k			
	Deerness??? D _u			
W	Deverill			
	Devon L _{ei} -N _t			
	Dore H _e			
W, D x 2, D _o x 2	Douglas/Dalch/Dewlish/Devil's Brook L _a , N _b , W _o -S _a , H _e			
S _o	Doulting (Breeze)			
	Dove D _b -S _t , Y _W , Y _N , S _t			
G _L -W _o , W _o , K	Dover N _t , W _o			
S _o	<i>Doferic</i> W _o			
G _L	Doverle			
	Duddon (Breeze) C _u -L _a			
	Ehen/Eign??? C _u , H _e			
	Ennick W _o (Erring?)			
	Errig Burn N _b			
	Flyford??? W _o			
	Fontmell??? (by back-formation)			
D _o	Frome H _e			
D _o , W, S _o , G _L	Garren H _e			
	Gelt (probably Irish) C _u , N _b			

Gladder Brook??? Wo
 Glangles Cu
 Glaze Ca. YN
 Glencoyne Beck We-Cu
 Glendera- Cu x 2
 Glynn Brook He-(G)-Wo
 Goyt??? (Turner 1966-8: 114-6) Db-Ch
 G1 Hail??? Hu
 Hamps S
 Hodder Y-La
 Hether Burn Cu
 Idoover (Coates)
 Irt Cu
 Irthing Nb-Cu
 Ivel Bd-Ht, YE?
 Iwerne (Coates)
 Keer (probably Irish) We-La
 Kent(t)??? (Kenn) He
 Kennet(t)/Kent, Cound Brook Sf-C, We-La
 Kyle YN
 Laughern Brook (Breeze) Wo
 Laver YN
 Lavric Wo
 Lea??? Bd-Ht-Mx-Ess
 Leadon He-(G)-Wo
 Leen??? nt
 Lent Wo
 Lymn/Lympne/Lemon/Leven (the last possibly with late phonology) L, Nk-Wa, Wo
 Lyvennet We
 Lingen He
 Lostock La
 Low??? Nb
 Lowther??? We
 Lugg Wades-Sa-He
 Lyme
 Mardle
 Maun (by back-formation) nt
 Meole Brook (by back-formation) Sa
 Micheldever
 Mite Cu
 Monnow Wades-He ? not within
 Morda Sa
 Morlas Wades-Sa

Nant He, Nb
 Nymet
 Oare
 Ock (but precise source uncertain)
 Onny He
 Ouse Burn (Breeze) Nb
 Pant/Pont??? Es
 Peover Ca
 Pimperne
 Pistelbrook He
 Poltross Cu-Nb
 Poulter (Breeze) nt
 Redover YN
 Rother (Yorkshire) Db-T
 Seknent Cu
 Sihferth??? Wo
 Tanat Wades-Sa
 Taradr He
 Tean/Teign (Breeze) St
 Tern St-Sa
 Test (Breeze)
 Toller???
 Tone (Breeze) Brook
 Torridge, Tory Burn
 Trysull (Breeze) St
 Turk as in Turdean
 Warren Burn Nb
 Wear (Breeze) Du
 Wearne
 Weaver (Breeze) CL
 Wellow
 W-Ha, So
 Wendover Bk
 Wenferth??? Wo
 Wheelock Ch
 Whimble
 Wyllye???
 Windrush
 Winfrith
 Worm Brook He
 Wynd Brook Wo
 Yare nt
 Yarty

Root-Brittonic river-names

Alne/Allen (see now Hamp 1975b) *Wa, nb, Cu-nb, Cu.*
 Arrow (Herefordshire) *Water-He*
 Bollin??? *Ch*
 Camlad??? *Water-Sa*
 Churnet??? *St*
 Colne (Yorkshire), Colne Water (Lancashire) *Yw, La*
 Denis Burn *Nb*
 Ight *Bk-O*
 Lew
 Went *Yw*

Structurally Brittonic river-names

In the case of two-root names, the numeral indicates which root is Brittonic; otherwise the suffix (and/or other non-root elements) is Brittonic).

Alwent (2) *Du, Nb x 2*
 Boyd???
 Churnet??? *St*
 Coforth Brook (2) *Wo*
 Fonthill
 Medway (1)
 Mint *We*
 Monnow (1) *He?? W?*
 Okement (1)
 Roden/Duddon (if containing *Ituna* (Coates)) (1) *Sa, Cu-La*
 Sankey??? *La*
 Savick *La*
 Styric *Bd-Ess-C*
 Trent *St-Dd-Nb-Le-C-Y. (51-Wo)*
 Vyrnwy *Water-Sa*
 Wampool (2) *Cu*

Celtic river-names

Anker *Wa-Lei-St*
 Baddow??? (cf. the Irish divine name
Badb (Coates)) *Ess*

Beane *He+*
 Bladen *G-O*
 Calne/Ancholme *L, YW, La*
 Cant Beck??? *La*
 Esk/Axe *Yw, Cu x 2*
 Exe
 Granta *Bd-Ess-C*
 Hail??? *He*
 Hull *YE*
 Hyle *Ess*
 King Water *Cu*
 Loddon *Nb, He*
 Lune *We-La, Yw*
 Lynher *Nb*
 Mine
 Olchan *He*
 Tees *Cu/Du-We/Y*
 Wharfe *Yw*
 Witham??? *Ru-C*

On the problems surrounding Exe, Esk, Axe see Nicolaisen (1957: 241-2), Jackson (1970: 74-5), Hamp (1973, 1974), Rivet and Smith (1979: 376-8). The difficulties concerning their etymologies have not been resolved, especially as regards the relation between the Welsh and Cornish names for Exeter that derive from one of the RB *Isca*s.

Ancient river-names

Aire *Yw*
 Alt *La*
 Amber *Db, He*
 Arrow (Worcestershire/Warwickshire) /Orwell *Wo-Wa, Sf*
 Bovey
 Cale
 Coln
 Colne/Clun (may share a root **laun-* with *Aln(e)* and be Celtic)
 Cory/Curry/Kyre *Wo*
 Darent/Darwen/Derwent (see fully Kitson 1996: 77-82) (see above)
 Don *Yw, Du, La*
 Dork
 Earn
 Eden (Hamp 1989a: 110) *We-Cu, Du*

River-Names

Sr	Emen (i.e. Mole)	
	Etherow Ch	
	Font Nb	
	Glyme O	
	Humber Y-L, O-L, He, Bd, Hu, Du (+ not Humberham BCS86 K)	
	Ise Ntl	
So	Isle	
Ha	Itchel	
G-I, Ha	Itchen Wa	
Sx	Lavant Bk-Bd	
So	Lox	
Ha	Meon	
W	Nadder	
	Nanny Nb	
	Nene Sa-Wb, Nn-Hu-C-Wf-Li	
	Nidd YN	
	Noe Db	
	Ouse (except Sussex) Nn-Bk-Bd-Hu-C-Wf-St, Y, Wo	
Dr, Do-Sa	Parrett Gb-Wb	
	Rye (Yorkshire NR) YN	
W	Sem	
	Seven (possibly with late phonology) YN	
	Severn (of which Vyrnwy is a Brittonic derivative)/ Saferon Bd + ? W Saveron	
	Soar Wa-Li-Nk	
So	Sowe St, Wa	
	Stour C-Sf-Ess, O-GA-Wb-Wa, St-Wb, amn C17, Ha?	
K, W, Do-Ha	Tame/Team/Teme/Tamar/Thames/Tavy (the last with late phonology) Wa-Sr, Bk-O, Y, Du	
Co-D, D	Taw (if not as seen in Welsh <i>taw</i> 'silence'; cf. Vennemann 1999a: 42))	
	Till C, Nb	
	Tweed Scar-Nb	
	Tyne Cu-Nb-Du, He, Cu	
	Ure Y	
	Wansbeck Nb	
	Welland Nn-Li-Ru-L	
Ha-Sr, Do	Wey/Wye (and second element in Medway and Monnow) Db, Water-He	
	Wyre Ca	
	Yealm D	

Maps

Notes

The maps are ordered alphabetically by county-name as far as is compatible with the best arrangement on the page.

The categories *Root-Celtic* and *Root-Brittonic* which have been distinguished in the gazetteer are represented by the same symbol on the maps.

The depth of coverage of the county surveys on which the maps are based varies, and direct comparison of the maps for the incidence of Celtic names should be undertaken with caution.

A few names are plotted outside the county to which they belong(ed). This is a consequence of changing administrative arrangements for outlying units.

The digitized maps were created by Dr Tom Browne (University of Sussex Computing Centre) using ESRI Arc/Info and Arcview and Microsoft Excel to produce the databases and draft maps and Susan Rowland (Cartographer, University of Sussex Geography Resource Centre) using Macromedia FreeHand software to produce the final maps for publication.