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edited by

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The Journal of Scottish Name Studies
JSNS is a peer-reviewed journal that exists to publish articles and reviews on place and personal names relating to Scotland, her history and languages.

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Tarbat or Not Tarbat?
Was there a portage on the Tarbat peninsula?

Liz Curtis

Some 30 miles north-east of Inverness, the Tarbat peninsula reaches into the North Sea like a finger separating the Dornoch and Moray firths. The precise extent of the peninsula is undefined: its tip is the headland, Tarbat Ness, while its base broadens into a wider peninsula bounded by Tain in the north and the Bay of Nigg in the south.

The name *Tarbert* (variously spelt) is fairly common in Scotland, and usually signposts a portage. This is a route, used in the past, where boats and/or goods could be carried overland between two stretches of water. The whereabouts of such a portage is usually indicated by the position of the place-name and by the topography, and is sometimes confirmed by historical accounts. In the case of the Tarbat peninsula, however, neither the present-day siting of the place-name nor topography point to an obvious portage, nor does the scanty written record help. Consequently the existence or whereabouts of such a portage, and the meaning of the name, have been the subject of speculation.

This article will examine past applications of the Tarbat name in this area, and will suggest that these point to a portage placed approximately along the line of the present Portmahomack to Rockfield road (see Maps 1 and 4). It will argue that such a portage would have made sense in Early Christian times, as a short cut between the Moray Firth and the important monastery on the site of Tarbat Old Parish Church on the edge of Portmahomack.

Settlement

The Tarbat peninsula is part of Scotland's eastern coastal plain, and has attracted human settlers since prehistoric times.[1] The climate is dry but windy, the land is fertile and undulating, and the coastal waters teem with sea-life. The only drawback is the scarcity of wood or peat for fuel.[2]

Settlers have left their mark in place-names and archaeology. There are several

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[1] RCAHMS 1979, 14ff. For general background on Easter Ross, see Mowat 1981; Baldwin (ed.) 1986; Omand (ed.) 1984; Oram et al. 2009.

[2] In the 17th century, the *Moss of Lochsline* east of the loch supplied peats for Sir George McKenzie's lands at the upper end of the peninsula (Nov. 1655 *NAS* GD305/1/105/298). *OSA* Tarbat dated 1793 observed: 'The parish labours under a considerable disadvantage, from the scarcity of peats and other fuel' (*OSA*, vol. 6, 429). *OSA* Fearn dated 1792 likewise noted: 'The principal disadvantage under which this parish labours, is the scarcity of fuel' (*OSA*, vol. 4, 297).

Map 1: Key places discussed in the text

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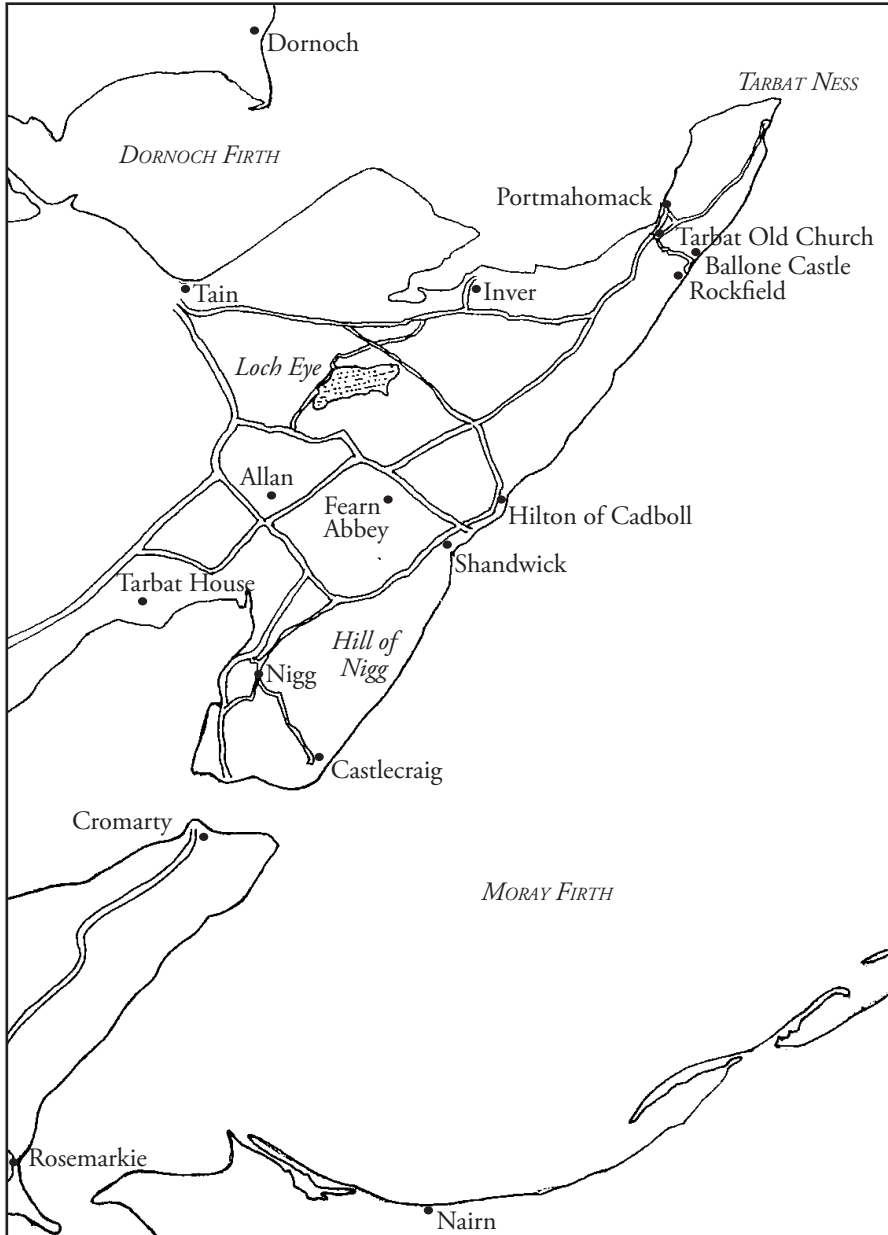
names on the broader peninsula with the element *Pit-*,[3] from *pett*, adopted from Pictish by Gaelic speakers to denote a land-holding. Near the top of the peninsula there are Gaelic names probably from the Early Christian period, such as Tarbat and Tarrel (both to be discussed later) and Portmahomack.[4] This combines *port* (landing-place or haven, from Latin *portus*) with *mo-Cholmác* (of my little Colm or Colmán). This person is St Colmán, to whom the parish church is dedicated: Early Christian saints were often known by diminutive pet-names in the form 'my little such-and-such'.[5] The same saint is commemorated in the village's well, *Tobar Mo-Chalmaig* (Watson 1904, 46), and probably at Kilmachalmack (locally pronounced 'Kilmacholmack') on the Kyle of Sutherland, which is on a direct route by boat from Portmahomack.[6] There were over 200 Irish saints called Colmán (Watson 1926, 278–79). This very popular name, the diminutive of Colm (ScG *Colum* or *Calum*), is from a Gaelic word meaning 'dove, pigeon', deriving from the Latin *columba*, with the same meaning. In the Christian tradition, the dove symbolises the Holy Spirit.

A saint's feast-day (date of death) is a key way of identifying individual saints of the same name. The feast-days are listed in church calendars, to show when the saint should be celebrated. The calendar of the *Martyrology of Aberdeen*, compiled c. 1500 for the use of the Church of Aberdeen, specifically refers to the Tarbat saint, placing his feast-day on 18 February and describing him as 'St Colman, bishop and confessor, [who is] buried in the diocese of Ross at Tarbat.'[7] The notes to the 'Martyrology of Oengus', 18 February, refer to a

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[3] Fraser 1984, 219–21; Watson 1904, 33–34, 41, 46 (entry for Portmahomack), 51; Pont, 'Rosse'.

[4] The earliest forms identified are: (Notarial instrument dated at) *Meikle Tarrell*, **Portmaholmak** and *Inver de Lochslyne* 1630 NAS GD305/1/125/559; (contract for building a pier at) *St Mal[colm]es haven* alias **Portmahomack** 1697 NAS GD305/1/147/39; Burgh of Barony of **Portmaholmack** 1714 NAS GD305/1/52/1 [copy disposition of tailzie]; the Burgh of Barony of **Portmaholmach**, alias *Castlehaven*, formerly called the Town or Village of **Portmaholmack** 1724 NAS GD305/1/53 [printed version of royal charter following the death of George Earl of Cromarty, used in a libel action]; **Portmaholmack** 1791–99 *OSA* Tarbat, 417.

[5] For *port* and also the use of *mo* with names of saints, see *DIL*. The technical term for a pet-name is a hypocorism or hypocoristic form. See Clancy and Márkus 1995, 116, on early medieval attitudes to saints. Ó Néill and Dumville (2002, vii) write: 'Diminutives, often with hypocoristic force, are widely attested in the christian [*sic*] religious names of the Gaelic world – and indeed of the Insular Celtic world as a whole.'

[6] Information about pronunciation from Roy Gennard. Timothy Pont's text (c.1583–96, 122v–123r) reads: 'There ar in *Stracharron Kilmachalmag*, upon the ferry that goeth up to *Okell* river, with a chappell, and a burn of that name 4 myl long, cuming down from *Bra-Stracharrown*.' Robert Gordon's map '*Sutherland*, *Strath Okel* and *Strath Charron*' shows *Kilmachalmag* with a church symbol.

[7] 'In Scocia Sancti Colmanni episcopi et confessoris sepultus dyocesi Rossensi apud *Terbert*.' (*Martyrology of Aberdeen* (Laing), 261).

Colmán *i n-Albain fri Monaid atuaid* 'in Scotland north of the Mounth', who could well be the same saint.[8] For a church to be dedicated to a saint does not, however, necessarily imply that the saint actually founded the church or was ever present there.[9]

Another name with links to the early church is *Annat*, found here on the southern end of the Hill of Nigg, facing the Moray Firth, in the parish of Nigg. Pont's *'Rosse'* gives *Aniatt* as a settlement-name, while a 1763 estate plan shows *Loch Annat*, *Annat Burn*, and lands named *Annat* either side of the burn and extending southwards off the map.[10] Watson (1904, 52–53; 1926, 252) recorded *An Annaid* on the farm of Castlecraig, and also *Loch na h-Annaide*.[11] Annat derives from G. *annaid*, which comes from OG *andóit*, which possibly comes from the Latin for 'ancient/prior foundation'.[12] Clancy writes that *annaid* means roughly 'the mother church of a local community': such a church would be in a superior relationship to other local churches (Clancy 1995, 114, 100). He suggests that many *annaid* names could apply to the property of a mother church, rather than to the church itself. This theory provides a convincing explanation for the *annaid* names on the Hill of Nigg, which are not in locations typical of early churches. It seems very possible that the farm of Castlecraig, which today is directly linked to Nigg by road, and the *Annat* loch and lands, all belonged to the church or monastic foundation at Nigg, whose importance is signalled by a magnificent Early Christian cross-slab. Following a pattern seen on *annaid* sites elsewhere (Clancy 1995, 107), the Nigg church later became the parish church.

The Early Christian period has left a remarkable archaeological legacy on the peninsula and nearby. Early finds and recent excavations on the site of Tarbat Old Church revealed a major monastic site, which flourished from about the sixth century to the ninth.[13] The monastery had workshops for metal- and glass-

[8] Watson 1926, 279. Watson draws attention to the fact that the notes to the 'Martyrology of Oengus' also place Colmán of Ardboe (on Lough Neagh, Co. Tyrone, Ireland) on 18 February, alongside the Scottish saint (loc. cit. and 518, note to p. 279): this does not necessarily mean that the two were identical. The *Breviary of Aberdeen* places Colmán of Lindisfarne on 18 February (*Aberdeen Breviary*; Forbes, *Kalendars*, 303); in the Irish calendars, however, Colmán of Lindisfarne's feast-day is always 8 August: thanks to Aidan MacDonald for information on this question.

[9] Ways in which saints' dedications may be disseminated are discussed in Clancy 2010. Thanks to Gilbert Márkus for drawing my attention to this article.

[10] 'Plan of the Hill of Nigg, as divided', NAS RHP 680. *Annat* names do not appear on the relevant OS 6-inch maps: Ross-shire & Cromartyshire (Mainland), Sheets LV and LXVII.

[11] The loch is probably the one at about NH827709, while Castlecraig is about 1.5km further south, and is directly linked to Nigg by road.

[12] Clancy 1995, 92. Thanks to Gilbert Márkus for drawing my attention to this article. For earlier discussions of Annat names, see Watson 1926, 250–54; and MacDonald 1973.

[13] See Carver 2008.

working, perhaps for making religious vessels, and workshops for processing hides, possibly for vellum for manuscripts (Carver 2008, 133–34, 124, 198). The monastery also produced fine ecclesiastical sculpture, of which many fragments survive: these can be seen in the museum that now occupies the Old Church, and in the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh. The fragments reveal the wide range of skills and influences at play (Carver 2008, 107–10). There are mythical, biblical and native animals, artistically represented – a dragon, lions, a bear, wild boar and cattle with a calf. There are elaborate patterns, including vine scroll, spirals and interlace. There is a row of clerics, perhaps the apostles, and there are Pictish symbols.

Perhaps the most significant fragment of all is the 'inscription stone', probably once part of a late eighth-century cross-slab. This is carved in relief with a Christian memorial dedication in Latin, which is 'written in well designed lettering of a type developed in Northumbrian manuscripts' (Higgitt 1982, 318). Analysing the stone before the discovery of the Tarbat monastic site, John Higgitt concluded that these features pointed to 'an ecclesiastical centre with contacts that went beyond Pictland,' which was 'capable of producing books with display script in Insular decorative capitals' (loc. cit.).

A few miles south, magnificent carved cross-slabs from the same tradition as the Tarbat fragments survive at Nigg and Shandwick, while a third cross-slab, from Hilton of Cadboll, is now in the National Museum, with a replica by Barry Grove on the site.[14] Another superb cross-slab survives on the Black Isle at Rosemarkie, probably the site of an important ecclesiastical foundation.[15] Finely-carved fragments have also been found on the far side of the Moray Firth at Kinneddar, yet another early monastic site.[16] As at Tarbat, sculptures from these sites combine native Pictish scenes and symbols with imagery and styles from Iona, Northumbria and Mediterranean Christianity.

It seems likely that this whole area, including the Tarbat peninsula, was part of the northern Pictish kingdom of *Fortriu*. This kingdom may have been centred near the river Ness, extending along both sides of the Moray Firth and including what became Moray and Ross.[17] *Fortriu* may have been converted to Christianity by monks from the west, not necessarily from Iona, though Iona became very influential here in the seventh century.[18]

Between about 780 and 830, the Tarbat monastery suffered burning and

[14] For detailed discussions of the cross-slabs, see Henderson and Henderson 2004.

[15] Henderson, www.groamhouse.org.uk – accessed 17/04/10.

[16] Henderson 2005, 72–73; Byatt 2008.

[17] See Woolf 2006, 201; *VC* ii.33. Henderson 1957–58, 57, suggested that 'the shores of the Moray and Dornoch Firths' were 'the origin centre of the Pictish symbol stones'.

[18] On *Fortriu*'s links with Iona, see Fraser 2009, 106, 269–71.

its sculptures were smashed.[19] The culprits were probably Vikings, who were furiously raiding coastal monasteries at the time.[20] Norse speakers certainly settled on the Tarbat peninsula, leaving place-names dotted along its length, from Bindal (*bind-dalr* 'sheaf-dale') near the top to the farm-names Arboll and Cadboll (*-ból* '-stead') and Shandwick (*sand-vík* 'sand-bay') on the coast.[21] Both Arboll and Cadboll were evidently on good soil, as by 1600 these lands supported tower houses (Pont, *'Rosse'*). North of Loch Eye, Balnagall (G. 'the town of the strangers'), may be a name given by Gaelic speakers to a settlement of people of Norse origin, though Watson thought this unlikely (Watson 1904, 36). A hoard of Viking ring-money and coins, deposited c. 990–1000, was found in the Tarbat churchyard.[22]

Probably by the 12th century, Gaelic was the dominant language in Easter Ross, and remained widely spoken on the Tarbat peninsula until at least the 1880s.[23] Gaelic produced many names, especially for landscape features.[24] Early names, including Tarbat, Tarrel, Arboll and Cadboll, persisted as the names of lands. When these lands were divided in the middle ages, the Scots adjectives *easter* and *wester*, or *meikle* ('big') and *little*, were added to describe the new units. In recent centuries, landlords replaced Gaelic names with English ones. Thus Tarbat became Seafield and Tarrel became Rockfield, while Sheriff Macleod of Geanies renamed *Mulbuie* ('yellow height') with his wife's surname, Petley (Watson 1904, 47).

Tarbert place-names

There are many places in Scotland with *tarbert*-names and also one in Ireland. The earliest recorded *tarbert*-name is *Tairpirt Boiter*: the *Annals of Ulster* noted the burning of a fort of this name in 712 and again in 731.[25] This part of the

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[19] Carver 2008, 199. Three men buried at the monastery 'had received major blade wounds', possibly inflicted by Vikings (Carver 2008, 80).

[20] Important monasteries attacked by Vikings were Lindisfarne in 793, Jarrow in 794 and Iona in 795, 802 and 806. The written record does not stretch to the monasteries of Pictland, although the *Annals of Ulster* record that in 839 'The heathens won a battle against the men of *Foirtriu*'.

[21] Watson 1904, 46, 47, 40, 50. See Crawford 1986, 35, on Norse settlement in this area.

[22] Graham-Campbell 1995, 57, 143-4. Some silver armlets from the hoard are on display at the National Museum of Scotland.

[23] Woolf 2007, 323; see 322-340 on the replacement of British (called Pictish by others) dialects by Gaelic. In 1826, 96.59 per cent of the population of Tarbat parish habitually spoke Gaelic, while in 1881 66.24 per cent still did so (Mowat 1981, 243).

[24] See OS Ross-shire & Cromartyshire - Mainland, Sheet XXX, surveyed 1872, published 1880. This shows many coastal features with names which include the elements *port* 'haven', *creag* 'rock', and *rubha* 'point'.

[25] U712.2: *Combustio Tairpirt Boitter*; U731.4: *Combustio Tairpirt Boittir apud Dunghal.*

Annals was probably written by monks at Iona and covered events of interest to the monastery. Thus *Tairpirt Boiter* was probably, as James E. Fraser suggests, a stronghold at Tarbert, Loch Fyne (Fraser 2009, 273, 294).

Etymologists agree that the various *tarbert*-names, spelt in different ways over the centuries, are derived from Old Gaelic *tairm* 'over' or 'across' and *bert* 'carry' (Watson 1926, 505; Macbain 1911). Together they became *tairbert*, whose meanings included 'carrying, bringing, escorting', and 'handing over, delivering' (*DIL*). The place-name *Tairbert, ScG *Tairbeart*, thus meant a place where things could be carried over, usually translated as 'portage'. In modern Gaelic, the word *tairbeart* lost the sense of human activity and came to mean 'peninsula' or 'isthmus', and latterly only 'isthmus'.[26]

Amateur etymologists have offered three other derivations for this Tarbat name, none satisfactory. In the 1790s, the Rev. George Balfour suggested it came from 'drowned belly' (ScG *tar* (*tàrr*) 'belly or prominence' and *bait* (*bàthte*) 'drowned or immersed in water'), which described the peninsula seen from a distance, like 'a body stretched out in the sea and nearly surrounded by it' (*OSA*, Tarbat, 418). This is picturesque, but does not take account of the earliest spelling, *Arterbert*, discussed below. Another suggestion, for which there is no evidence, is that 'it may be from an older P-Celtic (British) word meaning headland' (Carver 2008, 224). Yet another unfounded idea is that it is a Norse-Gaelic compound meaning 'carry boat'.[27]

The Norse place-name *Torfnes*, mentioned in three chapters of the *Orkneyinga Saga*, has often been equated with Tarbat Ness.[28] This seems unlikely, since *Torfnes* would neither be a natural adaptation of Gaelic *tairbeart nor an appropriate coinage for the peninsula: *torfnes* translates as 'turf-ness' and the peninsula is noted for its lack of peat. Recently, David and Sandra MacDonald have put forward a more convincing theory: that *Torfnes* is in fact the Black Isle (MacDonald and MacDonald, forthcoming). In the past, most of that peninsula was covered in 'black uncultivated moor', which probably explains its name.[29] The moorland is now green as a result of reclamation and afforestation. The Black Isle also fits with the *Torfnes* of the sagas in being a place where turf could be cut and in providing a safe haven, the Cromarty Firth, where a Norse force could overwinter. Place-name evidence confirms that this was a significant area of Norse settlement: there was a 'thing', or court of justice, at Dingwall, while Udale near Cromarty, from Norse *ý-dalr* 'yew-

[26] *Dictionarium Scoto-Celticum* 1828; Dwelly 1971; Mark 2004.

[27] This was written on an information board at the Tarbat Discovery Centre when I visited on 11 May 2006. A statement that Tarbet was of Norse origin was displayed on a board near Tarbet, Loch Lomond (*Scottish Place-Name News* no. 22 (Spring 2007), 13).

[28] See for example Pálsson and Edwards 1981, chs 7, 20, 90; Crawford 1987, 73.

[29] *OSA*, Avoch, 610; Watson 1904, xxiv; Willis 1989, 3.

dale', demonstrates their presence on the Black Isle.[30] The only contradictory note comes in the saga story of the battle of *Torfnes*, which is placed on the south side of the *Breiðafjǫrðr*, 'Broadfirth', usually translated 'Moray Firth', and on the bank of the river Oykel.[31] These two places are distant from each other as well as from the Black Isle and Tarbat Ness, so the story may serve only to illustrate the author's loose grip on geography outside the Thurso area and mainland Orkney (Ritchie 1993, 15).

The word *portage* comes from OF and ME *portage* and is used in modern English both as a noun and a verb (*COD*). *COD*'s definition includes the 'carrying of boat or goods between two navigable waters, place at which this is necessary', and 'convey (boat, goods) over a [portage]' (*COD*). It should be noted that neither the Gaelic nor the English words carry in their original meanings any mention of what is carried.

 Portaging is an ancient practice, shared by peoples in many places where land and water interweave.[32] It can be used for both local trips and long journeys, allowing sailors to take short-cuts and to avoid dangerous headlands. They might beach their boats at one end of the portage and carry their goods overland, or they might carry both boat and goods to the next waterway, then recommence their journey.

The earliest descriptions of portaging in Scotland come from the Norse sagas. Magnus Bareleg's saga tells how in 1098 Magnus was hauled across 'the isthmus of the Mull of Kintyre' (*Satirismula eið*)[33] sitting in a boat with the rudder in place, in order to claim that Kintyre was an island and thus his possession.[34] The isthmus was described as 'so narrow ... that men draw ships across there constantly.'[35] Today the isthmus is marked either side by settlements called West Tarbert and Tarbert, and by West and East Loch Tarbert (OS Landranger 62).

In 1263, King Hakon of Norway sent 40 ships up Loch Long: these were then drawn overland to Loch Lomond, where the Norwegians burned the dwellings all around the loch and on its islands.[36] The settlement on Loch Lomond-side at this point is today called Tarbet.

Kintyre featured again in about 1315, when, according to John Barbour, King Robert I had his galleys drawn across *'Out-our betwix the Tarbartis twa'* ('over between the two Tarberts') with sails aloft to take advantage of the wind.[37]

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[30] Watson 1904, 93, 125. Watson writes 'y-dalr'.

[31] Pálsson and Edwards 1981, ch. 20, 54.

[32] There is a growing scholarly literature on the subject. See Westerdahl 2006.

[33] Anderson 1922, 113 n. 3 (*Frisbók*).

[34] Anderson 1922, 113 (*Heimskringla*).

[35] Anderson 1922, 113 n. 3 (*Frisbók*).

[36] Anderson 1922, 625 (*Hakon Hakonsson's Saga*).

[37] Barbour, *Bruce*, 565, 564; 564 n. 276.

In 1654, Blaeu's *Atlas of Scotland* noted that Kintyre was joined to Knapdale 'by such a narrow and sandy neck that sailors pull small boats across it for a short-cut'.[38]

Scotland has 20 or more districts with *tarbert*-names.[39] These are mostly in the Western Isles and along the west coast, with just three on the east coast, which is much less indented.[40] Western islands with *tarbert*-names are Lewis (Loch an Tairbeart NB2532); Harris (NB1500); South Uist (Beinn Tairbeirt, west of Loch Sgiopoirt NF8039); Canna (NG2305); Jura (NR6182); and Gigha (NR6552). On the mainland, there are *tarbert*-names between the Sound of Handa and Loch Laxford SUT (NC1649); between Badentarbat Bay and Enard Bay ROS (NC0110); between Loch Nevis and Loch Morar INV (NM7992); between Loch Shiel and Loch Eil INV/ARG border (NM9378); either side of Eilean Shona (on Loch Moidart) ARG (NM6673); between Loch Sunart and Loch Linnhe ARG (NM8760); between Loch Long and Loch Lomond ARG (NS3104); across the top of Kintyre ARG (NR8668); in West Kilbride AYR (Tarbert Hill NS2147); on the Mull of Galloway WIG (NX1430); and on the Tarbat peninsula ROS (NH9184). There are also *tarbert*-names on the islands of May FIF (NT6599)[41] and Fidra ELO (NT5186), both in the Firth of Forth. There is one set of *tarbert*-names in Ireland, on the Shannon estuary near Tarbert, Co. Kerry.[42]

A related name, according to Watson, is Torridon ROS (NG9056). This was recorded as *Torvirtayne* in 1464, which Watson connects with Early Gaelic *tairbhert* 'transfer'. The name, meaning 'place of transference', would have referred to the portage between Loch Torridon and Loch Maree (Watson 1904, 210).

Tarbert-names frequently come in sets, with the portage giving its name to nearby features, such as bays, glens, castles and settlements. Thus a string of *tarbert*-names occurs along the line of the portage and highlights its route. With the Tarbat peninsula, present uses of the place-name are not so specific. If we look, however, at past uses of the place-name, we gain clues as to where a portage might have been. A look at archaeology, topography and evidence from seafarers will help to fill out the picture.

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[38] Blaeu 2006, 73 (translated from Latin by I. C. Cunningham).

[39] I am indebted to McCullough 2000 for many items on this list.

[40] One grid reference is given for each site, though many extend over a larger area. Earlier maps, including Pont, Blaeu 1654, and OS 6-inch maps, contain *tarbert*-names not shown on modern maps.

[41] See entry for Tarbet Hole in *PNF* 3, 82.

[42] See OS 6-inch, Ireland resurveyed, 1896–97, C. Kerry, Sheet 3. A promontory near the village of Tarbert has these names: *Tarbert Lighthouse*, *Tarbert Race* (offshore), *Tarbert Island*, *Tarbert Roads*, *Tarbert Demesne* and *Tarbert Creek*.

Liz Curtis

Map 2: Detail of OS 6-inch Ross & Cromarty (Mainland) Sheet XLII, surveyed 1876, published 1881. (The map shows Loch Eye and its canalised outlet leading to the former Fearn Abbey millpond. The Meikle Eye field adjoins the west side of the outlet and the south side of the loch.)
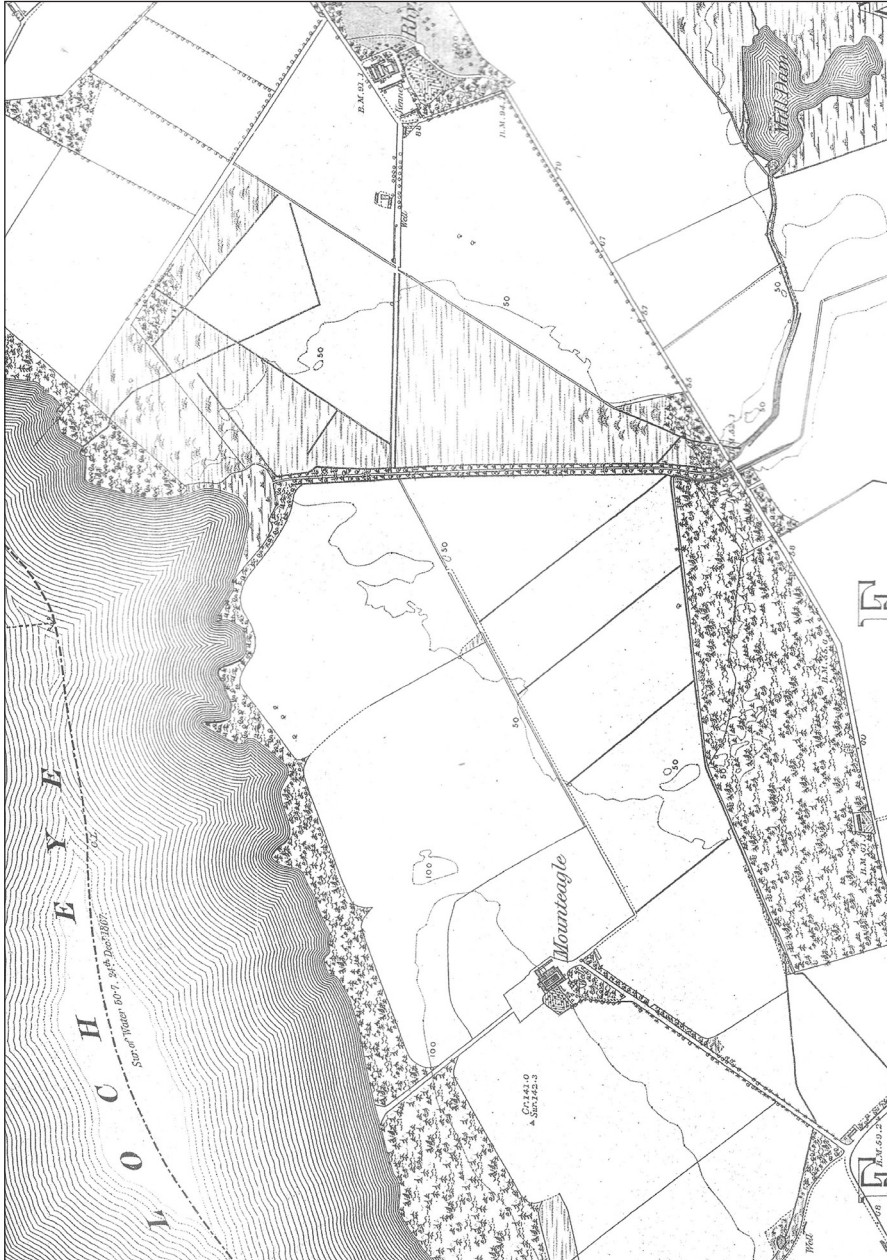
THE CARVER THEORY

Two archaeologists, Martin Carver and D. A. McCullough, have offered opinions on the possible whereabouts – or not – of a portage. Carver, who led the excavations at the Tarbat monastic site, has suggested a portage between Inver, about 6km south of Portmahomack, going via Loch Eye to the Bay of Nigg (Carver 2008, 183–86; 2007). His concept of a portage falls short: he defines it as 'where boats or ships were dragged overland', and appears to be thinking of Norse portaging, with large Viking ships (Carver 2008, 184).

Carver's proposed portage today would be about 12km long, with treacherous sands at the northern end and more sands in the Bay of Nigg, exposed at low tide. The position of these sands in the past cannot be guessed from their present position.[43] Carver reduces the length of the proposed portage to 'between 2.4 and 3km', by theorising that the waters of the Bay of Nigg once reached to Fearn (Carver 2008, 186, 174 (map)). The change in water level, he suggests, was due to the drainage activities of Fearn Abbey.

Carver produces as evidence of the change a map by John Speed published in 1610, which shows the Bay of Nigg penetrating the peninsula past *Fern* and right up to *Tarbart* (Carver 2008, 185; Speed 1610). He fails to notice two problems. Firstly, Speed's map was made after the Abbey community's demise and therefore should reflect its 'drying out' activities. Secondly, this map is flatly contradicted by a much more detailed map by Speed's contemporary, Timothy Pont, which shows the Bay of Nigg much as it is today (Pont, *'Rosse'*).

Carver also fails to produce any accurate place-name evidence in support of his theory. Firstly, his proposed portage is not linked to places bearing the original Tarbat place-name: a group of Tarbat names on the Bay of Nigg is the result of a renaming by a 17th-century landlord (detailed below). Secondly, he inaccurately links two places on his proposed route, Loch Eye and Mounteagle, to the concept of an isthmus by misinterpreting the etymology given by Watson. Carver states that Watson 'derives Loch Eye from Norse *eið*, isthmus', and that 'Mounteagle is also an *eið* name' (2008, 183). For the sake of clarity, I will quote Watson in full (1904, 42):

> **Locheye**-G. loch na h-uidhe; uidh, from Norse eith, isthmus, is common
> in place-names, where it may mean (i.) isthmus, cf. the Eye peninsula at
> Stornoway, or (ii.) according to some, slow running water between two

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[43] The OS Name Book of Tarbat Parish, 1872, described Inver Bay as 'A small portion of the Dornoch Firth well adapted for Anchorage,' but noted that Inver Channel was 'liable to change its course after a storm or extreme floodtides.' Con Gillen (1986, 20) noted changes in the sands of the Dornoch Firth since post-glacial times, with results including the silting up of Tain harbour.

lochs. Here, from the fact that we have 'an uidh' (see below) near the outlet of the loch, uidh seems to be used with the second meaning.

Watson then writes (ibid., 42):

Mounteagle-G. cnoc na h-iolaire, also, an uidh, as above, but the 'uidh' is strictly the western part of Mounteagle, near the outlet of Loch Eye.

Thus Watson is saying, firstly, that in this context Eye probably does not mean 'isthmus', and secondly that Mounteagle is also known as (not derived from) *an ùidh.* Dwelly's entry for *ùidh* implies that it was a Gaelic word in its own right. He gives nine meanings, which include 'Part of a stream which leaves a lake before breaking into a current, slow running water between two lochs.' The ninth meaning is 'isthmus': this comes from Lewis (Dwelly 1971, 991), where the Eye peninsula is connected to the mainland by a very obvious, narrow, isthmus, suggesting that in this case *ùidh* is the equivalent of Norse *eið* in its meaning 'isthmus'. This Hebridean *ùidh*, better spelt *aoidh*, 'isthmus, ford, stretch of land between two sheets of water', is borrowed from ON *eið*.[44]

We should note that Watson's definition of Norse *eið* as 'isthmus' falls short. The Norwegian name scholar Oluf Rygh wrote that in former times it seems to have had the meaning of 'a stretch of land, whether short or long, where it was necessary for people to divert to a path overland, instead of across water or ice'.[45]

The place-name Loch Eye is complicated. The loch's other name, no longer used, was *Loch Slin* or *Lochlin*: Watson thought that this was a different loch which had disappeared (1904, 42), but the evidence is to the contrary. A papal bull of 1529 confirmed Fearn Abbey's rights in *Lochlin* (NAS GD297/189): this is clearly today's Loch Eye, where the monks built a causeway into the loch which still remains and from which they sourced the water for their millpond. Today's Loch Eye is shown on Pont's map *'Rosse'*, drawn c. 1583–96, as *L: Slynn* and on Roy's map of 1747–55 as *Loch Slunn. Loch Slin* gave its name to the lands on its northern side: from the 15th century the landlords, the Vaus family, were designated 'of *Lochslin*' (variously spelt).[46] The name survives in Lochslin Castle (called *the Castle of Lochlin* in the *OSA* and *NSA*)[47] and Lochslin Farm.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the loch was called by both names. *Loch Eye* is mentioned in the Burgh Books of Tain in 1760[48] and *the loch of Eye* in

[44] Thanks to Richard A.V. Cox for this information.

[45] Rygh 1898, translated by Doreen Waugh (personal communication).

[46] Perhaps the earliest reference is in 1457, to Johanne Vaus de *Lochislyne*: *ALI*, no. 128. Also see 'The Vasses of Lochslin: A Genealogy', 1971.

[47] *OSA*, Fearn, 296; *NSA,* Fearn, 361.   48 Magill 1911, entry no. 229, 109.

the *OSA* (Fearn) of 1792. In the 1830s, however, the Cromarty author Hugh Miller called it *Loch-Slin* (1835, 111). Then in 1872 the Ordnance Survey recorded it as *Loch Eye*.[49] This presumably guaranteed the dominance of this name and *Loch Slin* passed out of use for the loch.

The name *Eye* appears to come from land adjoining the loch to the south, which in turn may have been named after a burn, as Watson suggested, or after the loch's outlet. *Eye* first surfaces in the records as the name of lands and as a landlord's designation in the 17th century: in 1649 it appears in a list of lands with a duty to supply the garrison at Inverness,[50] while the death of 'Alexander Ross of *the Yie*' is recorded in 1659 (*Fearn Calendar*, 220).

In 1733, after the death of Charles Ross of Eye, John Urquhart acquired the *Lands of Eye*. He renamed them Mounteagle, presumably after Eagle Hill on the estate.[51] Urquhart's sasine of 1733 records *Eye* as one of the lands on the estate (NAS RS3/143). The estate was bordered to the north by *Lacum de Lochs[l]ine* (i.e. Loch Slin/Loch Eye) and to the east by the burn canalised by Fearn Abbey (NAS RS3/143). This runs from the south-east corner of Loch Eye and used to supply a millpond, which has now dried out. Today the name *Eye* survives as a field-name, the Meikle Eye, on the eastern side of Mounteagle estate, bordered by the loch to the north and the outlet to the east (c. NH838793).[52] This corresponds to Watson's location of land called *an uidh* as being part of Mounteagle 'near the outlet of Loch Eye', although he mistakenly placed this at the western, rather than the eastern, end of the estate (Map 2).[53]

Given the position of the Meikle Eye field beside the loch's outlet, it seems possible that this *eye*-name derived from *ùidh* and originally described the slow-running burn between the loch and the millpond. An alternative, and appealingly straightforward, theory has been suggested by Simon Taylor (pers. comm.), that it may derive from Scottish Standard English *eye* for Scots *ee*, which when referring to the *ee* of a loch means its outflow.[54] A Scots derivation would help to explain the relatively late appearance of this *eye*-name in the written record. Whether originally *ùidh* or *ee*, the name of the outlet seems to have transferred to the adjacent land and thence to the estate and the loch.

[49] OS Name Book of Fearn Parish, 1872; OS 6-inch Ross-shire & Cromartyshire - Mainland, Sheet XLII.
[50] Magill 1909, entry no. 566, 225.
[51] NAS RS3/143; Magill 1909, entry no. 266, 101.
[52] Thanks to George, Isabel and Donald Ross of Rhynie Farm for this information and for showing me the outlet. Thanks too to Jim Ross of Lochslin Farm for his help.
[53] Watson 1904, 42: see entries for Locheye and Mounteagle.
[54] See, for example, *PNF* 3, 230, entry for Toldrie: *Tolry-Loch* 1551×1575 *RMS* iv no. 2454, 'uphaldan the e of the said loch', i.e. 'maintaining the outflow'. Thanks to Simon Taylor for this reference.

Map 3: Detail of Timothy Pont's map 'Rosse', c. 1583–96

It seems to me extremely unlikely that this *eye*-name ever referred to a portage between Inver and Nigg Bay, let alone one which could have produced the name Tarbat. On the known *tarbert*-routes, the *tarbert*-names are always on, or close to, the route; but an Inver-Nigg Bay route would have been several kilometres away from the named *tarbert*-sites, which are discussed below. Further, the topography is very unfavourable for such a route and indeed two farmers reacted with incredulity to the idea of a portage at this point.[55] Such a route would have started and ended with the need to negotiate extensive sands[56] and would have meant tackling extensive areas of wet ground south of Loch Eye: today a network of drainage channels criss-crossing several square kilometres testifies to the dampness of this area. The outlet from Loch Eye is a narrow stream which, prior to being straightened by canalisation, would have meandered through this flat wet ground and would not have offered portage possibilities.

D. A. MᶜCULLOUGH'S VIEW

D. A. McCullough examined Norse portages in Scotland in his PhD thesis (2000). Because of the etymology of Tarbat, he raises the possibility of a portage on the peninsula. He confuses the word 'isthmus' – normally understood as a neck of land between two larger pieces of land – with 'peninsula', writing that the place-name Tarbat Ness 'is located at the point of a low-lying isthmus' (2000, 274).

McCullough dismisses the portage idea firstly because the name Tarbat Ness 'applies to the outer extremity of the isthmus.' Secondly, he points out that the 'minimum distance across this isthmus was measured at the traverse from Portmahomack to Rockfield', but comments: 'It is unlikely that a crossing of either cargo or vessels occurred at this point, as there are no circumstances present which would warrant this.' Thirdly, he writes that: 'The approximate sailing distance around this point is 14km, not a large distance when compared with the traverse of 1800m over the isthmus.' He therefore dismisses the idea of a portage site here and concludes that 'the place-name probably served to describe the presence of an isthmus' (by which he meant a peninsula) (loc. cit.).

Thus McCullough raises three objections to the idea of a portage here:

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[55] Conversations with the author.

[56] In the 17th century, Robert Gordon wrote of the Dornoch Firth (translated from Latin, Blaeu 2006, 101): 'it has no harbours and because of shallows is to be dreaded by ships.' Tain subsequently acquired a harbour, but this was silted up by the advance of Whiteness Sands (Gillen 1986, 20). Across the entrance to the Dornoch Firth is the formidable sandbar known as the Gizzen Briggs: see *OSA* Dornoch, 3, and *NSA* Tain, 281. The Sands of Nigg, exposed at low tide, are described in *NSA* Nigg, 20.

that the Tarbat place-name applies to the end of the peninsula; that there are no circumstances to warrant a crossing at the narrowest point, between Portmahomack and Rockfield; and that the saving of travelling distance is not enough to justify crossing here. Evidence will be offered to counter each of his objections in turn.

The place-name evidence

Today the Tarbat name is used in various ways. Formally, it names the headland (Tarbat Ness), the parish, the parish church (old and new), and a settlement on the Bay of Nigg near Milton which includes the ruined Tarbat House. South of Portmahomack is Tarbet [*sic*] Golf Course. The name also appears in a courtesy title, Viscount Tarbat. Informally, it names the Tarbat peninsula and is also used by some academics writing about the site of Tarbat Old Parish Church.[57] In the past, the Tarbat name had additional applications. It named a place (where the church stood) and also a farm, lands, a castle and a barony. It also served as a landlord's designation and in judicial and aristocratic titles.

1. Church documents

The first known reference to Tarbat was recorded in 1226, when *'Andreas vicarius de Arterbert'* (Andrew vicar of *Arterbert*) put his name to a church document.[58] Watson wrote that *Arterbert* was the equivalent of Tarbat Ness, with *Ar(t)* 'for àirde, promontory'.[59]

In two church documents of the early 16th century, Tarbat appears as the name of three entities: a specific site, a parish and a *villa*, a Latin term which can approximately be translated as 'farm' or 'toun'.[60] It was in all cases spelt *Terbert*, in line with *Arterbert* three centuries earlier, which suggests this was the spelling consistently used by the church. In contrast, as we shall see, secular charters used spellings which were more similar to the modern spelling.

The entry in the *Martyrology of Aberdeen* for Colmán of Tarbat, mentioned

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[57] E.g. Higgitt 1982; Oram et al. 2009, 15.

[58] *Moray Reg.*, 82. The document settled a dispute between the bishops of Ross and Moray. *OPS* incorrectly dates it to 1227 (Vol. 2, Pt. 2, 434).

[59] Watson 1904, 45. What appears to be a similar coinage to Tarbat Ness occurs on the island of Canna, where a bay near other *tarbert*-place-names was recorded in 1877 as *Camas Tharbernish*: OS 6-inch map, Argyllshire (Islands of Canna and Sanday), Sheets LIII and LIV, surveyed 1877, published 1880. The modern spelling is Camas Thairbearnais (OS Landranger 39, NG2306). See also Cox 2007, 142.

[60] *DOST*'s definitions of *toun* include: 'a farm or estate including dwelling house(s) and farm buildings and freq. the land.'

above, states that he was buried *apud Terbert*, 'at Tarbat'.[61] A bull of Pope Clement VII addressed to the abbot and convent of New Fearn, dated 23 June 1529, confirmed grants made by Pope Urban IV (reigned 1261–64) which included *'Vicariam ecclesie sancti Colmani sitam in loco qui nominatur Terbert'*, 'the vicarage of the church of St Colman situated in the place which is called *Terbert*'.[62]

Terbert is clearly the site of Tarbat Old Parish Church, which is dedicated to Colmán.[63] Today, this site is part of the village of Portmahomack, but it was once distinct. Timothy Pont's map *'Rosse'*, drawn c. 1583–96, shows *Kirck of Terbart* with an unnamed settlement close by to the north-east (see Map 3). Roy's map of 1747–55 shows *Kirk of Tarbatt* some distance from the settlement of *Portnahumach*. The OS 6-inch map of 1872 shows the church site separated from Portmahomack by the small district called Gaza (see Map 4).[64] It seems likely that Portmahomack was originally the name of the bay (*Port mo-Cholmác* 'landing-place or haven of St Colmán') which then gave its name to the settlement. The village was tiny until the development of herring fishing in the 19th century: in about 1800 it consisted of three houses and two storehouses for receiving rents (*NSA*, Tarbat, 463).

In the above-mentioned Bull of 1529, *Terbert* also appears as the name of the parish. Thus following the usual pattern, the parish took its name from the location of the church.[65] The Bull confirmed *decimarum garbalium in villa qui dicitur Alen in Terbert*, 'teind sheaves in the farm which is called Allan in Tarbat'. Tarbat parish at that time extended from Tarbat Ness to south of Fearn Abbey: the parish of Fearn was created in 1628, with the Abbey as the parish church.[66] Allan place-names are found southwest of Fearn, placing these lands at the southern end of the pre-1628 parish of Tarbat.[67]

[61] '*In Scocia Sancti Colmanni episcopi et confessoris sepultus dyocesi Rossensi apud Terbert.*' 'In Scotland [the feast] of St Colman, bishop and confessor, [who is] buried in the diocese of Ross at Tarbat' (*Martyrology of Aberdeen* (Laing), 261).

[62] NAS GD297/189. The bull also confirmed to Fearn Abbey *Quatuor acras terrarum ... iuxta dictam ecclesiam* ('four acres of land ... beside the said church'). Thanks to Simon Taylor and Gilbert Márkus for help with translation from Latin. See also *OPS*, Vol. 2, 436–37.

[63] The parish church is now located in the centre of Portmahomack, while the old church is a museum.

[64] Ordnance Survey 6-inch 1st edition, Ross-shire, Sheet XXX, surveyed 1872, published 1880. See Watson 1904, 46, for local explanations for the name Gaza.

[65] See Watson 1904, 50, on parish naming.

[66] *OPS*, Vol. 2, Pt. 2, 433. The Abbey became the parish church.

[67] Pont, *'Rosse'*, has *M: Ellan*, *Ellann* and *E. Ellan*, while OS Explorer 438 shows Allan and Clay of Allan. *OSA* Fearn, 360, places the 'lands of *Allan*' in Fearn parish. The 'Ancient Parochial Map' in *OPS*, vol. 2, part 2, shows the boundary of Tarbat parish running down the outlet from Loch Eye: this is inaccurate, as it would put the Allan lands in Logie Easter parish, not Tarbat.

The Bull also contains two references to *Terbert* as a *villa*. It confirmed a grant of *unam Acram terre quam habetis in Villa que dicitur Terbert*, 'one acre of land which you [the brethren of Fearn] have in the farm which is called Tarbat', and another of *annuum redditum duarum librarum cere quem habetis in dicta Villa Terbert*, 'annual rent of 2lbs of wax which you have in the said farm Tarbat'.

2. Pont and Blaeu maps

Pont's map *'Rosse'* shows the Tarbat name three times. It names the headland, *Tarbartness*, and also *Kirck of Terbart* and *Cast. Terbart*. The last two, each accompanied by tiny drawings, face each other across the peninsula and are clearly on the sites of today's Tarbat Old Parish Church and Ballone Castle. Blaeu's *Atlas of Scotland* of 1654 shows the peninsula on two maps and likewise identifies the Ness, the kirk and the castle: these are spelt *Terbat* on one map and *Terbaert* on another (Blaeu 2006, maps 35 and 37).

3. The lands of Tarbat

The Tarbat lands appear in documents from January 1350/51[68] to at least 1490 in relation to a grant of 6 marks or 4 pounds annual rent from Tarbat, made by the Earl of Ross. Spellings included:

> *Tarbait* 1350/1 NAS GD297/169
> *Terba[i]t* nd c. 1368 NAS GD297/172
> *Tabarde* 1374–75 *RMS* i no. 619
> *Tarbart* 1439/40 NAS GD297/180
> *Tarwat* 1475/6 *RMS* ii no. 1227
> *Tarbat* 1490 *RMS* ii no. 1978
> *Terbate* 1490 *RMS* ii no. 1981

It is worth noting here that when researching place-name spellings in charters held at the National Archives of Scotland, it is essential to check the original charters and not to rely on catalogues, whether manuscript or online, as spellings may have been altered, whether deliberately or inadvertently, at each cataloguing stage.[69]

Events in 1479 show that by this time the lands of Tarbat were divided in two. At that date, the Earl of Ross resigned *Easter Tarbat* (spelt both *Estirterbate* and *Estirtarbert* in the document), along with his other lands, to the king (*ER*

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[68] NAS GD297/169. For a summary of charters relating to the Tarbat lands, see *OPS*, Vol. 2, Pt 2, 443–45.

[69] Thanks to Alan Borthwick of the National Archives of Scotland for clarifying this question.

viii, 592, 597). Easter Tarbat and other lands were then given in liferent to the Earl's estranged wife, Elizabeth Countess of Ross. After her death, *Easter Tarbat* (spelt *Estir Tarbet*) was let in 1507 to James Dunbar (*ER* xiii, 597), whose family held it till 1610 (*RMS* vii no. 283).

The Earldom also held the adjoining lands of *Easter Aird*, at the top of the peninsula. *Easter Aird* was granted to the Corbet family from 1463 to 1538, when it was acquired by James Dunbar. It was consequently 'sometimes called *Corbet's Land*' (Fraser 1876, vol. 2, 428). Thereafter it changed hands together with *Easter Tarbat*.[70]

While the Earl of Ross, and then Dunbar and his successors, held *Easter Tarbat* from the Crown, the remainder of the Tarbat lands were held by the Bishop of Ross. He in turn granted these to other landlords.[71] In the mid-1500s these lands were known first as *the west half lands* of *the lands of Tarbat* and then as *Wester Tarbart*.[72] This was 'commonly known as Seafield', a name which remains attached to farms in the area.[73] Mains of Seafield, as it was in 1872, is now called Fairfield.[74]

So where were the Tarbat lands? Legal documents and an estate plan reveal their position.[75] The top end of the peninsula was occupied by the lands of *Easter Aird*. Below this, extending right across the peninsula, was *Easter Tarbat*. This included *Castle Tarbat* (later called Ballone Castle) on the eastern shore.[76] *Easter Tarbat's* northern boundary is unclear, but on the west coast it probably started about 0.4km north of Knock Shortie.[77] The boundary between *Easter* and *Wester Tarbat* stretched westwards across the peninsula from a point on the eastern shore just south of the castle, probably travelling south of *Ballone Loch*

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[70] The area of the combined lands of *Easter Aird* and *Easter Tarbat* is shown on Plan of the barony of Tarbat and Easter Aird, 1854.

[71] 22 April 1563 NAS GD199/2; also see *Fearn Calendar*, 173, no. 246; 22 May 1611 *RMS* vii no. 482; 16 July 1675 GD305/1/152/51.

[72] NAS GD1/187/1, 29 August 1549 (original illegible). NAS GD1/187/5, dated 1566.

[73] Fraser 1876, vol. 2, 428. The place-name Seafield occurs in documents connected with the area in the 1690s, e.g. NAS GD305/1/147, 12 Jan 1697. OS Explorer 438, 2003, shows Lower Seafield, Seafield and Wester Seafield.

[74] OS 6-inch 1872, Ross-shire & Cromartyshire (Mainland), Sheet XXX.

[75] NAS GD1/187/5 and GD1/187/6 refer to defining the marches between *Easter* and *Wester Tarbat*, and *Wester Tarbat* and *Little Tarrel*.

[76] The castle or *fortalicium* of *Eister Tarbert* appears in the charter of 11 May 1910, *RMS* vii no. 283, relating to the sale of *Easter Tarbat* by James Dunbar to George Monro of Meikle Tarrel.

[77] This later became the boundary between Cromartyshire and a chunk of Ross-shire (north of the line), indicating that the latter was not part of George McKenzie's estates (see below); see OS 6-inch 1872 Ross-shire & Cromartyshire (Mainland), Sheet XXX. It seems possible that this chunk was 'the West Third Part of *Estyrarde*' referred to in a document of 1488; see Fraser 1876, vol. 2, 540.

Map 4: Detail of OS 6-inch maps of Ross-shire and Cromartyshire (Mainland) Sheets XXX (top) and XLIII (bottom), both surveyed 1872 and published 1880. (The proposed portage runs west-east along the road from the church site, through Mains of Seafield, to the coast north of Rockfield.)
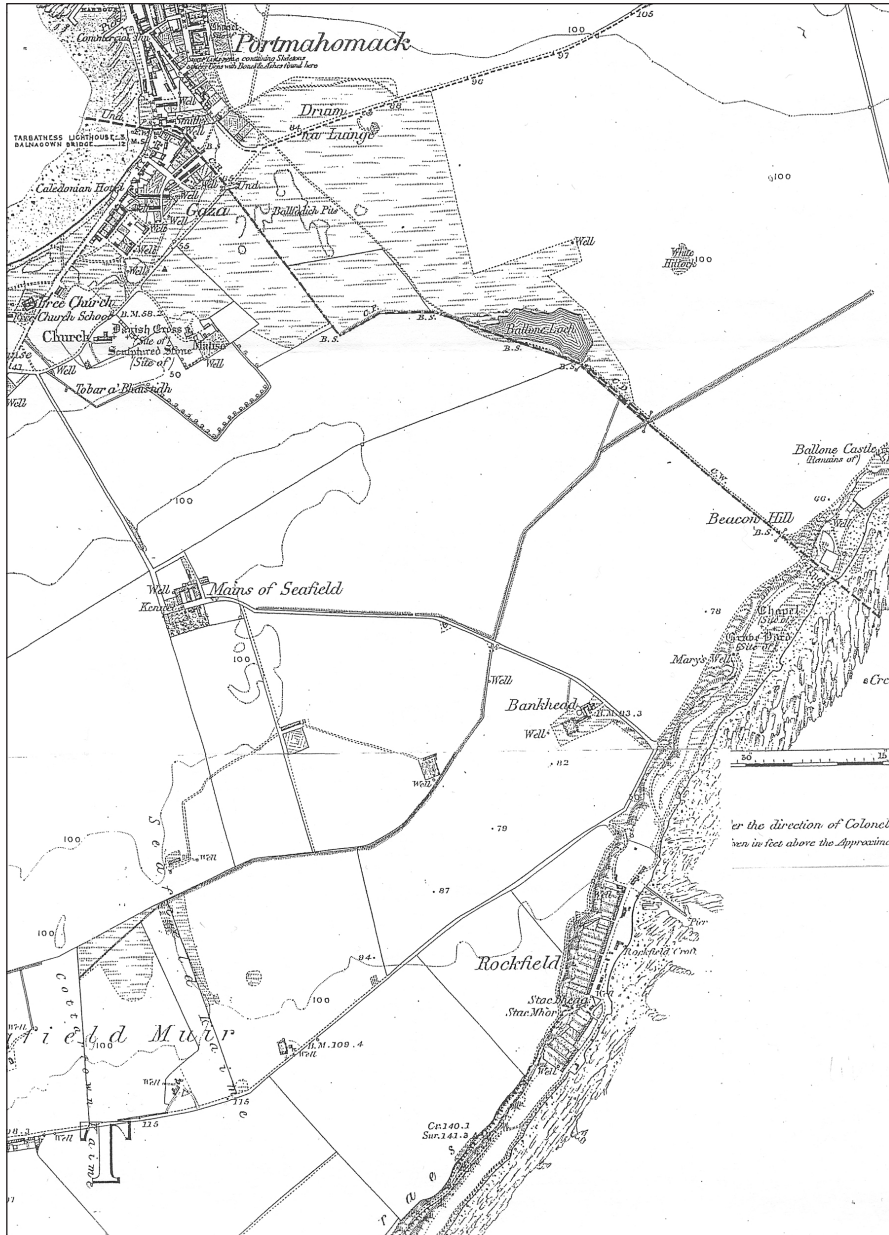
(now dried out)[78] and north of today's Portmahomack to Rockfield road and ending north of the monastic site, between Gaza and Portmahomack.[79] To the east, *Wester Tarbat* adjoined *Little Tarrel* (later named Rockfield): it seems likely that the boundary ran along the road that runs south-west from Rockfield. To the south, *Wester Tarbat* was probably bounded by the lands of Arboll with its pendicles: the march probably ran north of Cnoc Tigh Chaluim (if that was the site of Castle Corbet, as suggested on the OS 6-inch map) and Petley.[80]

Thus the Tarbat lands ran right across the peninsula, running either side of the former monastic site and encompassing the whole length of the modern Portmahomack to Rockfield Road. It is perhaps significant that the area either side of the road – the line of the posited portage – lay within *Wester Tarbat*, the part of the Tarbat lands held by the Bishop of Ross. Could a connection between these lands and the church have survived from the Early Christian period, through times of Norse settlement?

Landlord's designation and barony

After James Dunbar acquired *Easter Tarbat* in the early 16th century, the Tarbat name began a dramatic social ascent. The Dunbars were designated in some documents 'of *Tarbat*' and in others 'of *Easter Tarbat*', variously spelt.[81] They built the castle shown on Pont's map of c. 1583–96 as *Cast. Terbart*, now Ballone Castle (see Map 3).

In 1610 *Easter Tarbat* was sold by a later James Dunbar *cum fortalicio*, along with the adjoining lands of *Easter Aird*, to George Monro of *Meikle Tarrel*.[82] In July 1623 Monro's son sold *Easter Tarbat*, *Easter Aird* and *Meikle Tarrel* to Sir Rorie McKenzie of Coigeach (*RMS* viii no. 509; Fraser 1876, vol. 2, 428). Sir

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[78] The loch appears on OS 6-inch 1872 Ross-shire & Cromartyshire (Mainland), Sheet XXX.

[79] An estate plan of 1854, 'Plan of the Barony of Tarbat and Easter Aird', shows the southern boundary of the then Barony of Tarbat, which was probably also the southern boundary of the former Easter Tarbat. The same boundary line is shown on OS 6-inch 1872 Ross-shire & Cromartyshire (Mainland), Sheet XXX (see Map 4). The 1854 plan does not show the boundary between Tarbat and Easter Aird.

[80] Watson 1904, 46, re: *Castle Corbet*. OS 6-inch Ross & Cromarty Mainland Sheet XLIII. RCAHMS Canmore, site ref. NH98SW 12, accessed 15/02/2010. In 1585 James Corbett, whose castle (or whose family's castle) this was, was the portioner of the east third of Arboll (NAS GD96/215). *Mulboyeid* (later Petley, see Watson 1904, 47) was listed as a pendicle of the lands of Arboll in 1633 (Retours, cited in *OPS*, vol. 2, part 2, 450).

[81] E.g. James Dunbar is designated *de Terbart* in 5 May 1531 NAS GD305/1/86/99; *de Ester Terbert* and *of Terbert*, nd., c.1555 NAS GD305/1/80/30; *de Terbert* in 26 Mar. 1557 *RMS* iv no. 1164; *de Eister Terbart* in 28 May 1558 *RMS* iv no. 1281; *de Eister Terbert* in no. 1282 of the same date;*of Eistir Tarbart*, 1566 NAS GD1/187/5.

[82] *RMS* vii no. 283, 11 May 1610. Dunbar also sold *Easter Aird* to Monro: *RMS* vii no. 282, 11 May 1610.

Rorie's main residence was Castle Leod in Strathpeffer (Clough 1990, 3).

Sir Rorie's son and heir, Sir John McKenzie, adopted the designation 'of *Tarbat*' (spelt *Tarbett* in 1637).[83] He died at *Castle Tarbat* in 1654,[84] and was succeeded by his son George, who was known as Sir George McKenzie of Tarbat. Spellings continued to vary in legal documents (including, for example, both *Tarbett* and *Tarbet* in a 1681 charter)[85] but George signed himself 'Tarbat', and this spelling seems to have become dominant by the end of the 18th century.[86]

George had a rocky start. In 1654 he supported Charles II against Cromwell and had to flee the country, but with the restoration of the monarchy he became a major figure in Scottish political life and acquired various titles.[87] In 1661, he became a Lord of Session, taking the courtesy title Lord Tarbat. In 1685 he was created Viscount Tarbat, Lord Macleod and Castlehaven, and in 1703 he became the first Earl of Cromartie.[88] Like Tarbat, the titles Castlehaven (the name he gave to Portmahomack) and Cromartie came from his landholdings.

George extended his landholdings and with them the reach of the Tarbat name. In 1656 he bought the lands of *Milntoun of Meddat* on Nigg Bay, along with other lands, from Sir Robert Innes.[89] Sir George changed *Milntoun*'s name to *New Tarbat* (Fraser 1876, vol. 2, 431). Presumably when he and other landlords transferred estate names in this way, it had the advantage of keeping their existing designations attached to their main residences.

Sir George built a grand new house close to the ruined *Milntoun Castle*.[90] Over succeeding years, the house was variously referred to as *the house of Tarbat* (Fraser 1876, vol. 1, 55–56.), *Tarbat Castle* (ibid., 431) and *New Tarbat*.[91] The ruins of this house were demolished and replaced in around 1800 by a neo-classical mansion called Tarbat House, which today is itself a ruin (Clough

[83] *RMS* ix no. 634 (13 Jan 1637): *de Tarbett*.

[84] Fraser 1876, vol. 1, lxvi; Richards and Clough 1989, xi.

[85] 'Ratification in favors of Sir George Mckenzie of *Tarbett*', Charles II: manuscript, 28 July 1681, *RPS*, www.rps.ac.uk, accessed 23/2/10.

[86] George's signature is reproduced in Fraser 1876, vol. 1, cxciv. *OSA* 1793, Tarbat, uses this spelling.

[87] On George McKenzie's career, see Richards and Clough 1979; Fraser 1876. Both use the spelling Mackenzie, but McKenzie is common in the legal documents.

[88] Fraser 1876, vol. 2, 348–53; Richards and Clough 1989, 12.

[89] *NAS* GD305/1/25/4, July and December 1656. Confirmed in charter of 30 Sept 1678: see ratification, *RPS*, www.rps.ac.uk, ref. 1681/7/156, accessed 23/2/10. Writing before the sale, Robert Gordon described Milton as 'a beautiful and pleasant residence of Baron Innes.' Translated from Latin, Blaeu 2006, 101.

[90] Clough describes the new house both as 'near the site of' and 'beside' the castle; she also writes that 'at least one wing of the new house' was probably 'made from the bones of the old one': Clough 1990, 7, 71, 75.

[91] Roy's map, circa 1747–1755, marks the house and grounds as New Tarbat.

1990, 18–23). The lands of *Easter Tarbat* 'were called sometimes *Ballone*' and this may also have applied to the original *Castle Tarbat*.[92] It seems likely that the transfer of the Tarbat name to the new house led to *Castle Tarbat* becoming known exclusively as Ballone Castle.

In 1678 Sir George's extensive lands, ranging from Coigeach (north of Ullapool) in the west to the Tarbat peninsula in the east, were erected by Charles II into the barony of Tarbat. This included two burghs of barony: the village formerly called *Milntoun* now became the burgh of barony of Tarbat, while the village of Portmahomack was renamed *Castlehaven* and became the burgh of barony of *Castlehaven*.[93] The name *Castlehaven* was taken from Port a' Chaisteil, an inlet near Tarbat Ness (Watson 1904, 48).

Soon the name Tarbat would be eclipsed by the name Cromarty (also spelt *Cromertie* and Cromartie).[94] By 1684 George had acquired the barony of Cromarty (Munro 1984, 141) and in 1685 he obtained an act of parliament which removed the barony of Tarbat from the sherriffdom of Ross and incorporated it in the sherriffdom of Cromarty.[95] In 1703 Cromartie became the name of the earldom, while the title Viscount Tarbat survived as the courtesy title of the earl's eldest son (Richards and Clough 1989, 452).

As the *OSA* noted, George 'obtained the privilege of constituting his whole landed property in Scotland into a separate county, called the county of Cromarty' (*OSA*, Kilmuir Easter, 183). Since his property was 'of considerable extent, and in detached portions,'[96] the county of Cromarty was dotted about all over Ross. The parish of Tarbat, like other parishes where George owned land, was divided between the two counties. In 1889 the two were combined to form one county, Ross and Cromarty.

WHY A PORTAGE HERE?

The historical place-name evidence thus gives us, firstly, a place called *Terbert* where St Colman was buried and where a church was sited – clearly the site of today's Tarbat Old Parish Church. Secondly, there was a farm called *Terbert*, presumably close to the church site. Thirdly, there were lands called Tarbat

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[92] Fraser 1876, vol. 1, cciv; vol. 2, 427. 1655 NAS GD305/1/105/298. See also *OSA*, Tarbat, 428.

[93] Charter of Charles II, 30 September 1678, NAS GD305/1/49/1 (excerpt); ratified 28 July 1681: *RPS*, www. rps.ac.uk, ref. 1681/7/156, accessed 23/2/10.

[94] On spellings, see Richards and Clough 1989, xvi.

[95] Act of James VI, 23 April 1685, *RPS*, www.rps.ac.uk, accessed 8/3/2010.

[96] *OSA*, Kilmuir Easter, 183. Also see *OSA*, Tarbat, 417. The boundaries between Ross-shire and Cromartyshire (and hence the lands owned by George McKenzie) are shown on the OS 6-inch 1st edition series.

(variously spelt) which traversed the peninsula either side of the modern Portmahomack to Rockfield road. By analogy with other sets of *tarbert-*names, this evidence strongly suggests the presence of a portage, with the place called *Terbert* at its western end.

But why would anyone want a portage just here? Where would they be going to or coming from? The obvious answer is the important Early Christian monastic site at *Terbert*/Tarbat. The archaeological evidence, mentioned above, shows that there must have been considerable coming and going at the monastery, for the transmission of learning, literacy and craft skills and possibly also for the export of vellum and metalwork.

On the Tarbat peninsula, the sculptured stones show horses as the prestige mode of travel,[97] but, given the location of the monastery, sea-travel was certainly important. As is well known, sea routes were the highways of ancient times and many of Scotland's early church sites were positioned beside the sea. As Adomnán's *Life of Columba* shows, early monks were incessant travellers and habitual seafarers. They travelled mainly in currachs, small keel-less craft with wooden frames covered by hides, equipped with sails and oars.[98] They made sea journeys to visit other monasteries, for practical tasks such as collecting timber and also for voyages into the unknown, looking for 'a desert place in the ocean' (*herimum in ociano*) (*VC*, i.6, i.20, ii.42), where they could 'practise severe and solitary asceticism' (Clancy and Márkus 1995, 132). Their routes included the Great Glen, which 'was largely navigable by boat'.[99]

The route across (Map 4)

Is there any evidence of a crossing between Rockfield and the monastic site and was such a crossing practicable?

Rockfield village is a small fishing village on a stretch of flat ground under the cliff, with an early 19th-century pier (Canmore ID 15653). Its shoreline, if similar in the past, would have allowed currachs to be landed and beached. The present road across the peninsula runs from just north of Rockfield village to just south of Tarbat Old Church. The route is short, about 1.5km, and easy to walk. The one awkward stretch is at the Rockfield end, where the road rises steeply to the cliff-top. This is not, however, a major problem: a moderately

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[97] The sculptured stones at Shandwick, Hilton of Cadboll and Edderton churchyard show horses with riders.

[98] Adomnán (*VC*, ii.45) also mentions building a long ship of pine and oak. For a summary of journeyings by Iona monks, see Fraser (2009, 76–77). For the recreation of an Early Medieval boat and voyage, see Severin 1978.

[99] Anderson and Anderson, eds, 1991, 62–63; *VC*, i.34; *VC*, ii.33.

fit person can walk down the steep section in about two minutes and back up it in about four, albeit carrying very little. The road is modern, designed for cars, and is artificially supported by rocks, but a track would probably not be much more difficult. Indeed paths still run up the cliff which are used by people walking up.[100]

Simon Taylor has pointed out that place-name evidence besides the name Tarbat may support the idea of an ancient crossing here.[101] The lands now called Rockfield come to their northernmost point close to Rockfield village. These lands were previously called *Tarrel* (earlier spellings included *Tarale*, *Tarall* and *Terroll*).[102] Taylor notes that Watson says this probably means 'over-cliff' (from *tar* and *ail*)[103] and that one meaning of *tar* is 'over, across' implying motion.[104] Thus *Tarrel* could mean '(place where one goes) over a cliff' on a recognised routeway, or perhaps 'cliff which lies across' a routeway.

An archaeological site north-east of Rockfield village may also relate to one end of a portage. The OS map of 1872 shows the sites of a chapel and graveyard on the shore about 0.3km north-east of the start of the road (NH926834), with *Mary's well* nearby (NH925833). The OS Name Book found no vestige of the chapel and only a tombstone dated 1682; the well was still there, adapted for domestic use and not by this time a holy well.[105] The chapel site is immediately below the cliff, which runs the length of the east coast of the peninsula. It is on a small area of flat land, about 0.07km long and 0.04km across at its widest point. It is beside a rocky shore near Ballone castle but is outside the land held by the owner of Ballone; it is within the lands formerly held by the Bishop of Ross. It has a small inlet and a stony beach, so that currachs could have been brought in and beached. It seems possible that in Early Christian times there was a small community here on the shore, which supported travellers to the monastic site.

From the cliff-top, the road traverses the peninsula in an almost straight line till about two-thirds of the way across, where it negotiates a collection of farm buildings at Fairfield, after which it goes smoothly downhill towards the monastic site and the sea. Fairfield was formerly *Mains of Seafield* and before that must have been the principal farm of *Wester Tarbat* and, possibly before

[100] Conversation with two fishermen at Rockfield, 12 August 2009.

[101] Personal communication, 17/3/10.

[102] 1373, 1561, cited in Watson 1904, 47; the spelling *Terrell* is frequently used in GD documents in the NAS online catalogue, but the originals require checking.

[103] Watson 1904, 47. It seems to me possible that the second element comes from *all* 'cliff' as opposed to *ail* 'boulder, rock': eDIL, accessed 18/3/10.

[104] See entry for *tar* in eDIL.

[105] OS Name Book of Tarbat Parish. Also see Canmore, NH98SW 7, Ballone burial ground, chapel, well.

that, the centre of the monastery's farming activities. The section of the road linking the farm and the monastic site therefore seems likely to be very old.

At the point where the road starts to go downhill, the monastic site can be seen straight ahead. The vallum or enclosure ditch at the southwestern end of the site was recorded as a cropmark in an aerial photograph in 1984, and it is noteworthy that the modern road traverses the vallum to enter the monastic site directly, near the workshops uncovered by the excavations.[106]

We have therefore a possible portage cutting across the peninsula, with a bay at each end where boats could be beached or berthed, and leading right into the monastic site. The monastic community at one end and a possible church community at the other would provide assistance with loading and unloading and with taking care of the boats if travellers chose to cross without them.

Why not go round the headland?

Why would you choose to cross here rather than go round the headland? I sought the opinion of people with relevant seafaring experience.

I spoke to two fishermen at Rockfield, who fish in the Moray Firth from dinghies with outboard motors.[107] They said that crossing the Moray Firth would not be a problem: the 'real problem' was at the Ness. The first difficulty is that a reef runs out from the point of the lighthouse: 'You could hit it in big seas.' This reef, which includes the Culloden Rock, can be seen on marine charts.[108] The second difficulty, the fishermen said, is that two tides, from the Dornoch and Moray Firths, meet at the end of the Ness. Leisure sailors confirm that while sailing across the Moray Firth is straightforward, sailing round Tarbat Ness is difficult because of the currents.[109]

I also consulted Ivor Neill from Coleraine in Northern Ireland.[110] Ivor is an expert on traditional boats and skippers the *Colmcille*, a large (nearly 40-foot) canvas-covered currach with sails and 14 oars. The *Colmcille* was built in 1997 to retrace St Columba's voyage from Derry to Iona, commemorating his death in AD 597.[111] Since then, the *Colmcille* has voyaged widely in Europe.

Ivor is not familiar with the Moray Firth area, so I sent him a sea chart and maps. I asked him if he would choose to use a portage between Rockfield and

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[106] See Carver 2008, fig. 1.6, for Jones and Keillar's aerial photograph of the cropmark showing the vallum, traversed by the road.

[107] Conversation at Rockfield, 12/08/09.

[108] For example, Admiralty Chart 2170: Dornoch Firth 1938.

[109] Information given to Calum Laing by two leisure sailors from Findhorn, for which thanks. Also thanks to Frank van Duivenbode for help on this topic.

[110] My letter 20/08/09, followed by phone conversation 25/08/09.

[111] See http://www.ccmhg.org.

the Tarbat monastic site if (a) he was coming from Rosemarkie or Burghead or (b) he was travelling from Dornoch to Burghead.

Ivor said that the currach most often used on the Moray Firth was probably a four-man currach. He explained that a currach has particular characteristics. It is very light, and therefore one of the easiest boats to portage. It is designed to be carried ashore every evening: if left in the water, it would rot, so you look for a beach to bring it ashore. The *Colmcille* needs only two foot of water: you can hug the shore and pull in where you can. He said, 'If we're coasting, I take every advantage to keep it short and keep out of the weather. When there is no harbour and the weather is no good, you pull up on a beach.' A coastline with a lack of shelter is known as a 'committed coastline': you go on or you go back, and you would look for good weather before tackling it.

Tides are very important. Ivor said, 'It is crucial to get the tide with you, especially if the boat is being rowed. You can get up a good speed: for example, you row at walking pace, which is about 3 knots, so if you have 3 knots of tide, you are going at 6 knots. Tides do funny things at headlands – you would need local knowledge.' Charts show you the tidal stream, using arrows. If going round a headland, you could do half the trip with the tide, then wait, even at sea, for the tide to go the other way.

Ivor explained that headlands always present dangers. They are continually eroded, so the bit you see continues under the water. As the tide hits it, the water rises, creating turbulence. Markers are placed to keep you out of that area.

He would not portage just to avoid a headland. Factors he would take into account when deciding whether to portage include the weather: in stormy weather, he would portage across a headland. He would also consider the relative convenience of the portage route. For a saving of 14km, would it be worth unloading the boat and portaging across? It might take two or three runs to transport the cargo and the equipment for the boat. If there were monks at the landing place, it would speed things up. Also, how easy is the route? Is there, for example, a waterway where you could put a bow and stern line on the boat and walk it through? (There is not one on the Tarbat peninsula.) In the past, sailors would also have considered how safe they would be on land: were there hostile people ashore? Ivor said, 'It is hard for us to understand that people were happier on the sea. They would have seen the land as unsafe.'

Ivor concluded that he probably would use the portage if heading to or from the monastery, depending on the weather, but not if he were going from Dornoch to Burghead, in which case he would just avoid Tarbat Ness, staying far out to keep away from the rough water: 'The further out, the less problem.'

The evidence, then, points strongly to the existence in the past of a portage on the peninsula which explains the name Tarbat. In the past, the *tarbert*-name was sited across the peninsula in a way paralleled on other portage routes. There is a very good reason for an Early Medieval portage: the presence of the important monastic site at Tarbat. There is an easily traversed route from Rockfield to Tarbat, leading directly to the monastic site. There is a place-name, *Tarail, which suggests a crossing-point near Rockfield. And seafarers have provided good reasons why they would use such a portage rather than go round the Ness.

If we look at the wider Early Christian landscape, we see on the evidence of early texts that in the sixth and seventh centuries a Pictish king probably had his fortress near the River Ness, with the principle Pictish bishop almost certainly based nearby at Rosemarkie.[112] Later the Bishops of Ross had their cathedral at Rosemarkie, till it transferred in about 1235 to neighbouring Fortrose.[113] We know that the Bishops of Ross held the Wester Tarbat lands and were still drawing an income from Tarbat parish church at the Reformation (*Assumption*, 625–27). It seems reasonable to suppose that the close connection between the foundations at Rosemarkie and Tarbat was established in the Early Christian period. Perhaps the Tarbat monastery was acting as a manufacturing centre, supplying Rosemarkie and other churches in the region with vellum, or indeed books, and decorated metalwork.

Rosemarkie sits on a bay just above Chanonry Point, where the narrows cause the incoming tide to rush into the Inner Moray Firth. We can imagine currachs going up and down on the tide between Rosemarkie and Rockfield.[114] En route, two religious communities could have provided stopping-points: one at Shandwick, where a cross-slab stands on a hill, visible from the sea, and another on the shore at Hilton of Cadboll, likewise marked by a cross-slab.[115]

Archaeology also tells us that there was a major Pictish fort at Burghead, with the important ecclesiastical site at Kinneddar some 9km to the east. It is quite conceivable that monks from Kinneddar and Tarbat crossed the Moray Firth to visit each other, perhaps using the portage en route.

[112] *VC* ii, 33. On the Pictish bishop Curetán, see MacDonald, 1992; Fraser 2009, 257–59; Watson 1926, 315; Watson 1904, lxix–lxx, 82. For *Cáin Adomnáin*, see Ní Dhonnchadha 2001, 57, 59; Márkus 2008, 17, 18.

[113] Fortrose Cathedral, http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk, site no. NH75NW, accessed 17/04/10.

[114] Ivor Neill made the point in Nicholas Crane's TV series on Camden's *Britannia* (transmitted in 2009) that boats could take advantage of the tides to sweep them across the sea between Kintyre and the north coast of Ireland with minimal effort.

[115] Traces of a chapel, probably medieval, can be seen at Hilton (http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk, site ref. NH87NE 6) while *OSA* Nigg, 17, records a ruined chapel at Shandwick.

Nothing can be proved. The evidence is all circumstantial. But it is sufficient, in my view, to imply that there was indeed a portage on the Tarbat peninsula, as its name suggests.

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Place-names and Managed Woods in Medieval Scotland

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As a result of recent work on woodland management a picture is beginning to emerge of how woods were managed in medieval Scotland.[2] This work argues that on occasions distinctions were made in the sources between enclosed and unenclosed woods and that some monasteries used sophisticated systems of wood management such as dividing a wood into separate haggs or sections for cutting (Crone and Watson 2003, 71). In the northern Cheviot Hills pollen evidence shows that woodland there probably consisted of scattered managed copses or coppices and that some woods may have been protected from grazing.[3] Elsewhere in the 12th and 13th centuries as in Moray, Deeside and the Lennox the existence of clearly defined, smaller named woods suggests that woodlands only survived in the face of expanding agriculture when they were managed (Oram 2011, 241).

The focus of the present study is to discover from documentary sources (a) what words in the vernacular, if any, were used in the medieval period to describe managed woods as opposed to unmanaged woods and (b) whether there are place-names which can be used as a guide to the existence of managed woods in the medieval period or earlier. Before trying to answer these questions it is necessary to give a brief outline of the basic principles of woodland management and how they applied to Scotland, and secondly to explain the different meanings of the Latin words for woods and how they relate to woodland management.

Starting with woodland management the first point to make is that timber and wood are different things. Timber is used for planks and beams, while wood is smaller and is used for firewood and for poles and rods which can be used to make implements, agricultural equipment and wattles for fencing or light construction. Timber is obtained from the trunks of trees and wood is obtained from the branches of trees or from underwood. Underwood is the poles or suckers produced by cutting young trees which often grew under taller timber trees. In England managed woods in the middle ages often contained timber trees and coppiced underwood. If a wood was coppiced it meant that the young trees would be cut at regular intervals, which allowed the trees to re-grow between cuttings. These intervals tended to be short in the medieval period but could vary from five to twenty years depending

[2] Smout 2005; Smout 2003.
[3] Oram 2011, 241; Tipping 2010, 81, 187, 200.

on the area of the country, the type of trees, the size of wood required and the weather (Rackham 2001, 64). Animals would not be allowed to enter the coppice for pasture for the first few years after cutting until the young trees had grown sufficiently to survive grazing.[4] When coppicing, the whole wood could be cut at one time if it was a small wood, but if it was a larger wood it could be divided into several areas or compartments or haggs which could be cut in rotation. In most woods in England the underwood was more valuable than the timber because it was managed to provide an annual crop.

Returning to medieval Scotland there is documentary evidence to show that woods were being managed. There are examples of woods being looked after by foresters or being placed in defence. Instructions were given that woods were not to be wasted or destroyed and that they were not to have their produce sold or gifted without permission. Grazing was also controlled in some woods. What is lacking is any detail of how woods were managed or any clear explanation of what form of management was used.

There is a little evidence to suggest that compartmentalised coppicing was taking place in the 12th and 13th centuries. Firstly, the earth banks on Bowden Moor (ROX NT529317)[5] have been interpreted as the remains of the banks protecting coppice haggs. Secondly, at Coldingham in 1153×1162 Malcolm IV issued a charter to the prior of Coldingham stating:[6]

> Sciatis quod volo et firmiter precipio quod nemora monachorum de *Coldingham* viz *Grenewde* et totum nemus de *Ristone* et *brocholwde* et *Akesside harwde Denewde* et *swinewde* et *Churchedenwde* et omnia nemora sint sub defensione Prioris et custodia necnon monachorum de *coldingham* ne aliquis super x libras forisfacturae quicquam in predictis nemoribus capiat nisi per ipsum Priorem vel per monachos prenominati loci, si ipse presens non fuerit, exceptis tantummodo necessariis de castello meo de *Berewic* que mihi metipso[7] solummodo conveniunt. Et si clientes mei pro necessariis meis ad opus castelli mei de berewic ad nemora predicta venerint per Priorem vel per clientes suos que opus fuerint mihi et ubi ipse vel clientes sui monstraverint accipiant. [8]

[4] Ibid. 157, 182; Smout 2005, 171.

[5] This reference is to the name Bowden Moor. For exact locations of the earthworks, see Barber 1999, 75–76, 114–17, 134–36.

[6] Early place-name forms have been italicised.

[7] *mihimet ipsi* for *mihi metipso*, *RRS* ii no. 46.

[8] Raine *North Durham*, no. XXX, from NLS Ms Adv 35.3.8. fo. 145r, which is an 18th-century copy, showing some part-modernising of place-names, such as *Churchedenwde*. An original charter of William I substantially repeats this provision (1165×1171), with the following variant place-name forms: *Collingaham*, *Ristuna*, *Broccheholewde*, *Kirchedeneswde*, *Harewde*;

'I wish and firmly order that the woods of the monks of Coldingham viz., Greenwood, the whole wood of Reston and Brockholes wood and Aikieside *Harewood *Deanwood and Swinewood and *Kirkdeanwood and all woods are under the defence of the prior and the custody of the monks of Coldingham lest any one take anything in the foresaid woods without the permission of the prior or the monks of the foresaid place if the prior is not present under £10 forfeiture; excepting only necessary materials for my castle of Berwick which are appropriate for me myself alone. And if my servants shall come to the woods for my requirements for the work of my castle of Berwick let them receive what I need through the prior or his servants and where he or his servants shall indicate.'

This grant shows that the woods of Coldingham were in the special protection of the prior. It is worth remembering that, while *sub defensione* means in the defence or protection of the prior, *defensio* also meant physical fencing and that double meaning could have been singularly appropriate when related to the protection of woods. In addition when Malcolm's men went to get wood for Berwick Castle they would have been looking not only for timber but also for underwood, which would have been required for daily needs such as fuel, equipment and weapons, and for wood for wattles for light construction. The fact that Coldingham showed the king's men where they were to cut wood strongly suggests that while cutting was taking place in some areas others were being protected so that the wood there had a chance to re-grow. In other words, Coldingham may have been using a system of compartmentalised coppicing. Malcolm IV also stressed in another charter that offenders in Coldingham's woods (*bosca*) and warrens were subject to the full royal forfeiture (*RRS* i no. 189). This second charter did not name the woods but it used *boscus* rather than *nemus* to describe them.

It is helpful here to realise that the Latin words for woods could identify different types of woods. The *RMLWL* links *buschia* and *boscus*: *boscus* meaning wood or woodland and *buschia* meaning the material, wood and firewood which would have been underwood including brushwood. Brushwood is the wood small enough to make brushes. In England *boscus* as material was used to mean underwood, rods and poles, light construction wood, faggots and logs. Rods are thinner and more flexible than poles. All could vary in size depending on the age of the wood at the time of cutting (Rackham 2001, 10, 65–66). In terms of woodland in England *boscus* and OE *grafa* 'grove' are

and adds *Hundewde* (*RRS* ii no. 46). Professor Barrow considers Malcolm IV's charter to be genuine, stating that it was omitted in error from *RRS* i (2003 [1973], 29 note 145).

interchangeable. A grove is defined as a wood of limited extent usually coppiced with a boundary ditch.[9] In Ireland *boscus* also meant underwood and could mean coppice[10] but it could also be used in a more general sense of woodland. *Nemus* in Classical Latin meant a wood with glades and pasture land for cattle, a grove or a forest as opposed to underwood or scrub. In this context 'grove' is a stand of timber trees one can walk through and 'forest' is a large wooded area. In the middle ages in England and Ireland *nemus* meant a larger wooded area, but in England it has also been translated as 'grove' on the *grafa* model, an area of managed woodland. Doubt has, however, been cast on this translation.[11] *Silva* in Classical Latin means a wood or a forest (in a vegetational sense) and in medieval England as in Ireland it was used to describe an area of wood pasture stocked with animals, which would contain grassland and which could provide timber. In England *silva* was not much used after the 11th century.[12] In Scotland it was used much less frequently than *boscus* and *nemus* in the 12th and 13th centuries, but by the 15th and 16th centuries it was much more common. Lastly, Classical Latin *virgultum* was used to mean a thicket, copse or brushwood as well as a slip which is a cutting ready to grow. In the *RMLWL* it is given the meaning 'shrub'. In medieval England it was actually used to mean a grove in the sense of a coppiced wood (Wager 1998, 2) and in Ireland it also meant brushwood, underwood and shrubby wood which was coppiced (Jager 1983, 60).

Boscus and *virgultum*, therefore, in medieval Britain had an association with managed, coppiced woods while *nemus* and *silva* were linked to larger areas of woodland supplying timber. As can be seen these uses were not always consistent. As Jager comments, the meanings were there but were not always adhered to. Nonetheless, one can begin with a presumption of the meanings of these words in the 12th and 13th centuries but one must be ready to adapt them if the context so dictates. Given the apparent decline in the use of *boscus* and *nemus* in the 14th and 15th centuries in Scotland it is harder to be certain about their different meanings at that time.

The meanings of these words have not previously been considered in a Scottish context but the meanings in Ireland and England seem to hold true in Scotland in most cases. *Boscus* is frequently used in the 12th and 13th centuries to describe woods from which easements in pasture, fuel, building material and material for implements and agricultural equipment were taken. Of 28 examples of easements in a wood so far recorded in the 12th and 13th centuries

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[9] Wager 1998, 2, 16; Gelling and Cole 2000, 226.
[10] Jager 1983, 58, 60; O'Sullivan 1997, 136.
[11] Jager 1983, 58; Wager 1998, 2.
[12] O'Sullivan 1997, 136; Jager 1983, 58; Wager 1998, 11, 137.

18 relate to *boscus* and 10 to *nemus*. Similarly when wood is mentioned in the pertinents of a grant at this time it is nearly always *in boscis* or *in bosco*. The wood most used for these regular needs was underwood. If the underwood was to survive it would have to be managed and the likelihood is that if it was managed it was coppiced. This could have been selective coppicing or clear felling of a wood or section of a wood. Grazing would then have had to be controlled to protect new shoots and this could have been done either by careful herding of animals or by constructing banks, hedges or fences (Smout 2005, 105).

The idea of *nemus* as a larger area of woodland which contained predominantly trees but also glades and open heath where the undergrowth would not prevent hunting but where there would also be areas of underwood can be shown in two cases. Firstly, in 1162 × 1165 Malcolm IV granted Melrose Abbey:

> totam pasturam per fluvium de *galue* versus eos scilicet ab orientali parte sicut idem fluvius currit usque ad terminos de *wedale* et inde per rectas divisas terre Ricardi de morevill scilicet de *galue* usque ad *ledre* et totum usagium nemoris infra prenominatas divisas ad suos proprios usus sicut opus eis fuerit.[13]

> 'all pasture by the Gala Water towards their lands, namely to the east of the same river as it runs to the lands of Wedale and from there by the correct bounds of the land of Richard de Morville, namely from the Gala to the Leader and the whole use of the woodland within the foresaid bounds for their own uses as they need.'

The *nemus* between Gala and Leader was also an area of hunting forest where hunting and cutting of wood without permission were prohibited. It must have been a large area of woodland but it would not have been a continuous area of dense trees. There would have been areas for pasture, grass, glades and open moor (Gilbert 1983, 5–7). This is very similar to what has been called wood pasture, an area of woodland geared more to grazing than to production of underwood but which might have contained managed coppices. Secondly at Innerwick in 1190 Alan son of Walter Stewart confirmed an agreement made with Kelso Abbey by three of his men. The three men rented the *terra et nemore et pastura territorii de Inuerwic* ('the land, wood and pasture of the territory of Innerwick') to Kelso. This land lay between the Monynut Water and the Bothwell Water (BWK NT686647) in the north of Berwickshire. The lease also stated (*Kelso Lib.* no. 248):

[13] *Melr. Lib.* no. 3; *RRS* i no. 235.

monachi et homines eorum accipient de bosco aisiamenta sua ad ar-
dendum et edificandum quantum voluerint tam ad villam de *Spertildun*
quam ad illam terram quam tenent de predictis hominibus meis. Sed
non licebit eis quicquam de bosco vendere sed de bruere licebit eis et
hominibus eorum vendere. Ponent etiam prefati monachi in defensione
unam partem nemoris ad aisiam suam sicut predicti homines mei eis
concesserunt et scripto suo confirmaverunt et ponent forestarium ad ip-
sum nemus custodiendum si voluerint.

'the monks and their men will receive from the wood their easements for
fuel and for building as much as they wish both for the vill of Spartleton
[ELO near NT652656] and for that land which they hold of my men
mentioned above. But they are not allowed to sell anything from the
wood but they and their men can sell heath and heather. The said monks
may place one part of the woodland in defence for their easement just
as my foresaid men have conceded to them and have confirmed by their
document and they may place a forester to keep the same woodland if
they wish.'

Kelso were granted the *nemus* but were told quite specifically that they could
take easements from the *boscus*. The easements for fuel and building would
involve underwood. This would be in accord with the use of *boscus* in England
and Ireland. They were also told that they could reserve part of the *nemus* for
these easements and place it in defence, presumably by fencing it. The *boscus*
was, therefore, an area of protected underwood within the *nemus*. There is,
however, another possibility with this document. If *boscus* is taken to mean
underwood as a material or type of tree rather than a specific wood or part of
the woodland then the document is saying that the monks were allowed to take
their easements from underwood wherever they found it in the *nemus* but that
they were being encouraged to reserve a part of the *nemus* specially for their
easements, presumably by enclosing and coppicing it. In either case there was
a special area for cutting underwood. Whether they could enclose different
areas of the wood in different years the document does not let us say but it does
show a part of a larger area of woodland being managed in order to produce
underwood.

In Scotland as in England *virgultum* could also mean a garden (Dyer 2000,
114) but it often occurs in pertinents with *ortum*, the more common word
for a garden[14] which suggests that the two words had different meanings. This

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[14] *Newb. Reg.* no. 224; *Dryb. Lib*, no. 244; *Abdn Reg.* ii 288–93.

has been shown to be the case in medieval Warwickshire (Wager 1995). In Scotland it is very often the context which gives the meaning. When linked to woods, forests and trees *virgultum* clearly means underwood or coppice but when linked to burghs (*Newb. Reg.* no. 222) the meaning of garden seems more appropriate. By the later 15th and early 16th centuries *virgultis* appears regularly in pertinents of grants with other pertinents relating to woods and in that context means underwood and coppice.[15]

If Latin documents in medieval Scotland could distinguish between different types of woods it is important to discover whether there were words in the vernacular languages which made similar distinctions. The obvious word to consider first is the Scots *wod(e)* from OE *wudu* which occurs in several place-names. The following table lists occasions so far encountered when *wde* or *wode* occurs in a wood name which is also described by a Latin wood word.

Table 1 shows that woods which had a *wod(e)* place-name were usually described in the 12th and 13th centuries by either *boscus* or *nemus* but by the 15th century *silva* was also used. This fits the Old English meaning of *wudu* which was something between a grove or small isolated wood and continuous woodland which would surround a clearing or assart.[16] In these examples the source for only one wood, *Kawode*, does not show evidence of management in some form or other. The difficulty of using this as evidence that *wod(e)* meant a managed wood is that at the time when any of these wood-names were formed, sometime between the seventh century and the date the source was written, the wood may or may not have been managed.

The only examples where it is possible to suggest more precisely when these names were formed are those using the element *threp(e)* as in *Threpwude* the 'wood of the argument'. There seems to be every likelihood that the argument which gave rise to that name was the argument which was settled in 1180. The possibility of this name being formed in the 12th century is supported by the other *Trepewod*, which is recorded in c. 1220 in a charter to Dryburgh Abbey (*Dryb. Lib.* no. 133). Peter de Haig granted Dryburgh:

> totam illam partem nemoris que inter ipsos canonicos et me erat in lite-gio scilicet *Trepewod* usque ad magnam viam que dividit idem nemus et *Flatwod*.

> 'all that part of the woodland which was in dispute between the canons and me, namely *Threepwood up to the great road which divides that woodland and *Flatwood.'

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[15] *Family of Innes*, 85; *RMS* ii no 3635 and original NAS C2/17 no. 122.
[16] Rackham 2001, 46; Gelling and Cole 2000, 257.

Wod(e) Place-Names   Table 1

Place-name	Location	Date	Latin Word
Brocholewde better *Broccheholewde*[17]	Brockholes Wood BWK NT815653	1153 × 1162	*boscus*[18] *nemus*[19]
Churchedenwode better *Kirchedeneswde*[20]	perhaps near Coldingham BWK NT905660	1153 × 1162	*boscus* *nemus* ref. as for 'Brocholewde'
Denewde	perhaps near Brockholes Wood	1153 × 1162	*boscus* *nemus* ref. as for 'Brocholewde'
		1415	*boscus*[21]
		1427	*boscus*[22]
Flatwod	near Bemersyde ROX NT592333	c. 1220	*nemus*[23]
Gleddiswod	Gledswood ROX NT590345	c. 1200	*boscus*[24]
Harwde	probably near Harelawside BWK NT815658	1153 × 1162	*boscus* *nemus* ref. as for 'Brocholewde'
		1231 × 1232	*boscus*[25]
		1415	*boscus*[26]
Hundewde	Houndwood BWK NT843639	1165 × 1171	*nemus*[27]
Kawode	perhaps south of Forres	1236	*nemus*[28]
Ledgerwode	Legerwood ROX NT 582345	1165 × 1177	*nemus*[29]
Ocschauwode	Oakshaw, Paisley RNF NS478640	1460	*silva*[30]
Swinewde	Swinewood south of the Eye water at Swinewood Mill BWK NT892621	1153 × 1162	*boscus* *nemus* ref. as for 'Brocholewde'
		c. 1300	*boscus*[31]
Threpwude	Threepwood ROX NT513428	1180	*nemus*[32]
Trepewod	near Bemersyde ROX NT592333	c. 1220	Part of a *nemus* ref. as for 'Flatwod'

[17] *RRS* ii no. 46.

[18] *RRS* i no. 189. The woods of Coldingham are not named in this grant but it refers to the same woods as in note 30 below.

It would appear that the names for these woods were being formed at a time when the words *boscus* and *nemus* were also being used to describe them. The elements *threp(e)* and *wod(e)* would, therefore, have been active rather than fossilised elements in these names. In which case these two instances can perhaps give some guide as to the meaning of *wod(e)* in the 12th and 13th centuries.

Peter de Haig appears to have had two areas of woodland (*nemus*) divided by a road: one was called *Flatwod* (*Dryb. Lib.* no. 134) and the other contained the *Trepewod* in dispute. Therefore, in this instance *wod(e)* might describe both a *nemus* and a part of a *nemus*.

In 1180 the settlement of the dispute between Richard de Morville and Melrose Abbey referred to the *viam regiam ubi illa intrat nemus et dividit nemus de Standene et de Threpewude* ('the royal road where it enters the woodland and divides the woodland of *Standene* and of Threepwood') (*RRS* ii no. 236). On a second occasion it refers to *ab illa via que dividit Threpwude et nemus de Standene* ('from that road which divides Threepwood and the woodland of *Standene*'). In both instances it is clear that *Standene* was a *nemus* but in the second extract it would be possible to argue that Threepwood was not described as *nemus*. However, the settlement also stated that *Ricardus de Morevilla et heredes illius habebunt illud nemus quod vocatur Threpewude* ('Richard de Moreville and his heirs will have the woodland which is called Threepwood'). *Wod(e)*, here, is clearly equated with *nemus.* Later it is stated that the monks of Melrose:

habebunt … infra divisas prescriptas totam pasturam infra boscum et extra tam de *Threpwude* quam de reliquo nemore

'shall have … within the above-written bounds all the pasture both within the wood and without as from Threepwood as from the remaining woodland'

Boscus, therefore, could exist within the *nemus* and within Threepwood which was also considered as *nemus*. There is also an implication that Threepwood was a smaller piece of woodland since it is distinguished from the rest of the woodland which lay between the Gala and Leader, a much larger area than Threepwood.

[19] Raine *ND* no. XXX and NLS Ms Adv 35.3.8 fo145r quoted above. See also note 8, above.
[20] *RRS* ii no. 46.
[21] *Cold. Corr.*, 88.
[22] *Cold. Corr.,* 100.
[23] *Dryb. Lib.* no. 133
[24] *Dryb. Lib.* no. 137.
[25] Raine *ND* no CLXVIII.
[26] *Cold. Corr.*, 88.
[27] *RRS* ii no. 46.
[28] *Moray Reg.* no 37.
[29] *Melr. Lib.* nos. 80, 81.
[30] Cameron 1878, App. lxxxiii.
[31] *Cold. Corr.* p. xcviii.
[32] *RRS* ii no. 236.

Consequently, it can be argued that in these two cases in the 12th and early-13th centuries *wod(e)* is used to mean both an area of woodland which is called *nemus* which contained smaller woods (*boscus*) which were probably managed to allow grazing without destroying the wood and it could mean a smaller part of a *nemus*. This suggests that *wod(e)* could be applied to both larger areas of woodland and to smaller managed woods.

There were various other words used for woodland in the vernacular languages and they are also found in place-names. The following words have been selected because they describe or could describe what a managed coppice would look like as the young shoots and trees grew up (Tables 2–4).[33]

P-Celtic   Table 2

Word	Meaning	Examples	Sources and notes
celli	place of wood or woods	Kellie FIF NO519052	Taylor 2009, 163 – possibly Pictish rather than Gaelic *coille*
cēt	more substantial wood or forest	Pencaitland ELO NT440689 Keithock ANG NO605633	Dorward 1995, 39 Taylor 2009, 47
pert	wood, copse, brake, thicket, coppice	Perth PER NO095240 Logie Pert ANG NO667642	Nicolaisen 2001, 210 Taylor 2006, 14
pres	shrub, thicket	Pressmennan ELO NT 626733 Birse ABD NO553971	borrowed into Scottish Gaelic as *preas* Dorward 1995, 110 Patterson 1999

Gaelic   Table 3

Word	Meaning	Examples	Sources and notes
bad	clump, bunch-like thicket	Badcall SUT NC232559	borrowed into Scots as *baud* Dorward 1995, 39
coille	wood, place of wood, thicket	Kinkell FIF NO540147 Kilmagad KNR NO184022	Taylor 2006 Taylor 2009, 487 Dorward 1995, 39
doire	originally used for oak but also for any small often upland wood	Carn Doire Leithe INV NH232559	Taylor 2006 Dorward 1995, 39 Ansell 2006, 3

[33] For illustrations, see Rackham 2006, e.g., 249, 228, 369, 377; Rackham 2001, after p. 108.

Old English and Scots   Table 4

Word	Meaning	Examples	Sources and notes
fyrd(e) (OE) *firth* (Sc)	land overgrown with brushwood, scrubland on edge of forest	Frithfield FIF NO557075	Taylor 2009, 341 *DOST* only gives examples from poetry
grafa (OE) *grave* (Sc)	grove, small well-defined managed copse, coppiced wood, a wood of limited extent dug about with a boundary ditch – *grafan* 'to dig' – therefore, a coppice	Hardgrove DMF NY113705	Williamson 1942, 87 Gelling and Cole 2000, 226 Rackham 2004, 46 *DOST* only gives examples from poetry and in the plural
haining (Sc)	enclosed, fenced land	Haining SEL NT470279	Williamson 1942, 75 *DOST*
hyrst (OE)	copse, brushwood, wooded knoll, hillock; in south Scotland it may only mean wood	Ferniehurst ROX NT654178	Williamson 1942, 37
sceaga (OE) *s(c)haw* (Sc)	small wood, a copse, a grove, a thicket	Hangingshaw SEL NT396303 Pollockshaws REN NS554613	Dorward 1995, 120 Williamson 1942, 84–86 *DOST* *SND* gives meaning as a 'small wood especially one of natural growth, a thicket, coppice or grove'
scrog(g) (Sc)	brushwood, scrub, thickets of bushes and small trees	Scrogbank Rig PEB NT387369 Shroggs near Denmylne FIF NO249175	Williamson 1942, 100 Taylor 2010, 79 *DOST*

Apart from the difficulties of using place-names as evidence for practices and events in historical times there is here the additional complication of interpreting the meaning of words used by the translators. When the translators use the word 'copse' they may not have realised that 'copse' in modern English is

another word for coppice. While the P-Celtic examples above could have been formed before 500 AD the names are more likely to have been formed at some time before the 9th or 10th centuries. One must bear in mind, however, that the reasons why a place was given a certain name in the 9th or 10th centuries may no longer have applied in the 12th or 13th centuries. While coppicing may have been the reason why Perth was originally so named – and **pert* did have various meanings – one can not use that as evidence that coppicing was still occurring there in the 12th or 13th centuries.

Similar deductions can be made from the above Gaelic elements in place-names from the fifth century onwards in the west of Scotland and from the ninth century onwards in the east. With the Gaelic examples, however, there begins to be documentary evidence which helps to elucidate their meaning. While no such evidence has so far been found for *doire* and *bad* there is some evidence of woodland management relating to *coille*. Michael Ansell's study of the distribution of *coille*-names in south-west Scotland has found that *doire*-names are located mainly on bog or drumlin country or on more upland areas whereas *coille*-names occupy the coastal plain and river valleys below 200m (2006, 4). Ansell considers that since the *coille*-names are in more fertile land their distribution suggests that *coille* woodland in Galloway and Carrick referred to larger closely managed woods which were being protected because they were valuable.

In the 13th century Scone Abbey held a *nemus* in *Kelcamsy*, a name which is derived from *coille Camsy* 'the wood of Campsie' (PER NO131336). Scone's *nemus* was, therefore, part of the *coille* of Campsie. In c. 1240 × 42 Scone received this *nemus* in *Kelcamsy* in free forest,[34] which let them control not only hunting but also the vert or greenwood. They would have had the right to stop wood-cutting in the area and to control pasture, building and access. Since Campsie was held by Coupar Angus Abbey – also in free forest (*RRS* ii no. 154) – Scone's *nemus* in *Kelcamsy* probably lay to the south of that in the area where Scone is recorded as holding the lands of Cambusmichael (PER NO116322) and Craigmackerran (PER NO142322) (*Scone Liber* no. 57). There is no further reference to Scone's woodland in *Kelcamsy* but in 1585 the commendator of Scone feued a shaw and a wood at Craigmackerran.[35] If this was the area of Scone's *nemus* in *Kelcamsy* then *Kelcamsy* may have described the whole area around Campsie. This was an area of managed woodland in the 12th and 13th centuries. David I had granted Scone the right to take wood for fencing

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[34] *Scone Liber* no. 76. Date is from the *Handlist of Acts of Alexander II,* (ed.) J. M. Scoular (Edinburgh, 1959) adapted by exile of Walter Bisset witness in 1242 as in *C.A. Chrs*, 111.

[35] 'the quarter pairt of the Schaw and wod callit *Cuthill wod of Craigmakerane*' (*Scone Liber*, p. 226 no. XXXV).

(*claustura*) from the *nemus* between Scone and Cargill (*RRS* i nos. 57, 243) and in 1173 ×1178 when William I granted Campsie to Coupar Angus Abbey in free forest he described this area as his chase with its associated waste land (*RRS* ii no. 154). A chase was a hunting area subject to forest law. In addition in the 13th century Coupar's land of Campsie also contained woodland (*nemus*) and it was a source of timber for the abbey (*C.A. Chrs.* no. XXXI). In the 13th century, therefore, *Kelcamsy* was describing an area of managed woodland like a *nemus* or a hunting forest, more open woodland containing some scattered dwellings and grazing. It was not at this time a small defined wood though there could have been smaller defined woods within it. This suggests that if, as in the south-west, *coille* was used to mean a larger area of managed woodland at the time when the name *Kelcamsy* was coined then that meaning was still current in the 13th century.

On the other hand in the 13th century on one occasion *coille* was used in a wood name which was described as *boscus*. In c.1224 David bishop of St Andrews granted to the Hospital of Scotland Well:

> bos[cum] nostrum prope dictum hospitale qui dicitur *Kelgad* per has divisas videlicet ...[36]

> 'our wood near the said hospital which is called Kilmagad by these bounds namely ...'

The use of *boscus* is supported by the confirmation of John prior of St Andrews at this time. Not only is this clearly a smaller defined wood but the name which occurs in the form *Kelnegad* in 1251 means 'the wood of the withies'. [37] To merit such a name one suspects that the wood was well known as a source of flexible rods. It is, therefore, likely that when the name was formed the wood was being managed to produce a supply of rods. In the 13th century the use of *boscus* to describe the wood and the fact that it had defined bounds argues that it was still being managed to produce underwood.

Coille, therefore, could be used to describe larger areas of woodland which were both managed or contained managed woods while in the thirteenth century it also described smaller managed woods.

Turning to Old English names, 'grove' in the Anglo-Saxon period in England almost certainly marked places where wood was coppiced. Coppicing was practised in England in prehistoric times and the Anglo-Saxons probably

[36] NAS RH6/36A and 36B. 36A has been repaired and is not as clear as 36B, the confirmation by the prior of St Andrews. I am indebted to Simon Taylor for this reference.
[37] NAS RH6/48, Taylor 2006, 13.

used *grafa* to describe the coppices which they found on their arrival in England (Gelling 2000, 221, 226–30). The only medieval example of *grafa* encountered in Scotland so far is *Hardgrafe* (Hardgrove DMF NY113740) in 1443 to the west of Annan.[38] It probably lay within the forest of Dalton and interestingly the lands of *Harthuat* are also recorded in Dalton Forest in 1426 (*RMS* ii no. 71). The use of ON *þveit* in the name suggests a clearing made in woodland at an earlier time (Williamson 1942, 115–16). Other clearing names shown on the map in or near Dalton forest are Murraythwaite (DMF NY127726) which is first recorded in 1304 (Williamson 1942, 117) and Spittalridding Hill (DMF NY185686) which first appears on Blaeu's map and contains OE **ryding* which meant a clearing.[39] Phyllis Park and Cocklicks both close to Hardgrove were described as *nemus* in the 1450s and herbage was being collected from them indicating that they were being used for grazing *(ER* v, 669; vi, 62). Also in the same area Kinmount was emparked in 1329/30 (Fraser *Annandale*, 10 no. 15).

In this area the name Hardgrove could have been formed when the area was influenced by the kingdom of Northumbria in the seventh century. Norse names would have appeared from the ninth century. Place-names containing **ryding* or *þveit* suggest that this was a wooded area where clearings were being made. The later references to hunting forest, woodland with grazing and emparkment show that in the 14th and 15th centuries woodland management was taking place in the area. In this context, therefore, it would be entirely appropriate for the place-name element *grafa* to have meant a piece of managed wood and given the Anglo-Saxon usage of the word it was probably a coppiced wood. However, while there were managed woods in the area in the 14th and 15th centuries there is no evidence to say whether Hardgrove was still a managed wood. So far no other example of *grafa* or Sc *grave* has been encountered in the medieval period.

Older Scots words such as *s(c)haw* and *scrog(g)* also appear in place-names in a 12th and 13th-century woodland context. *Scrogges* has various meanings: scrub which is bushes with crooked and twisted branches which will not grow into timber; brushwood which refers to smaller branches and twigs which can make brushes; and thickets of bushes and small trees (*DOST*). In this context it is worth remembering that coppices at a certain stage of their growth would look like thickets of small trees. *Scrogges*, clearly, would not describe tall timber trees or standards, i.e. trees or coppice shoots which had been allowed to grow to maturity without cutting. In 1164 × 1174 David de Lyne granted the land of 'Scrogges' near Peebles to Simon, son of Robert Scrogges (*Glas.*

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[38] Williamson 1942, 87; Hist. MSS Comm., 1897, 45.
[39] Williamson 1942, 87; Rackham 2001, 48; Gelling and Cole 2000, 244 in the section on woods and clearings.

Reg. no. 85). David, however, kept the wood (*boscus*) of *Gilmemenerden*, later *Gillemunesden*, in his own hands but he did allow Simon to have easements of pasture and of wood for building from this wood. The wood presumably was managed because in 1208 × 1209 these rights could still be granted to Glasgow cathedral with *materies* building wood (*Glas. Reg.* no. 87). The names of Scrog Dean (PEB NT183417), Scrog Hope and Scrogs Field still survive on the modern map and the 1st edition of the OS 6″ map shows that Scrog Dean was 'anciently' *Gilmimenerdene*, the *boscus* from which easements were to be taken. In this case *scrogges* and *boscus* are describing the same area and consequently this combination of place-name and charter evidence points to *scrogges* as a description of a piece of managed woodland in the late 12th and early 13th centuries.

Evidence from the Bowmont Valley in the eastern Cheviots also points to this conclusion. In c.1300 the rental of Kelso Abbey records that in Mow the monks and their men:

> habebunt in bosco ad del scrogges *stac* et *slac* pro ovibus suis firmandis et virgas pro reparacione carucarum suarum.[40]

> 'shall have in the wood at the/some scrogges stakes and flexible rods to secure their sheep and rods for the repair of their ploughs.'

DOST links *stac* to posts for a fence as in the phrase '*stac* and *rice*' for a wattle fence. '*Stac* and *slac*' would, therefore, be the stakes and flexible rods needed to make wattle fencing. *Virga* would be thicker rods or poles needed to repair ploughs. The link between *boscus* and *scrogges* is interesting. The wood is not actually called the *scrogges* but the construction *in bosco ad del scrogges* sounds like 'in the wood at some scrogs'. At first sight this looks as though this was a way of identifying in which *boscus* to cut the wood. This was probably not the case. This wood probably lay in the valley of the Attonburn since it occurs in that section of the Mow rental. Kelso abbey had been allowed to take wood for constructing sheep folds since 1164 × 96 (*Kelso Lib.* no. 152) when Anselm de Mow gave them this right. This had been repeated by his heirs in 1180 × 1203 and in 1250/1 (*Kelso Lib.* nos. 158, 149). They were allowed to take wood *de nemore predicti feodi* ('from the woodland of the foresaid fief [Mow]'). This probably included several woods on this family's holdings in Mow including Attonburn where the wood concerned would presumably have been well known. Consequently, the phrase 'in the wood at some scroggs' may not have been to locate the wood but to say from which part of the wood the

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[40] *Kelso Lib.*, 458 and NLS Adv. Ms. 34.5.1 fo. 2r.

rods and poles were to be cut. Given that the wood required was underwood and that it had been harvested throughout the 13th century it must have been managed and that management could well have been by coppicing. Indeed in the 1250/1 grant Richard de Lincoln made clear that during a period of 20 to 30 years the wood could be cut but only when it had re-grown enough to be in a good state. He was clearly trying to improve the quality of the wood and either enforce or introduce a more rigorous coppice cycle. The possibility is thus raised again that coppices were called scrogs.

At this point it has to be said that no other medieval examples of the use of the word *scrogg* or *scroggis* have so far been found. By the 16th and 17th centuries, while *DOST* gives examples of *scroggis* meaning thickets of small trees and brushwood cut or available to be cut for fuel and for repairing houses there is more of a pejorative tone to some of the examples such as being overgrown with wild scrogs or iron only being made with scrogs, boughs, branches and old stakes and cuttings of timber. This seems to suggest that scrogs no longer had the meaning of managed wood.

Sc *s(c)haw*, based on OE *sceaga*, may also have been one of the vernacular words being used to describe managed woods and coppices. OE *sceaga* (related to ON *skogr*) meant a small wood or a wood of limited extent (Gelling 2000, 245). It could also mean marsh and in the derived from of *shay* could mean common pasture (Crosby [Higham] 2007, 35, 37). The word, however, is defined in *DOST* as a small wood, a copse, a grove and a thicket and these are the meanings which are encountered here. The earlier examples of *s(c)haw* relate to southern Scotland in the 12th and 13th centuries but as they become more common in the evidence in the later 15th and 16th centuries they can be found further north in Aberdeenshire and Moray.[41]

The first recorded use of *s(c)haw,* but not as a place-name, occurs in the late 12th century when Jedburgh Abbey received the land of Sorbie in Liddesdale with the whole *scawe* of Sorbie (ROX NY483846) (Barrow 2003 [1973], 235). This grant does not enable any deductions to be drawn about the nature of this shaw but c. 1200 Henry de Graham disposed of his lands in the upper valley of the Dryfe Water (*Ouerdryfe*) and the bounds refer to *patricschaw* and *le rammyschaw* (*Morton Reg.* ii no. 3), probably Ramshaw (DMF NY161980) to the north of Lockerbie. One wonders if the origin of *rammyschaw* could be *ramail* shaw. In *DOST* the meaning of *ramail* is small branches coming from a main branch, cut brushwood or bushes, used for fence-making or fuel and so *rammyschaw* could be the shaw where *ramail*, flexible branches and rods, was cut.

[41] Williamson 1942, 84–86; *A.B.Ill.* iv, 315.

In 1348 William Douglas granted to James of Sandilands in the lower Douglas valley the lands of Sandilands (LAN NS892384), Redmire and the eastern part of the land of *Pollynfeygh*, which survives in the Ponfeigh Burn which flows into the Douglas Water at (LAN NS871363). The bounds of this land are given as:

> prout aqua de *douglas* currit ascendendo usque ad duas arbores de *Byrkis* ex occidentali parte de *halleford* ex opposito del *Haynyngschaw* que est infra baroniam de *lesmahagow* et sic sursum extendendo usque le *Wythyn buskis* ex orientali parte de *Langtaille* et sic sursum ad messuagium dudum Ade filii petri et sic sursum extendendo usque ad boscum de *pollynfeyghschaw* et sic ascendendo iuxta latus nemoris usque ad altam viam et sic sursum sicut rivulus aque currit ad extremitatem crofti Thome Rauche usque ad le *Lonyndyke*.[42]

> 'just as the Douglas runs up to the two trees of *Birks on the west side of *halleford* opposite the *Haining Shaw which is in the barony of Lesmahagow and stretching up to the *Wythyn buskis* on the west part of *Langtaille* and so up to the former dwelling of Adam son of Peter and so stretching up to the wood of *Ponfeigh Shaw and so going up along the side of the woodland to the high road and so up just as the river runs to the end of the croft of Thomas Rauche to the *Loaning Dyke.'

The link between shaw and haining in the name *Haynyngschaw* is interesting. Sc *haining* means the enclosing of ground by fences, hedges or walls. It can refer to the walls or to the ground enclosed (*DOST*). Haining (SLK NT468280) also occurs as a place-name in the fifteenth century in Ettrick Forest outside Selkirk in 1455 (*ER* vi, 223 in 1455) and near Forres in 1430 (*RMS* ii no. 177). It also appears in a late 15th-century version of the forest laws[43] in which clause 1 stated that:

> the wode is forbydyn alswell to thaim that dwellis therin as till other at thai enter nocht in ony hanyt place of the woddis with thar bestis.

> 'it is forbidden both to those who dwell in the wood and to others to enter any hained place of the woods with their cattle.'

This first forest law may date to the reign of David I or earlier (Gilbert

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[42] Fraser *Douglas,* iii 316; NAS GD119/152.
[43] Gilbert 1979, 272; NLS Ms 25.4.15, fo. 109v.

1979, 312–14). While the practice of enclosing woods was probably in use in the 12th century there is no evidence for the use of haining at this date. To the 15th-century scribe, however, the idea of keeping cattle out of *hanyt* places of woods was familiar. The idea of haining woods is also found in the lands of Coupar Angus at Keithock (ANG NO203384) in 1473 when the abbot required his tenants to:

> kepe thar self, thar servands and thar gudis at al gudly powar out of hanyngis, treys, stankis, medous and wardis … (*C.A. Rent.* i no. 214)

> 'keep themselves, their servants and their goods to the best of their ability out of hainings, trees, ponds, meadows, and enclosed yards …'

In 1549 in Campsie this condition was repeated by the abbot:

> providing all wais that their gudis and catell nor thair servandis and subtenentis gudis in lyk wyss cum nocht within our hanyt woddis at sal happin to be hanyt for the tyme … (*C.A. Rent.* ii no. 62)

> 'providing always that neither their goods and cattle nor likewise their servants' and subtenants' goods do not enter our hained woods which happen to be hained for that time …'

Cattle were to be kept out of the wood while it was hained presumably to allow the young wood to re-grow after cutting. The reference to *haynyngschaw* in the Douglas valley must be placed in this context suggesting that the shaw was hained and, consequently, managed. The reference to the *boscus* of *Ponfeigh Shaw (*Pollynfeyghschaw*) also links shaw to smaller woods which could be managed. The woodland context of the bounds continues with the mention of the *Wythyn buskis* which *DOST* reads as *Wychynbusks* and so gives the meaning as 'a thicket of elm, rowan or juniper'. However, *Wythyn* is probably a preferable reading of the original and so the bounds are referring to willow bushes. This is supported by the very similar confirmation which was probably issued at the same time since it has the same witness list as the original. This confirmation described the bounds more briefly than the original but this feature is mentioned as *Saulghbuskis* (NAS GD119/153), which means the willow bushes. If willow was growing in the area it could have been managed by coppicing.

In the 15th century the rental of Paisley Abbey gives two examples of shaw as an element in the names of woods which were managed. *Ocschauwode* (surviving in Oakshaw Street, Paisley REN NS478940) was under the keepership of a

tenant of the abbey in 1460 (Cameron 1878, App. p. lxxxiii) and in 1502 *Durschawsyde* wood had to be kept by the tenant who also had to maintain the bank and ditch round the wood (Ibid. App. p. cxviii). In Latin, the word used for wood in these cases was *silva.* In the 15th century *silva* was being used for smaller managed and defined woods as well as larger areas of woodland. By the early 16th century the link between shaw and managed woodland was well established and is used to explain the meaning of Latin words in some charters. When James IV confirmed to Alexander Elphinstone lands in upper Strathdon in 1507 in free forest[44] the charter stressed on three occasions that the lands were accompanied by *glennys, silvis, lucis* ['grove or small wood'], *viz. le schawis.* On one occasion this was altered to *forestas, silvas, lucos viz, le schaws et glennys* and it was these features, not the lands as a whole, which were granted in free forest. The forest rights were being focussed on timber and wood protection and not on hunting. When James IV repeated this grant in 1513 the phrase was again slightly altered to *le glennys, silvis et virgultis viz. le schawis.* In this context, as has been explained, *virgultum* is used in the sense of underwood and coppice. The fact that *schawis* appears regularly in the pertinents of charters in the 16th century is important. Pertinents by this time were becoming very lengthy to cover every eventuality and one can not read too much into them in terms of what actually existed on any particular holding. The regular use of the word, however, suggests that it was, by the 16th century, the recognised word for areas where underwood could be regularly cut, in other words, for coppices managed by one means or another. The meaning of *schaws* implies that there were no standard trees in these woods and so they must have closely resembled the woods described as *virgultum* in Ireland: shrubby wood which was coppiced (Jager 1983, 60).

The argument here is not about how formal or effective the management of these woods was. It is that in the light of the evidence so far encountered *coille, grave, haining, scro(g)gis, s(c)hawis* and *wod(e)* were some of the vernacular words which could describe managed underwood where rods, stakes and poles were cut on a regular basis. While *scrog(g)is* and *s(c)haws* could also describe natural features which were not managed and while *coille* and *wod(e)* could also mean wider areas of woodland the use of these words in a woodland context raises the possibility that the wood was managed and that the form of management employed was coppicing. It is, therefore, likely that medieval place-names containing these elements are a guide to, if not proof of, the existence of managed woods at the time when the name was formed. Further examples will

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[44] *RMS* ii no. 3159 and NAS C2/14 no. 427. Other full versions in *ER* xiii 70 and *A.B. Ill.* iv, 218.

be required before these conclusions can be more detailed and more definite. At present, however, the documentary sources are definitely pointing in this direction.

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Dating Brittonic Place-names in Southern Scotland and Cumbria

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'... one cannot tell to what extent Cumbric may have lingered as the speech of the peasantry in remote areas.' (Jackson 1963, 71)

The intention of this paper[1] is to provide a summary of the range of reasons why several names of Brittonic[2] (or partly Brittonic) origin in southern Scotland[3] and Cumbria[4] may need to be dated well after the extension of Northumbrian *imperium* over the greater part of these regions, that is to say, from the second half of the seventh century or later. I shall in conclusion put forward a case for seeing a significant proportion of such names in the north (especially in upland areas, where most of them are) as products of the environmental, political, economic and demographic circumstances of the post-Northumbrian period, from the late ninth century to the eventual extinction of Cumbric, probably some time in the 12th century.

There has been a default assumption among English place-name scholars that surviving or recorded place-names of Brittonic origin reflect that country's earliest identifiable linguistic stratum, that they must either have originated before the Anglo-Saxon settlements or in isolated enclaves of 'Celtic survival'. In the south and east of England, this assumption is probably reasonable, though the concept of 'Celtic survival' needs more rigorous historical and sociolinguistic underpinning and the possibility of migrant settlement from

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[1] I am grateful to Dr Simon Taylor and anonymous referees for valuable guidance and corrections on a number of matters. Opinions and errors are, of course, my own.

[2] In this paper, I shall use the term 'Brittonic' to refer to insular P-Celtic (apart from Pritenic) in general, and particularly to the dialects current in southern Scotland and Cumbria (as defined in note 4, below) in the early (5th–9th centuries) and central (10th–12th centuries) middle ages; I shall use 'neo-Brittonic' to refer to that language during the 5th to 8th centuries, when the differentiation among and Welsh, Cornish, Breton and – potentially – Cumbric was beginning, and 'Cumbric' for the Brittonic of southern Scotland and Cumbria during the 9th–12th centuries.

[3] I.e. Scotland south of the Forth and Loch Lomond.

[4] 'Cumbria', for the purposes of this study, refers to the southern part of the Solway basin, comprising the historic county of Cumberland and the Barony of Westmorland (the part of that county north of Shap Fell); it does not include Lancashire-over-Sands, Dentdale and Garsdale YWR, nor the Barony of Kendal (Westmorland south of Shap Fell), though all these are included in the modern-day English county. I also make occasional references to place-names in the part of Northumberland immediately east of the border with Cumberland (the River Irthing and the Poltross Burn).

Wales, Cornwall or the Cumbric north should not be dismissed even well away from the Celtic-speaking regions.[5] However, as I shall endeavour to demonstrate, in southern Scotland such an assumption is unhelpful, not only in the Clyde basin, where the persistence of neo-Brittonic evolving into Cumbric has of course to be recognised, but throughout those regions that were parts of the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria.

An outstanding challenge to this 'default assumption' south of the Border was Jackson's (1963) argument that several of the Brittonic place-names in northern Cumberland may well be ascribed to settlers from Strathclyde in the late 9th to mid-10th centuries. The implications of Jackson's case have been fairly generally accepted in consideration of place-names in Cumberland and Westmorland,[6] and to some extent those of Dumfriesshire.[7] However, in a previous paper (James 2008) I have argued that this migration may have formed part of a considerably wider 'Cumbric diaspora' throughout much of Scandinavian-ruled England during this period and the later parts of this present study will seek to demonstrate the relevance of Jackson's observations regarding Cumberland to several areas in southern Scotland, emphasising that such settlements were among a complex range of changes in patterns of land-use, landholding and the distribution and exchange of produce that were to a substantial degree independent of, and anterior to, changes in political control.

There are other good reasons for paying attention to 'English' Cumbria[8] in this study. The Solway basin, 'geographical Cumbria', forms a territory only partly divided by the Solway Firth and Moss. It was evidently regarded as such a unit in the early and central middle ages, especially in the 10th to 12th centuries when the kings of Scots and of England were increasingly embroiled in a struggle for control of the whole of it.[9] In considering Brittonic names, the eventual Anglo-Scottish border, the boundary between Dumfriesshire and Cumberland, is an anachronism. Cumberland and Westmorland are both well

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[5] See James 2008 on possible Cumbric-speaking settlement in the 10th-century Kingdom of York and the Danelaw, Edmonds 2010 for 12th-century Welsh-speaking settlement in south Lancashire.

[6] See O'Sullivan 1985, 26–29, Higham 1985, 40–42, and idem 1986, 318–21, Whaley 2006, xx; Phythian-Adams 1996, 87 and 168, argues for the revival of a surviving language rather than reintroduction; but Hough 2008, 51, says 'a dating prior to the Anglo-Saxon takeover of the area is suggested by the Celtic etymology' of *Roswraget* (Gilsland) CMB.

[7] See Breeze 1999b and idem 2000; Brooke 1991, 300 and 314–15, acknowledges the possibility of a 10th–11th century revival of Cumbric in Galloway.

[8] As defined in note 4 above.

[9] See Oram 2011 chs 1–5 *passim*; Dr Alex Woolf has recently argued (Nineteenth Whithorn Lecture, 2011, publication forthcoming) for the salience of this region in the early stages of Northumbrian state-formation, the early to mid-seventh century.

served by comprehensive series of volumes in the English Place-Name Survey.[10] The fact that a possibly disproportionate number of the examples I shall refer to will be from these English counties is a reflection of this richness compared with the current lack of detailed place-name surveys for southern Scotland. However, the argument I intend to present is that considerations applicable to names in English Cumbria are very likely to be relevant across the border.[11] I emphasise from the outset that the evidence on which any generalised historical model for the early toponymic history of southern Scotland can be based is at present far from adequate. My main objectives are to provoke debate and to encourage scholars undertaking much-needed surveys of place-names – and historians and archaeologists using place-name evidence – to keep open minds regarding the dating of Brittonic names throughout southern Scotland.

Documentary evidence

There are few cases where the written record reveals a Brittonic modification to a pre-existing name after the date of the earliest record(s). The only reasonably definite example is Carlisle CMB, but history of this important name illustrates very well Jackson's sequence in which Brittonic and Old English alternate; the relatively rich documentation gives (PNCmb, 40–41):

Luguvallo, *Luguvalio* 4th c. (6th c.) Antonine Itinerary

Lugubalium late 7th c. (14th c.) Ravenna Geography, 731 Bede *Historia Ecclesiastica*

Lugubalia, *id est Luel*, *nunc dicitur Carleil* 1129 (1154 × 1164) Symeon *Historia Regum*

Luel 9th c., 10th c. and frequently to 14th c., including 12th-c. Life of St Cuthbert

Cair Ligualid ? 9th c. (10th c.) *Historia Brittonum*

Brittanice Cairleil, *Latine Lugubalia* 1129 (1154 × 1164) Symeon *Historia Regum*

Kardeol [*sic*] 1092 (1122) Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (E, the 'Peterborough Chronicle')

Karlioli c. 1100 on

Karleolum 1131 on

Kaer Leil c. 1200

urbem Carleolensem 1217

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[10] Armstrong, Mawer, Stenton and Dickins 1950–52, hereafter PNCmb; A. H. Smith 1967, 2 vols hereafter PNWml1 and PNWml2.

[11] On the continuity between northern England and southern Scotland in respect of English / Scots toponymy, see Hough 2009, 37 and references in her note 15.

These show the development of the Roman-British *Luguválio-* to neo-Brittonic **Ləwel*, apparently taken up by English-speakers as *Luel*, alongside **Luguvaljo-* developing to Old Welsh *Ligualid*, Modern Welsh *-liwelydd*.[12] The name in the list of cities in the *Historia Brittonum* shows the Welsh form with pre-positioned *Cair-*, though at this stage we cannot be sure whether that has become an integral part of the name, and in any case the list of cities may be an addition to the *Historia*, even from the late 10th century. The subsequent records, from English and Anglo-Norman sources, show that the prefixed *Cair-* had by the turn of the 12th century become established as a part of the name even in English usage.[13] The implication for linguistic history is that there were Cumbric speakers (presumably in or around Carlisle) who used pre-positioned *Cair-* sufficiently regularly for it to become an integral part of the name in their usage, and even to modify the usage of English speakers. The record in *Historia Brittonum* is doubtful evidence for this having begun by the early ninth century; on the other hand, it was certainly a well-established change by around 1100.[14]

Phonological considerations

Unquestionably the most valuable tool we have for dating Brittonic place-names is the chronology of phonetic and prosodic changes in Brittonic adumbrated by Kenneth Jackson (Jackson 1953, hereafter LHEB), which has stood the test of intensive use and critical examination by scholars over 50 years and remains the firm foundation for all serious work on the insular

[12] For the phonological development of this name in Brittonic, see Jackson 1953, hereafter LHEB, §172 at 607 and §175 at 616.

[13] See further PNCmb, 40–42, Rivet and Smith 1979, 402, and Jackson 1948, idem 1963 at 80–82, idem 1970 at p. 76, and idem in LHEB, 226, in ibid. §41 at 362 n. 1, and in ibid. §208 at 688n1.

[14] A possible example from southern Scotland of Brittonic modification to a more ancient name is the river name Teviot. This is recorded as *Teiwi, Tiew* c. 600, *Tefe* 800, *Teuiot* c. 1100. The early forms reflect an ancient river-name, neo-Brittonic **Teͥμi*, of the **tī-* family, + root-determinative *-m-* + suffix *-jā-* (see LHEB §98(2), 488, §99, 489–91, and §174(2), 612–13). By 1100, a suffix has been added, which is most likely to be the Brittonic name-forming *-ed* (from *-ēt-*, not *-nt-*, as proposed by Watson 2002 [1913] at 126, though his paper is of seminal importance): **Teͥμj-ed* would have been modified to **Tĕvjət* in the mouths of Northumbrian English speakers, rendered (perhaps by scribes used to Norman-French) as *Teuiot*. That this modification was adopted by English speakers between 800 and 1100 is a hint of the co-existence of Cumbric and English during at least part of that time. 'All men of pleasant Tivydale / Beside the River Tweed' in the *Ballad of Chevy Chase* is interesting, and according to the Northumbrian poet Basil Bunting (pers. comm. c. 1968) Borderers still refer to 'Tivvydale', but this probably reflects later syncope.

Brittonic languages.[15] Two points must be made, though, regarding the use of Jackson's chronology in the dating of place-names.

Firstly, there is a set of general assumptions among place-name scholars, which Jackson shared, that, when a place-name is adopted from one language into another, the adoption is likely to take place pretty soon after the initial contact between the two linguistic groups and that, once adoption has taken place, the name in the 'adoptive' language will be subject to phonological changes occurring in that language, but will be unaffected by any changes in the 'source' language. This is a reasonable, indeed demonstrably valid, assumption in contexts where relatively rapid language replacement occurred, as probably was the case in the areas of primary Anglo-Saxon settlement in the south and east of England, but in a situation of stable bilingualism, with the two languages co-existing over several generations or even centuries, a more complex interaction may arise. So, given that such a situation may well have been more normal in the north, where the surviving records of a name show evidence of a relatively late development in Brittonic, we can infer that Brittonic / Cumbric was still current in the locality, but not necessarily that the name originated after that development – it may have been in use by Brittonic and English (or Gaelic) speakers before then, but contact between the two linguistic groups was sufficient for the change in the 'source' language to permeate the 'adoptive' language.

Secondly, Jackson's chronology for what he labelled West Brittonic is primarily based on the evidence for Welsh. He inferred that Cumbric had evolved in a very similar way to Welsh and at much the same rate, forming this view on the basis of place-name evidence. His judgements regarding the likely dates of adoption from Brittonic into English are based in turn on his assumptions about the course of Northumbrian penetration of and control over what became the Kingdom of Northumbria. Some of these assumptions might be queried, or at best be regarded as very tentative, by present-day historians and archaeologists, who tend to see a rather more complex and not necessarily unilinear process of anglicisation. This may leave the chronology in the north a little adrift from its absolute moorings, but it does not seriously compromise its validity. For the purposes of the present review, it is important to notice that the only points where Jackson detected a difference between developments in Wales and the north were in the affrication of various consonants preceded by

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[15] The only significant modifications to Jackson's chronology that have been proposed and generally accepted by scholars are those in Koch 1982–83, Sims-Williams 1990, and idem 2003: these mainly relate to morphological and phonological changes well before the period with which this paper is concerned, but revisions of Jackson's chronology for the neo-Brittonic period proposed in Sims-Williams 2003 are taken into consideration below.

liquids[16] and the assimilation of -*mb*- to -*mm*-;[17] he saw these as occurring later in Cumbric than in Welsh, or (in the case of affrication) possibly not at all. His later observations on the Pictish language and its hypothetical ancestor Pritenic tend to confirm this view of northern conservatism (1955a, 129–65). Neither Jackson nor any subsequent scholar has put forward any reason to suppose that any of the phonological changes in his chronology occurred earlier in northern Brittonic than they did in Welsh. If we see a northern British P-Celtic continuum, it might be characterised by increasing slowness in or resistance to change the further north we travel, so 'Pictish' phonological features, as well as lexical items, are detectable in place-names in southern Scotland and even Cumbria – though we must allow for the possibility of migration, especially in Cumbria, and conservatism in some respects would probably have contrasted with innovation in others (James 2009a, 140–43, 150–55). We should also be alert to the danger of circularity, in dating place-names from a chronology itself dependent on dating place-names.

With these points in mind, I shall review some examples of place-names that appear to have been affected by sound-changes in neo-Brittonic / Cumbric which, according to Jackson, occurred later than the mid-seventh century, by which time we may suppose that Northumbrian *imperium* was becoming a reality over much of the north.

Where a plosive consonant occurred in a group with *l*, *r* or *n*, it passed through a series of stages, becoming a fricative, then a semi-vowel *j*, then vocalised *i* to form a diphthong with the preceding vowel: thus early Brittonic **magno-* > **maɣn* > **majn* > Old Welsh *main* > Welsh *maen* 'a stone'. Jackson reckoned that the fricative stage had been reached 'before the end of the sixth century',[18] and the diphthongal form is recorded in charter boundaries (probably from that century on) in the Book of Llandaf (Evans 1893, 42, 134, 145 *et passim*). Surviving or recorded forms for place-names where such a consonant group occurred show no trace of a fricative or semi-vocalic *j* (which would have been adopted as early Northumbrian Old English *ġ*); the diphthongal forms would not have readily transferred to Northumbrian Old English, being substituted by *ā* or *ǣ*. The indications are that elements like **main*, **cair* (< **cagrā-* or **cadrā-*) 'a fort, a stockade' and **blain* (< **blacno-*) 'summit, head of a valley' had reached that diphthongal stage by the time

[16] LHEB §§148–49, 570–72; see also Sims-Williams 2003 ‡43, 139–41, and discussion of **lanerc* below under Distributional considerations, also in James 2008 at 200 and idem 2009a at 151–52.
[17] LHEB §§111–112(1), 508–11, Sims-Williams 2003 ‡22, 73–83, and ‡56, 184.
[18] LHEB §86, 463–65; see also Sims-Williams 2003 ‡48, 154–77, especially at 154–56.
[19] *Main* appears in its plural form *meini* in Monybrig (Leswalt) WIG, MacQueen

they were adopted, that is to say well after 600.[19] Both **cair* and **blain* will receive further attention in this paper.[20]

The vowel derived from Indo-European *ei* and, in words from Latin, *ē*, was in neo-Brittonic a raised, increasingly diphthongal *ę^i*. By the second half of the eighth century, this had undergone a drastic retraction, becoming *uï*.[21] Jackson dated this to the second half of the seventh century, though Sims-Williams (1990, 254–55, 1991, 48–49, and 2003, 286–87) has argued that the diphthongisation must have begun before the shortening of long vowels before consonant groups in monosyllables and in the stressed syllable of polysyllables[22] and that the latter development occurred as early as the first half of the sixth century. However, as he points out, the orthographic evidence for his 'Period 18' (to which he assigns *ę^i* > *uï*) only 'begins c. 750' (2003, 291, and cf. ibid. 287). The question for our consideration is not when the diphthongisation began but when the retraction became sufficient for the onset of the diphthong to be perceived by English speakers as a back vowel. A place-name where this seems to be exemplified is Plenploth (Stow) MLO.[23] In earlier neo-Brittonic, this would have been **blajn-plę:β* or *-*plę^{i}β*, 'valley-head (and / or possibly boundary) of a small settlement or of common land' (the specific being adopted from Latin *plēbem*),[24] but *Plenploif* 1593 implies that this was adopted by English speakers from a form **plen-pluïv*, which would correspond to Welsh *blaen-plwyf*.[25] While Sims-Williams's argument leaves the case in some doubt, adoption during the Cumbric period rather than earlier remains likely. The apparent persistence or reintroduction of Cumbric in *Wedale*[26] is a matter to which I shall return later in this paper.[27]

2002, 94–95: MacQueen gives Gaelic *muine* 'a thicket', but the earliest form is *Menybrig* 1426. No trace of the fricative is found in Welsh place-names involving *blaen* or *maen*, but of course there is no suggestion of any English-speaking settlement in Wales in the 6th century.

[20] For **cair* see Lexical considerations, and for **blain* Distributional considerations, below.

[21] LHEB §28, 330–35, Sims-Williams 2003 ‡58, 190–96.

[22] 'The New Quantity System' LHEB §§35–36, 340–44, Sims-Williams 2003, 182–83; see also Schriver's 1995, 252, argument that the diphthongisation preceded internal *i*-affection.

[23] Watson 1926, 355. Though he compares *Blaen-plwyf* CRD, Watson says perversely 'it appears to be for *Pen-plwyf*', and Jackson in Thomson 1994, 228, likewise treats this as a **pen[n]**-; I am grateful to Dr. Taylor for the list of early forms now published as Appendix 6 to this paper, extending and amending those in Dixon 1947, 287.

[24] In Breton, an important term for 'parish, local community', but in Cornwall, Wales and the North, a relatively minor place-name element, with no specific legal or administrative sense, but presumably indicating common land.

[25] See below under Distributional considerations, and Appendix 4, for *blajn* > *plen*.

[26] The strath of the Gala Water and the neighbouring hill country.

[27] See below under Historical considerations.

Terregles KCB is a place-name frequently adduced as an early **eglę:s*, Welsh *eglwys* 'a church', reflecting pre-Northumbrian British ecclesiastical organisation, but the records (from *Travereglys* 1365 on)[28] consistently show *i/y* in the final syllable, again implying adoption into late Northumbrian Old English from Cumbric **egluïs* rather than neo-Brittonic **eglę:s* or **eglė's*. This is admittedly late evidence and hardly decisive (it could have been mistaken by the fourteenth century for a Scots plural *-is*), but it is only one of several reasons for regarding Terregles as a late, Cumbric formation.[29]

A parallel development affected the neo-Brittonic lowered, increasingly diphthongal, *ę'* from Indo-European *ai*. At a slightly later date, the early to mid-eighth century according to Jackson,[30] this too was retracted, to *ǫi*. Again, Sims-Williams has argued for an early start to this diphthongisation (1990, 254-5, 1991, 48–49, and 2003, 287), but similar considerations apply.[31] The change affected the very prolific place-name element, neo-Brittonic **cęd* > **cę'd* 'a wood'. This is commonly found in the north in forms reflecting the unretracted vowel, *ket*, *keth*, *keith* etc., but at Knockcoid (Kirkcolm) WIG[32] and Knockycoid (Colmonell) AYR we seem to have reflections of the retracted, rounded vowel: the Welsh equivalent would be *Cnwch*-[*y*]-*coed* 'wood-hillock, hillock of the wood'.[33] This implies that these names were still current in neo-Brittonic speech and were probably only adopted by English-speakers during or after the mid-eighth century.[34]

During the seventh to ninth centuries, the vowel *-ū-* in **dūv* 'black' was lengthened and fronted as the final consonant *-v* was vocalised and absorbed (LHEB §5(2), 275–77, §20(3), 310–11). The resultant **dū* (with lenition

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[28] Watson 1926, 359; see also MacQueen in 1953–54, 80–82 and idem 2005, 28–29 and 57–58, and James 2009b, 146 n. 37.

[29] See below in this section on the penultimate syllable stress, under Morphological considerations regarding formations with the definite article, under Distributional considerations for the probable lateness of *trev-* as a name-phrase generic, and James 2009b, 146 n. 37, on the possible connection with Anglo-Scandinavian *kirkju-bý*.

[30] LHEB §27, 324–30, cf. Sims-Williams 2003 ‡59, 196–97.

[31] The orthographic evidence for this development in Welsh and Breton 'begins during 8 c., perhaps c. 750 × 800', idem 2003, 291.

[32] Watson 1926, 381 (mislocated in KCB); MacQueen 2008, 93.

[33] However, an anonymous referee considers these to be Gaelic **cnoc-coimhid*, **cnoc a' choimhid*, 'watch-hillock'.

[34] *Quinquaythil* (Walton ? = Nickies Hill) CMB Todd 1997 (hereafter Lan Cart with references to the numbered entries) 224 and 259–63 might have been **pen[n]-coid*, with Middle Irish / early Gaelic *cenn-* replacing *pen[n]-*, but a personal name *Gwengad* may be involved (see Appendix 5 and note 211 below), and *Cumquethil* CMB Lan Cart 260 may or may not be the same place; unlocated *Coitquoit* PEB is too garbled for any certainty.

after feminine **cair-*) is reflected in Cardew (Dalston) CMB,[35] with Anglicised -*dju*-, implying relatively late adoption. The same may well apply to Glen Dhu (Bewcastle) CMB,[36] in spite of its pseudo-Gaelic antiquarian spelling, and just across the county boundary in Glendue (Hartleyburn) NTB;[37] it might be the case in Craigdews (Mochrum) WIG (Maxwell 1930, 82) and Craigdhu (× 2, Glasserton and Kirkcowan) WIG,[38] but these have been subject to Gaelic influence if they are not Gaelic in origin.

By the late eighth century, Jackson sees evidence of the tendency of *w*- to become *gw*- in proto-Welsh.[39] This was the outcome of increasing velarisation of non-lenited *w*-, which gradually became apparent over several centuries. When it became sufficiently apparent to English speakers for them to preserve it in their pronunciation of adopted place-names is interestingly reflected in the distribution across southern Scotland and Cumbria of names where the consonant has survived as *w*- and others where it is *gw*-. The Celtic hydronym **weir*[40] has survived in a form reflecting **Gweir* in the Quair Water PEB (Watson 1926, 360). Traquair PEB,[41] formed with the habitative **trev*-, preserves it, as does Troqueer KCB,[42] but Trowier (Girvan) AYR[43] does not. Correctly, -*wejr* should be lenited after the feminine generic **trev*-, and that rather than earlier adoption would explain the Ayrshire form; Traquair obviously reflects the river name, but at Troqueer any eponymous **Queer Water seems to exist no longer.[44] Guelt (Cumnock) AYR (Watson 1926, 191), Brittonic **wel* 'grass, pasture', modern Welsh *gwellt*, shows both *gw*- and epenthetic -*t*, an even later development to which I shall return.[45] Förster favoured Brittonic **wilt* 'wild,

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[35] PNCmb, 131–32: *Carðeu* (1040 × 1070?) 13th c., *Carthu* 1246 etc. See note 130 below.

[36] PNCmb, 61: *Glendeu* 1339 (note Jackson's comment).

[37] Mawer 1920, 94: *Glendew* 1239. Note Watts's observations (2004, 253) 'Glendue is one of the narrowest and darkest valleys in S. Tyndale. The treatment of PrW *ü* shows the name cannot have been borrowed into English before c. 1000'.

[38] Ibid: *Creeacdow* 1499, *Kraigdow* Pont, both apparently Craigdow in Kirkcowan.

[39] LHEB §49, 385–94. This development is evidenced in Cornish and Breton somewhat later. See also Sims-Williams ‡66, 211–14; the latter says, ibid. 288, 'There is little evidence for when this sound change occurred', but at 291 states that orthographic evidence 'begins by c. 800'.

[40] On the possible origins of **weir*, see entries in BLITON (James 2007–) ***wei-** and ***wejr**.

[41] Ibid: *Treverquyrd* in the Inquisition of David I, *Treuerquor* c. 1153.

[42] Watson 1926, 362: *Trequere* 1372 × 1374.

[43] Watson 1926, 361: *Trowere* 1403.

[44] Possibly it was the Cargen Pow, the only burn of any size flowing through the parish. Jed Water ROX, *Gedde-* 1139, might be a river name of the **wei-* family, or Cumbric *gwïð* 'large wood, forest' (perhaps a district-name that became attached to the river). Either would have had *gw*- when adopted by English speakers, but it is a very difficult name.

[45] The same element may be present in Guiltree (Kirkmichael, Watson 1926, 362) AYR and the lost *Trevergylt* in the Inquisition of David I, but both are obscure.

uncontrolled' as the origin for the River Gelt CMB and its neighbour the Gelt Burn NTB[46] though Ekwall (1928, 170–71) and the English Place-Name Survey editors (PNCmb, 14) treated it as the Goidelic cognate *geilt*. Either is possible: if Cumbric, it shows **gw-*. Neo-Brittonic *wrūg, Welsh *grug* 'heather', may be present at Castle Greg (Camilty) STL[47] and at Bargrug (Kirkgunzeon) KCB (Maxwell 1930, 24), but Gaelic *gruag 'hair', used in place-names of long grass, may be appropriate in either case.[48] Kirkgunzeon KCB shows *-g-* in the saint's name *[G]winnian* in *RMS* forms (*Kirkgunzeane* 1499 etc.) and Pont (*Kirkguinnan*), though the 13th-century records of the grange here in the Holm Cultram Register (*Kirkewinny* etc.) lack it. The surviving form implies **-gwi-* > *-gu-*. In any case, it is a name formation of a type which Grant (2002) has argued persuasively is likely to have been given by speakers of a Celtic language, Cumbric or Gaelic, who had adopted Anglo-Scandinavian *kirk* into their place-naming vocabulary. It must be 10th century or later and reflects a pronunciation of the saint's name probably still current locally in Cumbric at the time it was formed. *Quinquaythil* in Lan Cart, entries 224 and 259–63, probably incorporates the personal name *[G]wengad* in its Cumbric form.[49]

The Brittonic prefix **wo-* developing to **gwo-*, primarily 'under, below', but acquiring a wide range of senses, typically diminutive or subordinative, occurs in several place-name elements, some of which were (probably) lexicalised early, others being prefixed in the name formation. Govan LAN may be an example of the latter, if it is *gwo-vann 'small pointed hill or headland' (with -*bann).[50] Among the lexicalised elements, Cumbric *gwover 'the outflow of a well or small spring, a streamlet' might be concealed in some stream names that appear to be Gaelic *gobhar* 'a goat', such as Glengaber (Kirkconnel) DMF, Glengaber (Yarrow) SLK (both Watson 1926, 138) and *Polgauer* 1279 (Little Clifton) CMB (Ekwall 1928, 329, PNCmb, 360). All these cases where *gw-* is reflected in surviving or recorded forms point to continued use of neo-Brittonic in a wide range of locations at least to the late eighth century, or to the survival or

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[46] See LHEB, 434 n. 1. The River Gelt is recorded as such from c. 1210 on.

[47] Wilkinson 1992, 18: *Castelgreg* 1512. Note Wilkinson's observation, '+ *craig* "crag" is the usual derivation, but there are no crags near'; he proposes either *crūg 'mound' or *gwrūg 'heather'.

[48] See also Appendix 5 for discussion of *Cumquencath* and *Quinquaythil*.

[49] See Appendix 5 and note 212.

[50] See Clancy 1996 and 1998, MacQuarrie 1997, Breeze 1999, 133–37; Koch 2000: that *bann generally implies a pointed feature makes the identification with the flat-topped Doomster Hill somewhat doubtful; it may have been the headland on which the church stood (both the hill and the headland have been destroyed by industrial and urban development). The very difficult name Gogar MLO (and twice in STL, in Denny and Logie parishes) may well have **gwo-*, but the second part is obscure.

reintroduction of Cumbric at a yet later date. There is no reflection in place-names of **gwos* > *gos-*, the variant of *gwas* 'a servant' seen in personal names of the Gospatrick kind and in the Galloway Scots word *gossock*, but these are further evidence of the currency of Cumbric well after **wo-* > **gwo-*.[51]

An important development within Welsh phonology was the emergence of unvoiced *l* and *r* (in unlenited initial position, finally in the case of *-l*, and internally where *l*, *r* were geminated), in modern Welsh orthography *ll* and *rh*. Again, this is the manifestation of a tendency that probably began considerably earlier, though it was not sufficiently noticed by English speakers for them to try to imitate these 'un-English' sounds in their pronunciation of place-names before the 10th to 12th centuries, by which time, in Jackson's view, they must have been established in Welsh as phonemes distinct from *l* and *r* (LHEB §§91–93, 471–80). It is not easy to identify place-names which preserve clear traces of such attempts on the part of English speakers and it is very curious that two names which do seem strong cases both involve the relatively uncommon element **lẹid* or **lad*, Welsh *llaid* 'mud, mire'. If Trailflat (Tinwald) DMF[52] is **trev-ɫad* 'mire farm', it has English / Scots *-fl-* for *-vɫ-*,[53] while *Polthledick* c. 1210 – a lost field name in Burtholme CMB, perhaps an earlier name for the Carling Gill)[54] – looks like **poɫ-ɫẹid-īg*, here 'muddy upland stream',[55] with an adjectival suffix and English *-th-* for *ɫ*.[56] For devoiced and aspirated *ṗ* the only available evidence seems to be *Talahret* (Pollock or Cathcart RNF) (Barrow 1992, 14), apparently either **tal-ï-red* 'end of the running' (perhaps a burn name, or referring to a stretch of a river)[57]

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[51] See LHEB p. 707 note to p. 10.

[52] Watson 1926, 359, and see Breeze 2000, 56–57: *Traverflet* 1165 × 1214.

[53] Cf. Sims-Williams 2003 ‡77, 225, suggesting that epigraphic FLOU 'conceivably shows an attempt to represent the /λ/ of OW *Lou*, MW *Lleu*'; the inscription in which this occurs is dated late 10th or 10th–11th cent., ibid. 364.

[54] PNCmb, 73, and see Ekwall 1928, 329–30. Coates in Coates and Breeze 2000, 287 and 373 map, lists this as 'wholly Goidelic', but this seems to be a mistake; at 352 s.n. **leidjōg* he references Breeze's 2000 discussion of the element in Trailflat and this name *Polthledick*, where its Cumbric origin is demonstrated.

[55] See below, under Lexical considerations.

[56] Drummond (2005, 4) suggests that Blaeu's *Penthland* for Pentland MLO may show a trace of a similar anglicisation in **pen-llan*, but as it is not reflected in other records or in modern pronunciation, it may well be a (Dutch-influenced?) engraver's error. The *-t-* in Pentland is more probably a dental epenthesis, compare Pendle LNC.

[57] The verbal noun **red* may be present in some river names, including (arguably) that of the Forth, as well as [*sikam de*] *Gileredh* (a lost field-name in Newby WML) (PNWml2, 148), and possibly Penrith CMB (PNCmb, 229-30) and Penruddock (Hutton Soil) CMB (PNCmb, 213). See the next note and the entry for **red-* in BLITON.

or **tal-ï-rïd* 'end of the ford'.[58] While none of these gives decisive evidence for devoicing, such anglicised or Scots forms are themselves unlikely to be earlier than the 10th to 12th centuries.

A couple of developments associated with the devoicing of *l* occurred – or at least are only evidenced – a good deal later. The combination *-ld-* presumably became *-ɫd-*, but was eventually wholly devoiced to *-ɫt-*. This must post-date the development of earlier *-lt-* to *-ll-*, which Jackson dates to the eighth century (LHEB §54(1), 400), and indeed he says it 'appears to be quite late … *ld* lasted into the M[iddle] W[elsh] period' (loc. cit., n. 1). This may be evidenced in the element *polter*. It is found as a term for an upland stream only in north-east Cumberland and neighbouring parts of Northumberland and Roxburghshire,[59] areas which, I have argued, saw Cumbric-speaking settlement in the 10th to 11th centuries.[60] It is described by Ekwall[61] as 'an extended form' of **pol*. However, the suffix is obscure. Assuming the same occurred in northern Brittonic as in Welsh, the formation must post-date internal *-lt-* > *-ll-*, which appears to have occurred during the eighth century.[62] If it were **pol-duvr* 'pool-water, burn with many pools',[63] the surviving and recorded forms would all show *-ɫd-* > *-ɫt-*. While the Middle Welsh spellings are weak evidence for a very late date – *ld* could by that stage represent /ɫt/, and this might be a case where the development in Cumbria occurred earlier than in some parts of Wales – it

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[58] *Rhyd* is feminine in modern Welsh and should be lenited (so voiced) here, though lenition is inconsistent in early place-names and the grammatical gender of *rïd* (in origin neuter) may have been variable. In Old Irish, its cognate fell together as *rith* with that of the verbal noun **red* (see previous note) and was superseded by *áth*. Confusion with the same root may have arisen in Brittonic too. The prevalence of *red* in early forms of several place-names in the North (and see Welsh examples cited by Richards 1960–63 at 216) raises the possibility that either the pronunciation of *rïd* in West Brittonic was with a rather open vowel [rɪd], or else that these are actually formed from **red* 'running'. See also LHEB §7(2), 284–85, and Padel 1985, 197–99.

[59] *Polterheued* CMB (→ King Water) PNCmb, 8, Poltragon (Bewcastle) CMB PNCmb, 62, *Poutreuet* (Falstone) NTB Mawer 1920, 160, see also Barrow 1992, 132 n. 23, Powter Howe CMB PNCmb, 373, *Polterkened* (Gilsland, ? = Peglands Beck) CMB Lan Cart 1, and see Todd 2005 and Breeze 2006a, 330, *Polternan* (= Castle Beck, Naworth) CMB PNCmb, 8, Potrenick Burn DMF, *Pouterlampert* (Castleton) ROX, Powterneth Beck (Brampton, → Gelt) CMB PNCmb, 24. *Poltrerneth, Peltreuerot* (Falstone) NTB Mawer 1920, 160, are probably errors for *Poutreuet*, arising from confusion with *Polterheued* and Powterneth Beck, both nearby in CMB. Potrail Water LAN and Patervan (Drumelzier) PEB are doubtful outliers.

[60] James 2008, 201, and see under Distributional considerations, below.

[61] Ekwall 1928, 330–31, see also PNCmb, 487.

[62] LHEB §54(1), 400; Sims-Williams ‡63 raises questions about possible epigraphic evidence, but does not query Jackson's chronology.

[63] Cf. Calter as a river name alongside Calder.

reflects Cumbric phonology of the 9th to 12th centuries.

Another change affected -*ł* in final position, where it tended to acquire an epenthetic -*t*; this is not recorded until after 1200, in Middle Welsh.[64] However, we have already seen it in Welsh *gwellt* 'grass, pasture' at Guelt AYR, and it may also be present with the same element in Drumwalt (Mochrum) WIG,[65] Leswalt WIG,[66] Leuchold (Dalmeny) WLO[67] and the lost *Trevergylt* in the Inquisition of David I.[68] If so, and again the evidence is admittedly tenuous, it suggests the continuing currency of Cumbric in a number of areas even into the 12th century.

A further possible hint of the 12th-century survival of at least a Cumbric pronunciation in a place-name formation is *monoc* in a grant to the church by Malcolm IV in 1153 × 1165 of land at Barmulloch LAN.[69] This suggests the West Brittonic **mönach* (Welsh *mynach*) from Latin *monachus* as distinct from the vowel-harmonised *manach* that is the Goidelic form (and also Cornish and Breton).[70]

We now turn to certain features reflecting the prosody of Brittonic. In Jackson's 'late British' of the third to fifth centuries, the normal stress position was on the penultimate syllable, but with the atrophy and eventual disappearance of inflectional and all other final syllables, this became a final-syllable stress in neo-Brittonic. Pretonic, unstressed, back vowels tended to weaken, becoming less rounded and / or more central in articulation (LHEB 201–05, §§201–05, 664–81). This is illustrated in the element **moniδ*, becoming **möniδ*, **miniδ*, and eventually **mǝniδ*, Welsh *mynydd* 'hill, upland tract, rough grazing, common pasture'. The stage **miniδ* had probably been reached by 600 and is generally reflected in northern place-names, e.g. Minto ROX,[71] Mindork

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[64] GPC s.v. *gwellt*.

[65] Watson 1926, 180, Maxwell 1930, 127, but see MacQueen 2008, 20.

[66] Watson, loc. cit., Maxwell 1930, 195: Maxwell offers Gaelic *lios uillt*, but see MacQueen 1955 at 79–80 and idem 2002, 93–94, rejecting this proposal, suggesting Lasswade MLO as a parallel, but leaving it as 'obscure'.

[67] A. Macdonald 1941, 8: *Leuchweld* 1392, *Luchald* 1429 × 1430. However, Macdonald gives '"elm wood" from Gaelic *leamh* + *coille*', and see Taylor 2006, 272–73 on Leuchat FIF, where the early forms favour such a Gaelic etymology. Leuchold WLO may be a transferred form of that place-name (or vice versa).

[68] Watson 1926, 361: Watson considers the meaning 'uncertain'.

[69] *Badermonoc*, **bod-ïr-mönach*, Durkan 1986, 292–93, and see <http://www.spns.org.uk/oldnotes3.html.>.

[70] LHEB§62, p. 412; 'in place-names, the singular seems to stand for the plural' (Padel, 1985, 156).

[71] J. S. M. Macdonald 1991, 28–29: [*ecclesia de*] *myneton* 1296. For the specific Macdonald gives OE -*hōh* 'a heel', used in place-names for a projecting, gently rising, piece of land ending with a concave slope (Gelling and Cole 2000, 186–88).

(Kirkcowan) WIG,[72] Minnigaff KCB[73] and Minnygap (Moffat) DMF (Breeze 2004); elsewhere (and often in earlier recorded spellings for these names) the influence of Gaelic *monadh* or the Norman-French / Scots *mont*, *munt* account for *-o-* or *-u-*.

During the 11th century, according to Jackson (LHEB §§206–08, 682–89), a major accent shift affected all the Brittonic languages (except the Vannetais dialect of Breton), whereby stress moved back to the penultimate syllable. This meant that former pretonic vowels, modified in that position, now became tonic, while those in final syllables were weakened. Occasionally we may see evidence of this double process, for example at Cumdivock (Dalston) CMB[74] and Moor Divock (Askham) WML (PNWml2, 201), where *dūv-*, Welsh *du* 'black', has been weakened to **div-* while unstressed, then the adjectival suffix **-ǭg*, Welsh *-awg*, was reduced to *-ŏg*, anglicised *-ock*;[75] similarly, in Dipple AYR, Dipple or Dippool Water LAN(→ Mouse Water), and Dippool Water AYR (= Black Burn) (Watson 1926, 349), **dūv-pol* has been subject to a similar double weakening.[76]

There are rather few cases in the north where the late Cumbric penultimate stress has survived in modern pronunciation: generally, names adopted into northern English / early Scots were adapted to the first-syllable stress common to those languages. Middle Irish / early Gaelic speakers would have likewise adapted simplex names to first syllable stress, so, for example, the penultimate stress in the river name Ly´vennet WML is likely to be distinctively Cumbric.[77] On the other hand, in Terr´egles KCB the 11th-century Cumbric rhythm of **´egluïs* would have been preserved by Gaelic speakers (stressing *e* not as the penultimate but as the first syllable of the specific).[78] The same 'Celtic' rhythm is typical

[72] Maxwell 1930, 211: *Mundork* 1508, *Mondorck* Pont.

[73] Maxwell, loc. cit: *Monygof* 1504; see also Brooke 1991 at 319 and Breeze 2004, 121–23 (Breeze proposes **minju* 'bush, scrub', which would have followed the same phonetic trajectory).

[74] PNCmb, 132: *Cumbedeyfoch* (11th c.) 13th c., *Cundeuoc* 1243 etc.

[75] More precisely, the earliest form *Moredvuock* 1278 for Moor Divock favours adoption at the weakened stage **dŭß-*, while *Cumbedeyfoch* (11th c.) 13th c., *Cundeuoc* 1243 etc. for Cumdivock, favour **döß-*. Divock may have been a stream name, but it is not clear in either case what stream may have borne this name; a Cumbric personal name *Dyfog* < **Dößǭg* < **Dubāco-* might be involved.

[76] Dipple or Dippool Water LAN (→ Mouse Water) and Dippool Water AYR (= Black Burn) preserve the unweakened second syllable, at least sporadically; see further under Lexical considerations, below. Despite the pre-positioned adjective, a Gaelic origin is not impossible, and prosodic modification is a likely complicating factor.

[77] PNWml1, 10, and see LHEB p. 226.

[78] MacQueen's attempt, 1953–54, 80–82, to trace it to the stress pattern of late British rests on a misunderstanding: the final-syllable stress of neo-Brittonic arose from the loss of final syllables in late British, not from an accent shift. The idea of Anglian settlers on the Nith before the mid-sixth century can be laid to rest.

of place-names in Cumbria where the generic-specific structure seems to have been instinctively retained by English speakers even though the meanings of the component elements were opaque to them, e.g. Blen'cathra, Car'durnock. Indeed, a couple of names in Cumbria that may show *cair-* combined with a non-Cumbric place- (or, in the first case, personal) name, and which could have been formed by Cumbric speakers on the basis of pre-existing Northumbrian English names, or even as bilingual (but primarily Cumbric) formations (LHEB, 245), have reportedly maintained penultimate stress in their modern pronunciations: they are Car´hullan WML (Bampton)[79] and Car´latton CMB.[80]

Finally,[81] we should be alert to place-names of Brittonic origin where phonological developments in Northumbrian Old English indicate that they were adopted into that language at a relatively late date.[82] An example is Peebles and other place-names from neo-Brittonic **pebïl*. This had been adopted from **papiliō*, a vernacular Latin word, perhaps soldiers' slang, used for 'tent', though it was a variant of *pāpiliō* 'butterfly'. By the 13th century *pebyll* was in use as a collective 'camp', becoming plural in Modern Welsh with a re-formed singular *pabell*. The intervocalic *-b-* would have been adopted as a fricative in Northumbrian Old English **pevil – it is unlikely that it would have been treated as a stop before the ninth century.[83] This implies that the place-names in southern Scotland containing this element are unlikely to have been adopted into Old English during the period of Northumbrian dominance; they are more probably formations of the Cumbric period, the late 9th to 11th centuries, subsequently adopted into late Old English or early Scots.[84] As well

[79] PNWml2, 189–90, Whaley 2006, 66; it could arguably be OE *carr* 'rock' in an inversion-compound, but this 'would not match the site' (Whaley, loc. cit.) and the name-form and stress favour a Celtic origin, either Cumbric *cair* or Goidelic *carr*. The specific is either OE -**hōh-land* 'land on a heel-shaped ridge or spur' (see note 71, above), or a late OE personal name *Holand* as in Domesday Book WOR 23.14.

[80] PNCmb, 73–74. The specific is most likely to be OE -*lēac-tūn* 'leek enclosure', later 'kitchen-garden'; however, ON **karla-tún* 'freeman's farm' is possible – if so, the penultimate stress has fallen on the ON inflectional syllable, suggesting the name was wholly opaque to Cumbric speakers.

[81] I have not dealt with names which may have been adopted directly from Cumbric into early Scottish Gaelic, where developments in that language may throw light on the dates of such transfers. This is a very difficult and largely unresearched area.

[82] See also discussion of Cardew etc., above, and note 35.

[83] See LHEB §553–54, and Campbell 1958, ch. X, especially §530, 210, §545–56, 214–16, §565, 219–20. The double asterisk signals a counterfactual form.

[84] See Historical considerations, below, regarding the possible meanings of this word in northern toponymy.

as Peebles,[85] they include Papple (Garvald) ELO,[86] Dalfibble (Kirkmichael) DMF, Foulpapple (Loudon) AYR, and Mosspeeble (Ewes) DMF,[87] along with a couple in which the Middle Irish cognate *pupall* might be involved (as origin or influence): Pauples Hill (Penninghame) WIG,[88] Pibble (Kirkmabreck) KCB.[89]

In concluding this review of phonological considerations, it must be emphasised how very tentative any conclusions based on such considerations must be. Place-names, along with a small number of personal names, are the only evidence we have for the Brittonic of the North, and early documentary and epigraphic evidence for those names is very sparse, so inferences about phonological history depend largely on assumed parallelism and rough contemporaneity with developments in West Brittonic > Welsh, calibrated with later mediaeval or early modern records of the names. And, as was pointed out at the start, systematic surveys of those records have still to be carried out in southern Scotland. All that has been put forward so far in this paper must be regarded as agenda for research, hypotheses to be tested as better evidence becomes available, not in any sense a definitive account.

Morphological considerations

The first principle that applies to the study of the structure of Celtic place-names concerns the shift from close compounds with specific-generic structure (and, at least 'correctly', lenition of the second element's initial consonant irrespective of the gender of either element) and 'name-phrases' of generic-specific form (with lenition dependent on the gender of the generic). This change was from an ancient pattern embedded in the syntactic structure of early Celtic and indeed its Indo-European ancestor to one associated with fundamentally altered syntactic structure, along with the loss of inflectional case-markers, the move of adjectives and genitive nouns to post-position, and

[85] Watson 1926, 383: *Pobles* c. 1124, *Pebles* c. 1126. The -s may imply that the name was heard as a plural by English / Scots speakers. Nicolaisen's (2001, 226–27) inclusion of this among place-names 'which were originally names of natural features' is baffling.

[86] The -a- here and in Foulpapple is unlikely to reflect a singulative form like Modern Welsh *pabell*; it was probably lowered in Scots.

[87] With *maʒes-* 'open land, field'.

[88] Maxwell 1930, 222, MacQueen 2008, 17. Again, maybe with Scots plural -*(i)s*, see note 85, above.

[89] Maxwell 1930, 223: Maxwell suggests Middle Irish *pobull* (*recte pobul*, < Lat *populus*; he mistakenly compares Welsh *pabell*). This word seems not to occur in place-names and his interpretation 'a meeting, a congregation, a place of assembly' is not supported by citations in DIL, which gives more general senses like 'people, a people, a society, the populace' .

[90] LHEB, 225–27; see also Mac Giolla Easpaig 1981, Drummond 2009b, 50–51, and Tempan 2009, 63–65, on corresponding developments in Goidelic.

the establishment of a newly fixed word order within a verb-subject-object sentence formation. These developments were doubtless in train over several centuries, but the abandonment of compound place-name formation in favour of the name-phrase is generally located pretty specifically at the transition from late British to neo-Brittonic, around 500.[90]

However, the derived assumption that names with specific-generic structure must necessarily be (very) early in origin needs caution. In the first place, the move of adjectives to post-position in the sentence-structures of the Celtic languages certainly did not happen overnight. Pre-positioning of adjectives, especially the most common ones, remained quite common in Old and Middle Irish, and there are several which were regularly pre-positioned in Middle Welsh, some remaining so to the present day.[91] Moreover, compounds formed in the earlier period may well have remained in use as appellatives for a long time before they came to be attached to particular places as names. With these considerations in mind, it should be recognised that, for example, forms with adjective specific + lenited -*trev* could have remained in use well after the sixth century, and it is possible that they were applied by Cumbric speakers in place-naming as late as the 9th-11th centuries: examples include *nöwïð-drev* in Longniddry ELO,[92] Newtryhill (Denny) STL,[93] Niddrie MLO[94] and Niddry with West Niddry (Kirkliston) WLO;[95] *ūchel-drev* in Ochiltree AYR,[96] Ochiltree (Penninghame) WIG[97] and Ochiltree (Linlithgow) WLO;[98] *rö-drev* in Rattra (Borgue) KCB;[99] and *trōs-drev* in

[91] Evans 1994 §20, 15–16, and §39(b), 37, cf. Drummond 2009b, 54–56, and Tempan 2009, 63–64, 68–72 and 75 on adjective + noun compounds in (respectively) Scottish Gaelic and Irish place-names.

[92] Watson 1926, 363, Nicolaisen 2001, 216: *Nodref* c. 1315, *Langnudre* 1424.

[93] Reid 2009, 32: *Newtrahill* 1656.

[94] Watson 1926, 363, Nicolaisen 2001, 216: *Nodereyf* 1266, *Nudref* 1290, *Nudreff* 1296, *Nodref* 1335.

[95] Ibid., also Macdonald 1941, 43–44: *Nudreff* 1370 on, *Nudry* 1392 on.

[96] Watson 1926, 209, Nicolaisen, loc. cit., also Barrow 1998, 59–63 with map 2.5: *Uchiltrie* 1406.

[97] Watson 1926, 35 and 209, Maxwell 1930, 218, Nicolaisen 2001, 216–17, MacQueen 2008, 12: *Uchiltre* 1506, *Vchiltry* Pont.

[98] Watson 1926, 209, A. Macdonald 1941, 61, Nicolaisen 2001, 217: *Ockiltre*, *Okeltre* 1211×1214, *Ouchiltre* 1282 on, *Uchiltre* 1382. On the whole, early forms (and modern pronunciations) for all these favour *uch-*, with *och-* as a variant that might reflect 'Pritenic' vocalism, though the *-ch-* is Brittonic.

[99] Watson 1926, 364, Maxwell 1930, 233: *Rotrow* Pont. Watson and Maxwell both refer to Gaelic *ràth* 'a fortified enclosure'; this is unlikely to have formed a compound with *-trev.* The neo-Brittonic equivalent would have been *rōd-drev*, which might possibly have been an appellative, signifying 'farm of a (chieftain's) fort', i.e. 'demesne', but see Breeze 2003, 162–63, and, for further discussion of the complex history of derivatives of early Celtic *rātis*, **rōd** in BLITON.

Trostrie (Moat, Twynholm) KCB[100] and Trostrie WIG (?).[101] Even a noun + noun compound like **blain-tīr* 'upland territory' or 'upper limit of a territory', seen by Coates (Coates and Breeze 2000, 285) in Blennerhasset CMB, though an early appellative formation, need not be early as a place-name.

The majority of Brittonic place-names in southern Scotland and Cumbria are, as would be expected, name-phrases with nouns as generics in first position followed by adjectives or nouns in genitive relationship as specifics. Within these is a set which are likely to be relatively late formations, namely those of the form noun generic + definite article + noun specific. This is the case in both Cornwall and Ireland, where Padel, Flanagan and Toner have dated them no earlier than the 11th or 12th centuries.[102] The application of this finding to Wales has yet to be tested but the distribution of such names in the north is compatible with the assumption that the same applies here: names with the definite article belong to the Cumbric period, not earlier (see James 2008, 197–99). A few other considerations complicate the issue: as Padel observed, '[t]he definite article in [the Celtic languages] is used more frequently than in English. It can come and go quite freely, so that for many names it is impossible to say whether they "originally" contained it or not' (1985, 6). This is especially true in environments like **trev- ï[r]-N,* where we may compare Nicolaisen's discussion of comparable Gaelic formations (2001, 214–16). In the same contexts, both Padel and Nicolaisen also observed[103] that the article is used 'incorrectly' in some Celtic place-name formations with common generics, implying that it had been reduced to a meaningless connective element. This is probably the background to the few cases in the north where the article appears to be **[h]ïn* comparable to Cornish and Breton *an* rather than West Brittonic *ï[r]*: Jackson's tentative observation that 'Tallentire CMB (PNCmb, 324) appears to contain the Brittonic definite article in the form *en*'[104] has sometimes been raised to a general proposition that **[h]ïn* was the definite article in the Brittonic of the North. However, *ï[r]* is well-attested in the North, being considerably more common than **[h]ïn* even allowing the most conservative reckoning for *ï[r]* and the most generous for **[h]ïn*. Moreover, possible cases with **[h]ïn* are all in areas where Goidelic origin, or influence on a pre-existing Brittonic name,

[100] Watson 1926, 350, Maxwell 1930, 262: *Trostaree* 1456, *Trostre* Pont.

[101] Watson 1926, 350, unless this is an error for Trostrie KCB (and Watson's ambiguous reference on p. 180 is presumably to Trostrie KCB: Baltersan, not Trostrie, is in Holywood DMF). Troston DMF may well have been another **trōs-drev*, with *-trev* replaced by OE *-tūn* or Scots *-ton*. See also *PNF* 3, 231–33 for Troustrie (Crail) FIF.

[102] See Padel 1985, 6–7, Flanagan 1980, 41–45, Toner 1999, 5–24.

[103] Loc. cit. in both cases.

[104] LHEB, 10: NB footnote 2 there, drawing attention to the *-r-* form in Pennersax DMF and Triermain CMB.

is likely (Tallentire itself could be Middle Irish); also, several of these have the presumed article before a dental stop, where -*n*- > -*r*- could have been inhibited or reversed. These points, along with the general considerations regarding the definite article presented above, suggest that, if the syllable in question is to be regarded as a form of the definite article at all rather than as a meaningless connective intrusion, it is at least as likely to be a Cumbric variant influenced by the Goidelic article *an* and / or by a following dental stop, as a survival of the presumed neo-Brittonic **[h]ïn*.

    Allowing caution in respect of all these points, it is still reasonable to take the view that, even where the article was impermanent, incorrect or meaningless, it is more likely to have been intruded by Celtic than non-Celtic speakers, so its appearance, especially in early recorded forms, implies the presence of Cumbric speakers both forming and using these names over an extended period relatively late in the history of that language. With this in mind, we may observe that the number of place-names in southern Scotland and Cumbria that may be of the noun + article + noun form is considerable: the lists from the BLITON database appended as Appendix I to this paper include nearly 50. There are 15 formed with the generic *trev- and the implications of this will be considered when we look at the distribution of that element.[105] The five formed with *pen*[*n*]- are notable too, suggesting that *pen*[*n*]- *ï*[*r*]-*N* was a favoured name-forming pattern among late Cumbric speakers (see James 2008, 198–99). More generally, names of this type indicate that Cumbric was still current and was being used to form (or to modify) place-names, in a wide range of locations as late as the 11th century.

Lexical considerations

There are a few name-phrases formed with Brittonic generics combined with non-Celtic specifics that certainly cannot have been available for such formations in the pre-Northumbrian or Northumbrian periods. Some are *ex nomine* formations based on pre-existing place-names. An example is Penkeld (Warcop) WML (PNWml2, 85) with Old Norse -*kelda* 'spring, marshy place': this may have replaced its Old English cognate *ċelde*, but in any case the name must postdate the Scandinavian settlements in Cumbria of the second quarter of the 10th century. At *Pundamot* (= Eamont Bridge) WML (PNWml2, 205) Brittonic *pont* (from Latin *pont*-, oblique form of *pons*) 'a bridge' is combined with the rivername Eamont, Old English **ēa-ġemot* 'river-meeting', in its Old Norse form **á-mót* (PNWml1, 5–6). Again, this is probably a Cumbric formation of the later 10th century, though it could conceivably be Norman-

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[105] See under Distributional considerations, below, also discussion of Trailtrow DMF under Lexical considerations.

French. Cumwhitton CMB has *cum[m]-* prefixed to a pre-existing English
**Hwītingtūn*.[106] In other cases, the specific is a personal name that may
be evidence of late date, though this is a difficult question. In *Penteiacob*
(=Eddleston) PEB (Watson 1926, 135, 354), the personal name *Iacob* has
been considered unlikely to be earlier than the 11th century, but Davies
(forthcoming) has drawn attention to the apparent popularity of Old Testament
personal names among speakers of Brittonic languages, including laypeople
(even slaves).[107] Moreover, the spelling of *Penteiacob* may indicate a plural with
final stress, **pen-tei*,[108] and this might suggest adoption into Northumbrian
Old English before the 11th-century Cumbric accent shift.[109] At Cumwhinton
CMB (PNCmb, 161–62) we have the saint's name or Norman-French personal
name *Quentin*: if it was a personal name, it must have been a late 11th- or even
12th-century Cumbric formation. However, the cult of St Quentin was known
to Bede and there were churches dedicated to him at Kirkmahoe DMF and
Kirk Hammerton YWR, as well as a relic in York Minster, so it is possible that
this place was associated with a Northumbrian church or *mynster* dedicated to
this martyr. Nevertheless, the formation with prefixed *cum[b]-* must still have
been relatively late.[110]

There are a few words that were adopted into Brittonic from Latin or Old
English, in which semantic developments may suggest a relatively late date for
their usage in place-naming. A possible example is Old English *bord* adopted as
Western neo-Brittonic **burð*, Welsh *bwrdd*.[111] The development of OE -*o*- to -*u*-

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[106] PNCmb, 78: see below under Distributional considerations and note 166, and Appendix 5.
[107] I am grateful to John R. Davies for access to a pre-publication version of his
paper.
[108] In late Middle Welsh poetry the compound *pen-ty* was used for 'chief house, hall', though
in Modern Welsh it has declined to 'cottage, shed', even 'lean-to'. Another interpretation
possibly relevant to its use in place-names would be 'end-house', an outlying building at the
'head' of a settlement or landholding. Cf. Penty (Shotts) LAN, Watson 1926, 356.
[109] See under Phonological considerations, above, and LHEB §§206–08, 682–89, but note
that the shift may not have immediately affected a transparent compound; the plural 'in
compounds is generally -*tyeu*', Evans 1964 §30, 27.
[110] See under Distributional considerations, below. For Cumrenton (Irthington)
CMB, PNCmb, 92, forms from 1582 have -renton but also -*rintinge*: while the
specific is pretty surely non-Celtic, no certain etymology is possible. J. S. M.
Macdonald 1992, 6, argues that Caerlanrig (Teviothead) ROX is unlikely to be
'fort in a glade' (as proposed by Watson, 1926, 368) and favours OE **lang-hryċ̣ġ*
'long ridge', but see discussion of *lanerc* under Distributional considerations, below.
Trerankelborhan (lost field-name in Mansergh) WML: PNWml1, 53 very doubtfully
has *trev-* with ON personal name *Hrafnkel*, but see Appendix 3.
[111] Cf. Corn *bord*; cf. MidIr-ModIr *bord*, G. *bòrd* Mx *boayrd*, though these reflect
independent adoptions.

and the lenition of -*d* to -*δ* in West Brittonic imply that the word was adopted into that dialect by the mid-sixth century (LHEB §4, 272–74), but at that stage its meaning was 'wooden board'. The sense 'table' and, by metonymy, 'provision of food' is barely evidenced in late Old English and is largely a development of Middle English and Middle Welsh. As an English or Scots place-name element, *bord* may indicate 'a farm that supplied the board or table of the lord of the district'.[112] But this was a later mediaeval usage and such a sense could only apply to the very latest Cumbric formations. If this element is the generic at Birdoswald CMB,[113] *Bordoswald*, *Borddosewald* c. 1200, *Bordosewald* c. 1214, *Burthoswald* c. 1245, *Burdeoswald* 1295 etc., it can date from no earlier than the late 11th or 12th centuries. By that time, King Oswald had become a figure of local legend: there is no evidence for any historical association between him and Birdoswald, although it was evidently a power-base in the post-Roman period.[114] The formation could have been the work of late Cumbric speakers, it could have been given by 'Irish-Norse' settlers, or it could be an inversion-compound formed with English *bord* but probably by speakers with either Cumbric or Middle Irish as their mother tongue.[115] Whatever the case, Birdoswald is likely to be what I would call a 'heritage' name, reflecting beliefs of a later time about the historical background of the place.

By chance another word associated with tables that raises comparable questions is Latin *tabula* or *tabella*, perhaps British Latin **tab'la*,[116] adopted as Brittonic **tablā-* to become neo-Brittonic **tavl*, Welsh *tafl*. In the Celtic languages, **tab'la* had the specialised sense of 'catapault, sling', in Welsh developing to a verbal root 'throw', and a specific in compounds, '(something) thrown, projectile'. However, *tabula* re-entered Middle Welsh (probably via Old French *table*) as *tabl* 'board, panel, table, tablet, or anything flat'.[117] So is Cairntable LAN (Watson 1926, 203) a 'heap of sling-stones' or a 'flat-topped cairn'? Recorded forms from c. 1315 favour the latter, which would have been a very late Cumbric formation, but -*vl-* > -*bl-* could have occurred in Scots, especially given the influence of 'table'.

Another word of ultimately Latin origin which might be possible to place in

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[112] Especially in *bord-land*: Nicolaisen 2001, 101, following Winchester 1986. See also Parsons and Styles 1997, 128.

[113] PNCmb, 115, and see LHEB, 571 n. 2.

[114] See Cramp 1995, 17–32, and Wilmott 2000.

[115] See Grant 2002, 64–90. An alternative Cumbric generic could be **bū[w]arth*, Welsh *buarth*, 'a cattle-yard, an enclosure, fold or pen for livestock'; in 11th- or 12th-century Cumberland, a local hero would have been expected to have an impressive stockyard.

[116] The syncope may have occurred in British Latin or late British, see LHEB §292, 268 and §196, 651–54.

[117] Cf. OE *tæfl*, Smith 1956b, 174

a tentative historical context is **truliad*: Latin *trulla* 'wine-ladle' was adopted as Brittonic **trullo-*, becoming Middle and Modern Welsh *trull*, from which was formed Middle Welsh *trulhiad*, Modern *trulliad* 'cup-bearer, butler, steward', though it is uncertain how early this formation was.[118] Breeze (1999b) sees the latter as the specific in Trailtrow (Tinwald) DMF, the *Trevertrold* of King David's Inquisition (Watson 1926, 359). It is evidently a **trev-ir-* formation, so likely to be from the Cumbric period.[119] Though we know very little about the Cumbrian kingdom and nothing about its governance, judging by parallels in Wales, Ireland and England, the elevation of offices like 'butler, steward' in royal households to honorary titles, and especially their association with land-grants, was probably a development of the 11th or 12th centuries.[120] Breeze is therefore likely to be correct in seeing this name as an interesting glimpse of such a development in the kingdom of Cumbria, though it could date from as late as David's own time as ruler Cumbria, 1107–24.

The range of meanings of Brittonic **pol* was 'hollow, usually holding standing water, bog or mud'. However, in central southern Scotland and northern England **pol* came to be used for upland burns. Judging from the discussions by Ekwall (1928, 329–30) and Barrow (1998, 59–61), this usage seems to be a semantic development characteristic of northern Brittonic / Cumbric. It is impossible to be sure at what stage this extension of meaning occurred: there are several close compounds among the upland **pols*, e.g. Dipple AYR, Dipple or Dippool Water LAN(→ Mouse Water), Dippool Water AYR (= Black Burn) and Dupple DMF (in Annandale);[121] Garpel Burn AYR (× 2, → R Ayr and → Loch Doon), Garpel Burn (Lochwinnoch) RNF, Garpel Burn (Balmaclellan) KCB[122] and Gorpool DMF (in Annandale); Trauspoll CMB (→King Water).[123] However, all these could have been named using compounds that were current as appellatives well after 500, and its restriction to these regions suggests a development peculiar to Cumbric, so not earlier than the ninth century.[124] Moreover, the picture is complicated by the fact that

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[118] *Trull* occurs in *Canu Aneirin* A57/B18 (LXIAB) and *trulhiad* in Welsh Laws from 12th century.

[119] See Morphological considerations, above.

[120] See further under Historical considerations, below, and Oram 2011, 295–301 on the origins of (hereditary, landholding) nobility. His cautions against reconstructing earlier Gaelic social organisation on the basis of 12th-century documents applies equally to similar use of the Welsh Laws.

[121] All + **dūv* 'black'. Watson 1926, 349: see under Phonological considerations, above, especially note 75.

[122] Maxwell 1930, 142. All these are + **garw-* 'rough'.

[123] Ekwall 1928, 331 n. 1 (not in PNCmb). + -**trōs-* 'across, athwart'.

[124] In which case, even these compound names could have been given by MidIr / Gaelic speakers.

this usage influenced that of Gaelic *poll* and northern English / South-West and Border Scots *poll*, *pow*.[125] Indeed **pol* became 'the standard word for a small or medium-sized stream' (Barrow 1998, 59), so a great many **pol*-names with Gaelic specifics, and inversion-compounds with English specifics, are found alongside potentially Brittonic examples, and distinguishing Brittonic ones from Gaelic is generally difficult, especially as most are strongly anglicised.[126] One can only cautiously suggest that upland burns in southern Scotland and Cumbria whose names are formed with **pol-* and a (probably or possibly) Brittonic generic may have received their names from Cumbric speakers of the 9th to 12th centuries.[127]

The semantic developments of **cair* in the Brittonic of the north have received a good deal of scholarly attention over the years and the seminal discussion by Jackson (1963) provided the initial motivation for the present study. The etymology of the word is uncertain: it may be a cognate of **caj*, Welsh *cae* 'enclosure, field', or it may be derived from a distinctive British usage of Latin *quadra* 'square'.[128] The primary meaning is an 'enclosed, defensible site'. Several names with this element in the north are sites of Roman forts or other military works (e.g. Cardurnock, Carleith, Carlisle, Carmuirs, Carriden, Carvoran, Carzield, Castlecary, Cramond, Kirkintilloch), while others are, or are close to, hill-forts or other prehistoric defences (e.g. Caerlanrig, Cardrona, Carfrae, Carwinley, Carwinning). Indeed, wherever this element occurs as a simplex, or with a specific indicating an elevated position, distinctive colour, presence of wild creatures etc., the possibility of an ancient defended or high-status site is worth exploring. However it does not necessarily follow that such names were given at an early date, nor that **cair* was used as a major habitative element any earlier than, say, **trev*. Such terms were probably current synchronically and may indicate a difference in function rather than antiquity.

Jackson (1963, 60–84) argued that **cair* sites in the Solway region, apparently lacking trace of any substantial defences, are comparable to *kêr* sites

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[125] These Goidelic and Scots words may derive from adoptions from Brittonic. The etymology and historical inter-relationships among the various forms in the several languages remain uncertain: see Smith 1956b, 68–69 and 75, and Gelling and Cole 2000, 28.

[126] Though its use for a lowland stream, especially a 'slow-moving, ditch-like stream flowing through carse land' (CSD s.v. *pow*) seems characteristic of northern English and Scots usage, particularly in the Solway region, but not of northern Brittonic > Cumbric, although similar application is found in Welsh toponymy, see Watson 1926, 204. Its use for 'a cove, creek, sheltered inlet' is likewise a usage characteristic of south-western Scots rather than Cumbric, but it is found in Welsh and Cornish coastal place-names, see Padel 1985, 187–89.

[127] See also discussion of **polter* under Distributional considerations, below.

[128] See Padel 1985, 50 for references.

in Brittany. The latter are farmsteads or hamlets typically at some distance from parish centres and probably associated with the colonisation of marginal land in the central middle ages.[129] However, unlike the Breton examples, several of the Cumbrian cases became parishes or major centres within parishes, and Barrow (1973, 65–66) suggested that they were associated with administrative and / or revenue-collecting territorial units comparable to the Northumbrian *scīras*, though he did not commit himself as to whether they were formed before, during or after the period of Northumbrian rule. Taylor (2011, 100–01) takes a similar view in relation to comparable place-names in southern Pictland and considers that **cair* was adopted into Gaelic, at least in that region. It seems reasonable, then, to see such Cumbrian and, perhaps, comparable southern Scottish -**cair* sites as 'stockade-farms' or 'stockade villages', antecedents to the 'green villages' typical of the dales of northern England and lowland parts of the Scottish Borders. These are seen by landscape historians as planned settlements, products of a major reorganisation of landholdings, associated with changes in patterns of stock-rearing and revenue collection, in the mid 11th-early 12th centuries.[130] If so, they belong to the latest period in which Cumbric was still spoken in these areas, as the language of a community that evidently included enterprising and apparently successful stock-farmers.

It is striking that **cair* is virtually the only Brittonic element found in southern Scotland and Cumbria in combination with personal names. Some of these may be historic, even legendary (e.g. Cardunneth Pike, *Carthanacke*, Carwinley, Carwinning, and even, in a sense, Carlisle), though as place-names, again, they need not necessarily be ancient. Such names could have been creations of the central mediaeval period, inspired by local legends that may or may not have had a basis in actual history. Some (e.g. Caerlaverock, Carmaben, Carruthers) could refer either to historic / legendary persons or to individuals who bore the names of such figures from the past, while others (e.g. Caerketton, Cardonald, Kirroughtree)[131] might well have been named after contemporary

[129] According to Le Duc 1999, 149.

[130] See Roberts 2008. The presence of Cardew CMB in Gospatrick's Writ (see note 35, above) as an established settlement implies a date for the formation of that *cair* name by 1040 × 1070.

[131] If this was named after Uhtred son of Fergus, born c. 1120, joint Lord of Galloway 1161–74, it is a significantly late Cumbric place-name. The specific could alternatively be **uch-tre* 'upper farm' (a compound appellative, not necessarily early, see Morphological considerations, above), but in the context of Uhtred's warfare with his half-brother Gillebrigte, Kirroughtree's location overlooking the Cree estuary would have been strategically important. Currochtrie (Kirkmaiden) WIG may be an identical formation (though if the personal name Uhtred was involved, it is less likely to have been the Earl): for alternative, Gaelic, etymologies for Currochtrie see Maxwell 1930, 101–02, and MacQueen 2002, 10.

or recently-remembered local chieftains or landholders; again these are at least as likely to have been players in a period of expansion and reorganisation of farming, landholding and settlement in the central middle ages as at any earlier date.

To sum up: the distribution of **cair* names in the Lothian Hills, upper Tweed basin, Clydesdale and the Solway basin[132] could reflect formation at any period from pre-Northumbrian to late Cumbric.[133] However, the lack of any true compound formations containing this element as generic and its absence from lowland southern Scotland and from the rest of northern England make a later date more likely, especially for those not associated with Roman or prehistoric fortified sites.[134]

Distributional considerations

Our discussion of morphological and lexical considerations has already alluded to issues of geographical distribution relevant to the definite article, **pol* and **cair*. Such reasoning depends on assumptions about when and where Brittonic and its descendent languages were likely to have been current at different historical stages, and again the risk of circularity must be acknowledged. Nevertheless, there seem to be good grounds for inferring that an element which is very common in Wales and Cornwall yet conspicuous by its virtual absence from the neighbouring English counties is one which only came into widespread use in place-naming at some date after the establishment of Offa's Dyke and the Tamar as ethno-linguistic as well as political boundaries, and it is probably legitimate to take the same view regarding the use of such an element in the north (see Padel 2007).

This is the case with **trev*. Early Celtic IE (NW) **trebā-* is probably from Indo-European (North-Western) **trē-bs-*, a root associated with '[house-] building',[135] though its meanings in the Celtic languages may reflect the influence of another

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[132] See Nicolaisen 2001, 207–10 and map 19.

[133] Its apparent rarity in Galloway, Carrick and Kyle is a special problem that calls for investigation. As Nicolaisen suggests (2001, 210), replacement with Gaelic *cathair* 'a fort' < Old Irish *cathir* (not related to **cair*), or confusion with Gaelic *ceathramh* 'a quarterland, portion of a davoch', are likely factors in these areas. If so, it is unlikely that underlying *cair*-names could ever be confidently identified, let alone dated.

[134] More broadly, the possibility should not be overlooked that some names in 'Car-' actually derive from **cadeir*, Welsh *cadair* 'seat', replaced by its modern Gaelic equivalent *cathair* 'seat', which has fallen together as an etymologically unrelated homonym of *cathair* 'fort': see Watson 1926, 365–66, and under **cadeir** in BLITON.

[135] Cognates include OIr *treb* 'house, landholding, family', also *trebaid* 'ploughs' > Ir, G. *treabh* 'plough' (vb), Old English *þrop* and Old East Norse *þorp* 'dependent settlement', and probably Latin *trabs* 'wooden beam' and Greek *téramna* 'enclosed chambers'.

root, **tr-*, [136] referring to an area of land. Thus the element denotes both a habitation and the land associated with it, with Latin *tribus* reinforcing a third sense, 'household, family'.[137] Places named with **trev* in southern Scotland and Cumbria (as in Wales and Cornwall) are typically substantial farms or hamlets showing continuity of settlement from at least the central middle ages; some developed into villages, though few appear to have been centres of ancient power, and relatively few emerged as mediaeval parishes. Outwith the Old North, **trev* is most common in place-names in south-west Wales and Cornwall (Padel 1985, 223–24), in both areas occurring predominantly in first position (generic in a name-phrase). It occurs frequently throughout the rest of Wales, but the implication of its rarity in Devon, and in districts away from the Welsh border in Shropshire and Cheshire, is that such **trev-*formations are unlikely to be early in Cornwall or Wales and that similar name-phrases formed with it in the north are likely to originate from the post-Northumbrian period (10th to 12th centuries) rather than earlier. Most of the name-phrases listed in Appendix 3 would reflect the status of **trev* as the favoured term for significant units in the landholding systems developing in that period in the Cumbric-influenced parts of the North, as in Cornwall and Wales. As we have already seen, this is all the more likely in the case of formations with the definite article, listed in Appendix 1.[138]

Even the simplex form Threave is not necessarily early.[139] Such a name may indicate a settlement with a specific social or economic role or legal status. It might have been the first such place in the area to be so-named, other **trevs* requiring specifics to distinguish them, but it may have been perceived for some other reason as the 'prototypic' **trev*.[140] It might, as MacQueen (2008,13) suggests, be a truncated relic of a name-phrase: instability, with specifics changing or being used sporadically, is characteristic of relatively minor place-names, though it is impossible to prove from the limited records of Scotland's Threaves.[141] It could even date from a time when **trev* had ceased

[136] Zero-grade of **ter-*, the lengthened grade of which is seen in Welsh *tir* 'land, territory', for which see below.

[137] In Roman-British names it may possibly extend to whole 'tribes' as well as all the lands and settlements they occupy: see Rivet and Smith 1979, 259–60, s.n. *Atrebates*.

[138] See under Morphological considerations, above.

[139] At Threave (Kirkmichael) AYR Watson 1926, 191 and 358; Threave AYR (Kirkoswald) ibid, 358; Threave (Castle in Balmaghie, House in Kelton) KCB ibid, 358, and Maxwell 1930, 259; Threave (Penninghame) WIG Maxwell 1930, 259, and MacQueen 2008, 12.

[140] See Hough 2007 for the seminal presentation of the application of 'prototype theory' to toponymy.

[141] See Cullen, Jones and Parsons 2011, 44 and 60–61, demonstrating such instability in 'thorp' names in the Danelaw.

to be used in phrasal place-name formations, but survived as an appellative in Cumbric, or was even adopted into regional Gaelic.

Within southern Scotland, the names with **trev-* as phrase-generic show a striking distribution from the hill country of south Ayrshire through Galloway and the Southern Uplands to the Moorfoots, *Wedale* (the valley of Gala Water) and Lauderdale. They are noticeably absent from the Clyde basin, and Triermain CMB is solitary south of the Solway.[142] Watson's observation (1926, 191 and 362) of marked clusters of place-names involving **trev* in Ayrshire,[143] associated with other Brittonic place-names and names indicating a population perceived as British, raises the possibility that **trev* denoted a settlement with a specific status or role within a complex estate, or else refers to holdings established when such estates were broken up. In mediaeval Welsh law, the *tref* was the basic unit of landholding, 'townland', the building-block of the *cantref* (see Jenkins 1986, 387). MacQueen (2008, 14–15) has rightly drawn attention to the light such Welsh legal usage can cast on the significance of **trev* in Cumbric-speaking areas, but it is neither necessary nor legitimate to project such usage back to the pre-Northumbrian era.[144] For all their air of great antiquity, the 13th-century Welsh legal tracts relate to a pattern of landholding that had evolved substantially over the preceding half-millennium, and **trev* is best seen alongside Old English *tūn* as the favoured term for the new type of relatively compact, directly taxable, 'family farm' that emerged from the disintegration of ancient chiefdoms (developed as 'multiple estates'), a process of radical change in landholding, settlement patterns and, indeed, place-naming that transformed the human and toponymic geography of most of Britain between the eighth and 12th centuries.[145]

Both in simplex and in phrasal names, we might compare the use of Old English *prop* and Old (chiefly East, 'Danish') Norse *þorp*[146] as a term for a dependent agricultural settlement in the context of the transformation of patterns of arable farming in the 'open field zone' from Yorkshire to

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[142] See Barrow 1998, 59–63 and map 2:5, Nicolaisen 2001, 214–19 and map 21, and Clancy 2008, 107.

[143] And note Terrauchtie and Tregallon both in Troqueer parish KCB, with Terregles immediately to the north.

[144] There is no reason to suppose that the *cantref*, a peculiarly Welsh institution of the central middle ages, existed in the north even in that period, still less in the pre-Northumbrian centuries.

[145] See under Historical Considerations, below, and James 2008, 195–97.

[146] See Smith 1956b, 205–12, especially 209, and Cullen, Jones and Parsons 2011, especially 44–45 ('... simplex names, it is argued, are a symptom of restricted importance') and 149–51.

central southern England.[147] There could have been a comparable semantic specialisation in the use of a settlement term (hitherto rarely used in place-naming), and possibly a transfer across languages,[148] in the application of the **trev* to a settlement having a particular role or status within a developing system of pastoral farming. The 'necklace' of *trev- names in the Southern Uplands seems consistent with a movement outwards from the heartland of Strathclyde at a particular point in time, by Cumbric-speaking migrants who used this term (which had not been used previously in the Clyde basin or anywhere else in the north) to name new landholdings of a new kind carved out of earlier territorial units. For *trev in southern Scotland, the period following the falls of York and Alclud to the Vikings (868–70), and especially the first half of the 10th century which also saw significant Scandinavian and Gaelic-speaking immigration, is a likely context.[149]

Another term which acquired a specific sense in mediaeval Welsh law is **tīr*, Welsh *tir*. The root-sense is 'land, area of ground, territory', and in Middle Welsh legal usage it refers to a 'landholding' of any size, from an estate to a selion (ploughing-strip).[150] In southern Scotland and northern England it, and Gaelic (or gaelicised) *tìr*, are largely restricted to Galloway, Cumbria and neighbouring parts of Northumberland. It seems to have been an toponymic term early enough to form a range of compounds which may well have been appellatives having specific meanings and remaining current as late as the central middle ages. Thus, for example, Coulter LAN, Coulderton (Allerdale Lowside) CMB (PNCmb, 413) and Holmcultram CMB (ibid., 288) are all likely to incorporate *culdir*, in Welsh a 'narrow stretch of land'. At Blantyre LAN[151] and Blennerhasset CMB[152] it qualifies a generic **blain*, the distribution of which implies Cumbric-period formation.[153] It also occurs as a specific in formations with the definite article – Craigantyre (Stoneykirk) WIG[154] and

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[147] See Cullen et al., op. cit., ch.7, 138–56. More generally, their discussion of 'Thorps' in the context of the development of farming and landholding in the English midlands in the central middle ages presents, *mutatis mutandis* in very different topographic setting, a view of the implications of settlement toponymy comparable to that taken here; see further Historical considerations, below.

[148] As may have been the case with Old English *þrop* influencing the usage of Old Norse *þorp*, ibid., 146–48.

[149] See James 2008, 201–03 and under Historical considerations, below.

[150] Jenkins 1986, 386 and references.

[151] Nicolaisen et al. 1970, 48, and see Breeze 2000–06, 1.

[152] PNCmb, 265–66, and see Coates in Coates and Breeze 2000, 285.

[153] See under Morphological considerations, above, on the possibility that **blain-tīr* was a compound appellative, and below in this section on the implications of the distribution of *blain*.

[154] Maxwell 1930, 81, taking it to be Gaelic.

Tallentire CMB (PNCmb, 324) – but, as we have seen,[155] these may well be Gaelic formations.

*Dīnas, a derivative of *dīn* 'fort, refuge, stronghold', is very common in Wales[156] yet in the north it seems to be restricted to hill and stream names in Galloway, the Borders and Lothian.[157] The distribution of both **tīr* and **dīnas* again suggests that they were only used during a period of Cumbric revival or expansion in southern Scotland and Cumbria during the 10th and 11th centuries.

The meaning of **blain* as a place-name element is generally taken to be 'summit', but other senses may be relevant to local topography: 'source or upper reaches of a stream', 'head of a valley', 'extremity, limits, remotest region', 'uplands'. A possible association with boundaries is worth considering. Its distribution in Northumbrian territory is concentrated in Cumberland, with outliers in Northumberland, Peeblesshire, Midlothian and, possibly, Ayrshire and Wigtownshire.[158] This is again consistent with a revival or re-introduction of Cumbric in these regions in the 10th to 11th centuries.[159] That all instances appear to be phrasal formations and, as we have mentioned,[160] none shows any trace of a velar consonant or semivowel before the *-n-*, at least indicates that these are not very early topographic names, while the presence of possible Scandinavian specifics, as in Blencow CMB (ON **haugr* 'hill or mound') and Blennerhasset CMB (ON **hey-sǽtr* 'hay-shieling'), may be products of the linguistic plurality of the post-Northumbrian period and need not have entailed replacement of earlier Brittonic elements. It is striking that several **blains*, especially in Cumberland, became parish names.[161]

Another topographic term whose distribution in the north is remarkable

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[155] See Morphological considerations, above.

[156] See Richards 1972–73, 383–88. It is most often a simplex name, or one qualified by a separate word. Richards lists 59 simplex and 29 with qualifiers.

[157] Dinnis Hill (Bo'ness) WLO, Tennis Castle (Drumelzier) PEB (Watson 1926, 372), Tennis (Yarrowkirk) SLK, also *Tinnis*, which may be a different place, Tinnis Burn and Hill DMF / ROX border, Tinnis Hill (Kirkpatrick Fleming) DMF (Hough 2004, 128). To judge by Richards 1972–73 and *Archif Melville Richards*, name-phrases with **dīnas* as specific are uncommon in Wales and most that exist are formed with the definite article. Cardoness (Anwoth, misplaced by Maxwell 1930, 58 in Girthon) KCB, Cairndinnis (Traprain) ELO Watson 1926, 372, and Carntyne LAN are all very doubtful: see under **dīnas** in BLITON.

[158] See Appendix 4, and under Morphological considerations, above, regarding **blain-tīr*.

[159] See James 2008, 199–200. Blantyre and *Planmichel* LAN could date from the time of rule from Alclud, but *-tīr* is more likely to be later, see above.

[160] See under Phonological considerations, above, especially note 19.

[161] In CMB Blencarn, Blencogo, Blenerhasset, Blindbothel, Blindcrake; cf. in LAN Blantyre, and *Planmichel*, if this was Carmichael.

is *cum[m].*[162] This, as *cwm*, is common in Welsh place-names, and Old English *cumb* (which may have been adopted from Brittonic)[163] is widespread in south-west England and occurs as far north as Yorkshire, yet both the Brittonic and English forms seem to be absent from Scotland,[164] and in northernmost England they are restricted to a striking cluster of names in 'Cum-' in north-east Cumberland and the neighbouring part of Northumberland (see Appendix 5: note that most of them are first or only recorded in the Lanercost Cartulary). The Indo-European root **kumbh-* is associated with 'bowls' and 'pots',[165] and the meaning given by Ann Cole (1982) for the English word, 'a short, broad valley, usually bowl- or trough-shaped, with three fairly steeply rising sides', seems appropriate to most of the Brittonic examples in Cumbria, though some in low-lying parts are in quite shallow depressions. The formation of these names is clearly Brittonic, with first-position generic and stress on the specific (LHEB, 226). We have noted that Cumwhinton is formed with a non-Celtic personal name that is probably Norman-French and that Cumwhitton is based on an earlier Anglian place-name.[166] The location of the whole cluster suggests that name-phrases with **cum[m]-* were favoured by a particular group of colonists, probably Cumbric-speaking settlers, or else indigenous Cumbric speakers involved in a major reorganisation of landholdings, in the central middle ages.

We have already encountered **polter* as a stream naming term which may, on phonological grounds, belong to the very latest years of the Cumbric language.[167] It is restricted to north-east Cumberland and neighbouring districts in Roxburghshire and Northumberland.[168] In the same part of the Middle March we find

[162] On *-mb- > -mm-*, see Phonological considerations, with references in note 17, above.

[163] See Gelling 1984, 88–89, and Gelling and Cole 2000, 103–07.

[164] MacQueen 2002, 85, derives Pulinkum (Kirkmaiden) WIG from Gaelic **pol-fhionn* 'white burn', 'combined with an early borrowing into Gaelic of Welsh *cwm*': this begs many questions, but see Appendix 2. He also, ibid., 17, suggests that Wilcombe Brae (Kirkmaiden) WIG is OE **wiell-cumb*, but if so an imported name must be suspected: *wiell, will[a]* 'well, spring' are West Saxon forms, the Anglian would be *wella, well[e]*: see Smith 1956b, 250, and Campbell 1959 §200(1), 79 and note. English *cumb* is absent from CMB, NTB and DRH; Combs (Whinfell) and Harrison Comb (Langdales) WML (both in the Barony of Kendal: PNWml1, 142 and 206) may be Cumbric or English.

[165] See Hamp 1991–92, 17, and Mallory and Adams 2006, 239–40.

[166] See under Lexical considerations, above, also note 110 for Cumrenton, and Appendix 5 for *Cumquencath* and *Quinquaythil*. See also Roberts 2008, 94–95 and fig. 4.3: Cumwhitton is an example of what Roberts would see as a 'planned village' of the central middle ages.

[167] See under Phonological considerations, above.

[168] Lanercost CMB PNCmb, 71, Lanerton CMB PNCmb, 115, *Lanrechaithin* (Burtholme) CMB Lan Cart 6 and note, PNCmb, 72, *Lanrecorinsan* (Brampton?) CMB Lan Cart 28, *Lanrekereini* (Nether Denton) CMB Lan Cart 49 (note that this is not a variant of *Lanrechaithin* as stated in PNCmb, 72: see Todd 2005 at 93 and 102 n37), *Lanrequeitheil* (Burtholme) CMB LanCart 149, PNCmb, 72.

a notable group of names with the element *lanerc* or *lanrec*. This is from Roman- British *landā*, neo-Brittonic *lann*, source of Welsh *llan*, with a suffix *-arcā-* which may be diminutive.[169] If so, and assuming a secular sense for *lann-* (which it always bears in its rare occurrences in Cumbria and in Scotland south of the Forth),[170] the meaning would be a 'small (cleared, and possibly enclosed) area of (former) scrub, waste, fallow or wooded land'. The common interpretation based on Welsh *llannerch* 'glade', may over-emphasise the woodland connotations. Indeed, though clearly cognate with the Welsh word, the northern form could be regarded as phonetically and semantically a different lexeme. The examples from southern Scotland and Cumbria mostly show single *-n-* and non-spirant *-rc*. Jackson argued, in LHEB §149, 571–72, that the absence of spirant lenition from these names may indicate that *-rk* > *-rχ*, which he dated to the late sixth century in West Brittonic, occurred later or not at all in northern Brittonic / Cumbric (assuming as he did that these names were adopted by Northumbrian English speakers on their arrival in the late sixth century).[171] However, this begs several questions and he later (1954, 164) expressed the opinion that this was a Pritenic feature. So these names may be further evidence of conservatism in the local dialect of Brittonic, or they may reflect much later colonisation of the district by settlers from further north, though not necessarily from Pictland, as several 'Pritenic' features of phonology and lexis occur south of the Forth.[172]

[169] Cf. early Modern Welsh glosses *llan* = Latin *area*, *llannerch* = *areola* : see GPC and Williams 1952, 67–68.

[170] As does *landus* and variants in mediaeval Latin documents relating to these areas. However, Taylor 1998, 8–10, 16–20 and 22, offers evidence for use of *lann* in ecclesiastical contexts north of the Forth.

[171] That it did (eventually) occur in the north is suggested by Maughanby CMB (*Merchamby* 1254, *Merghanby* etc. 1278 etc.) (PNCmb, 194) and Pow Maughan CMB (PNCmb, 24), both with personal name *Merchiaun* (LHEB §149, 571–72: contrast Mercaston DRB, Cameron 1959, 587–88, formed with the same name but without spirantisation); cf. also *kelchyn* in the so-called *Leges inter Brettos et Scottos*, with *-ł̣χ-*; see LHEB, 9–10 – although Jackson thinks it 'tells us nothing of any Cumbric dialectal peculiarities', it may be negative evidence. See also Sims-Williams 2003 ‡43, 139–41.

[172] Several forms also show metathesised *-rec*, which may be compared with Landrick PER (× 2) and Lendrick KNR. Cox 1997 shows that such metathesis was characteristic of Gaelicised forms of this word. This may be relevant to the names north of the Forth and even to the local pronunciation of Lanark recorded as *Lainrick*. However, it is doubtful whether the names in the Lanercost Cartulary are Gaelic or Goidelic-influenced (the only plausible case in north-east CMB is MIr *cinn* 'head' in the two Kinkry Hills, in Askerton and Bewcastle parishes, and very doubtfully in *Poltkinerum* in the Cartulary). See Nicolaisen 2007, 120, my review thereof, James 2009a, 151–52, and Taylor 2011 88–91.

The specific in Lanercost is apparently the personal name **Aust* which, though unrecorded, would normally be a neo-Brittonic form for the Latin *Augustus*.[173] Such a personal name need not necessarily date the place-name formation to the post-Roman period, it could have been current much later. Indeed, the Augustinian priory was established here around 1166, and, although Williams thought it no more than 'a happy coincidence' (1952, 69), I have suggested that it is not impossible that a Cumbric-speaking community existed here even at that date, or was introduced in association with the foundation, and that **Aust* here is a late Cumbric hypocorism for Augustine (James 2008, 200). If so, the other **lanerc-/*lanrec*-names, and other late Cumbric names in the Lanercost Cartulary, could have been associated with such a monastically-sponsored settlement.[174]

HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Our review has taken us from phonological and morphological considerations which at least call in question any assumed 'earliness' for Brittonic place-names in southern Scotland and Cumbria, to lexical and distributional considerations that have focused our attention on the Cumbric period, especially the post-Northumbrian context of the 10th and 11th centuries, and on some specific districts where there may be grounds for speculation that a late Cumbric-speaking population was still coining new place-names even into the 12th century. It remains for me to review some historical – especially historical-geographical – considerations which may further favour a presumption of relative lateness. Necessarily this review will be very sketchy and broad-brushed: it is intended to raise questions and propose an agenda for debate.[175]

Our region is 'a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh the water of the rain of heaven' (Deut. xi.11): not dramatically mountainous by world standards, but a landscape in which rolling fells, rocky outcrops and wide tracts of slow-draining moorland plateau predominate, intersected by long, glacially-hollowed glens, widening in their lower reaches to basins or linear straths. Good arable

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[173] Via Vernacular Latin **Agust-* > late British **Aɣust* or **Awust*. Cf. Welsh *Awst* 'the month of August'. See Williams 1952, 67–69, and cf. Coates in Coates and Breeze 2000, 54–55, on Aust GLO, but note Watts's reservations, 2004, 27.

[174] The foundation of the Priory followed immediately after Henry II's assertion of English supremacy over Cumberland and Northumberland in 1157 (Oram 2011, 114–17). It must have been as much an act of geopolitical strategy as the refortification of Carlisle, Norham and Wark castles. See further under Historical considerations, below, especially note 188.

[175] In the background to what follows are Rackham 1986, especially ch. 11, idem 2006 chs 5, 6 and 15, Bassett 1989, Charles-Edwards 1989, Fowler 2002, chs 3, 13 and 14, Wickham 2005, ch. 6, and Oram 2011, chs 6 and 7.

land, such as it is, lies mainly on river-terraces and haughs in the lower dales and coastal plains. In such a topographic context, a fundamental consideration that cannot be ignored, though the precise implications are complex and controversial, is climate change. In a field where there is such furious argument among scientists, one point of general agreement stands out: that (at least in Europe and the North Atlantic) the climate became cooler and wetter from the mid-fourth century to around 700, then warmer in summer and milder in winter, reaching an optimum around 1100 (S. P. Dark 2000, 140–68, Fowler 2002, 52–54). In upland and in flood-prone regions of northern Britain, subsistence-farming settlements would have been vulnerable to single adverse events – a severe winter, a cloudy, wet summer, a spell of torrential rain. Quite minimal deterioration in the overall means and ranges of temperature, rainfall and length of growing and pasturage seasons would have tipped the balance against sustainability in such marginal areas – and, from the point of view of subsistence farming, large tracts of southern Scotland and Cumbria are marginal areas.[176]

And it must be emphasised that, in the post-Roman era, subsistence farming was the economic basis of life in the north (Fowler 2002, 62–65, Woolf 2007, 16–17). Any economic advantages to the region between the Walls from the proximity of the Roman military zone, and from Roman strategic interference in the politics of the region, quickly vanished with the end of Roman rule.[177] The ability of a few chieftains controlling strongholds with continuing access to prestige goods (and slaves) to maintain a form of *Romanitas*, along with the anachronistic projection into this period by historians and other writers from the eighth century onwards of coherent regional 'kingdoms', should not blind us to the likelihood that, for the great majority of the population, the day-to-day reality was a struggle to raise sufficient to feed the family and to supply a small surplus to a local warlord and his band of fighters in exchange for protection.[178] Even if the catastrophes that afflicted the Roman province, especially the urbanised south – plague, famine and the Germanic-speaking invasions – touched the rural north relatively lightly or indirectly, the overall effect was a decline in population throughout the island, a reduction of demand

[176] See Halliday 2006, especially 18–20 on 'intermittent' occupation, and, for local case studies of land use in portions of the south of our region, see Roberts and Wrathmell 2000, 52–53.

[177] Esmonde-Cleary 1989, 138–61, and even (despite his espousal of 'continuity') K. Dark 2000, 81–88.

[178] Alcock 1987, 286–307, Woolf 2007, 17–23, Fraser 2009, 61–7 (but see note 181, below); I also acknowledge Prof. D. N. Dumville's lecture, 'Britain after Rome: the northern frontier (and beyond)', Cambridge University Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, 2003.

for land, a withdrawal from marginal areas. It is not unrealistic to see the uplands of southern Scotland and Cumbria largely reverting to waste in this period, prevented from dense afforestation only by herds of deer and feral cattle, and remaining sparsely populated and beyond the effective control of royal or other higher-level authority for several centuries.[179] Under these circumstances, settlements in the upper river basins would have been small, sparse and generally short-lived, as the very limited arable land and spring and autumn pasturage were worked out and natural disasters (landslips, flash floods etc.) and human mortality dictated abandonment or relocation. It is surely unlikely that any settlement names, or local topographic names, would have survived to be passed on from this period in districts above about 500'/150m.[180]

The basic unit of land-control – and, for the great majority of the population, their life-world – was at this time, as it had been for at least a millennium, a more-or-less self-sufficient territory such as could be comfortably ridden around in a day, comprising enough arable for a crop of oats or barley, seasonal pasturage, meadow, woodland and fresh water to support a population of at most a few hundred, and to produce sufficient surplus to maintain a local chieftain and his war-band (Roberts 2008, ch. 6). In much of our region, such territories are naturally defined by watersheds between the glens. Such chiefdoms were progressively incorporated into the growing state of Northumbria (and also, presumably, into the polity ruled from Alclud) from the seventh century, as sub-kingdoms, Bede's *regiones*, or were appropriated as royal, ecclesiastical or aristocratic estates. They developed the increasingly complex characteristics of the 'multiple estate' and, in some cases, they evolved to the status of administrative *scīras*.[181] Outwith the sparsely-populated

[179] See Kapelle's characterisation of the 'free zone' in northern England, 'the usual corollary of low settlement density, pastoralism, and poor communications ... normally beyond the control of local forces of law and order' (1979, 7); and Oram's extension of this concept to the Scottish side of the Middle March, 'where population was small, royal or lordly authority was remote and largely ineffective, brigandage was endemic and social and economic structures were undeveloped' (2011, 227–28).

[180] See Fox 2007 on the upland distribution of P-Celtic names in SE Scotland, but she assumes these are pre-Northumbrian or Northumbrian period in origin.

[181] See Barrow 1973, 7–68, Jones 1979, Winchester 1985, Roberts 2008, 14–28 and 151–72; for critique of the concept of 'multiple estate', see Wickham 2005, 319–33, but his (valid) doubts about the patterns of tenure and render implied by that model do not prevent him from accepting Barrow's concept of 'extensive lordship' (p. 325, n. 58) and seeing such self-contained units as the fundamental building blocks of emergent regional kingdoms like Northumbria. For discussion of such a socio-economic substructure in upland Scotland, developing Wickham's concept of 'peasant society' and drawing on Icelandic comparanda, see Oram 2011, 197–209. Fraser's concept of 'farmer republics' (developing that of 'fully civil societies', Charles-Edwards 2000, 80, and adumbrated at Fraser 2009, 30–42) is comparable, but unfortunately its implications are not fully explored in his reconstruction of developments southern Scotland in the fifth-seventh centuries (ibid., 124–38, 149–54, 176–77, 179–82).

uplands, we may suppose that these territories and the various settlements and topographic landmarks within them had a full range of Brittonic names, very few of which have survived. Some were probably replaced relatively early, in areas where there was substantial English-speaking settlement such as the lower Tweed basin (James 2010, 103–05, 125), but the main factor contributing to the loss of earlier names and the coining of new ones in the dominant language(s) of the time was the radical change in landholding and settlement patterns associated with the middle Saxon period in lowland England, from the mid-eighth century onward, though its impact in upland England and southern Scotland was later and rather different in nature.[182] The common factor has already been mentioned in discussing **trev*: the break-up of these self-contained territories and their replacement by more compact farming units paying renders directly to the king or the Church. In the south, this was associated with the development of a monetary market economy, replacing a redistributive subsistence economy within individual territories, with trade among farms able to produce surpluses of marketable specialities. These changes entailed substantial relocation of settlements, formation of new settlements and a new perception of the land and its potentialities – not only were old settlements and their names abandoned and replaced, even topographic names were in flux (apart from the relatively unchanging names of rivers and important streams).[183]

In the north, the catalyst for change was the impact of the Vikings. The falls of York (868–69) and Alclud (870) were doubtless catastrophic for the victims of Viking vengeance and slave-trading, and the implosion of the two kingdoms created a power-vacuum that probably led to a reversion to rule by local warlords for some decades in the upland regions west of Dere Street. But, by the second quarter of the 10th century, the picture was sunnier. In the first place, literally – the climate was improving, the empty hills and thinly populated upper valleys now offered opportunities for more productive farming, especially livestock rearing, using the extensive hill pasture for large herds in summer. And, while the kind of cash economy that was flourishing in the south was still no nearer than York, there were opportunities at very least for bartering with lowland farmers when the beasts were brought down to gathering-places in the valleys in the autumn, exchanging livestock and dairy products to feed a growing lowland population for grain from an expanding arable sector. The Vikings had learnt that trading could be as profitable as raiding, a new kind of farming settlement pattern had emerged in the Scandinavian-ruled regions to the south and on the Irish Sea

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[182] Roberts 2008, chs 9 and 10 and, for discussion of settlement patterns in Anglo-Saxon England, especially the Midlands, see Hooke 1997, and Cullen, Jones and Parsons 2011, especially ch. 7.

[183] See James 2009b at 145–47. I am grateful to the late Dr Margaret Gelling for her advice and encouragement in developing the views expressed in this paragraph, though without implying that she would necessarily have endorsed them.

coasts. Local transhumance, with a rudimentary form of 'infield / outfield' cultivation and winter feeding, had probably been the pattern of subsistence farming in marginal upland and wetland areas since prehistoric times,[184] but the place-name elements associated with large-scale transhumance point to something much more substantial in terms of herd sizes and extent of stock movement.[185] West Norse ('Norwegian') speakers, with ancestral experience of livestock-farming on wet and windy uplands, were probably the first to spot the opportunities in the hill country of southern Scotland and Cumbria, but they were soon joined by speakers of East Norse ('Danish'), Middle Irish (the 'Irish-Norse' and other Gaelic speakers),[186] and Cumbric – whether these were locals whose ancestors had spoken Brittonic throughout the time of Northumbrian rule, or refugees / economic migrants from Strathclyde and elsewhere.[187]

This seems a credible context for the creation of a range of new settlements, new kinds of landholding, new patterns of land use, associated with large-scale, market-oriented, transhumant pastoral farming. Along with these came a new toponymic geography, in a rich mixture of Scandinavian (West and East Norse), Gaelic (probably of various dialects), late Northumbrian English and Cumbric, extending (in varying linguistic mixtures) from the north Pennines and central Wall zone in Cumberland northwards through the dales and moorlands of the Middle March – arguably the last redoubt of Cumbric,

[184] Hooke 1998, 186–94, Fowler 2002 ch. 11, especially 227–30. By the central middle ages, some of the more accessible hill grazings may also have been used seasonally by farmers from the developing lowland 'multiple estates' (see Oram 2011, 257–58).

[185] The palynological evidence for the Southern Uplands is summarised by Oram 2011, 237; such as it is, it indicates intensification of livestock grazing on the hills and improved grassland management for fodder, alongside increased arable at lower levels. Note Oram's view that the onset of these developments pre-dated the growth of monastic estates and hill-farming activity (ibid., 237–38).

[186] For evidence of the 'Irish-Norse' contribution in Galloway, see Livingstone 2010.

[187] Compare: 'Most were once valley dwellers before being driven to seek refuge in the hills. Their distinctive traits – segmentation, mobility, egalitarian social structures, flexible cultivation – are simply a response to their new environment and "a strategic adaptation to avoid incorporation into state structures". None of this precludes a complex and valued range of economic and social relationships between the upland peoples and their lowland neighbours. Symbiosis benefits both societies ...' (Keay 2011). This refers to hill peoples of south-east Asia, but, the writer argues, is characteristic of upland communities in many parts of the world; it could well, *mutatis mutandis*, describe the inhabitants of the Southern Uplands and Middle March in the central middle ages and beyond.

[188] See James 2008, 199–201, and observations under Distributional considerations, above, on *cum[m]*, *lanrec* and *polter*. On the chronic ungovernability of this region in the central middle ages, see Kapelle 1979, 128–32, and Oram 2011, 227–30.

later to be the heartland of the rievers, land of the Border Ballads[188] – to Ettrick Forest, Tweedsmuir and beyond to a major concentration of Cumbric names in the Moorfoots, *Wedale* and Lauderdale,[189] and also west through the Southern Uplands and Galloway Moorlands to Carrick and the hills between the Ayr and Clyde basins (Oram 2011, 228–31, 245–46, 260–61). It makes sense of the range of significant terms that we have reviewed in Brittonic place-names – the habitatives and land divisions *cair, *trev, *lanerc and the *-tīr compounds, words associated with stock-rearing like *buarth, garth* and *wel[t]* and the range of words pointing to key features in the landscape as perceived by transhumant farmers: *blain, *cum[m], *pen[n], *pol and *polter – and surely the bothies erected at Peebles were for the autumn round-up and bartering, the precursor of the famous mediaeval fair? [190]

Conclusion

This historical proposal is, of course, speculative, a hypothesis to be tested as and when much more comprehensive surveys of place-names in southern Scotland are undertaken, and against growing bodies of archaeological evidence and historical interpretation. But even if it is treated with cautious scepticism, the considerations surveyed in this paper must alert place-name scholars, and the archaeologists and historians who draw on their work, to the likelihood that a significant number of Brittonic place-names in southern Scotland originated (or at least were adopted by English speakers) well after the initial establishment of Northumbrian *imperium* during the seventh century. Indeed, as in Cumbria, names formed with some important generic elements are among several that may well date from the post-Northumbrian period, the 10th and 11th centuries. It follows from this that neo-Brittonic evolving into Cumbric either remained current or was reintroduced at some

[189] Woolf's annexation (2007, 5) of 'Peebles' (the upper Tweed basin?) to the territory of Alclud, is presumably based on the assumptions that the concentration of Brittonic names in this region dates from before or during the Northumbrian period, and that such a concentration implies British political control: both assumptions are questionable. On the incorporation of these areas into the Scottish kingdom, see Oram 2011, 238–45, and for subsequent developments in upland exploitation, ibid. 258–59 and 261–63.

[190] And quite possibly at Dalfibble (Kirkmichael) DMF, Foulpapple (Loudon) AYR, Papple (Garvald) ELO, Pauples Hill (Penninghame) WIG and Pibble (Kirkmabreck) KCB, all lying below rather than on the upland grazings, though at Mosspeeble (Ewes) DMF, high on the Solway/Teviot watershed, they probably were shielings (*maes-pebil* 'open place of shielings', in the strict sense of a site where temporary shelters were erected during summer grazing, see Oram 2011, 258–59). On the linguistic-historical implications of *pebil* see under Phonological considerations, above.

stage in large areas that were subject to Northumbrian rule, especially the uplands, and that in some districts it could have remained in use well into the 12th century (by which time, Cumbric had probably been long superseded by Gaelic in its earlier heartland of Strathclyde). If this was the case, besides the many place-names mentioned in this discussion, the great majority of Brittonic names in southern Scotland and Cumbria (being as they are phrasal in form and mainly in or close to the upland areas) could have originated at any point in a long time-scale from the 6th to 12th centuries. And where a surviving or recorded name could have been given at any date within a wide time-frame, bearing in mind the likelihood of disuse or replacement, a later date is more likely than an earlier one.

Returning to Jackson's words, quoted at the head of this article, 'the peasantry in remote areas' constituted the great majority of the population of what became southern Scotland and Cumbria, and, as long as they used Brittonic / Cumbric to live their lives, to name their children and every hump or bump, nook or cranny on the land that was their home, that language did not merely 'linger', it lived. Scanty though it may be, the place-name evidence is the only record we have of the Brittonic voices and life-worlds of the men and women of the hills, dales and lowlands throughout the early and – as I have argued – well into the central middle ages.

Appendixes

The lists that follow are all based on entries in the *Brittonic Language in the Old North* (BLITON) database. Note that the references which follow immediately after the county abbreviation (and parish, if it is not a parish-name) are to printed publications where authoritative lists of early forms can be found, they are not necessarily the source of the etymology indicated in BLITON. References at the ends of entries, following the links to other constituent elements, are to other publications in which the place-name is discussed and where etymologies (similar to or differing from those proposed in BLITON) are offered. Note that, as in BLITON, the forms of elements in bold represent pronunciations of around 700, while those in the text of the present article represent those of around 1000.

Appendix 1
Place-names with the definite article

Formations which may have **treβ**- + **ï[r]**- include those that follow. See under Distributional considerations, above, and under the specifics in BLITON, for

discussion.[191] Cases where the presence of the article is uncertain are marked with '?' before the specific; cases where the specific is in doubt have '?' after it.[192]

Tarelgin (Drongan) AYR CPNS, 360 ? + - **ï[r]**- + **helïgen* (**helïg**) 'willow-tree': see Breeze 2002, 110.

Trabroun (Haddington) ELO CPNS, 359–60 ? + **brïnn** or -**bronn** both 'hill'.

Trabrown (Lauderdale) BWK CPNS, 359, 363 ? + -**brïnn** or -**bronn**.

Trailflat DMF (Tinwald) CPNS, 359 ? + -**lad* (**lẹid**) 'mud', see Phonological considerations.

Trailtrow (Hoddom) DMF CPNS, 359 ? + -**truliad* 'butler': Breeze 1999b, see Lexical considerations.

Tranent ELO CPNS, 360 ? + -*nent* (**nant**) 'watercourse'.

Traquair (Innerleithen) PEB CPNS, 360 + river-name Quair (****wei**- or ****wejr**, and Phonological considerations); note that there is no evidence for the article in recorded forms for Troqueer KCB and Trowier AYR.

Trarynʒeane (Cumnock) AYR CPNS, 360 ? + - **föntǭn** 'spring'.

Traverlen (= Duddingston) MLO CPNS, 360 ? + -**lïnn** here 'loch', see Barrow 1980, 40.

Trevercarcou DMF/KCB (unlocated) -**cajr**- 'fort' or 'stockade-village' + -**coll** 'hazel', or + -**carreg**- 'rock', or + -****carrǭg**- 'rocky place', + plural morpheme -**öü**.

Trevergylt (lost, in Inquisition of David I) CPNS, 361 ? + -**wel[t]** 'grass, pasture'.

Triermain (Waterhead) CMB PNCmb, 116 + -**maɣn** 'stone'.

Trochrague (Girvan) AYR CPNS, 360 + -**crẹːg** 'crag'.

Formations with **pen[n]**- (see in BLITON under that headword and under the specifics for discussion) include:

Pendraven (lost field-name in Upper Denton) CMB PNCmb, 82 + -*aβon* (**āβ**-) 'watercourse'.[193]

Penicuik MLO CPNS, 355 + -****cog** 'cuckoo'.

Pennersax (Middlebie) DMF CPNS, 180, 396 + - **Saχs** 'Englishman'.

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[191] And see Clancy 2008 on Trearne AYR (Beith), Troney Hill ROX (Ancrum) and *Treueronum* (in Inquisition of David I).

[192] On forms with 'Tar-', 'Tra-', 'Tro-', see Appendix 3.

[193] But Breeze 2006a, 330, proposes + -**treβ**- + -**an**, comparing Welsh *pentref* 'village', though in Cumbric the sense may have been 'a settlement and / or portion of land on a headland, or at the "end" (in some sense) of a landholding'.

Pennygant Hill (Castleton) ROX **+ -cant** here, 'boundary', or -**gïnt** 'heathens'.[194]

Pennymoor (Oxnam) ROX CPNS, 354, J. MacDonald 1991, 31 + -**mūr** 'wall'.

Other instances may include the following; few are certain, so see discussions under the various elements in BLITON:

Altivolie Burn (Stoneykirk) WIG Maxwell 1930, 5 ? **alt-** 'steep height' + **-bol**ɣ 'belly' – in place-names 'hill' or 'hollow', but probably Gaelic.

Altigabert Burn AYR ? **alt-** + -**ga**β**r-** 'goat' **+** adjectival suffix **-ed**.

Artemawh (Brampton) CMB Lan Cart ? + **ar**δ**-** 'height' + -*****m**ǭ**n** 'peat, peat moss'.[195]

Barmulloch RNF + **bod-** 'dwelling, cottage', possibly 'church' or 'monastery' (see Taylor 1996, 43–46) + -***mönach** 'monk, monks': see Phonological considerations.

Barnego (Tarbolton) AYR Nicolaisen 2002, 213, ? + **brïnn-** 'hill' or **prenn-** 'tree' + -**go**β 'smith'.

Blanyvaird (Penninghame) WIG Maxwell 1930, 43, + **blajn-** 'summit, valley-head' (see Appendix 4) + *beir*δ (**bar**δ) 'bards'.

Caraverick (Hesket in Forest) CMB PNCmb, 202 + *****caj-** 'enclosure' ('field' in MnW) + - **e**β**ur**-'yew' ('cow parsnip' in MnW) or -*****ha**μ**ar-** 'either 'summery' or 'land left seasonally fallow', + nominal suffix -**īg-** or -**ǭg-**: or else + **cajr-** 'fort' or 'stockade-village'.

Cardoness (Anwoth, misplaced by Maxwell in Girthon) KCB Maxwell 1930, 58 ? + *****caj-** + *****-dīnas** 'fort'; or else **cajr.**

Carnwath LAN CPNS, 386 + **carn-** 'cairn' ? **+ -wï:**δ 'woodland'; or else *****cajr-** + **-nöwï**δ 'new'.

Carrifran (Moffat) DMF ? + **cajr-** or **carreg-** 'rock' + -**brān** 'raven, ravens'.

The Catrail SLK CPNS, 181 ? + **cad-** 'battle' + analogical -*r*- (for 'erroneous' -**ï**[**r**]-) + -**eil** 'wattle fence'?

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[194] Breeze 2007 proposes the latter, asserting that this was on the boundary between Strathclyde and Northumbria in the ninth century and that Cumbric speakers would have used the term to characterise their Northumbrian neighbours as 'an (alien) nation', but in Middle Welsh it definitely implies 'heathen'. At Penyghent YWR Breeze 2006b sees a reference to Scandinavian pagans in Ribblesdale: this is perhaps less problematic. See also James 2008, 197–99.

[195] I am grateful to Mr. A. Walker for this and several other suggestions regarding names from CMB and WML in these Appendixes.

Culbratten (Penninghame) WIG Maxwell 1930, 97, MacQueen 2008, 23 + **cūl-* 'bothy' or **cūl-* 'narrow place' + -**Brïthon** 'Briton'; but probably Gaelic.

Cumrech (Irthington) CMB + **cum[b]-** 'hollow' + -?; or else **cum[b]-** (see Appendix 5) + -**brijth** 'speckled'.

Dalreagle (Kirkinner) WIG Maxwell 1930, 103, MacQueen 2008, 23 ? + **dǭl-* 'haugh' + -**eglę:s** here, 'the Church, as landholder', otherwise + -**rīɣ** 'king'.

Enterkine (Tarbolton) AYR ? **neint-* (**nant**) 'watercourse' (in northern Brittonic) + -**can[d]** 'bright, white', -**cant** 'boundary', or -**cę:n** ? 'fresh' as stream-name ('beautiful, fair, elegant' in MnW; perhaps with 'incorrect' definite article).

[*sikam de*] *Gileredh* (lost field-name in Newby) WML PNWml2, 148 ? + **cīl-** 'nook, out-of-the-way place' + -**red* 'running' as a stream name.

Glentenmont (Eskdalemuir) DMF / (Castleton) ROX CPNS, 180 and 399 ? + **glïnn-** 'glen' + -**tan-** 'under', or else ancient hydronym **tān* (**tā**)**,** or **tān** 'fire', in either case with 'incorrect' article, + -**mönïδ** 'upland'.

Knockietore (Old Luce) WIG Maxwell 1930, 182 + **cnuc[h]-** 'hillock' + -**torr** 'bulging, prominent feature' ('heap of rocks' in MnW and English usage, a later development): could be Gaelic.

Knockycoid (Colmonell) AYR + **cnuc[h]-* + -**cę:d** 'wood', see Phonological considerations with note 33 for an alternative interpretaton.

Lanrecorinsan (Brampton?) CMB Lan Cart 28 + **lanerc-** 'enclosure from scrubby waste' + ? -**ïnïs-** 'island, dry land in a boggy area', + nominal or locative suffix -**an**.

Lanrekereini (Dalton) CMB Lan Cart 49 + **lanerc-** + - *wyni* (**oɣn*) 'lambs', see Breeze 2006a, 329), or else -**rieini* (see ****rijajn**) 'princesses, young women'.

Minnygap (Moffat) DMF ? + **mönïδ-** 'upland' or **mönju-** 'scrub' ? + -****cïb** 'hollow'.

Nenthemenou (Upper Denton) CMB Ekwall 1928, 301, Lan Cart 9 etc. + **nent-* (**nant**) 'watercourse' + -**mïn-* 'kid' + plural morpheme -**öü** [or ME -*howe*]; or else + -*Tenmon-* (Temon Beck, ?**dīn-** or **tā-** + -**maɣn**).

Patefyn (Farlam) CMB Lan Cart ? + **pant-** 'hollow, valley bottom', also 'watercourse' + -**fïn** 'boundary'.

Plendernethy (Ayton) BWK ? + **blajn-** 'summit, valley-head', see Appendix 4 + -****nejth-** 'pure' + adjectival suffix -**īg** (a lost stream name?), or else -**treβ-** 'farm'.

Pularyan (Inch) WIG Maxwell 1930, 320, MacQueen 2002, 80, + **pol-* 'watercourse' , see Appendix 2, + -****rijajn** 'princess, young woman', or else + -**arɣant** 'silver', or a Gaelic formation.

Redmain CMB PNCmb, 267 + **rïd**- 'ford' + -**maɣn** 'stone'.

Roderbren (Tarbolton) AYR ? + **rïd**-, ***rod**- 'district' or 'defensive enclosure' or ***rǭd** 'defensive enclosure' + -**brïnn** 'hill' or -**prenn** 'tree'.

Tail o'Ling WML (Bampton) PNWml2, 197 + **tāl**- 'end' + -**lïnn** 'lake'.

Talahret (between Pollock and Cathcart) RNF ? + **tāl**- + -**rïd** 'ford'.

Watermillock CMB PNCmb, 254 ? + **wï:ẟ**- 'woodland', or else OE *weðer* > 'wether', ? + **mẹ:lǭg* (a district name associated with Little Mell Fell? **-mẹ:l**- 'bare, bald' + nominal suffix -**ǭg**).

Possible cases with -**[h]ïn*-, but see under Morphological considerations; all are more likely to be Gaelic-influenced or Gaelic in origin:

Badintree Hill (Tweedsmuir) PEB ? + **bod**- 'dwelling, cottage' + -**treß** 'farm'.

Carnenuat (lost) ? + **carn**- 'cairn' + -**wï:ẟ** 'woodland'.

Craigantyre (Stoneykirk) WIG Maxwell 1930, 81 ? + **crẹ:g**- 'rock' + -**tīr** 'territory, landholding'.

Craigentye (Glasserton) WIG Maxwell 1930, 85 ? **crẹ:g**- + -**tīɣ** 'cottage, outbuilding'.

Laggangarn WIG Brooke 1991, 311 ? + ***lech**- 'slab' + -***woreü** 'best, choice', or subordinative prefix -**wo**- + -**rïw** 'steep slope'.

Manhincon (Craighlaw) WIG Brooke 1991, 320 ? + **maɣn**- 'stone' + -**cū[n]** 'hound'.

Polintarf Water, with Polintarf, PEB CPNS, 453 + ***pol**- 'watercourse' + -**tarw** 'bull': see Appendix 2.

Tallentire CMB PNCmb, 324–25 + **tal**- 'end' + -**tīr** 'territory, landholding'.

Treesmax (Drongan) AYR CPNS, 362 + **treß**- 'farm' + -**ǭch** 'edge, point' [+ Scots plural -*(i)s*].

Appendix 2
Name-phrases with *pol- and a (possibly) Brittonic specific.

Forms with ***pol**- or derivatives as a generic first element are extremely common, but many have second elements that are certainly or probably Gaelic, and a few might be English / Scots inversion-compounds, e.g., perhaps, Powdrake and Powfoulis STL (but see Reid 2009, 86, where he proposes G. *fo-glais* 'streamlet' and *drochaid* 'bridge'). Even where the first element is Brittonic, loss of stress in Gaelic (Calder 1923 §7(iv), 13–14) and / or English / Scots speech leads to reduced forms like *po*-, *pe*[*r*]-. Examples where the specific is arguably Brittonic include:

Falgunzeon KCB (Kirkgunzeon) Maxwell 1930, 135 + saint's name -*Winnjan* (Cumbric *Gwïnnian*). [196] The form *Boelwynnyn* 1175×1185 could be for lenited **pol-* rather than Maxwell's G *fàl-* 'garth, pen, fold', but **mẹ:l** might be involved: see Brooke 1991, 319.

Patervan (Drumelzier) PEB ? + -**terμïn** 'boundary', or else ***polter** 'upland stream'**.**

Pillmour Burn ELO ? + -**mǭr** 'great, large': possibly + variant **pil-*, cf. Ribble (*rö-pil?); the second element is Gaelic-influenced, if not Gaelic in origin.

Piltanton Burn WIG Maxwell 1930, 224, MacQueen 2002, 85 + ? ancient hydronym -**tan-* (***tā**-) + nominal or locative suffix -**an** (or OE -*tūn*), or else + -**tān-** 'fire'.

Poldean (Beattock) DMF + -**dīn** 'fort'.

Poldivan Lake DMF + - **duβïn** 'deep': see Nicolaisen 2011, 28.

Polgauer CMB (Little Clifton) Ekwall 1928, 329, PNCmb, 360 + -**gaβr** 'goat'.

Polintarf, with *Polintarf Water* (= West Burn), (West Linton) PEB CPNS, 453[197] ? + definite article -**ïn**- + -**tarw** 'bull', showing Gaelic influence.

Polmont, with Polmont Hill, STL CPNS, 400, Reid 2009, 39 + -**mönïδ** 'upland'; preserving an earlier name of the Gilston Burn.

Poltadan NTB (lost, in North Tynedale) ? + an ancient stream-name ***tā**-*d-* + nominal or locative suffix -**an**.

Polternan (= Castle Beck, Naworth) CMB PNCmb, 8 ? +-**terμïn** 'boundary', see Todd 2005, 92 n. 29 citing G. W. S. Barrow, otherwise ***polter** 'upland stream' and **nant** 'valley, watercourse'.

Polthledick CMB (lost field-name in Burtholme, perhaps an earlier name for the Carling Gill) Ekwall 1928, 329–30, PNCmb, 73 + -**ɫė:d-* (**lẹid**) 'mud', see Phonological considerations, + nominal suffix -*jǭg* (-**ǭg**).

Poltie Burn (Carsphairn) KCB Maxwell 1930, 226 + -**ti**ɣ 'cottage, outbuilding', or Gaelic -*tigh*.

Poltkinerum (Bewcastle) CMB PNCmb, 62 ? + -**cïnnor-* (**cïnt**) 'leader, warrior in the vanguard' [+ ME epenthetic -*t-*] + plural suffix -*jon*: see Breeze in Coates and Breeze 2000, 287, but it is 'extremely obscure and difficult', Coates in ibid., loc. cit., listing it under 'wholly Goidelic'. A connection with Kinkry Hill nearby is perhaps possible, PNCmb loc. cit.

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[196] On the saint's name *Winnjan*, see Clancy 2002 for discussion of place-names commemorating *Winnian* and *Finnian* and his controversial identification of these with *Nynian*.

[197] This farm is also mentioned, as Polintarf, in Robert Louis Stevenson's *Weir of Hermiston* (1896) ch. 7.

Poltross Burn CMB / NTB border PNCmb, 23 + -**traws** 'across': there are two other streams of this name in CMB, in Askerton and Lanercost, see Todd 2005, 92, also Barrow 1992, 132 n. 24.

Poutreuet (Falstone) NTB Mawer 1920, 160 ? + -**tre*ß*-** 'farm' + nominal suffix -**ed**, but note also Welsh *trefred* 'abode' (see Coates, Coates and Breeze 2000, 323); some confusion with *Polterheued* and Powterneth Beck, both nearby in CMB, may be suspected; or possibly *polter 'upland stream'.

Pow Maughan CMB PNCmb, 24 + Cumbric personal name *Merchiōn < Marciānus*, see PNCmb, 194, and note 171, above.

Powbrand Syke (Stainmore) WML PNWml2, 78 + -**bran** 'raven, or Anglo-Scandinavian personal name -*Brand.*

Powbrone Burn LAN CPNS, 204 + **bröüən-**, Gaelicised if not early Gaelic in origin, *poll-bròn.

Powcady (Walton) CMB PNCmb, 114 ? + -**cad**- 'battle' + plural morpheme -**öü**, Breeze 2006a, 330, suggests a connection with *Polterkened*, but the recorded forms for Powcady offer little support and are too late for certainty.

Powdonnet Well (Morland) WML + personal name *Dünōd < Donātus*, possibly a local saint or the chieftain of that name (cf. Cardunneth Pike CMB).

Powmuck (Eskdalemuir) DMF + -**moch** 'swine', or else Gaelic *poll-muic.

Pularyan (Inch) WIG Maxwell 1930, 230, MacQueen 2002, 80–81 ? + -**arɣant** 'silver', or definite article -**ï[r]**- + -**rijajn** 'princess, young woman', or a Gaelic formation.

Pulinkum (Kirkmaiden) WIG MacQueen 2002, 85 (not Maxwell 1930) ? + -**wïnn**- 'white' + -**cum[b]**- 'hollow valley': perhaps Brittonic *wïnn-cum[b] with Gaelic *pol*- added and -**wïnn**- replaced by Gaelic *fhionn*, but see note 164 above.

Appendix 3
Name-phrases with *trev- as generic.

Notes: See Appendix 1 (and note 191) for forms with the definite article. Forms with Tra-, Tro-, show vocalisation of [*ß*]. Metathesis of Tro- can lead to confusion with **torr** 'rock, rocky outcrop'.

Dramore Wood, with *Tramores Hill* on Armstrong's map (1775), (Broughton) PEB ? + -**mōr** 'great'; see Drummond 2009, 14.

Terrauchtie (Troqueer) KCB CPNS, 201, Maxwell 1930, 258 + -*ū*ch- 'higher' + -**tī[ɣ]** 'cottage, outbuilding'.

Torphichen WLO Macdonald 1941, 89 ? + -*bïchan* (see **bïch**) 'little': see Wilkinson 1992, 32, or else **torr**, see above, perhaps + saint's name Féchín (Taylor 2009, 73-4).

Torquhan (Stow) MLO SPN² p. 214 ? + -***hwaen** 'event, ? battle-site', or -*wenn* (**wïnn**) 'white', see Phonological considerations and Troquhain etc., below.

Trabboch (Drongan) AYR CPNS, 362 ? + -***be**δ 'grave' or -***bedu** 'birch'.

Traboyack (Girvan) AYR, also Traboyack House (Straiton) AYR, CPNS, 359, 361 ? + -*biw (**bū̆ch**) 'cattle' + nominal suffix -ǭ**g**.

Tradunnock (Maybole) AYR CPNS, 361–62 + -* **dantǭg** literally 'toothed', in Welsh and Cornish 'betony':[198] Breeze 2000, 55–56.

Trahenna Hill (Broughton) PEB CPNS, 369 ? + -**hen**- 'old' + -***anhe**δ 'settlement, dwelling-place'.

Tralallan or *Trolallan* (Parton) KCB CPNS, 363 + -?

Tralodden (Old Dailly) AYR ? + -***lǭd** 'heat (in animals), rut',[199] or ***lud** 'mud, mire, mucky water', + nominal or locative suffix -**an**: a lost stream name?

Tralorg (Old Dailly) AYR ? + -***lur**ɣ 'path, track', or possibly 'long, low ridge'.[200]

Tranent ELO CPNS, 360 + -*neint* (**nant**) 'watercourse'.

Tranew (Kirkmichael) AYR CPNS, 361 ? + -**nöwi**δ 'new', the specific replaced by Gaelic -*nuadh*.

Traprain, with Traprain Law, ELO CPNS, 350, 363 + -**brïnn** 'hill' or -**prenn** 'tree'.

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[198] This plant (*Stachys officinalis*) is near the northern limit of its natural distribution in southern Scotland, so local abundance might have been noteworthy. The Botanical Society of the British Isles *Atlas of British and Irish Flora* (accessed 20/06/07) shows pre-1970 records for this species in hectads on the Carrick coast AYR and in southern KCB. However, it should be noted that the appearance of this plant in mediaeval and early modern herbals probably derives from a misidentification of Pliny the Elder's *betonika*. It is doubtful whether betony was really much used, let alone (as Breeze, loc. cit. suggests) cultivated as a medicinal herb, though it was occasionally applied to wounds or drunk as an infusion. Like English 'betony', ***dantǭg** might well have been used for other plants with toothed leaves. See Allen and Hatfield 2004, 212–13.

[199] In poetry, Irish *láth*, and possibly also in Welsh *llawd*, can mean 'ardour', and, by metonymy, 'warrior'.

[200] In Irish and Scottish Gaelic place-names, *lorga*[*n*] refers to such ridges, presumably perceived as 'shanks, shins': Watson 1926, 412 and 522 n. 485, Flanagan and Flanagan 1994, 117, McKay 1999, 44, 71 and 102. It is uncertain whether senses in the Celtic languages relating to 'path, track' and to 'cudgel, staff', along with 'shank' etc., all have a shared origin or have become homonyms.

Tregallon (Troqueer) KCB CPNS, 362, Maxwell 1930, 261 ? + -*galon* (*gāl*) 'enemies, hostilities'.[201]

Trerankelborhan (lost field-name in Mansergh) WML PNWml1, 53 + ON personal name *Hrafnkel* + Old English -*burgæsn* 'burial-place', see Smith 1956a, 57–58): the generic is more probably ON *tré* 'tree': see Grant 2002, 87.

Troax (Lendalfoot) AYR CPNS, 362 ? + -**wag** 'empty, vacant' [+Scots plural -*(i)s*].

Trogart (lost, in Carrick) AYR CPNS, 362 ? + -**garth** 'pen, stockyard'.

Troloss LAN (Elvanfoot) CPNS, 362 + -**lost** 'tail', here perhaps 'back-end'?[202]

Troqueer KCB CPNS, 362, Maxwell 1930, 261 + a river-name of the 'Quair' type (****wei**- 'set in motion' or 'flow', or ****wejr** 'something curved or twisted'; see Phonological considerations).

Troquhain (Kirkmichael) AYR CPNS, 362, Troquhain (Balmaclellan) KCB Maxwell 1930, 262, CPNS, 362, and Troughend (Otterburn) NTB PNNTB, 201, all ? + -****hwaen** 'event, ? battle-site' (Breeze 2000, 111-12),[203] or -*wenn* (**wïn[n]**), or else ****truch**- '[something] cut short' (Coates in Coates and Breeze 2000, 323); see Phonological considerations, also Torquhan, above.

Trowier (Girvan) AYR CPNS, 361 + a river-name of the 'Quair' type (****wei**- or ****wejr**): see Troqueer above.

[201] In the Celtic languages, 'enmity, hatred'. A distinct nominal form meaning 'enemy' fell together with the root-form in neo-Brittonic, so the noun may mean either 'enmity' or 'enemy'. It forms the Middle Welsh legal term *galanas* (occurring with syncope in the so-called *Leges inter Brettos et Scottos* as *galnes* and *galnys*, LHEB, 9–10), Middle Irish *galannas* 'blood-fine, wergild'.

[202] The original reference was probably to a hunting spear, but it is chiefly used in the Celtic languages (metaphorically) for 'tail', although other senses such as 'butt, back end' and 'penis' should be taken into account.

[203] This occurs in place-names in eight parishes across north Wales from Flintshire to Anglesey (*Archif Melville Richards*, searching *chwaen**), but its precise meaning in toponymy is unclear. Breeze, loc. cit., suggests 'battle-site', but any notable event, stroke of luck etc. might equally well be invoked.

Appendix 4
Name-phrases with **blajn-* as generic. [204]

Blantyre LAN Nicolaisen et al. 1970 s.n. + -**tīr** 'territory, landholding': Breeze 2000–06, 1, and see Blennerhasset below.

Blanyvaird (Penninghame) WIG Maxwell 1930, 43 + definite article -**ï[r]**- + -*beirδ* (**bar**δ) 'bards', gaelicised as genitive singular *a' bhaird*.[205]

Blencarn CMB PNCmb, 214 + -**carn** 'cairn'.

Blencathra (= Saddleback, Threlkeld) CMB PNCmb, 253, Whaley 2006, 289 ? + -**cadeir** 'chair, throne'.

Blencogo CMB PNCmb, 122 + -**cog-** 'cuckoo' + plural morpheme[206] -**öü** [or + ON -*haugr* 'hill, heap, mound'].

Blencow (Dacre) CMB PNCmb, 186 + -**coch** 'scarlet' or -***cöü** 'hollow' [or + ON -*haugr*]: see Breeze (2002), 291–92.

Blendewing (Kilbucho) PEB + -**duβïn** 'deep', possibly a lost stream name.

Blenkinsopp (Gilsland) NTB + -*cejn- (see **ceμ-**) 'ridge' or -**cę:n** 'beautiful' [+ OE -*hop* 'enclosed valley']: Breeze (2002), 292.

Blennerhasset CMB PNCmb pp. 265–66 + -**treβ-** 'farm' or -**tīr-** 'territory, landholding', see Lexical considerations [+ ON *hey-sǽtr* 'hay-shieling']: Coates in Coates and Breeze 2000, 285, suggests a compound formation here ***blajn-tīr** 'upland territory' or 'upper limit of a territory', see Morphological considerations.

Blindbothel CMB PNCmb, 345, Whaley 2006, 35 + -**bod** 'dwelling, cottage' or here possibly 'church' or 'monastery', see Wilson 1978 and Taylor 1996, 43–46 [or else OE *blind-* > 'blind', but early forms show *blen-*].

Blindcrake CMB PNCmb, 266–67, Whaley 2006, 35 + -**cręig** 'crag'.

Planmichel (possibly = Carmichael) LAN + personal (saint's) name -*Michael*: Breeze 2000, 73–74. [207]

[204] Padel 1985, 23 adduces the Breton form, the hypothetical antecedent of the (once-attested) Cornish form *blyn*, as evidence for a possible variant *blejn (perhaps from **blacnjo-*?). Alternatively, he suggests a relationship with Welsh *blen* 'hollow': cf. O-MIr *blén* > Ir *bléan, bléin* 'groin', in place-names 'inlet, bay or creek formed by a lake or large river', see DUPN, 26 s.n. Blaney Frm, also 'narrow tongue of land', Dinneen 1996 s.v.; this is *blian* in Gaelic, and Maxwell 1930, 43, sees it in Blanyvaird WIG (below), but its only recorded topographic use in Scottish Gaelic seems to be in the Perthshire dialect form *blein* used for 'harbour for boats', Dwelly 1993 s.vv. As Padel says, the records of names in the North are too late to be reliable guides to what the Cumbric word would have been.

[205] See previous note.

[206] The etymologies of words for 'cuckoo' are inevitably complicated by the imitative instinct: thus *cogöü may have been the original, mimetic, singular rather than a plural + -**öü**.

[207] Cf. perhaps Plann AYR (Kilmaurs), a possible simplex **blajn**, but the earliest record, as Plann, is the Ainslie Estate survey of 1768. I am grateful to Prof. T. O. Clancy for this information.

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Plendernethy (Ayton) BWK + definite article -**ï[r]**- or -**treβ**- 'farm' + a lost stream name, -***nejth**- 'pure' + adjectival suffix -**īg**?[208].

Plenmeller (Haltwistle) NTB Mawer 1920, 158 ? + -**mę:l**- 'bald, bare' + -**bre[ɣ]**- 'hill'.[209]

Plenploth (Stow) MLO CPNS, 355 + -**plę:β** 'common land'?[210] Watson, CPNS, loc. cit., gives **pen[n]**- here, but early forms favour *plen*- for **blajn**.

Plent[r]idoc (=Arnieston, Temple) MLO + -**tri**- 'three, triple' + -?- + adjectival suffix -**ǭg**: the significance of **tri** here is quite obscure , see Barrow 1998, 73.

Appendix 5
Name-phrases with **cum[b]*- as generic.

Cumcatch (Brampton) CMB PNCmb, 66 + -***cach** 'excrement'.

Cumcrook (Bellbank) CMB PNCmb, 59 + -**crūg** 'isolated, abrupt hill' (Gelling and Cole 2000, 159): both elements could be English-adopted, but the formation is Celtic.

Cumdivock (Dalston) CMB PNCmb, 132 + a lost stream-name, or a personal name *Döβǭg < **dūβ**- 'black' + adjectival suffix -**ǭg**.

Cumheueruin (Kingwater; also possibly another in Walton) CMB Lan Cart 151, 204 + -*heųer- (***haµar**) 'land left seasonally fallow' + -**wïnn** 'white': see Todd 2005, especially at 99; alternatively + -***gweβr**- 'lively' + adjectival and toponymic suffix -**īn**, presumably a stream name . Either way, **cum[b]**- is probably a secondary addition by Cumbric speakers.

Cumquencath (Burtholme) CMB PNCmb, 71 + personal name -*Wengad*, cf. *Guencat* Canu Aneirin IIIB (B39) and Breton *Guengat*.[211]

Cumquethil (unlocated) CMB Lan Cart 260 [+ OE -*hyll*]: this may be the same place as *Quinquaythil*, see *Cumquencath* above and note; however, this could be + -**cę:d**- 'woodland'.

[208] I am grateful to Mr. J. G. Wilkinson for this suggestion.

[209] Alternatively ***maɣn** 'stone' + plural suffix -**ǭr** (> MW -*awr*, an archaic form 'mostly in early poetry' Evans 1964 §30(b), 28). However, the term *maenol*, in south Wales spelt *maenor* under the influence of English 'manor', occurs in the Welsh Laws as a territorial unit (see GPC s.v. *maenor*, and Jenkins 1986, 363); whether it is related to **maɣn** is uncertain, but it is possible that such a term is implicated in this name and in that of *Manor*, with Manor Water PEB CPNS, 383. At Plenmeller the earliest form *Plenmeneure* (alongside *Playsmaleuere*) 1256, may favour this interpretation, or else *mailor*, < **maɣl** 'prince, great man', which also occurs as a territorial unit in the Welsh Laws**.**

[210] See Phonological considerations and note 23, and Appendix 6.

[211] This same personal name may occur in *Quinquaythil* (? Walton) CMB Lan Cart 224, 259–63 [+ OE -*hyll*], in *Cumquethil*, see below, and maybe in Friar Waingate Bridge (Kingwater) CMB; see Todd 2005, 91–92, 99. If this is the origin of *Quinquaythil*, *Q*- implies [gw-], see Phonological considerations, above.

Cumrech CMB (Irthington) Lan Cart 225 ? + *-βrïch* (**brijth**) 'speckled': possibly a stream name, or the valley of a stream named *Brïch. See Todd 2005, 92 and 97. Otherwise, it may be a formation + definite article **-ï[r]-** + an unknown element, see Appendix 1.

Cumrenton (Irthington) CMB PNCmb, 92: forms from 1582 have -renton, but also *-rintinge* and no certain etymology is possible.[212]

Cumreu NTB (= Wardrew) NTB PNNTB p. 207 + - **rïw** 'steep slope'.

Cumrew CMB PNCmb, 77 + - **rïw**.

Cumwhinton (Wetherall) CMB PNCmb pp. 161–62 + saint's name or Norman-French personal name *Quentin*, see Lexical considerations.

Cumwhitton CMB PNCmb pp. 78–79 + a pre-existing Northumbrian Old English place-name -*Hwītingtūn see Lexical considerations.

Appendix 6
Penploth MLO[213]

PLENPLOTH STO S NT439488

Pleuploch 1540 *St A. Rent.*, 106 [probably a misreading of *Plenploth*]

Pleuploich 1544 *St A. Rent.*, 172 [probably a misreading of *Plenploith*]

Pleuploch 1544 *St A. Rent.*, 183 [probably a misreading of *Plenploth*]

Pleuploich 1545 *St A. Rent.*, 206 [probably a misreading of *Plenploith*]

Pleuploich 1545 *St A. Rent.*, 211 [probably a misreading of *Plenploith*]

Penploif 1593 *RMS* v no. 2273 col. 3 [in lordship and barony of *Stow*]

? *Plantoith* 1598 × 1599 *RMS* vi no. 829 [in a long list of lands in the regality of Stow in Wedale (*Stow* in *Weddell*), which also includes *Penploff*]

Penploff 1598 × 1599 *RMS* vi no. 829 [in a long list of lands in the regality of Stow in Wedale (*Stow* in *Weddell*), which also includes *Plantoith*]

Plewpleuth (vel *Plenpleuth*) 1611 × 1612 *RMS* vii no. 603 [this is how it is printed; it is not clear whether the alternative reading is in the original or has been added editorially; amongst lands in the barony of *Stow* feued to Alexander *Foullartoun* of *Law* by the archbishop of St Andrews]

Plenpleuth 1611 × 1612 *RMS* vii no. 603 [£5 rent to be paid for *Plenpleuth* to archbishop of St Andrews]

Plainploithe 1615 × 1625 *RMS* viii no. 844 [amongst lands in the barony of *Stow* feued to Hoppringill family by the archbishop of St Andrews]

Plainploithe 1615 × 1625 *RMS* viii no. 844 [£5 rent to be paid to the archbishop of St Andrews]

[212] See Lexical considerations and note 110.
[213] Kindly supplied by Dr S. Taylor. See Phonological considerations and note 23, and Appendix 5.

Plamploch 1686 *Retours* Edinburgh [MLO] i no. 1302 [probably a misreading for *Plamploth*]

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On the Origin of 'Hiberno-Norse Inversion-compounds'

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This paper concerns a place-name type familiar to researchers into the early medieval history of north-west England, and particularly to those on the trail of Scandinavian-speaking settlers. The names are exemplified by Setmurthy in Cumberland, in which a generic element, here Old Norse *sætr* 'shieling, seasonal pasture', precedes its qualifier, in this case the Goidelic personal name *Muiredach*. The word order is the reverse of that usually found in Scandinavian (and English) place-names where the qualifier as a rule precedes the generic (as Ormskirk, Netherby, Kingston). Rather, the construction is typical of Celtic languages in the medieval and later periods, and the Goidelic personal name in Setmurthy apparently gives the clue to the origins of the phenomenon. For these place-names, around a hundred of which cluster in the northernmost English counties adjoining the Irish Sea, are made up principally of Scandinavian and Goidelic elements, and surely arise out of contact between speakers of these languages.[1]

The precise historical background to this contact is a matter for discussion, as we shall see, but one further deduction can be accepted as reasonably secure: the type can be said to be basically Scandinavian in language, despite the word order. This emerges from analysis of the generic elements, which almost always are, or could be, Norse. A few are English, but no more than one or two could be Goidelic. In making this statement it is conceded that certain allowances must be made. There are, as will be discussed further below, a number of compound names in north-west England with a Goidelic generic in initial position, but in almost all of these cases the names are not hybrids, but wholly Goidelic. The pattern of Goidelic generic followed by an Old Norse, or Old English, qualifier is almost entirely absent.[2] Such names are occasionally found in south-west Scotland (e.g. Torthorwald, Dumfriesshire – G. *tòrr* 'hill' + ON *Thorvaldr* pers.n.) and the Isle of Man (e.g. a lost *Aryhorkell* in Druidale – G. *àirigh* 'milking-place, shieling' + ON *Thorkell* pers.n.). In their contexts these

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[1] The material is assembled and discussed in Ekwall 1918, 13–65, 95–103; Ekwall 1929; *EPNS Cmb*, iii, xxiii–xxiv; *EPNS Wml*, i, xli–xlii; ibid., ii, 322; *SSNNW*, 52–53, 96, 303–06, 319–20; Grant 2002. The better and earlier-recorded instances are presented on Map 1. The Appendix below lists a representative sample of names and early spellings. It is not the aim here to reassess the entire corpus in all its details, which, at the edges, can be difficult and uncertain. 2 A handful of possible instances are noted in section J of the Appendix below. Even if they were all accepted, they would hardly change the balance of the material.

Map 1: The inversion-compounds of north-west England
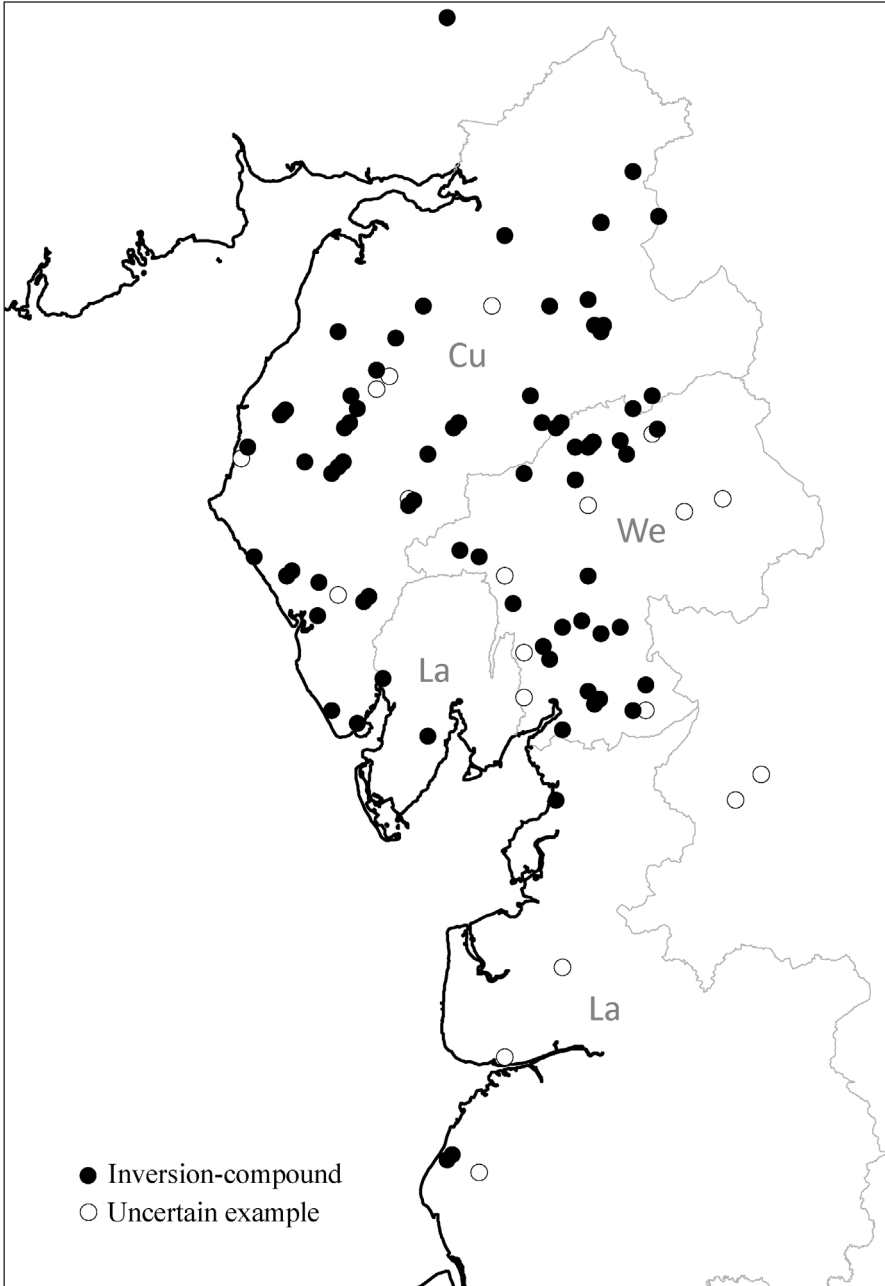
names are readily interpreted as Goidelic-language place-names incorporating reference to people with Norse personal names.[3] The near-total absence of this type from the hybrid names of north-west England suggests that the predominant linguistic balance here was different.[4]

Turning to the qualifiers, Norse and Goidelic personal names are about equally common and between them account for the majority of the place-names; some English and other personal names are also found as qualifiers; as are a few pre-existing place-names and just a handful of common nouns, only one of them perhaps Goidelic.[5] These characteristics – Goidelic word-order and personal names, but overwhelmingly Norse lexicon – suggest that the place-names are more readily considered Norse influenced by Goidelic, rather than vice-versa. Hence the traditional label 'inversion-compound' for a Scandinavian name reversed from its usual Germanic word order.

Where, when and under what social circumstances did the linguistic contact that underlies the inversion-compounds take place? The first detailed study of the group – in several respects the most detailed study to be published to date – appeared in 1918 and proposed a unified theory to answer all of these questions. The great Swedish scholar Eilert Ekwall associated the names with Scandinavian communities who had been based in Ireland, and perhaps elsewhere in the Irish Sea region, and who subsequently settled in the north-west of England. Such incomers are suggested, albeit somewhat sketchily, by historical sources, and evidence for their presence has been bolstered by archaeological discovery and interpretation over the nine decades since Ekwall wrote. This testimony all tends to suggest that incursions began in the first half of the 10th century, and that they might be related to the (partly) known political history of Viking Northumbria, for at various points between 918 and 954, members of the Scandinavian dynasty that had ruled in Dublin held or vied for power also in York.[6] Ekwall believed that the inversion-compounds marked the settlements of Scandinavians who had formerly spent time in Goidelic-speaking areas to the extent that their naming-practices had been influenced by local usage, and he

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[3] *SSNNW*, 255; Nicolaisen 2001, 143; Gelling 1971, 173. Note that I am using modern Scottish Gaelic headwords here as a convenience, without prejudice as to the variety of Goidelic employed in the coining of the names.

[4] Note that I use 'hybrid' to denote names formed from elements drawn from more than one language of origin. This does not mean that they need be perceived as hybrids by the coiners of the name: indeed, I suspect names are very rarely perceived in this way. The compounds consisting of Norse generic + Goidelic personal name are hybrids, although, I am arguing, they were coined by Scandinavian speakers.

[5] See section F of the Appendix below.

[6] Edmonds 2009 provides an up-to-date overview of the sources for our understanding of Scandinavian settlement in the north-west.

thought that in origin the type belonged to the earliest phase of Scandinavian settlements in the area.[7]

Coherent as this account of the origin of the place-names seems, there is room for doubt at each stage. In the following paragraphs I will review the indications of where and when the names may have arisen, before arguing that Ekwall's hypothesis is certainly not the only one possible and that there may be reason to consider it less likely than an alternative.

A cornerstone of the search for origins must be the distribution of the type. In England the group is tightly concentrated in Cumberland and Westmorland; there are a few instances in the far north of Lancashire and a couple of outliers south of the Ribble. None has been identified further south than this and there are no clear examples to the east of the Pennines, in Yorkshire, though a few possibilities have been proposed.[8] Outside England the type is rare, though in saying this it becomes necessary to define an exception. For there is a substantial group of names around the northern Irish Sea, particularly in south-west Scotland and the Isle of Man, in which Old Norse *kirkja* 'church' is combined with a saint's name (as Kirkbride, Kirkpatrick, Kirkoswald). These are structurally identical to the inversion-compounds, especially as many of the saints are distinctively Gaelic (either linguistically or in the geography of their cults, or both), and in broad terms they can be considered indicative of much the same cultural contact. Yet although this type extends into Cumberland and overlaps there with the English inversion-compounds, the wider spread in itself suggests that the explanation of the origin of the *kirk*-names may be different in detail to that of the others.[9] It has been proposed, for instance, that in the Kirkbride type *kirk* should be regarded not as an indicator of coinage by Scandinavian settlers, but as witness to a Germanic loan-word into Goidelic.[10]

[7] Ekwall 1918, 51–55, 62–65. On the nuances of his dating, see below, p. 138 and n. 22.

[8] Ekwall 1918, 47 ('two examples, both doubtful'); Smith 1928–29, 202–03; Janzén 1960; Grant 2003, 113–27. The last-named defends the potential Yorkshire examples against the too-ruthless assault by Janzén. It should be noted, however, that the better possibilities are found in the north-west of the West Riding, in a Pennine area that hardly extends the overall distribution at all. Four possibilities have been identified further east, in the North Riding, which would define a spread across the country that Grant compares with (a restricted part of the range of) the names in *ærgi*, discussed further below. It will be clear from what follows that I do not think the *ærgi*-names need belong with the inversion-compounds and I doubt the status of the disputed names: certainly none of them is a clear and straightforward instance.

[9] The names are listed in section G of the Appendix below and marked on Map 3 below. Studies include Brooke 1983, Fellows-Jensen 1991, 88–92, Nicolaisen 2001, 140–43, and Grant 2004, each of them properly treating the *kirk-* group as distinct in itself. Note that Smyth's proposal that all the English inversion-compounds are derived from Galloway (Smyth 1975–79, i, 80–81) depends entirely on conflating the two types.

[10] Gelling 1971, 173; Clancy forthcoming.

Since *kirk*-names in south-western Scotland proliferate in some areas otherwise short of Scandinavian settlement-names, this appears likely enough. Certainly there are marked contrasts between the situation in south-west Scotland and that in north-west England, where the inversion-compounds are formed with a wide range of predominantly Norse generics and take their place in a landscape crowded also with 'conventional' Scandinavian names.

Hybrids other than those in *kirk-* are not wholly unknown elsewhere in the Irish Sea region. Ekwall surveyed what was available to him 90 years ago. He discussed five comparable names in Ireland, though he concluded that only one was a true parallel to the English group.[11] He found two instances in the Isle of Man, one in southern Scotland (Dumfriesshire) and none at all in the Hebrides, Orkney or Shetland.[12] More recent work has added very little in the way of direct parallels.[13] A range of comparable types from the Northern Isles to the Faroes has been analysed, but a significant group of names equivalent to the inversion-compounds of the north-west of England has not been identified.[14]

[11] Ekwall 1918, 56–57. He thought that four cases were certainly or probably partial translations or remodellings of existing Irish place-names, a situation he did not reckon with in England. The fifth, which he accepted as a genuine parallel, is *Gillekeran* 1491, in Duleek, County Meath: a combination, he suggested, of ON *gil* 'valley, ravine' and Goid. pers.n. Ciarán.

[12] The Dumfriesshire example is Westerkirk (*Wathstirkir* 1305) in Eskdale, in the east of the county (Ekwall 1918, 59; *SSNNW*, 175; the earliest spelling comes from *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, I, 314 (no. 352) – my thanks to Simon Taylor for this reference). Although over 20 miles north of the nearest Cumberland example, this should perhaps be considered an outlier of the group further south, because it is otherwise largely isolated. Dr Taylor draws my attention to nearby Watcarrick, *Wathkerrok* in the same document, but this has earlier spellings in *Weid-*, *Weit-*, and is probably to be explained differently (*SSNNW*, 257). In connection with these names in south-west Scotland, it might be noted that, as Gelling points out in a Manx context (1971, 172–73), the survival of a Goidelic-speaking population long after the Scandinavian period might cause considerable disturbance. She observes that one of Ekwall's Manx instances, *Toftarasmund* 14th (Ekwall 1918, 57), is earlier recorded, in the 12th century, as *Asmundertoftes*; Gelling ascribes this recasting to Gaelic speakers.

[13] Gelling (1971, 168, 172–73) noted just three instances on Man. The type is not mentioned in Broderick's recent survey of Goidelic and Norse contact Man (2007) – though he does note Scandinavian terms that were clearly loaned into Goidelic and subsequently used as generics in Goidelic names (as, for example, Manx *burroo* < ON *borg*: Broderick 2007, 8–9). Nor are they mentioned in the surveys of Scandinavian place-names in Ireland by Fellows-Jensen (2001) or Oftedal (1976). These omissions tend to underline the observation that – even if odd instances are to be found – inversion-compounds are far from numerous in, or characteristic of, these regions, unlike north-west England.

[14] For western Scotland and points further north and west, particularly Orkney and the Faroes, see Cox 2007, drawing attention also to earlier work, especially Matras 1963. Cox makes a compelling case that various types of generic-first structure developed within West Norse, without obvious substrate influence. This is an important observation, but on at least

It is interesting to bear this distribution in mind when reviewing the suggestions that have been made as to where the Goidelic-Norse linguistic contact that appears to underlie the names took place. Ekwall was very clear on one point: 'As the Scandinavians cannot have come into close contact with Goidels in England, we must assume that they had been to some extent Celticized before their immigration into England' (1918, 95). He was less precise about the geography of the preceding phase, arguing at one point that 'if the theory advanced is correct, we expect to find inversion-compounds also e.g. in Ireland, the Isle of Man, the Hebrides, and parts of Scotland' (ibid., 55), and thus implying that the settlers may have come from any or all of these regions. Elsewhere, however, it seems that Ireland was uppermost in his mind (e.g. ibid., 53, 95) and this is an impression given also by the editors of volumes on the place-names of Cumberland and Westmorland in the 1950s and 1960s.[15] In the following decade, however, an Irish origin was challenged by Alfred Smyth, who argued that there were reasons to suppose that the Scandinavians who settled in north-west England principally came by way of western Scotland (1975–79, I, 79–86). A similar line was developed by Gillian Fellows-Jensen,[16] and then by Alison Grant, the latter concluding 'there are a number of reasons for suggesting that the inversion compounds were coined by these immigrants from the Scottish Isles rather than from Ireland' (2002, 68).

What all of these scholars, from Ekwall onwards, agree upon is that the linguistic contact which lies behind the inversion-compounds took place outside northern England, that the names are the product of immigrants who already had in their heads Norse words and Goidelic structures. Yet, as Ekwall himself indicated, this would be particularly convincing as an explanation if it were possible to point to an area or areas elsewhere around the Irish Sea in which similar names were also common. We have seen, however, that such areas do not seem to be found. This is perhaps not fatal to the widely-held interpretation – and Ekwall attempted to argue his way out

two grounds it appears unlikely to explain the group in north-west England. First, the latter's characteristic structure of generic + uninflected personal name is not found in Cox's material – such personal names as are found there, and they are not frequent, appear always to show genitival inflection (e.g. *Urð Mans*, 'Mand's scree', in the Faroes; Cox 2007, 23). Second, Cox cites no instances where the personal name following the Norse generic is Goidelic. The combination, in the tightly-bounded north-western group, of a unique structure and clear Goidelic influence surely tells its own story.

[15] *EPNS Cmb*, III, xxiii; *EPNS Wml*, I, xl–xli ('the Norwegians from Ireland settled extensively in parts of Westmorland' ... 'the Irish amongst whom these Norwegians had lived'), 51 ('a Celtic (Irish) type of composition introduced into NW England from Ireland by Norwegian Vikings': this immediately followed by a reference to Ekwall 1918).

[16] *SSNNW*, 6, 319–20.

of this corner[17] – but it does not offer much support for it. The distribution map suggests that this phenomenon is especially focussed on the north-west of England and we might wonder, therefore, whether it could be indicative of circumstances peculiar to that region, rather than an import from elsewhere.

As we have seen, Ekwall argued that the Scandinavians must have made their Goidelic contacts before they reached the north-west because they would not have met the language in England. Certainly, in so far as there is no evidence that Goidelic was spoken in the region before the period of Scandinavian settlements, this is cogent enough. But, in turn, this argument embodies another assumption: that the inversion-compounds must date back to the earliest days of Scandinavian settlement in the region. Yet if that were not the case, it would open the door to an enquiry into alternative contexts in which Norse and Goidelic might have come into contact in north-west England after the initial Scandinavian incursions.

First, the case for an early date. It is likely enough that Scandinavian settlement in the wider region, from Cheshire in the south to Cumberland in the north, began early in the 10th century. Despite a paucity of contemporary sources, this conclusion is hinted at by historical sources and clearly supported by archaeological evidence and it is not contested here. It is conceded too that many of the Scandinavian place-names of the area may well have been coined in the first half of the 10th century, just as similar names seem to have been given at broadly the same time, or a little earlier, in the eastern English 'Danelaw'.[18] Moreover, these early names may well include types which show Goidelic influence, for such influence is not limited to inversion-compounds. There is the term *ærgi* 'shieling', for instance, a loanword into Norse from Goidelic, which appears in names such as Birker CMB and Mansergh WML,[19] and there are Goidelic personal names appearing as qualifiers conventionally preceding a Norse generic, as Melmerby CMB, the 'settlement of *Máel Muire*'.[20] Some of these names may pre-date c. 950 and have their origins amongst 'Hiberno-Norse' who might be associated, if only loosely, with the Dublin-York axis of

[17] He suggested that in areas where Goidelic persisted such Scandinavian names would tend to disappear (Ekwall 1918, 55–56). In areas such as Man and the Western Isles the widespread survival of Scandinavian names of other types tends to count against this reasoning. Ireland may be a different case, though Smyth (1975–79, I, 81) explicitly dismissed the suggestion in this context.

[18] Abrams and Parsons 2004, 403–10; cf., however, the limitations of the contemporary record even in the earlier evidence from eastern England, ibid., 392–93 and n. 72.

[19] Ekwall 1918, 74–87; Higham 1977–78; Fellows-Jensen 1980; *VEPN*, I, 31.

[20] Ekwall 1918, 66–72; *SSNNW*, 14. Like the names in *ærgi*, and unlike the inversion-compounds, Irish personal name + Old Norse *bȳ* is a type that demonstrably spread east across the Pennines as well: *SSNY*, 12.

this period. The question at issue, however, is whether the distinctive inversion-compound type need belong to such a phase. It will be suggested below that Scandinavian language probably had a rather long history in this corner of England after its initial introduction and so the mere appearance of Norse in a place-name does not date the period of the name's coinage with any precision. Indeed, a number of inversion-compounds are apparently relatively late formations, since they involve personal names that probably were not introduced to Britain until after the Norman Conquest.[21] Yet, though Ekwall recognised this evidence, he felt able to assert that 'most of the inversion-compounds doubtless belong to the earliest Scand. names in N. W. England'.[22]

Ekwall did not fully spell out the reasons for his conviction and I suspect that, in large part, he favoured an early date because it seemed so well to suit the general historical circumstances as he interpreted them. The more specific justifications that he mentions are certainly not compelling. Most cogently, he noted that some of the personal names appearing in the inversion-compounds are unattested in early records and that 'on the whole the personal names found in these names bear an archaic stamp'.[23] This kind of argument is dubious in general terms. Similar suggestions with regard to the east of England have been subjected to detailed scrutiny and have been found wanting. There, the Scandinavian settlers can be shown to have introduced an exceedingly rich variety of personal names, many of them uniquely attested in relatively late records.[24] When sources of information are limited, as they are both east and west of the Pennines, to argue simply from the unfamiliarity of a personal name that it can only have been borne at a particularly early period is not convincing. There is also a more specific objection to Ekwall's reasoning. He does not define his 'archaic stamp' any more precisely than with reference to an absence from early records, and yet early records for north-west England are exceedingly rare until some time after 1100. It is very doubtful that there are any sound criteria

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[21] See section D in the Appendix below.

[22] Ekwall 1918, 64. He implies a modification at ibid., 103, with the suggestion that 'districts in which inversion-compounds are common were colonised comparatively late'; the proposition is that all the Goidelic-influenced names may indicate settlement established later, within the colonisation period, than in areas with more purely Scandinavian names. Cf. Ekwall 1924, 34–35, where the settlements nonetheless 'seem to belong on the whole to the 10th century'.

[23] Ekwall 1918, 64. The second argument he makes, in the same place, is not really cogent: the fact that some names recorded relatively early as inversion-compounds are later recorded in conventional word-order, whilst of great interest, says little about the period of coinage, save that the inverted examples belong earlier than his 'later' records, which are no earlier than the late 12th century.

[24] See Abrams and Parsons 2004, 401, and references.

to date any of the personal names in the inversion-compounds to, say, the earlier 10th century rather than the middle of the 11th. Clearly a broader time-frame than that usually associated with the 'Hiberno-Norse' must come under scrutiny.[25]

These considerations are relevant because the first record of an inversion-compound is not found until a century or more after the mid-10th-century political demise at York of the historical 'Hiberno-Norse' dynasty. There is nothing sinister in this. The document, 'Gospatric's writ' of the middle or second half of the 11th century, is the earliest medieval document to survive from the far north-west of England so that, if the name-type were indeed early, it could hardly have been recorded any earlier.[26] On the other hand, this date of attestation must leave open the possibility that there might be contexts in the later 10th or 11th centuries which could alternatively be relevant to the origin of the names.

The history of north-west England between the later ninth and twelfth centuries, as has already been implied, is very imperfectly known. In broad outline it can be said that at the beginning of the period Viking incursions, from both the east and west coasts of Britain, evidently destabilised the old Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria. In the north-west, retreating English influence was replaced by Scandinavian settlement from the west and also, it seems, by a southward expansion of the kingdom of Strathclyde from its centre of power near Glasgow. Later, the Anglo-Saxons, in the guises both of the surviving neighbouring Northumbrians and of the more distant, more powerful West Saxons, with their expansionist aspirations, took a renewed interest, as at various points did the rulers of Alba, the emerging Scottish kingdom. Unfortunately the chronology of shifting influence through the 10th

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[25] Other scholars have generally accepted an early date for the inversion-compounds without arguing a case in detail. Amongst various examples I select three from different disciplines. Cameron (1961, 76), states that the names are symptomatic of Norwegians from Ireland or Man settling in Cumbria during the first half of the 10th century, before moving on east to establish a kingdom at York. For Lang (1984, 89–90) inversion-compounds are a part of the 'Norse-Irish' place-name element which correlates with the distribution of 'hogback' stone monuments, giving mutual support to a 10th-century dating. Downham (2007, 84–85) questions much of the received narrative of the Dublin-York Hiberno-Norse and considers that settlement in north-west England may have proceeded over a relatively broad time-frame, but still she accepts that the inversion-compounds indicate 'migrations from the Gaelic world' placed in the context of the late ninth and early tenth centuries.

[26] The writ is printed and discussed by *EPNS Cmb*, III, xxvii–xxx, Harmer 1952, 419–24 and 531–36. The surviving single sheet is late, perhaps 13th-century, but the text is clearly older. Harmer dated it to 1041 × 1064; for cogent reasons to push it nearer the end of the 1060s, see Phythian-Adams 1996, 174–81. For the possibility that it could be a little later still, see below, n. 51.

and 11th centuries is hard to pin down, as are fine details of geography and – crucially in the present context – the linguistic affiliations of many of the folk caught up in the political to and fro. Nonetheless the involvement of the Scots at various points in the course of the 10th and 11th centuries naturally catches the eye, while, as we shall explore further in due course, Goidelic speakers have also been associated by modern scholars not only with Scandinavians (as the 'Hiberno-Norse'), but also with the kingdom of Strathclyde, albeit that in origin that was a British, Brittonic-speaking polity. On the face of it, alternative possibilities to the traditional context and chronology would seem to be worth considering.

One challenge to the received wisdom appeared in print in 2002. Drawing on wide-ranging studies of languages in contact, Alison Grant (2002, 75–83) observed that there was something unusual about the model that had been preferred, by Ekwall and his followers, for the inversion-compounds. From the 1950s onwards linguists like Weinrich, Odlin and Thomason and Kaufman have been concerned to examine the part played by social position in determining the outcome of language-contact: they have classified the kinds of linguistic influence, for instance, which affect a language when it is faced with social and political domination by a minority who speak another; and the reverse: the kinds of influence experienced by the dominant language in such an unequal partnership. I skate over the subtleties in both the general work, and Grant's presentation of it, to arrive at one pertinent conclusion that she chose to stress: it would be unusual for a dominant linguistic group to adjust its grammatical patterns – structure and syntax – to those of a culturally dominated group, at least without first adopting a good number of loan-words.[27] Communities of native speakers in a contact situation where their language remains dominant do not usually make syntactical 'mistakes'. Native Norse speakers, in other words, are not likely to have adopted 'foreign' word order however long they spent among Gaels, assuming – as has generally been assumed – that in this Irish-Sea context it was the Norse who were in the ascendancy.[28]

More likely, Grant suggests, is that the Norse inversion-compounds were coined by native Goidelic-speakers, in their second, learned language. Thomason and Kaufman indicate that it is characteristic for communities of second-language learners turning to the socially dominant language to carry with them features of their mother tongue.[29] Moreover, there is an observable

[27] Grant 2002, 78–79 ('all agree that structural borrowing is normally preceded by an extensive period of vocabulary borrowing').

[28] Grant 2002, 79: 'It is unlikely that a dominant Scandinavian group would choose to utilize the naming-pattern of what appears to have been a minority, low-status group, when they saw fit to borrow so little lexical material'.

[29] Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 37–45; Grant 2002, 77.

hierarchy of elements in this process of acquiring or switching language, according to which lexis, vocabulary, is mastered before syntax. This might lead to exactly the sort of structure that is found here, where the elements, besides personal names, are practically all Germanic but the syntax Goidelic. Hence Grant's conclusion, that the names were more probably coined by Gaels speaking Norse than by Scandinavians who had been influenced by Goidelic speech patterns (2002, 81).

This was not a wholly new line of thought. Ekwall, back in 1918, had considered whether Gaels may have been responsible for the names, but he had rejected it on two grounds: first that in this case there would have been some Goidelic generics and, second, the technical point that Norse /w/ (in *vað* 'ford', for instance) is regularly rendered by /f/ in loanwords taken into Irish (1918, 55). Neither of these points looks very strong as an objection to Grant's more sophisticated hypothesis. In response to the second, it can be shown that second-language learners can, and do, adopt new phonemes.[30] The former observation, about the simple lack of Goidelic vocabulary, looks weak beside the evidence carefully marshalled by modern linguists. Ekwall was probably not thinking of people consciously aiming at producing a second language. Grant's point may not be proven but, at the least, we might allow the possibility that the names could reflect Goidelic speakers turning to Norse.

Grant's further deliberations on the type saw her assign it, as I have mentioned, a background in the Western Isles. She envisaged the Gaels of this area adopting the language of their Norse rulers and accompanying them in the settlement of north-western England (2002, 73–74). This is still, therefore, the 10th-century 'Hiberno-Norse', albeit turned inside out and firmly located in the west of Scotland. The main uncertainties about such an interpretation, as with Ekwall's, are the absence of equivalent name-types in the supposed region of origin and the question of date: what positively suggests that the names belong to the Norse colonisations of the 10th century?

The remainder of this paper explores another possibility, allowing Grant's proposal for the direction of linguistic contact but considering a different place and date of origin. Could a place-name type which is characteristic of north-west England have arisen in that region and, if so, when and under what circumstances?

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[30] E.g. Ellis 1994, 316 ('learners do not invariably transfer the phonological features of their L1 [first language]'), 333 ('some elements appear to pose no learning difficulty even when there is no equivalent L1 element'). Of course, learners' phonetic realisation of a foreign phoneme may not be perfect, but the place-name evidence is very unlikely to illuminate such details since, after the names were coined, we have to reckon with subsequent transmission by native English (and perhaps Norse) speakers, for whom /w/ was familiar.

This hypothesis depends on the possibility that Goidelic and Norse speech might have met in north-west England. Scandinavian language was certainly extensively spoken in the area in the early Middle Ages to judge by the many purely Norse place-names. Map 2 shows the impressive Norse influence on the parish names of the region; the corresponding influence on minor names is vastly greater again. Direct evidence at an early date is lacking, of course, and few of the names are first recorded before the 12th or 13th centuries. But amongst the earliest witnesses to vernacular language in the region are a small number of 12th-century inscriptions which suggest that Old Norse was alive at that date. Although it is not impossible that the language here was a recent reintroduction from the Irish Sea area, it also seems possible that Norse might have remained the locally dominant vernacular in parts of the region between the 10th and 12th centuries.[31]

In theory, then, the language contact implicit in the inversion-compounds might have arisen not when Scandinavians settled in a Goidelic-speaking area, before travelling on to north-west England, but rather when Gaels moved into north-west England and encountered an already established Scandinavian vernacular.

That speakers of Goidelic – besides Goidelic-influenced Norse – were found in the region during the early Middle Ages is also shown by place-names. More than a dozen names, predominantly in Cumberland and Westmorland, have always been analysed as wholly Goidelic.[32] Such names might be explained as the legacy of Goidelic-speaking groups travelling with the Hiberno-Norse and, if so, they might be thought to have ultimate origins in any of the regions identified by historians as possible launch-pads for the 10th-century settlements, particularly Ireland, Man or the Western Isles. Alternatively, they may represent an extension of Goidelic from southern and

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[31] Parsons 2001, 302, 305. Acceptance of the evidence for the late survival of Norse in that article is rather grudging – my view has been somewhat modified by long study of the place-names of the region. The sheer scale of the Norse influence, combined with apparent evidence for lateness, in *bȳ*-names (*VEPN*, II, 105), in inversion-compounds and elsewhere (cf. Insley 2005, arguing that Windermere contains a post-Conquest personal name inflected with a characteristically ON genitive *-ar*) is impressive, and sits comfortably beside the 12th-century epigraphic evidence discussed in the earlier article. The whole material could perhaps support the notion that the linguistic centrifugal force in parts of this region may have been pulling towards Norse, not English, as the local norm. Cf. the example of Osmotherley, in the far north of Lancashire, where OE *hlǣw* 'hill, mound' is the generic in a place-name which, to judge once again from the genitive *-ar*, is a Scandinavian formation (Ekwall 1922, 213): Norse looks here as if it might have been on the way to absorbing English, just as English tended to absorb Norse in the eastern Danelaw.

[32] Section H of the Appendix below and Map 3. Cf. also Ekwall 1918, 87–94; Coates 2006, 69–70.

Map 2: Norse influence on the parish names of north-west England

♦ Old Norse parish name

◊ 'Anglo-Norse' parish name
   (English and Norse combined,
   or elements that could be
   either English or Norse)

● Inversion-compound (from
   Map 1)
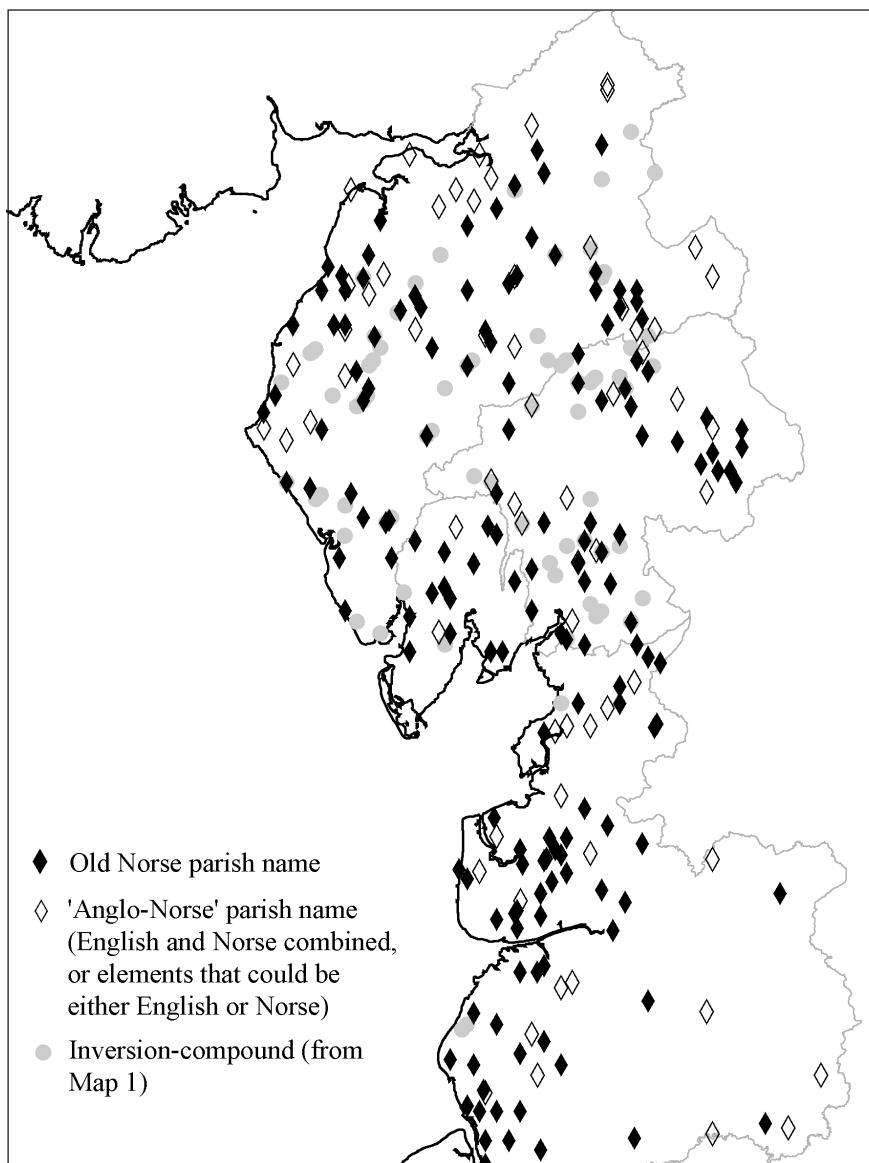
south-western Scotland. Previous opinion has been somewhat divided on the question.[33]

However there is a simple linguistic observation which tends to favour mainland Scotland for some, at least, of the names. By strange coincidence, the three most southerly Goidelic names in the English north-west are all forms of the same compound. From west to east they are modern Kinmont CMB, Kinmond WML and Kilmond YON; available early forms of the first and third suggest that all three represent Goidelic *ceann monaidh* 'head of the hill or mountain'. This is not only a recurrent compound in Scotland, but a diagnostically Scottish Gaelic formation, since *ceann* is quite distinct from the cognate British Celtic *penn*, while *monadh* is believed to be a form borrowed into Gaelic from British (Cumbric and / or Pictish; compare Welsh *mynydd*).[34] As far as I know, nothing equivalent to *monadh* appears in Ireland or Man, and so we seem to have evidence that these three names represent linguistic incursion from the north, from Scotland, rather than from west across the sea.[35] If this is true of the southernmost Goidelic names in north-west England, then it may be true of some or all of the rest, which

[33] Specific comment on the wholly Goidelic element is limited (as noted by Coates 2006, 70: *EPNS Cmb* 'does not even discuss these names as a class'), but Ekwall and *EPNS Cmb* did express relevant opinions on the wider Goidelic influence on north-western place-names. Ekwall (1918, 4–5) accepted the possibility of some Scottish influence, especially in the border districts, but thought it 'unlikely that any considerable Scottish (Gaelic) influence on Cumberland place-names is to be reckoned with'. *EPNS Cmb* (III, xxiv–xxv), allowed 'Gaelic influence from the North at a later period' in northern Cumberland, but ascribed other examples, 'doubtless', to an origin in Ireland. Grant (2002, 73) suggests that the more southerly wholly-Goidelic names could equally have come, by sea, 'from the Hebrides, Galloway or Man'. Fellows-Jensen (1991, 88) suggests that the Goidelic names can be related to the 10th-century expansion of Strathclyde. Questions of who spoke Goidelic, where and when, are explored below.

[34] Watson 1926, 391–407; *LEIA*, s.v. *muin*, f.; Barrow 1998, 62–65.

[35] It has been suggested to me that the Kinmont-type in north-west England could represent goidelicisations of earlier Brittonic names, a possibility which might undermine the point about their Scottish affiliations. I think this unlikely, however, for several reasons. First, it would be a notable coincidence that all three instances of this compound in the region should show *pen* > *ceann*, when a number of other names in *pen* survive, viz Penrith, Penruddock, Torpenhow CMB. Second, it is not clear that Brit **monijo-* was a significant part of the Brittonic vocabulary of this area: not only is there no direct evidence for the compound with *pen*, but outside the Kinmont-group there is only one, uncertain, instance of **monijo-* noted in either Cumberland or Westmorland (Tarnmonath *EPNS Cmb*, I, 87: the first element is obscure – the spellings are late and conflicting – and the compound could as well be Goidelic). Third, while the Goidelic compound *ceann* + *monadh* is quite well attested in Scotland, the Brittonic equivalent appears not to be attested anywhere in northern England or southern Scotland; it is found in Wales, of course, but nothing indicates that it need have been a common collocation in the north of England.

necessarily lie closer to the modern Scottish border. In turn this distribution gives a possible context or parallel for the larger group of inversion-compounds which could be said to cover the same core area, though they extend more widely, in particular spreading south into southern Westmorland and Lancashire.

It has several times been mentioned that scholars have previously suggested a Scottish origin for the settlers responsible for the inversion-compounds and that they have specifically looked to the Western Isles. We shall briefly look at further aspects of this argument in due course, but for now it need be observed that the isles have undoubtedly been favoured in part because of assumptions that are here under question. If it is accepted, with Ekwall, that the linguistic mixing could not have taken place in north-west England but must pre-date Norse settlement there, then any relevant part of Scotland will inevitably be sought around the coasts and islands to west or north, rather than in the south-west and much of the interior of the country, where evidence for Scandinavian settlement is much thinner. But if we question the initial assumption, then influence from Scots Gaelic may have come from other directions, whether overland across the border or by sea from the northern shores of the Solway.

Leaving aside, for the moment, the phenomenon of Goidelic speakers travelling in association with Norsemen, the other routes by which Goidelic may have reached north-west England would appear – on the available evidence – to fit into one of two socio-political contexts.

First, there is the kingdom of the Scots, Alba. The successor to the kingdom of the Picts was initially based north of the Forth, but in the course of the 10th century – with a Goidelic-speaking dynasty at its head – southward incursions were made. In the east Edinburgh was captured[36] and further advances into Lothian were made at the expense of the Northumbrians.[37] In the west there was clearly an interest in the lands (many of them probably newly acquired) of the kings of Strathclyde. This is evident from the events of 945, when the English king Edmund ravaged Strathclyde and then leased or conditionally granted it to Malcolm I, king of the Scots. Just what Malcolm wanted with it is unknown and it is possible either that his was merely a relatively distant overlordship (Broun 2004, 126) or that he led a complete – if temporary – Scottish takeover (Woolf 2007, 184). The lasting effects of this intervention are obscure too, but Malcolm does appear to have left some cultural legacy, at least, in that one of the subsequent 10th-century kings of Strathclyde bore his Goidelic name, Mael Coluim (possibly because the Scottish king had stood sponsor to him at baptism; Woolf 2007, 184). How much further Goidelic influence might have permeated

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[36] Barrow (2003, 122) and Woolf (2007, 194–95, 234) agree on a date of 954 × 962.
[37] Barrow 2003, 121–24; cf. Woolf 2007, 211, 240.

the Strathclyde kingdom at this time is unknown but the possibility that Scots rule in the mid- to later 10th century might have been accompanied by some settlement in the area can hardly be excluded. Certainly Scottish kings retained an interest in the territory to their south-west in the following decades, for Kenneth II, Malcolm's son, raided deep into what is now north-west England at some time between the 970s and 990s.[38]

A great deal about the relationship between the Scots and the Strathclyde kingdom remains quite unknown or – at least – uncertain and controversial. In 1966 Professor Barrow (2003, 115) lucidly summed up his view of the century and a half that came after Malcolm's involvement in 945:

> The Britons threw off Scottish overlordship in the following generation and kept their independence until about 1018, when the last of their kings, Owein son of Dyfnal, died. From 1018 to 1092, with the possible exception of a few years before 1055, the former kingdom of Cumbria was under Scottish rule.

Some, however, have argued that throughout the 10th century, both before and after Malcolm I's rule, there was already direct Scottish influence on the kings of Strathclyde, who might indeed be seen as a junior branch of the dynasty of Alba.[39] Others have fiercely attacked this view, arguing that it depends too much on the interpretation put on early events by John of Fordun in the 14th century; they have proposed that the kings of Strathclyde remained independent throughout the 10th century, aside from the brief anomaly of Malcolm's intervention after 945.[40] Moreover, it has been proposed that the line did not come to an end in 1018, as Barrow suggested, but may have continued until the middle of the 11th century.[41] Even so, there is no sign of a strong Strathclyde after 1018 and it seems likely that the Scots, amongst others, would have been vying for control of parts, at least, of a kingdom which may well have collapsed or been in decline during the first half of 11th century.[42] There is a suggestion

[38] Smyth 1984, 228; Woolf 2007, 209–10. The raids took Kenneth to Stainmore and the Derwent, which possibly implies something about the boundaries of Strathclyde at this date, though it is not clear quite what. See further below, n. 62.

[39] Kirby 1962; Smyth 1984, 215–29; Phythian-Adams 1996, 112–16.

[40] Broun 2004, 125–35; Clancy 2006, 1820, Woolf 2007, 156–57.

[41] Duncan 2002, 40–41; Broun 2004, 133–34; Woolf 2007, 262.

[42] Broun 2004, 136–38. Certainly the relationship between Strathclyde and Alba seems to have become ever more intertwined in the 11th century: Owein, king in 1018, died fighting in alliance with the Scots, while the 'son of the king of the Cumbrians', who is referred to in 1054 – which comprises the evidence for the survival of the line to this date – once again bears the Goidelic name Malcolm. Woolf (2007, 262) suggests that Malcolm's mother may have been from the royal line of Alba.

that Duncan I may have held Strathclyde in 1040[43] and it appears certain that in 1070 Malcolm III did so.[44]

As difficult as charting the detailed course of events is the identification of boundaries. The kingdom of Strathclyde seems, early in the 10th century, to have expanded from the Glasgow region to reach beyond Carlisle at least as far as Penrith, on the river Eamont. How long the territory south of Hadrian's Wall remained attached to the northern core is hard to establish, and the matter is made all the more murky by arguments over the significance of contemporary terminology and even by suggestions that more than one British polity might be involved.[45] In consequence, unless the precise geography is made explicit, events touching Strathclyde / Cumbria / Cumberland may or may not pertain to the region with which we are concerned. One point that is fixed – although within rather wide 11th-century limits – is Gospatric's writ, which describes Allerdale, adjacent to Carlisle, as land that was formerly Cumbrian and indicates Northumbrian lordship exercised in the area without reference to any higher authority. Nonetheless, the history of the following century shows that the Scottish kings preserved a keen memory of the wider extent of the kingdom of Strathclyde, for in 1136 David I occupied Carlisle – wresting it from two generations of Norman control – and from then until 1157 'English' Cumberland was certainly within the Scottish kingdom (Barrow 2003, 118–19).

Despite the various uncertainties, then, it is clear that in the first half of the 12th century, certainly, and at various junctures back to the mid-10th century, potentially, north-west England could have been open to Goidelic linguistic influence, and conceivably to a degree of settlement, consequent on the political involvement of the kingdom of the Scots.

It was proposed that there were two socio-political contexts that might have brought Goidelic to the region. The second involves the difficult case of the Gall-Ghàidheil, the 'foreign Gaels' of the Irish-Sea region. By these are meant people who were in some way culturally or 'ethnically' Norse but Goidelic speaking. As Thomas Clancy (2008a) has shown, there are many complexities of definition here: he was properly concerned to analyse contemporary usage and concluded that a people and territory called Gall-Ghàidheil may first have

[43] Broun 2004, 138; cf. Woolf 2007, 255–56.

[44] Duncan 2002, 41; Broun 2004, 138–39; Woolf 2007, 270–71. The latter suggests that the final Scottish conquest of Strathclyde should be dated to the period 1066 × 1070, though he would be cautious as to the extent of 'Strathclyde' at this time (cf. the following note).

[45] For an incisive summary of the debate see Woolf 2007, 153–54, coming down firmly on the side that the terms 'Strathclyde' and 'Cumbria' / 'Cumberland' were used largely interchangeably for a single polity, albeit one that fluctuated in size over the centuries. Other modern commentators tend to agree (Barrow 2003, 114–15; Broun 2004, 112, 129; Clancy 2006, 1818–19; a different view is taken by Phythian-Adams 1996, 110–14).

been located in and around southern Argyll in the later 9th and 10th centuries, before expanding across practically all of the south-western coastlands of Scotland (including the region that came to bear the name Galloway) before the 12th century. How this was achieved is uncertain, but it is tempting to associate it with the waning power of Strathclyde, and there are some hints in the annals which might suggest a Gall-Ghàidheil conquest of part of the British kingdom in the 1030s (Broun 2004, 136–38; Clancy 2008a, 37). In any case, it is this apparent expansion of the Gall-Ghàidheil which Clancy thinks one of the principal factors in the spread of Goidelic language to south-west Scotland. Clearly this could provide a context also for the appearance of some Goidelic speakers beyond the Solway.

As suggested, however, the question of the Gall-Ghàidheil is complicated. For Clancy stresses that the group and territory labelled in this way in early medieval texts did not have a monopoly on the key characteristics of Norse associations and Goidelic language. In particular, he points to the territory of the Rhinns, later the core region of medieval Galloway, but in the 10th and early 11th century part of a distinct Norse-dominated, Irish-Sea kingdom centring on Dublin and Man, within which it again seems that Goidelic was a major, perhaps the dominant language.[46] Other scholars have called people from this background 'Gall-Ghàidheil' as well[47] and from our point of view – with nothing more than a handful of linguistic traces to go by – we could hardly distinguish. Crudely, on chronological grounds, the 'true' Gall-Ghàidheil might be the more likely candidates for the north-western English names if these were coined in the mid-11th century and later, while the Irish Sea-centred group might be implicated if the names are a little earlier – Alex Woolf (2007, 246) has, indeed, suggested that parts of England's north-west may even have been incorporated into this Irish Sea kingdom.

Whether it is a question of Scots or Gall-Ghàidheil or Irish Sea 'Viking Gaels', there are therefore various conceivable historical circumstances from the mid-10th-century onwards in which Goidelic speakers might have moved into north-west England, where, in parts at least, they may have found themselves in contact with predominantly Norse-speaking residents.

In fact, if we now return to the names themselves, we find marked suggestions that the Goidelic influence in the region is by no means limited to the early 10th century. Thus, the Goidelic-named *Glassán*, who gave name to the parish of Glassonby CMB, can almost certainly be identified with a known *dreng* who appears in a document of 1129 × 1130.[48] The settlement of

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[46] Clancy 2008a, 32, 40; cf. Woolf 2007, 245.

[47] Dumville 1997, 26–29; cf. Clancy 2008a, 22.

[48] *EPNS Cmb*, I, 192–94; *SSNNW*, 31–32; Sharpe 2006, 10.

Scotby was a Scots royal vill in the 1150s and presumably the name is no coincidence: tantalisingly the place-name is first recorded in 1130, six years before David's occupation of neighbouring Carlisle, but it surely more likely reflects unrecorded arrangements of relatively recent date – perhaps during the pre-Conquest 'Northumbrian phase' – than of two centuries earlier.[49] Finally, coming back at last to the inversion-compounds themselves, we find that while Norse and Goidelic personal names are the most common qualifiers, there is a significant group of 'post-Conquest' type personal names. These are the various names of Continental Germanic, French, Breton, Biblical or otherwise explicitly Christian background that were widely introduced to England in the wake of the Norman Conquest. The existence of a body of such names as *Satgodard*, *Stibenet* and Long Adam (early *Landadam*) strongly suggests that the inversion-compound type was productive in the second half of the 11th century or later. Indeed, it is possible that in *Holmweri* we have another instance where the individual might be an identifiable man, in this case Gueri the Fleming recorded, as having formerly held land somewhere in Carlisle, in a document of 1130.[50]

As we have noted, Ekwall (1918, 64) acknowledged some of this evidence for lateness, but marginalised it as the last remnants of a by-then rather ancient type. Clearly it is possible to put a different spin on this and to wonder whether it is not more likely that these post-Conquest names might belong to a living, ongoing tradition, rather than representing distant echoes of a cultural contact that Ekwall presents, in effect, as having concluded a century or more earlier.

These various suggestions of an influence surviving into the 12th century are bound to bring to mind David I and Scots rule between the 1130s and 1150s. It is quite possible that a number of the recorded inversion-compounds belong to this period. Yet there is one document which shows beyond much doubt that the origins of the inverted type in Cumberland must go back at least to the 11th century. This, of course, is the writ of Gospatric, a remarkable witness to the linguistic melting-pot the region had become in the 11th century. The text is essentially English but it has Cumbric, Norse and Goidelic elements. Chief among the latter is the name of one of the charter's beneficiaries, Thorfynn mac Thore, where given name and patronym are emphatically Norse, but the relationship is expressed by means of the Goidelic *mac* 'son'. Evidently Goidelic linguistic influence had made itself felt in the region by the date of the document

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[49] Though Phythian-Adams (1996, 116) does indeed propose that it goes back to the early 10th century. Barrow (1999, 90 [no. 76]) suggests more plausibly that it 'may have been associated with the Scottish kings from the reign of Malcolm II (1005–34), perhaps particularly with his grandson Duncan son of Crinan (Duncan I, 1034–40)'. Ekwall 1918, 5 simply observes that 'The name Scotby ... is probably a memorial of Scottish settlement'.

[50] *EPNS Cmb*, I, 43; *SSNNW*, 257. For the text, in a pipe roll, see Sharpe 2006, 1–9.

which, at conservative limits, falls between about 1040 and 1070.[51] These dates apply also to the names of settlements and boundary-points which are mentioned in the text, and these include one certain example of an inversion-compound, *Bek Troyte*, the early name of Wiza Beck, the watercourse on which the modern town of Wigton CMB stands.[52] The local origins of the type can hardly, therefore, be dated later than the middle of the 11th century.

Conclusions fall into two categories. First, there are the minimal, safe deductions. Here we must conclude, above all, that the conventional association of the inversion-compounds with the Hiberno-Norse of the 10th-century settlements is not secure. There are clearly a range of other contexts over the following centuries in which Norse and Goidelic may have come into contact, and there is no evidence, for instance, which associates the inversion-compounds with the period before the Scots episode of 945, rather than with the various contexts that may be relevant from that date onwards. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the inversion-compounds must be 'imports', brought from outside by people of mixed language; they might as well – perhaps better – be regarded as a product of local circumstances.

[51] See above, n. 26. As implied there, Phythian-Adams's argument for a relatively late date seems to me persuasive. Indeed, if Woolf is correct to suggest that Malcolm III's possession of 'Cumberland' in 1070 concerns the Strathclyde heartland, rather than the Carlisle region (Woolf 2007, 270; though cf. Broun 2004, 138–39), then Phythian-Adams's revision to 1067 × 1069 may be too restrictive and a date after 1070 might be entertained. Earl Gospatric of Northumberland famously deserted William I's England for Malcolm III's Scotland in 1072, though he could presumably have maintained control of his western territories even then, given that his sons Dolfin and Waltheof respectively held Carlisle in 1092 and Allerdale at the beginning of the 12th century. The date of Earl Gospatric's death does not seem to be known, but he disappears from the record around 1075 (cf. Woolf 2007, 251) – could the writ be as late as this?

[52] The early name survived, in conventional word order, as *Truttebeck*, *Troutebek* etc. in several records between 1300 and 1540 (*EPNS Cmb*, I, 31). The generic here is clearly ON *bekkr* 'river, stream'. The qualifier may be a personal name, of uncertain origin (see Ekwall 1918, 18–19, *EPNS Cmb*, I, 31, Grant 2002, 87; though it may be suspected that the recorded instances of this name all refer to a single 12th-century individual – cf. Sharpe 2006, 10, n. 8). Alternatively it is perhaps simply the Old English *truht* 'trout' – note that there are no fewer than five other instances of 'Trout Beck' in Cumberland and Westmorland (*ERN* 419; *EPNS Cmb*, I, 29; *EPNS Wml*, I, 14). There is a second possible inversion-compound in the writ in *Poll Waðœn*, later the river Wampool. Here the generic *Poll* represents a well-known philological problem: forms of the 'pool' word are found in all the likely languages, Goidelic, British, English and Norse, but the nature and direction of any borrowing is uncertain (Ekwall 1918, 30–31; *ERN* 329–30, *EPNE*, II, 68–69). The element *pol* is discussed and mapped, as P-Celtic, by Barrow 1998, 59–60; it is considered a Gaelic borrowing from British in Clancy's discussion (2008b, 99) of the Ayrshire name *Pulprestwic*. *Poll Waðœn* could surely be a Celtic compound, of one stripe or another, rather than an inverted type, especially since the qualifier *Waðœn* is thoroughly obscure.

These observations can be extended beyond the inversion-compounds to a general cautionary note about Goidelic (and Norse) influence in northern England. There has too often been a tendency to ascribe any sign of Goidelic language, especially in association with Norse, to the known historical context of the 10th century, especially its first half. The possibilities, in fact, are more complex than this: recent research, for instance, has drawn attention to the presence of Goidelic-named landholders across northern England in 1066 according to the Domesday Inquest (Edmonds 2009, 11–12). There may be some kind of relationship between these people and their families and the Dublin-York dynasty before the 950s, but it is hardly a straightforward one: it would appear that Goidelic influence continued somehow to radiate across the Pennines for more than a century after the end of the narrative that might neatly explain it.

Similarly, perhaps, it may be necessary to accept that different kinds of Goidelic influence on the place-names of north-west England may be due to influences from different directions at quite different dates. Take, for instance, the names in ON *ærgi* 'shieling', ultimately a Goidelic term. It is partly on the grounds that in its Goidelic form this is much more common amongst the place-names of the Western Isles of Scotland than it is in Ireland that the Scandinavian settlements in the north-west coast of England have in recent decades been ascribed to 'Hiberno-Norse' from the isles rather than from Ireland.[53] This in itself is not unreasonable. But it becomes questionable when linked with the inversion-compounds. To argue that as *ærgi* names probably derive from the Western Isles then inversion-compounds are likely to as well would be a non-sequitur[54] – names in *ærgi* in England have a distribution quite different in detail to that of the inversion-compounds: they are found much further south, into Cheshire, and much further east, across the Pennines in Yorkshire.[55] If (and it is a big if) *ærgi*-names themselves represent a single phase of 'Hiberno-Norse' influence, then this could conceivably be seen as an earlier phase than that represented by the inversion-compounds: at first glance, indeed, the *ærgi*-names might fairly readily be associated with the 10th century and the York-Dublin axis.[56] The inversion-compounds do not look

[53] Fellows-Jensen 1980, 70; Grant 2002, 69; Edmonds 2009, 10.

[54] Cf. *SSNNW*, 305–06; Grant 2002, 69–70, though neither scholar makes the link this bluntly.

[55] Cf. above n. 8. The geographical range of *ærgi* is described in *VEPN*, I, 31, and mapped by *EPNE*, map 11.

[56] Particularly since – as well as crossing the Pennines – they appear in the Wirral, which could accord with the one fixed point in the history of Hiberno-Norse settlement, the arrival of Ingimundr in Cheshire in the first decade of the 10th century (Cavill, Harding and Jesch 2000, especially Jesch at pp. 2–4; Edmonds 2009, 5–10). On the other hand, Ingimundr is supposed to have come from Dublin (by way of north Wales), whereas, as we have seen, *ærgi* tends to suggest a background in the Western Isles, rather than Ireland. It appears that any truth behind the Ingimundr story may also be more complex than we might wish.

much like this. And whether or not such historical inferences are correct, the point is a simple one: that not all Gaels in the early middle ages were the same Gael, and thus it is not safe to ascribe influence to one group rather than another without good reason.[57]

The second category of conclusion, more speculative, has clearly been implicit throughout most of the paper. I think the origin of the inversion-compounds is likely to lie in the meeting of incoming Goidelic speakers, possibly from Scotland, with a Norse-speaking community in north-west England. There is no direct evidence for this but the hunch arises from a consideration of geography, chronology and possible historical contexts. In particular, the fact that the inversion-compound remains a productive type into the 12th century suggests that we should perhaps be looking at circumstances rather later than the early Viking settlements of the 10th century. Since we can identify at least two possible sources of Scots Gaelic incursion into the area during the 11th and 12th centuries, it is tempting to prefer one of them to the earlier 'Hiberno-Norse'. Though, as our ignorance of the period is so great, unrecorded contexts involving Goidelic incomers from any part of the Irish-Sea region – from Man, perhaps, or directly from Ireland – cannot be discounted.[58]

A few possible clues as to the origin of the compounds remain to be examined.[59] It was remarked earlier that the names in *monadh* in north-west England tend to suggest that some Gaels, at least, entered England from Scotland rather than from across the Irish Sea and left linguistic traces in the local names. This conclusion might be developed further in the light of Alex Woolf's suggestion (2007, 324) – partly to account for the distribution of *pett-* or Pit-names – that the Gall-Ghàidheil, with roots among the western coastlands and islands of Scotland, looking back towards Ireland and the Irish Sea, are unlikely to have adopted many Brittonic or Pictish loan-words into their Gaelic. Certainly, if it is safe to go by the indications of Barrow's map (1998, 66) of *monadh*-names (not, perhaps, complete, but nonetheless suggestive), then the Kinmont-type of north-western England echoes the Gaelic of central and eastern Scotland rather than that of the west or south-west. This seems to be more suggestive of influence from the

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[57] It might be added that ascribing inversion-compounds and *ærgi*-names to different strata of influence could offer an explanation for a problem that Ekwall found intractable: 'There is really only one circumstance that remains difficult to account for, viz the fact that the element *ergh*, a Goidelic word common as the second member of compounds ... has not been found in inversion-compounds. I can find no quite satisfactory solution of this difficulty' (Ekwall 1918, 65).

[58] Following on from her observations about Goidelic-named landholders in Domesday, Edmonds has suggested that 'some communities in North-West England had long-lasting contacts with Ireland and the Isles' (2009, 12).

[59] The name-types, and some of the places, mentioned in the following discussion are presented together on Map 3.

Map 3: *Kirk*-compounds around the Irish Sea, Goidelic names in north-west England, and some places mentioned in the text.

Goidelic place-names in north-west England
Kirk- compounds
Inversion-compounds (from Map 1)
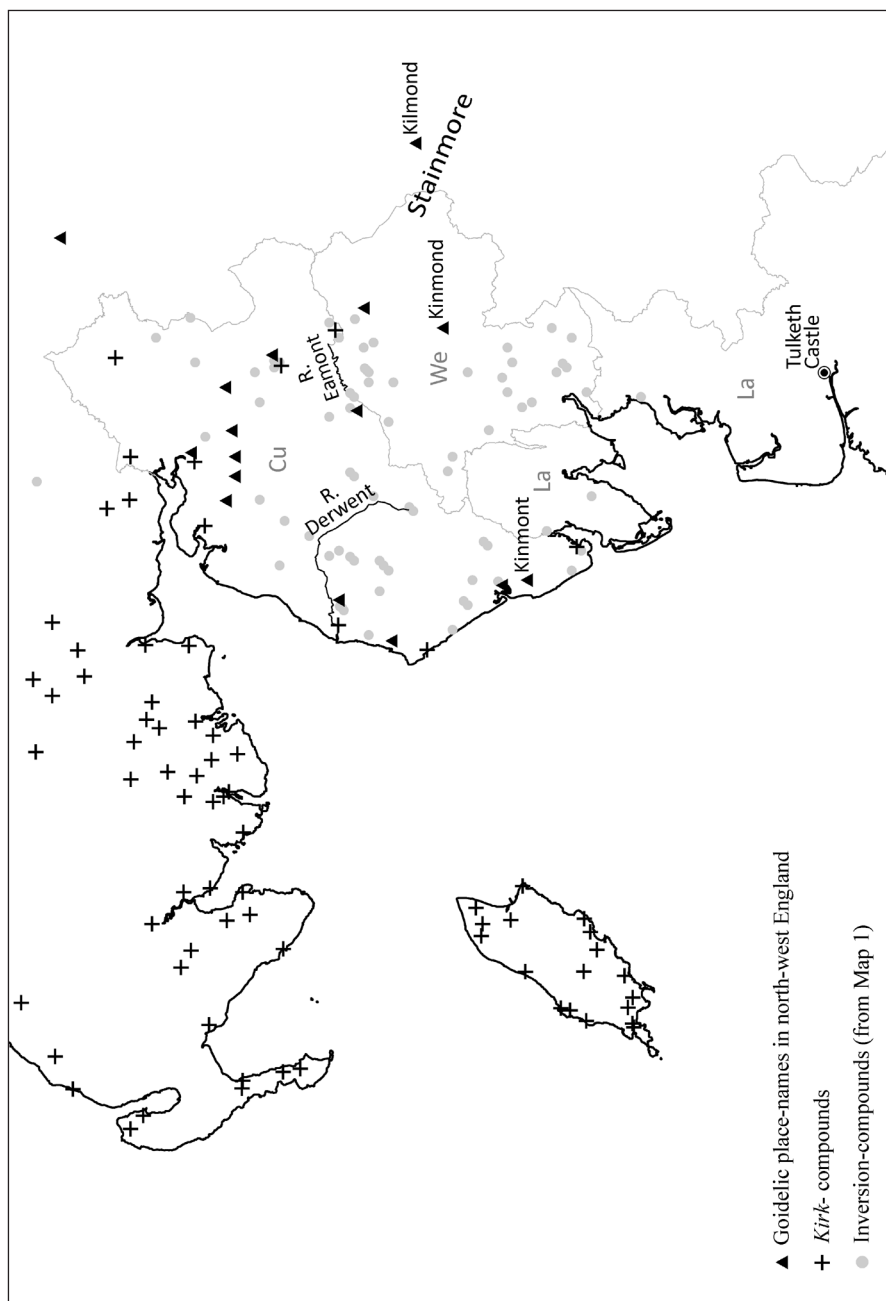
kingdom of the Scots than from the more westerly groups and polities.

On the other hand, the distribution of the wholly Goidelic names, the southernmost boundary of which is marked by these *monadh*-names, is quite different from the distribution of the inversion-compounds. The latter extend significantly further south, with a notable concentration in southern Westmorland. While the limit of the wholly Goidelic names correlates tolerably well with the traditional southern boundary of Strathclyde, the inversion-compounds go well beyond it. By this reckoning, if the distribution of the wholly Goidelic type is significant of influence from the kingdom of the Scots, then the inversion-compounds could well represent something different.[60]

Somewhat paradoxically, however, the known historical context which might best suit the wider distribution is that of Scottish expansion under David I in the early 12th century. David acquired the Honour of Lancaster in the 1140s, with a castle at Tulketh on the north bank of the Ribble, and he seems to have had the ambition permanently to extend the boundary of Scotland across Cumberland, Westmorland and northern Lancaster down to this river.[61] This could account for the vast majority of the inversion-compounds. However, it would be dangerous to argue that the distribution could only reflect this (partly-) known period. For one thing, the evidence for a fixed earlier boundary of Strathclyde on Stainmore is slight and may be illusory:[62] if the line had fluctuated extensively during the

[60] The difference in distribution tends to count against the interesting possibility that the two groups of names could represent different linguistic sides of the same emigrant community: Gaels speaking Gaelic amongst themselves, but Norse in public, perhaps.

[61] For the extent of David's ambition see Barrow 1985, 18 and Barrow 2003, 118–19. For Westmorland as part of the kingdom of the Scots, and for the 13th-century treaty which saw them forced to renounce their claim to it, see Stones 1970, xv, xxiii, 40–41. For Tulketh and the Honour of Lancaster, see Barrow 1999, nos 111 & 112.

[62] The principal fixed point in establishing a southern boundary appears to be the siting of Æthelstan's 927 meeting with northern and western rulers on the River Eamont, suggesting (though not proving) that this was a relevant frontier at this date, just as it later marked the line between Cumberland and Westmorland. To that inference could be added the description in the Chronicle of the Kings of Alba of Kenneth II's late-10th-century raid (above, n. 38), which might be interpreted as suggesting a line between Stainmore and the Derwent, conceivably consistent with the Eamont inference. The interpretation of this account is far from straightforward, however, and it actually says nothing explicit about either Strathclyde / Cumbria or boundaries (Woolf 2007, 210). Jackson (1963, 74–75) was misleading to print a map with a thick black line based 'solely on historical evidence' against which he plotted British Cumbric village names; though it might be argued that the general correspondence between the place-name distribution and his line – which appears to be inferred from the chronicles, as above – goes some way towards supporting this reading of the historical texts. There are also later traditions that the boundary of the diocese of Glasgow, and of the kingdom of the Scots, once extended to Stainmore, though Broun (2004, 173–80) argues that these traditions have no ancient basis and may have arisen through scribal corruption during the 13th century.

10th and 11th centuries we have no sources that could inform us of the fact. For another, in the conditions of the age it may be naive to think that the kind of movement or colonisation lying behind the names need closely respect political boundaries. If we can judge by the place-name distributions, Scandinavian settlement in north-west England does not seem to have been restricted to one side or the other of any boundary between Strathclyde and Northumbria.[63] Similarly, there is no reason to assume that incursions of Goidelic speakers must have been so restricted, even if the role, or collapse, of Strathclyde was instrumental in introducing them into the region in the first place.

Such circumstances may be relevant to the putative expansion of the Gall-Ghàidheil at the expense of Strathclyde that has been suggested for the early 11th century. Here may be a credible historical context for a southward expansion of Goidelic-speakers into the Galloway / Dumfries / Solway region. Some adventurers may have pushed further south, past the heartlands established by their kinsmen. Beyond the Solway they did not have sufficient numbers or influence to impose their language on the local population and – the hypothesis would run – they found themselves accommodating to the dominant local language: not English at this time, but Norse. This would, of course, be ironic for people characterised as 'foreign Gaels' because of their ultimate, or outward, Scandinavian associations; but, despite the label, the general view is that Goidelic may well have been their first language. If they (re-)learned Norse in the English north-west their speech may have remained marked by native Goidelic structures and it is perhaps this that we detect in the inversion-compound names.[64] If I tend towards a preference for this explanation, it is because a southward-pushing Gall-Ghàidheil in the earlier 11th century could be early enough to account for inversion-compounds by the time of Gospatric's writ. David I's conquests are too late for that, though the extent to which he might have been trying to restore territories that were held by Strathclyde and Alba during the 11th century is unknown: the tantalising name Scotby, recorded before David's conquest of Cumberland, emphasises our ignorance of the details of previous Scottish influence in the area.

A final point relates to the status of the settlements and the settlers. With the exception of Aspatria, Bewaldeth and Setmurthy, which became parishes, the inversion-compound names are characteristically attached to minor settlements

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[63] Contrast north-eastern Northumbria (north of the Tees and east of the Pennines) which may have been recognised in some unrecorded agreement since Scandinavian place-names are significantly rare here (Rollason 2003, 244–49).

[64] We might suggest, incidentally, that if these inversion-compounds could represent the Gall-Ghàidheil speaking Norse, then the equivalent *kirk*-names, with their more northerly distribution, could neatly represent the same folk speaking Gaelic.

and natural features. They are very frequently lost names: recorded in medieval documents, but not surviving. These facts tend to indicate that we are not concerned with major seigneurial centres established by alien lords of the manor. Goidelic-influenced Norse must have been spoken at a local, relatively humble, level of society. That does not rule out the possibility that seigneurial takeover could have provided the context for accompanying settlement (since more central places that were annexed could well have kept their existing names), but it is consistent also with a less 'formal' immigrant infiltration into the interstices of existing society. Early 10th-century Viking activity provides one historical context for such a movement, but it has been the purpose of this paper to argue that it is neither the only, nor the most likely, explanation for the inversion-compound place-names of the English north-west.[65]

Appendix
Inversion-compounds and related types in north-west England

The following lists detail some examples of the types of name discussed in the paper: a complete corpus, with philological discussion, is not attempted here – see the comments and references in footnote 1, above. Systematic reference, where applicable, is given here to EPNS volumes, Fellows-Jensen's *SSNNW* and Grant 2002; other references are given only where there is a reason to supplement these. Following usual EPNS practice, headforms of names which survive (or survived onto 20th-century maps) are given in normal type, while names which do not survive are given in *italics*. In each case the earliest spelling is given, with its date; later forms are sometimes added to help clarify the elements involved. These forms are documented in the cited EPNS volumes or, for Lancashire, in Ekwall 1918.

i inversion-compounds categorised by qualifier

Types A and B (Goidelic and Old Norse personal names) are particularly common and types C and D (Old English and 'Post-Conquest-type' personal names) moderately so. Types E (British personal names) and F (qualifiers other than personal names) are uncommon: the examples given here practically exhaust the plausible examples.

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[65] Earlier versions of this paper were presented in Cambridge, November 2009, and Glasgow, February 2010, and I would like to thank the audiences on those occasions for some helpful discussions. For comments on a subsequent draft of the article, I would particularly like to thank Lesley Abrams, Fiona Edmonds, Angus Winchester, Thomas Clancy and Simon Taylor.

A Goidelic personal names

Aspatria CMB. Parish-name. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪɪ, 261–62; *SSNNW*, 214; Grant 2002, 87.

 Aspatric c.1160, *Ascpatric* c.1220. ON *askr*/OE *æsc* 'ash-tree' + Goid. pers.n. *Patric*.

Becmelbrid WML. Field-name, Rydal parish. *EPNS Wml*, ɪ, 212; Grant 2002, 84.

 Becmelbrid 1274. ON *bekkr* 'stream' + Goid. pers.n. *Máel-Brigte*.

Fitbrandan CMB. Field-name, Clifton parish. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪɪ, 360; Grant 2002, 88.

 Fitbrandan c.1250. ON *fit* 'meadow' + Goid. pers.n. *Brandán*.

Gillcambon CMB. Greystoke parish. *EPNS Cmb, ɪ*, 196–97; Grant 2002, 88.
 Gillecamban 1254, *Gilkamban* 1285. ON *gil* 'valley, ravine' + Goid. pers.n. *Cambán*.

Keldekeran WML. Field-name, Bampton parish. *EPNS Wml*, ɪɪ, 199; Grant 2002, 85.

 Keldekeran before 1276. ON *kelda* 'spring' + Goid. pers.n. *Ciarán*.

Rigrinmelsuthan WML. Field-name, Beetham parish. *EPNS Wml*, ɪ, 75–76; Grant 2002, 86.

 Rigrinmelsuthan 1190 × 1199. ?ON *rigging* 'ridge' + Goid. pers.n. *Máel-Sutháin*.

Setmurthy CMB. Parish-name. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪɪ, 433–34; *SSNNW*, 69; Grant 2002, 89.

 Satmerdac 1195, *Satmerdoc* c.1240. ON *sætr* 'shieling' + Goid. pers.n. *Muiredach*.

Watchcomon CMB. Midgeholme parish. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪ, 103–04; *SSNNW*, 174; Grant 2002, 89.

 Warthcoleman c.1169. ON *varði* 'cairn' + Goid. pers.n. *Colmán*.

Wath Sutton WML. Burton parish. *EPNS Wml*, ɪ, 62; *SSNNW*, 174; Grant 2002, 87.

 Wathsuthenam (acc.) 1184 × 1190, *Wathsudden* 1191 × 1200. ON *vað* 'ford' + Goid. pers.n. *Suthán*.

B Old Norse personal names

Becsnari CMB. Now Snary Beck, affluent of the Marron. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪ, 27; Grant 2002, 87.

Becsnari c. 1203. ON *bekkr* 'stream' + ON pers.n. *Snar*(*r*)*i*.

Briggethorfin CMB. Clifton parish. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪɪ, 360; *SSNNW*, 111; Grant 2002, 87.
　　Briggethorfin c. 1260. ON *bryggja* 'jetty, bridge' + ON pers.n. *Þorfinnr*.

Brotherilkeld CMB. Birker and Austhwaite parish. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪɪ, 343; *SSNNW*, 63; Grant 2002, 88.
　　Butherulkul c. 1210, *Butherulkil* 1242. ON *búð* (pl. *búðir*) 'booths' + ON pers.n. *Ulfkell*.

Croftgrime WML. Lowther parish. *EPNS Wml*, ɪɪ, 184; Grant 2002, 84.
　　Crofte(*s*)*grime* before 1300. OE *croft* 'small enclosure' + ON pers.n. *Grímr*.

Cross Dormant, WML. Barton parish. *EPNS Wml*, ɪɪ, 210; *SSNNW*, 117; Grant 2002, 85.
　　Trostermod 1202, *Trostormod* 1275. ?ON *tros* 'brushwood, waste' + ON pers.n. *Þormóðr*.

Rigsumerild LNC. Bolton-le-sands parish. Ekwall 1918, 45–46; Grant 2002, 90.
　　Rigsumeryld c. 1230. ON *hryggr* / OE *hrycg* 'ridge' + ON or Anglo-Scand. pers.n., apparently *Sumarhildr (fem.).

Satearngrim WML. Field-name, Middleton parish. *EPNS Wml*, ɪ, 57; Grant 2002, 25.
　　Satearngrim 1180 × 1206. ON *sætr* 'shieling' + ON pers.n. *Arngrímr*.

Seat Sandal WML. Grasmere parish. *EPNS Wml*, ɪ, 199; Grant 2002, 86.
　　Satsondolf 1274. ON *sætr* 'shieling' + ON pers.n. *Sǫndulfr*.

C Oᴌᴅ Eɴɢᴌɪsʜ ᴘᴇʀsoɴᴀᴌ ɴᴀᴍᴇs

Bewaldeth CMB. Parish-name. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪɪ, 264–65; *SSNNW*, 201; Grant 2002, 87.
　　Bualdith 1255. ON *bú* / OE *bū* 'dwelling, estate' + OE pers.n. *Aldgȳð* (fem.).

Scartherwlmer LNC. Ainsdale parish. Ekwall 1918, 46; *SSNNW*, 320; Grant 2002, 90.
　　Scatherwlmer 1190 × 1213, *Scartherwlmer* 1213 × 1219. ?ON *skarð* (?unhistoric plural -*ar*) + OE pers.n. *Wulfmǣr*.

Skaillere-goodwine WML. Now Goodhamscales, Whitwell parish. *EPNS Wml*, ɪ, 149; *SSNNW*, 209; Grant 2002, 85.
　　Skaillere-goodwine 1241 × 1246; cf. *Godwinscales* 1283. ON *skáli* (pl. -*ar*) 'shieling-huts' + OE pers.n. *Godwine*.

D 'Post-Conquest' type personal names

Holmweri CMB. Now Willow Holme, Carlisle. *EPNS Cmb*, I, 43; Grant 2002, 88.

    Holweri, *Holmus Werri* 1201; cf. *Weriholm'* 1242. ON *holmr* 'island' + Cont. Gmc pers.n. *Werri*.

Long-Adam WML. Field-name, Cliburn parish. *EPNS Wml*, II, 138; Grant 2002, 86.

    Landadam 1366. ON/OE *land* 'piece of land' + Biblical pers.n. *Adam*.

Satgodard CMB. Birker and Austhwaite parish. *EPNS Cmb*, II, 344; Grant 2002, 89.

    Satgodard c. 1205. ON *sætr* 'shieling' + Cont. Gmc pers.n. *Godard*.

Stibenet CMB. Field-name, Threlkeld parish. *EPNS Cmb*, I, 253; Grant 2002, 89.

    Stibenet 1278. OE *stīg* 'path' + Christian pers.n. *Benedict*.

Styalein CMB. Loweswater parish. *EPNS Cmb*, II, 411; Grant 2002, 89.
    Styalein 1230. OE *stīg* 'path' + Breton pers.n. *Alein*.

E British personal names (?)

Keldowansik WML. Field-name, Lowther parish. *EPNS Wml*, II, 186; Grant 2002, 85–86.

    Chelhowaynsike after 1202, *Keldowansik* 13th century; cf. *Keldesic* 1260. ON *kelda* 'spring' + ?Brit. pers.n. *Owein* + ?later addition of OE/ON *sīc/ sík* 'ditch'.

Moor Divock WML. Askham parish. *EPNS Wml*, II, 201; Grant 2002, 86.
    Moredvuock 1278. OE/ON *mōr/mór* 'moor, waste' + ?Brit. pers.n. *Dyfog* (or an earlier place-name?).

Tarn Wadling CMB. Hesket in the Forest parish. *EPNS Cmb*, I, 204; Grant 2002, 89.

    Terwathelan 1285, *Ternwathelan* 1319. ON *tjǫrn* 'tarn, lake' + ?Brit. pers.n. corresponding to Welsh *Gwyddelan*.

The relative rarity, and uncertainty, of this type may suggest that the inversion-compounds did not characteristically involve Cumbric British society, if that ethnic identity was still a factor in the region (and if it could be recognised by personal naming) at whatever date the names were coined.

F Non-personal-name qualifiers

Aykcrist CMB. Culgaith parish. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪ, 185; Grant 2002, 87.
    Aykcrist 1375. ON *eik* 'oak' + *Krist* 'Christ'.

Becbleneker CMB. Either Blencarn Beck, affluent of Briggle Beck, or the nearby Crowdundale Beck, affluent of the Eden. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪ, 5; Grant 2002, 87.
    Becbleneker 1201. ON *bekkr* 'stream' + p.n. Blencarn (of British etymology).

Bechwythop CMB. Now Wythop Beck, affluent of Dubwath Beck. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪ, 31; Grant 2002, 87.
    Bechwythop 1247. ON *bekkr* 'stream' + p.n. Wythop (of English etymology).

?*Bryggrys* WML. Field-name, Troutbeck parish. *EPNS Wml*, ɪ¸192; Grant 2002, 84.
    Bryggrys 1452. OE *brycg* 'bridge' / ON *bryggja* 'bridge, jetty' + OE / ON *hrīs/hrís* 'brushwood'.

Rigmaden WML. Mansergh parish. *EPNS Wml*, ɪ, 51; *SSNNW*, 246; Grant 2002, 86.
    Riggmaiden 1255. ON *hryggr* 'ridge' + OE *mægden* 'maiden'.

?Seatoller CMB. Borrowdale parish. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪɪ, 351; Grant 2002, 89.
    Settaller 1563. ?ON *sætr* 'shieling' + OE/ON *alor/alr* 'alder-tree'.

?*Seteknoc* CMB. Field-name, Gosforth parish. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪɪ, 397; Grant 2002, 89.
    Seteknoc c. 1240. ?ON *sætr* 'shieling' + Goid. *cnocc* 'hillock'.

It may be significant that qualifiers other than personal names seem always to be nominal and generally to denote people or place-names. The latter types are often found in genitival composition in conventional Germanic names, which leads to the suggestion that inversion-compounds should not be regarded as exhibiting the free inversion of elements, but use inversion specifically as a means of forming the genitive. Evidence to counter this proposal would perhaps have to come from names of the structure noun + adjective, since in instances of noun + noun (a) it can be difficult to decide which is generic and which qualifier (as, potentially, in Seatoller and *Seteknoc*, above) and (b) such names could generally be open to analysis as genitival composition (as perhaps in *Bryggrys*, which may be an inversion of the recurrent English place-name *Hris-brycg*, Ris(e)bridge, a bridge made of brushwood (or rough, unworked wood)). It is striking that there are no instances of Germanic noun + adjective in the English north-west; contrast examples such as *Steinn Langa* from Lewis (Cox 2007, 17).

II RELATED TYPES IN NORTH-WEST ENGLAND

G *KIRK-* AS GENERIC

It is suggested above (p. 134–35) that, although formally identical to the inversion-compounds, the discrete northern and coastal distribution of these names in England should be taken with the wider 'Irish Sea' distribution of the names, and held in contrast to the inversion-types detailed above.[66] The *kirk-* names on Man, and the southern part of their range in south-western Scotland, are mapped, together with the following seven Cumberland instances, on Map 3.

Kirkandrews upon Eden CMB. Parish-name. *EPNS Cmb*, I, 141–42; *SSNNW*, 200; Grant 2002, 88.
   Kirkandres c. 1200. ON *kirkja* 'church' + saint Andrew/*Andreas*.

Kirkandrews (upon Esk) CMB. Parish-name. *EPNS Cmb*, I, 99; *SSNNW*, 200; Grant 2002, 88.
   Kirchand'r' after 1165, *Kirkeandres* c. 1230. ON *kirkja* + saint Andrew/ *Andreas*.

Kirkandrews Wood CMB. Culgaith parish. *EPNS Cmb*, I, 185; Grant 2002, 88.
   Hermitorium quod vocatur Kirkandreas c. 1158. ON *kirkja* + saint Andrew/ *Andreas*.

Kirkbride CMB. Parish-name. *EPNS Cmb*, I, 144; *SSNNW*, 53; Grant 2002, 88.
   Chirchebrid 1163. ON *kirkja* + saint Bride.

Kirkbrynnok, CMB. Bewcastle parish. *EPNS Cmb*, I, 62; *SSNNW*, 54; Grant 2002, 88.
   kirkebrynnok' 1339. ON *kirkja* + saint Brynach.

Kirkoswald CMB. Parish-name. *EPNS Cmb*, I, 215; *SSNNW*, 200; Grant 2002, 89.
   Karcoswald 1167, *Kierkoswald'* 1201. ON *kirkja* + saint Oswald.

Kirksanton CMB. Millom parish. *EPNS Cmb*, II, 415–16; *SSNNW*, 54; Grant 2002, 89.
   Kirkesantan before 1152 (but *Santacherche* in 1086). ON *kirkja* + saint Sanctan.

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[66] England has also a distant easterly outlier at Oswaldkirk, North Riding of Yorkshire (YON) (*Oswaldescherca* 1086, *Kirkoswald* 1201, 1214, etc.; *EPNS Yon*, 55).

Kirkeby Crossan CMB. Stainburn parish. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪɪ, 436; *SSNNW*, 34; Grant 2002, 89.

> *Kirkecrossan* 13th c., *Kirkeby crossan* 13th c. ON *kirkja* 'church' and *kirkju-bý* 'church-settlement' + saint Crossan.

Kirkby Beacock CMB. Now St Bees, parish-name. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪɪ, 430; *SSNNW*, 34; Grant 2002, 88.

> *Kirkebibeccoch* 1157 × 1199, *Kirckebybechoc* 1288. Cf. *Cherchebi* c. 1125, *eccl. Sce bege* c. 1135, *Bechockirke c*. 1210. ON *kirkju-bý* 'church-settlement' + saint Begu, diminutive *Beghóc*.

H Goidelic names

The following fourteen names from Cumberland and Westmorland, together with one outlier each from Northumberland and the North Riding of Yorkshire, are mapped on Map 3. This corpus is very provisional: it needs detailed attention from Goidelic scholars. (For now, I give headforms as cited by Coates and Breeze 2000, pp. 286–88, 338–39.) These examples are – with the exception of Kinmond WML – early recorded, and seem to me the more plausible candidates of those proposed. Further late-recorded (i.e. after 1500) and uncertain possibilities from Cumberland (especially) and Westmorland are included in the lists assembled by Coates and Breeze.[67]

Cannerheugh CMB. Kirkoswald parish. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪ, 215–16.

> *Kenerhou* c. 1200. *ceann* 'head' + uncertain element + later addition of ON *haugr* 'hill, mound' or OE *hōh* 'hill, spur'.

Cnokdentwald CMB. Dalston parish. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪ, 132.

> *Cnokdentwald* c. 1340 × 1350. *cnocc* 'hillock' + ? *dind* 'hill' + later addition of OE *wald* 'wood'.

Corkickle CMB. Whitehaven parish. *EPNS Cmb*, ɪɪ, 452; *SSNNW*, 224.

> *Corkekyll* c. 1210. *corr* 'point, peak' + (Scandinavian) river-name. This structure would probably suggest that the name belongs to a stratum later than an initial Scandinavian one, rather than indicating a contemporary linguistic hybrid.

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[67] These scholars also have two Goidelic proposals for Lancashire, one of which (the *Barr-* in Barrow-in-Furness) would appear in the area covered by Map 3, though it is omitted because they concede (p. 319) that the Brittonic cognate would be equally possible. The other possibility (Tarbock, ibid.) comes from the far south of the county, beyond the map, where it would relate, as they observe, to the undoubted Goidelic (Irish?) influence on the Wirral peninsula, Cheshire.

Drumleaning CMB. Aikton parish. *EPNS Cmb*, I, 119.
  Dromlenan 1416, *Drumlynane* 1425. *druim* 'ridge' + Goid. pers.n. *Linán*.

Durdar CMB. St Cuthbert Without (Carlisle) parish. *EPNS Cmb*, I, 149.
  Derdarre 1136. *doire* 'grove' + *darach* 'oak'.

Greysouthen CMB. Parish-name. *EPNS Cmb*, II, 397–98.
  Craykesuthen c. 1187. *craicc* 'rock' + Goid. pers.n. *Suthán*.

King Harry CMB. Cumwhitton parish. *EPNS Cmb*, I, 79.
  Kinheure 1268, *Kinheuri* 1272. *ceann* 'head' + uncertain element.

Kilmond YON. Bowes parish. *EPNS Yon*, 305.
  Kinemund 1175 × 1185. *ceann* 'head' + *monadh* (gen. *monaidh*) 'mountain, upland grazing'.

Kinmond WML. Orton parish. *EPNS Wml*, II, 47.
  Kinmond 1859. As previous.

Kinmont CMB. Corney parish. *EPNS Cmb*, II, 364–5.
  Kinemund 1201 × 1216. As previous.

Knock WML. Long Marton parish. *EPNS Wml*, II, 114.
  Chonoc-salchild 1150 × 1162, *Cnok* 1256. *cnocc* 'hillock'. In the earliest form a family-name is affixed.

Knockupworth CMB. Grinsdale parish. *EPNS Cmb*, I, 141.
  Cnochubert 1290. *cnocc* 'hillock' + Cont. Gmc pers.n. *Hubert*. Note that this is technically a hybrid: see further below, section J.

Ravenglass CMB. Muncaster parish. *EPNS Cmb*, II, 425.
  Rengles c. 1180, *Ranglass* c. 1240. *rann* 'share' + Goid. pers.n. *Glas*.

Tarset NTB. Bellingham parish. Breeze in Coates and Breeze 2000, 172.
  Tyreset 1244. *tar* 'across, over' + *séad* 'path, road'.

Torkin CMB. Thursby parish. *EPNS Cmb*, I, 156.
  Thorchan 1231. Apparently *torr* 'peak' + *ceann* 'head'.

Tymparon CMB. Dacre parish. *EPNS Cmb*, I, 188.
  Tympa[n]ron 1171 × 1175. *tiompan* 'small hill' + uncertain element.

To this list could possibly be added various names in *Glen-*, 'valley', such as Glencoyne (*EPNS Wml*, II, 222) or *Glentreske* (*EPNS Wml*, II, 228), and in *Pol-*, 'pool, stream', such as Poltross Burn (*EPNS Cmb*, I, 23) or Pool Darkin (*EPNS Wml*, I, 72). In both cases, however, there is always ambiguity: *Glen-* could be

Goidelic or Brittonic, *Pol-* Goidelic, Brittonic or Germanic (see above, n. 52). It seems sensible to exclude all of them from a list of more likely instances.

J Goidelic-Germanic hybrids

The most plausible example of a combination of Goidelic generic and Old Norse or Old English qualifier is Lakewolf CMB, a minor name in the parish of Dalston: *Lekwlf'* c. 1340 × 1350 which has been thought to contain Goidelic *leac* 'slab, flat stone' followed by the Old Norse pers.n. *Ulfr* (*EPNS Cmb*, i, 134; Coates and Breeze 2000, 287). Since it is essentially isolated in type and occurs in north-central Cumberland among a row of Goidelic names (same parish as *Cnokdentwald*, above), it is perhaps best considered a Goidelic name making reference to a Norse-named person (cf. p. 131–33 above), distinct from the predominant Germanic generics.

Comparable, however, is Knockupworth (detailed in section H, above), in which the personal name is Germanic *Hubert*, a post-Conquest type introduced to Britain by the Normans. This is perhaps a relatively late Goidelic formation referring to a Norman-named landholder and on this supposition it has been mapped as a Goidelic name on Map 3.

Latrigg CMB (*Laterhayheved* 1220), in Underskiddaw parish, possibly contains Goidelic *leitir* 'hill-slope' (*EPNS Cmb*, ii, 321; Coates and Breeze 2000, 288). The further structure of the name is uncertain, however – though it clearly ends in OE *hēafod* 'head' in the earliest spellings – and it is unclear whether *leitir* would be the generic. It is also not certain that the etymology is correct: Whaley (2006, 207) considers ON *látr* 'lair' in this and some comparable names.

Finally, one or two names in *Pol-* are combined with what could be Germanic qualifiers, e.g. Powbrand Sike WML, a modern name without historic forms, in Stainmore parish, which has been analysed as *Pol* + ON pers.n. *Brandr* (*EPNS Wml*, ii, 78; Grant 2002, 86). As noted above (section H), the linguistic status of *pol* is probably too uncertain to draw conclusions from such examples.

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Too Many *Papar* – Not Enough *Munkar*

Denis Rixson

Despite the provocative title this article is not a snipe at the *papar* industry. That has been good for place-names, good for Christianity and therefore good for Scandinavian Scotland. There is a danger though, of imbalance. Plenty has been written about the *papar*. But there were other religious. What about the *munkar* or 'monks'?

The Norse left us a legacy of place-names such as Pabay (Skye), Paible (North Uist) and Papadil (Rum) which include the element *papi* (sg.) or *papar* (pl.). They used this term to denote the Early Christian hermits, or groups of hermits, whom they encountered. The Norse also left a number of names which may include the element *munkr* or *munkar* 'monk/monks', although these are largely overlooked in the literature. In order to redress the balance I shall list some putative monk-names on the west coast and give a preliminary discussion of each. This article does not attempt to be definitive – I have not touched on the far North or the Northern Isles. Hopefully it will give us another slant on early Scandinavian settlers and their relationship with Christianity.

There is still plenty of debate about who, and when, the *papar* were, so we need to be very cautious when comparing *papar* and *munkar*. However there is one type of comparison we can fairly make which is to use land-assessment data to weigh the relative values of land held by *papar* or *munkar* respectively. I have assembled this data in a table. In the evidence given below, each entry is numbered for ease of identification on the map.

1 MUASDALE, NR 6738 / 6839, North Kintyre

8mk [= 8 merks Scots], *Moncastell* et *Ballach* 1502–05 *ER* xii, 352–66
8mk, *Mongastill* et *Ballach* 1505 *ER* xii, 698–703
5mk *Mongastill*, 3mk *Ballauch* 1506 *ER* xii, 704–09
5mk *Mungastell*, 3mk *Balloch* 1541 *ER* xvii, 625–33
5mk, *Mungastull* 1545 *RMS* iii no. 3085
5mk, *Mwngastull* 1558 *RMS* iv no. 1272
Mungastel 1654 Blaeu
5mk, *Mongastell* 1596 *HP* iii, 74
5mk, *Mongastell* 1605 *HP* iii, 81
5mk, *Mungastall* 1607 *RMS* vi no. 1911
5mk, *Mungastoll* 1626 *RMS* viii no. 929
5mk, *Mungastill* 1678 Rental (NLS MS 3367) [Killean Parish]

Values of properties associated with *papar* or *munkar* on the west coast of Scotland

Papar-name	mk	d	davach	Comment
Gob Buaile Pabanish (Little Bernera, Lewis) (x)				4mk or 20d = 1 davach in Lewis
Pabaigh (Mor & Beag, Lewis) (i)				4mk or 20d = 1 davach in Lewis
Pabail (Upper & Nether) (Lewis) (vi)		7½	(7½/20)	4mk or 20d = 1 davach in Lewis
Pabbay (Harris) (ii)		14	(14/20)	4mk or 20d = 1 davach in Harris
Paible (Taransay, Harris) (vii)		4	(4/20)	4mk or 20d = 1 davach in Harris
Paiblesgearraidh (North Uist) (viii)	(6)	(20)	1	6mk or 20d = 1 davach in North Uist
Paible (North Uist) (viii)	(6)	(20)	1	6mk or 20d = 1 davach in North Uist
Pabaigh (South Uist) (iii)				6mk or 20d = 1 davach in South Uist
Pabbay (Barra) (iv)				6mk or 20d = 1 davach in Barra
Pabay (Skye) (v)	(1)?	5?		4mk or 20d = 1 davach in Skye
Papadil (Rum) (ix)	(<2)	(<7)	(<⅓)	6mk or 20d = 1 davach in Rum; as part of Harris <2mk

Munkar-name	mk	d	davach	Comment
Muasdale (North Kintyre) (1)	5	(1¼)	(1¼)	1d = 4mk or 1 davach in Kintyre?
Mungosdail (Morvern) (2)	2½	(5)	(¼)	1d = ½mk or 1/20 davach in Morvern
Mungasdale (Loch Broom) (3)			<¼	Mungasdale & Gruinard were ¼ davach
Musdale (Lorn) (4)	2	(1)	(1)?	1d = 2mk or 1 davach in Lorn?
Eilean Musdile (Lismore) (5)				
Monkstadt (Skye) (6)				Value unknown but an important farm
Other-name				
Mangersta (Lewis) (7)		1½	(1½/20)	20d = 1 ounceland or davach in Lewis

mk = merklands, d = pennylands. Figures in brackets are derived.

Roman numerals after *papar*-names are to match with the map and listing in Macdonald (2002, 25, 28).

Arabic numerals after *munkar*-names are to match with map and listing in this article.

1 ounceland of 20d = 1 davach for all the *papar*-sites named above. But 1 davach was 4mk in Lewis, Harris and Skye; 6mk in Uist, Barra and Rum.

Munkar-sites on the west coast of Scotland

Mangersta ○
7

● 3 Mungasdale

● 6
Monkstadt

Mungosdall
● 2
● Musdle
5
● Musdale
4

1 ●
Muasdale

● Possible *munkar*-sites
Numerals match listings in the text and table
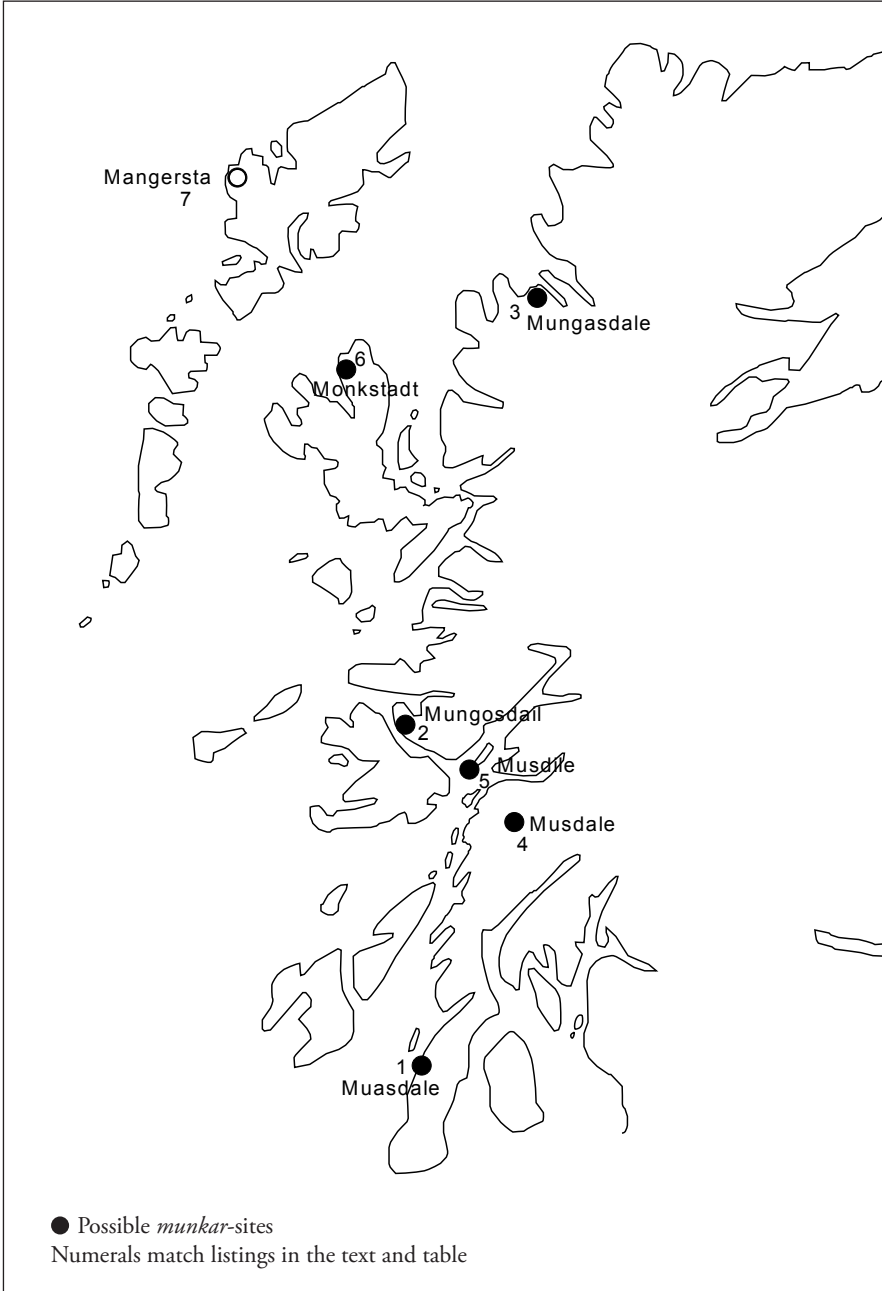
5mk, *Moyastill* 1667 *RMS* xi no. 1105
5mk, *Muastell* 1691 Clan Campbell Vol. 1 p. 19
5mk, *Muasdil* 1751 Argyll Valuation Roll
5mk, *N & S Muastill* 1777 Langlands map (RHP 4300)

Muasdale appears with *Ballach* (3mk) in the earliest references but was evidently 5mk itself. In Kintyre this would be the equivalent of 1¼ davachs or 1¼ pennylands. However if we regard *Ballach* as a late subdivision then Muasdale should be thought of as originally a 2 davach or 2d farm. The contraction in the spelling of the name seems to have become effective in the second half of the 17th century. It is likely that the first element derives from ON *munkr* 'monk'. It is not certain that the last element is from ON *dalr* 'dale' although the Clachaig Glen gives the right topographical context. The farm of Crubasdale lies on the North side of the Clachaig Water and it is possible this may have been the name for the whole glen. On the other hand the glen divides in two further upstream by Achaglass so possibly there were once two *dalr*-names here. However it is not critical to my argument that the second element be ON *dalr*. It is sufficient that the first element is from ON *munkr* or *munkar*.

If this name was once ON *Munksdalr* then who were the monks here? One answer might be Saddell Abbey but it is not obvious that Saddell has any connection with Muasdale. Saddell did own properties on the West coast of Kintyre but there is a major problem reconciling the summary values given in the early records with the total valuations of those farms which we know belonged to Saddell in later centuries. It is possible that Muasdale was once linked to Saddell but in that case we would have to suppose the connection was broken by a sale or excambion. In view of the tenacity with which the church hung onto its properties this is not likely to have occurred without some sort of mention in the records.

Saddell's foundation is dated to the time of Reginald, son of Somerled. This was the latter half of the 12th century, some 350 years after the Vikings first appeared around Kintyre. It seems sensible to leave our options open. There may have been a monastic community, of sorts, in Kintyre before Saddell Abbey. Perhaps Reginald regularised it and then endowed it with lands in Glen Saddell and along the west coast. Perhaps he just closed it in favour of his new venture. Perhaps it was already defunct. Muasdale could have been named at any stage between c. 800 and c. 1164. It is unlikely to have been named *Munksdalr* after the foundation of Saddell Abbey, a time by which we might expect new names to be coined in Gaelic rather than Norse. A name such as *Munksdalr* probably reflects an earlier stage in the process of colonisation.

Perhaps the Norse came across some sort of native monastic community here – which they left alone. The nearest ecclesiastical sites are Killean and Kilmory to the north or Killmaluag and Killegruar on either side of Barr Glen to the south.

2 MUNGOSDAIL, NM 5653, Morvern

> 33s 4d (i.e. 2½mk), *Mongastill* & *Lekill* 1509 *ER* xiii, 217
> 2½mk, *Kinlintak* & *Mungastell* 1541 *ER* xvii, 646
> 6½mk (= 13d), *Barr* & *Mungastill* 1671 *HP* i, 286
> *Mungastill* 1672 *HP* i, 253, 259
> 8d, *Mungastil Drumchraigig* & *Mill* 1751 Argyll Valuation Roll
> 8d, *Mungisdell* & *Drimchagag* 1754 Gaskell p. 124
> 8d, *Mungastil Drumchraigag* & *Mill* 1802 Gaskell p. 127

There are striking similarities between the recorded forms of this name and Muasdale in Kintyre. It seems probable that it too derives from a name such as ON *Munksdalr*.

Despite the apparent complications in the data given above, the valuation of Mungosdail is consistently 5d if we assume that it included the church site of *Lekill* or *Kinlintak*. 33s 4d or 2½mk was equivalent to 5d in Morvern where 10mk was equal to an ounceland of 20d.

Kinlintak is for the *cille* or church of Fintóc – which may be a hypocoristic version of the name Fintan. (I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer for clarifying this for me.) *Lekill* is either *le* + *cille* where *le* (or *lie*) serves to introduce a Gaelic term or is a contraction of *leth-pheighinn* + *cille* 'half-pennyland church'.

Barr was worth 5d so *Mungastill* would be 8d in 1671. In that year it is likely to have included another property but not, apparently, Drumchragaig.

Druim na Cracaig (NM 5652/5752) was 20s (1½mk or 3d) in 1509, 1541 and 1671 which means that Mungosdail was likely 5d in 1751, 1754 and 1802.

Assuming that the exchange rate between ouncelands and davachs in Morvern was one-to-one then Mungosdail would be equivalent to a quarter-davach.

In 1671 it was linked to Barr which is over the watershed towards ENE. From 1751 it was linked with Druim na Cracaig which lies just to the south.

As with Muasdale in Kintyre it is not certain that the second element is from ON *dalr* 'dale'. However it does lie on the south bank of Abhainn Mhungasdail which makes a prominent glen in north-west Morvern. The river leads up to Lochan Chrois-Bheinn from which a little burn ascends towards a col at the watershed. Here (NM 594542), there is a cross-marked stone described in RCAHMS Argyll Vol. 3 No. 281. The stone itself is roughly cruciform with

a ringed cross in relief on one face and a Greek cross incised on the other. In view of its position it is tempting to see this cross-marked stone as some sort of boundary marker for an early monastic establishment at Mungosdail. It possibly also marked the limit of a sanctuary.

In this context we should recall what Rev. Norman M'Leod wrote about both parish churches (Kiel and Kilintag) for the Old Statistical Account of Morvern:

> The principal place of worship, and where the oldest church stands, is called Cill-collum-kill, or cell of the famous Collumbus of Iona. The other place of worship is called Killunik, or cell of Winifred. Though the church is now removed to a little distance from it, at each of these there is a church-yard, or burying ground, but now without any fence, though anciently their precincts were distinctly marked, and considered as sanctuaries.
>
> *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, Vol. 10 No. 21, 1794, 275

Sorting out the ecclesiastical names in Morvern is confusing. Watson (1926, 304) says Fintán (Fintan) gives Cill Fhionntáin or Killundine in Morvern, while Fintóc is seen in Cill Fhionntáig or Kilintag in Morvern. (See also his comments on p. 93). What compounds the confusion is that the two sites are only about 2½ miles apart on the same stretch of coast in North-West Morvern. On OS Explorer Map No. 383 the church site by Mungosdail is given as 'St Fintan's Church' (NM 565538). This was a medieval parish church and is described in RCAHMS Argyll Vol. 3 No. 269 under the name Cill Dhonnaig. It is also referred to in Gaskell, *Morvern Transformed*, 168. Both Argyll Vol. 3 and Gaskell agree that the name Killintag belongs to this site rather than Killundine (NM 579498). The evidence from ER xvii, 646, 1541 confirms this. The Presbytery Records of Lorne 1651–1681, (*TGSI* Vol. 36, 124–25), refer to the kirk and parish of 'Killentaig'. Associated with the church are the remains of a late medieval cross.

The chapel and burial-ground at Killundine lie at NM 579498 and are described in RCAHMS Argyll Vol. 3 No. 303. The chapel dates to the medieval period but from this site come two Early Christian grave-markers which point to earlier usage.

Given the distance of time, the proximity of the sites and the similarity between the dedications it is going to be very difficult to establish quite what happened in this corner of Morvern. However I suggest, very tentatively, the following:

(a) That during the Early Medieval period a monastery was established at Killundine. (This farm is on record in 1509 as a 5d/2½mk or quarterland property.) The land possessed by this monastery may have included what is now Mungosdail. (This is by no means certain. The farms of Carnacailliche (2½mk/5d), Fernish (1½mk/3d) and Drumcracaig (1½mk/3d) lie between.) One of the boundaries lay at the watershed by Crois Bheinn and a termon cross was placed there.

(b) At some subsequent date the focus of religious activity shifted north. The monastery at Killundine was closed or abandoned. (Its place of worship may have lived on as a dependent chapel.) From about the 12th century *Killintak* (by Mungosdail) became the parish church. It may have started from scratch or it may have been founded on an earlier chapel site.

It seems fair to surmise that an Early Christian monastery was active at Killundine when the Norse arrived. If the monastic estate included what is now Mungosdail then it is possible this name was coined by the Norse in the ninth century and that they left the monastery alone for some time afterwards. It is difficult to imagine such a name surviving among a speech-community that was, at least temporarily, Norse, unless the monks had continued in existence. If the Norse settlers had just closed the monastery and annexed the lands they would have no interest in preserving any memory of a former history.

3 MUNGASDALE, NG 9693, Loch Broom parish

> dimed. dimedie dav. de *Crunnort-Muergoseill* (*Mungostill*?) 1548 *RMS* iv no. 204
> ¼ davach of *Crumnortumergoseill* 1548 OPS Vol. 2, Pt 2, 409
> dimed. dimedie partis davate de *Groinyeord* et *Mungostell* 1574 *RMS* iv no. 2273
> *Grunzeard*, *Mungasdill* 1633 Retours (Ross & Cromarty) No. 79

Although these references look a fearful muddle they resolve in a quite straightforward manner. Firstly a quarterland is expressed as a half of a half-davach. Secondly two quite separate names have been run together. Gruinard is the name of the property just south of Mungasdale and Gruinard Island is directly opposite. The only item of uncertainty is exactly how much Mungasdale was worth by itself.

Watson (1976, lxvii) gives this as 'Monkdale' or (p. 245) *Múnks-dalr* 'Monk's dale' (*recte Munksdalr*). He adds the associated place-names of Faithir

Mungasdail 'the shelving slope of M.' and Mealbhan Mungasdail 'the links on the shore at the farm'.

Monro (Munro 1961, 85) lists *Ellan na clerach* 'Isle of the Priests' immediately after Gruinard Island. This lies at NB 9201 / 9202 which is about 4½ miles slightly west of north from Gruinard Island.

Mungasdale bears comparison, in both its earlier and later spellings, with the examples from Kintyre and Morvern. For three places, so far apart, to have names spelled in such a similar fashion through the centuries does suggest they are essentially the same. Whether or not the last element is from *dalr* 'dale' is open to debate, but the first element seems likely to derive from *munkr*.

4 MUSDALE, NM 9322, Kilmore (part of Kilmore and Kilbride parish), Lorn

> 2mk, *Mwsadyll* 1558 GD1/426/1/23/31 Vol. 1 No. 105
> 2mk, *Mowstill* 1619 *AS* ii no. 68
> 2mk, *Monsadill* 1641 *AS* ii no. 672
> 2mk, *Mowsadill* 1648 *AS* i no. 290
> 2mk, *Mousadill* 1667 *AS* ii no. 1327
> 2mk, *Mowsdaill* 1675 *AS* i no. 601
> 4mk, *Musdale* & *Grianaig* 1751 Argyll Valuation Roll
> *Mustil* 1747–55 Roy(PC 18)
> *Muasdale* 1801 Langlands map of Argyllshire

(2mk in Lorn would be equivalent to a pennyland and, possibly, a davach.)

Is this another example of a name from ON *munksdalr*, which, by analogy with that from Kintyre, evolved into Musdale? (In Kintyre the *Mongastill* of 1505 is now Muasdale). Our only concrete evidence is provided by a document, dated 1590, in the Argyle Inventory. This is quoted in OPS Vol. 2 Pt 1, 106 where two neighbouring places in precisely this part of Lorn are given as *Mongenat* and *Assegill*. These names do not occur in other documents and no such places exist in the landscape, which raises the possibility of a scribal muddle. Perhaps what is happening here is the reverse of what happened in Mungasdale by Gruinard. There, two separate names were run together in the documents; here it looks as though one name has been split in two. If the Inventory of 1590 is actually referring to a place called Mongenatassegill then, in the context of a document which lists the farms in rough geographical order, this is likely to be an earlier form of Musdale. A derivation from ON *munksdalr* no longer seems outlandish. Moreover, a Norse place-name in this area should not surprise us. Musdale is not far from Scammadale (< ON *Skammadalr*, with *skammr* 'short') at NM 8820.

There is no physical evidence of a monastic establishment here but it is perhaps remarkable that Musdale seems to be in the wrong parish. Many of the earliest district definitions are in terms of watersheds and drainage-basins. Since the waters at Musdale drain into Loch Scammadale and the River Euchar we might expect it to be part of Kilninver parish. It may once have been; but at some stage in its history it became attached to Kilmore parish which is based on Glen Feochan. This may have been due to some claim of ownership, or political or religious affiliation. Alternatively it may simply have been because the churches in Glen Feochan were closer and more convenient. There is also plenty of evidence for Early Christian activity in the surrounding districts – whether in Kilmore and Kilbride to the west-north-west, in Muckairn to the north, or Kilchrenan to the east. The area was evidently criss-crossed by the early missionaries.

5 EILEAN MUSDILE, NM 7735 / 7835, by Lismore, Loch Linnhe

Musadill 1549 Monro
Musadilla 1583 Buchanan
Musadill 1654 Blaeu (Lorn)
Musadil 1654 Blaeu (Mull)
Moustal 1747–55 Roy(PC 60)
Musdile 1815 RHP 9448 – included in W. Dalnarow
Mousdale 1829 RCAHMS AGD/67/4

The inclusion of this name is speculative. That it is at least a possibility is suggested by the similarities between its recorded forms and those of Muasdale in Kintyre and Musdale in Lorn – for both of which there exists more concrete evidence. Eilean Musdile is a tiny island off Lismore which is first noticed in Dean Monro's account of the islands in 1549:

'Narrest this lyis Musadill, half myle lang, gude for corn and fisching.

Narrest this lyis Berneray ane myle lang from the north-eist to the south-west, alsmekle braid, inhabite and manurit, gude for store, with ane wood of Ew in it. This Ile was callit sumtime an holy Girth, very good for scheip.

Narrest this lyis Ellan Inhologasgyr, full of pasture for store and full of rampis'.

<div align="right">Munro, Monro's Western Isles of Scotland, 55</div>

Munro's edition gave the *Sibbald MS* version of Monro. Monro's list also appears in George Buchanan's *History*, as follows:

'Musadilla, & Bernera, olim sacrosanctum asylu(m) dicta, Silua taxi nobilis, Molochasgir,'

Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, 1583, 8

Aikman translates this as:

'Musadil, and Bernera, formerly named the Holy Sanctuary; the forest of the noble yew, Molochasgir;'

J Aikman, *The History of Scotland ...* 1, 1838, 44

Some background information irons out the differences between these versions:

(a) Eilean Musdile and Bernera Island lie on the south and north sides, respectively, of the south-western tip of Lismore Island in Loch Linnhe. They are a little over two miles apart.

(b) Blaeu marks Bernera with a church symbol on both his map of Lorn and his map of Mull. The Rev. Donald M'Nicol writes in the Old Statistical Account:

There was a small temple, with a burying ground, on an island, or rather peninsula, called Bernera.

The Statistical Account of Scotland Vol. 1 No. 52, 1791, 491

It may be significant that the Rev. M'Nicol uses the word 'temple'. Although not unknown in Argyll this term occurs with much greater frequency amongst ecclesiastical sites in the Northern Hebrides, i.e. those islands which are often regarded as more Norse. There is still a Sgeir an Teampuill at NM 7939 just off Bernera. RCAHMS Argyll Vol. 2 No. 224 describes the chapel and burial-ground at NM 794392. Monro's term *girth* means a sanctuary. Bernera is linked to Lismore at low tide.

(c) Yew trees have long had religious associations, possibly because they are evergreens. In Britain such traditions stretch back to pre-Christian times but certainly the early church in the Highlands tried to absorb this aspect of paganism. The older parish church in Glassary was sited at Kilneuair or

'Church of the yew-tree' by Loch Awe. Carmichael (1948, 42–43) gives further stories of the yew-tree of Bernera.

(d) Eilean Loch Oscair lies at the north-west end of Lismore at NM 8645 and has nothing to do with Bernera's yew-tree, despite Aikman's punctuation.

(e) *Ramps* is a Scots word for wild garlic.

Is it possible that Musdile, like Muasdale in Kintyre and probably Musdale in Lorn, is derived from ON *munksdalr*? The traditions of sanctity are encouraging. It is not hard to find religious connections for Lismore in general and this corner of Lismore in particular. Lismore is associated with the missionary activity of St Moluag, a contemporary of Columba. The neighbouring district of Appin, which was closely linked to Lismore for centuries, is supposed to have earned its name from the early abbey here. From the 13th century Lismore became the seat of the medieval Bishopric of Argyll. The bishops had a castle and residence at Achadun which is just beside Bernera. Less than two miles from Achadun there is a Birgidile at NM 8240 which may derive from Norse *borg* 'fort' + *dalr* 'dale' (cf. Birgidale, Bute, which is recorded as Brigadile and Byrgadill in 1448–1450).

Of course there are problems. All the religious associations seem to be with Bernera rather than Eilean Musdile. However any *munksdalr* behind Musdile probably lay on the main island of Lismore. This is not a fatal objection since it is often the case in the Highlands that mainland names transfer to islands, e.g. Eilean Grianain and Eilean Sunadale, Kintyre. Eilean Musdile itself is beside the farm of Dalnarrow. There is some flat land here but it is more likely that any original *munksdalr* actually lay by Achadun. Possibly Achadun is a later name that found favour with the medieval bishops. Eilean Musdile may originally have been no more than a grazing pendicle – attached to a farm called *Munksdalr* – which then retained the old name when the main farm was relabelled. I have no valuation for Eilean Musdile but Achadun was 2½d in 1240. I think this would have been equivalent to 2½ davachs in Lismore which would make it a large and important unit.

Having said all this it must be admitted that there is no proof of a *munksdalr* in Lismore. The best we can offer is an argument from analogy – supported by some circumstantial evidence.

6 MONKSTADT, NG 3767, Kilmuir Parish, Trotternish, Skye

Mungistot c. 1590 in 'Noates and Memoirs drawn furth of Mr Timothey Pont his Papers' in Macfarlane's Geographical Collections Vol. 2, 584

Mungestot 1654 Blaeu (Skye)
Mogstot 1724 GD 221/202/1 p. 5
Mugstot c. 1725 GD 221/202/2
Mugstot 1733 Rental, Museum of the Isles, Armadale, Skye
Mugstot 1764 Stobie's map (5992), Museum of the Isles, Armadale, Skye

Macbain (1894, 238), writing of *staðr* in Lewis says:

Mangarsta occurring as Mog-stat, Mugstot, Monkstadt in Skye, and as
Mangaster in two places in Shetland, was Munku stadhr, and tells us that
it was formerly the abode of monks.

Forbes (1923, 266) writes:

MOGSTAT, MONKSTADT, MUGASTAD, MUGSTOT, etc. Monks'
town or abode; *munku stadhr, stadr.* '*Mugastad nan Ròiseal,*' 'Monkstadt
of the high waves'. In Kilmuir.

Coinneach Odhar, Dun Kenneth, the seer, prophesied as to this place,
which is now divided by a large drain or culvert which passes through
the former bed of Loch Columcille, draining into Camus Mór. This
was where Sir Alexander Macdonald resided after vacating Duntulm. Cf.
'Mugaster,' in Shetland.

Cox (2007, 70) writes:

Gordon 1963: 92, 107 derives the Skye place-name, *Mugstot* ... from
ON *Munkastaðir* '[the] monks' farm', but it would seem more likely to
represent ON *Munkstopt*(*ir*) with gen. sg. of *munkr* m. and sing. (or pl.)
of *topt* f. 'homestead; site; ruins'.

We have, then, two different interpretations of the last element in this
compound – from ON *staðr* 'farm' or from ON *topt* 'homestead, house-site,
toft'. The latter passed into Gaelic as *tobhta* and occurs several times in Skye
place-names (Tote, Tottrome, Totscore etc., all in Trotternish). Under either
interpretation the last element derives from Old Norse. For the purposes of
my argument the critical point is that the first element is from ON *munkr*
'monk'. Monkstadt was a large and important farm but its valuation eludes me.
Unfortunately the 1733 rental is damaged at precisely this point. Monkstadt
neighbours an important Early Christian site and cashel in the former Loch
Chaluim Chille (see RCAHMS 1928, 165–66 for further details).

7 MANGURSTADH (OS Explorer 458) or MANGERSTA (OS Landranger 13), NB 0031, Uig parish, Lewis

> 1½d, *Mangirstay* 1765 GD 427/5/2
> *Mangersta* 1821 RHP 43267 (Johnson's map)

Watson (1976, lxvii) gives this as 'Mungarsta, Monkstead, in Lewis'. On p. 271 of the same volume he gives it as 'Mangarsta, múnka-stadr, Monks' stead'.

However, Oftedal (1954, 388–89) writes :

> Mangersta ... ON *Mangarastadir* 'peddler's farm', from *mangari* m. 'peddler', is satisfactory from the phonetic point of view, but I have not found *mangari* in any other place names.

Oftedal also considered a derivation from the personal name *Magnús* and compared this with Mangaster in Shetland. Plainly he had doubts about this. Richard Cox (pers. comm.) agrees with Oftedal that the name is most probably from ON *Mangarastað* acc., with gen. sg. of *mangari* m. 'pedlar'.

It is, perhaps, a little unexpected to find a farm-name deriving from the word for a pedlar. However, none of the early forms of the other names offered above begin 'Ma-'. They almost all begin 'Mu-' or 'Mo-'. It seems Mangurstadh should be abandoned.

Conclusions

Excluding Mangurstadh, I have offered six place-names on the west coast which may indicate monastic settlements (or holdings) which existed when the Norse arrived. The historical place-name forms provide good evidence for four of these: Muasdale (Kintyre), Mungosdail (Morvern), Mungasdale (Loch Broom parish) and Monkstadt (Skye). We have some such evidence for Musdale (Lorn) but Eilean Musdile (Lismore) must remain speculative. We also have historical, sculptural or archaeological evidence for an Early Christian presence close to Mungosdail (Morvern), Monkstadt (Skye) and Eilean Musdile (Lismore).

I have not dealt with northern Scotland or the Northern Isles. Jocelyn Rendall (2002, 31) states that the traditional name for St Boniface's Kirk, Papa Westray, Orkney, is 'Munkerhoose, implying local memory of a monastic settlement'. This site takes on extra significance by virtue of the coincidence of *papar* and *munkar* in the same small island.

The distribution pattern of these possible *munkar*-names is shown on the map and may be compared with the map of *papar*-names in Macdonald

(2002, 25). In the table I have assembled what information I have about land-valuations – but only for sites in the West Highlands and Hebrides. What comparisons can we draw?

One significant difference lies in the distribution pattern. None of the *papar*-names lie south of Ardnamurchan; three, possibly four, of the *munkar*-names do. Given the coincidence of both name types in Papa Westray, Orkney, I am not sure what significance we should attach to this. The issue hinges on what the different terms signified at the time. Does use of the term *papar* only imply hermits whereas *munkar* implies more formal monastic communities? Alternatively, should we regard the two terms as synonymous and complementary? If we do, then at least as far as the west coast and Hebrides are concerned, the distribution pattern is much more evenly spread. There is no longer a disjunction between the situation north and south of Ardnamurchan – although there is still a noticeable absence of such names in the southern Hebrides.

Are there any differences in terms of the relative worth of the farms called by these names? The land-assessment data is not comprehensive and there must remain an element of doubt about some of the exchange ratios I have suggested. Nevertheless, those valuations which have survived prove that both *papar* and *munkar* occupied prime agricultural land. Plenty of such evidence has already been offered for individual *papar*-sites (Crawford, 2002). The table bears this out, particularly in Lewis, Harris, North Uist and Skye. As far as the *munkar* are concerned we can say the same for Kintyre, Lorn, Morvern, Skye and possibly Lismore.

The place-name evidence suggests that the Norse applied their own names to the properties of Early Christian clerics, whether hermits or monks. The land-assessment evidence proves that these properties were often on some of the best land available. For the association with such hermits or monks to persist implies that they managed to retain these lands amongst the Norse colonists. Otherwise it is difficult to see why Norse settlers would have any interest in preserving the details of former ownership when giving out names. If we regard *papar*- and *munkar*-names as synonymous and complementary, then their occurrence is pretty evenly spread over the areas traditionally associated with the Norse colonies in Scotland. Alternatively, if we believe that the Norse used the different terms *papar* and *munkar* to denote quite different communities then we must seek to explain their regional distributions.

ABBREVIATIONS

  ABA = Argyll and Bute Archives, Lochgilphead
  AS = Argyll Sasines (see under Campbell, H.)

ER = Exchequer Rolls (see under Stuart)

GD + No. = Gifts & Deposits, National Archives of Scotland

HP = Highland Papers (volumes published by Scottish History Society)

Macfarlane's Geographical Collections – see under Mitchell

NAS = National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh

NLS = National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

ON = Old Norse

OS = Ordnance Survey

OSA = Old Statistical Account (see under *The Statistical Account of Scotland*)

RCAHMS = Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland

RHP = Register House Plan (National Archives of Scotland)

RMS = R*egistrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum* (Register of the Great Seal)

TGSI = Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness

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A Note on the Two Barloccos KCB, with Arlecdon CMB
Alan G. James, *Scottish Place-Name Society*
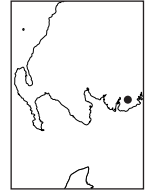
Barlocco (Borgue) KCB[1] lies 200m inland from the shore of Fleet Bay, overlooking the tidal Barlocco Isle and sheltered from the west by Bar Hill, which though less than 50m high is a fairly well-defined coastal feature. Maxwell (1930, 26) compared this place-name to Barloke KCB (Borgue) and Barluka KCB (Twynholm). The former, listed by him as a settlement-name, survives now only in the name of Barloke Moss, a small eutrophic bog[2] drained by a little burn running into Kirkcudbright Bay. Here Cumbric *barr-luch*, presumably referring to one of the three low hills that overlook the moss, is very appropriate. Barluka is the name of a farm some 400m west of Twynholm village, overlooked by Barluka Hill.[3] There is a tiny lochan to the north-east of Barluka Hill; it may have been artificially dammed, but there was presumably a natural pond or marshy area, so Cumbric *barr-luch* influenced by Gaelic *bàrr-locha* probably explains this name. Barlocco (Kirkandrews) likewise has a small lochan, now eutrophicised to alder-carr, between the farmhouse and the shore, so *bàrr-locha* could indeed be appropriate here.

However, there is another Barlocco, 20km to the east in Rerrick parish KCB, not listed by Maxwell. The situation is quite similar, 250m inland from the Solway coast. The farm lies in an east-west cleft in Barlocco Hill, with Barlocco Bay at the foot of the hill to the south-east, and Barlocco Heugh, apparently a raised beach, with cliffs above and below, to the south-west. But this Barlocco stands on the ridge of porous Carboniferous rock that extends along the Solway coast between the estuaries of the Urr and the Dee.[4] Consequently it has nothing that could be called a *loch*, and even *luch* in the Brittonic sense 'marshy water' is to be found no nearer than

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[1] *Barloko* 1508, *Barlokoo* 1551 RMS, Barlocco Pont: in the mediaeval parish of Kirkandrews, combined with Senwick in 1670 to form the parish of Borgue.

[2] Eutrophic: of standing water, becoming increasingly overgrown by marshy vegetation as a result of high nutrient levels and so eventually turning (as here) to willow- and alder-carr.

[3] I am grateful to Mr Alistair Livingston for information about Barluka. See also note 18 below.

[4] British Geological Survey (1993).

2km away to the west in a valley fed by St Glassen's Well (to which we shall return) and other springs, and a similar distance to the north-west at Stockmoss, on the far side of Holehouse Hill.

So could there be some other explanation for the name Barlocco? Returning to Barlocco (Kirkandrews), it may be significant that 400m to the north-west of Barlocco Isle there is another, larger, tidal island, Ardwall Isle. Here in 1964–65, Charles Thomas excavated a site which revealed a sequence of occupation from the fifth or sixth century showing, at least from around 600, characteristics of a small monastic settlement: traces of a 'pillar-shrine', then of a timber oratory, then of a stone chapel, along with an embanked enclosure, several stones with incised crosses and one with a single-word inscription, and a sequence of oriented burials from perhaps the late fifth century through to the eleventh (by which time the chapel was in ruins).[5] This may suggest an alternative interpretation of the specifier '-locco'. Latin *locāta*, British Latin **logāda*, was adopted as British **logādā-* > neo-Brittonic **loġǭd* > Middle-early Modern Welsh *llogawd*. In insular Latin it meant 'somewhere, typically a piece of land, set aside in some way',[6] and in early Modern Welsh *llogawd* was 'something partitioned off'. However, in mediaeval Latin and in Middle Welsh, an important specific sense was 'a monastery'. **Barr-loġǭd*, 'hill of (i.e. on land belonging to) a monastery', presumably referring to Bar Hill, would seem a plausible explanation for the name Barlocco here.[7]

There are caves at the foot of the cliff below Barlocco Hill (Rerrick), but there is no known trace of an early monastic foundation in the area. The proximity of Dundrennan Abbey, 3km to the west, is probably coincidental: the Cistercians did not usually seek out earlier monastic sites.[8] More tantalising is old Rerrick Church, 2km west of Barlocco. All that remains of this is part of the south side and west gable, standing in the

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[5] Thomas 1967 (available on-line at <www.archaeologydataservice.ac.uk> accessed 9/9/10), and, for photographic images, see <www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk>.

[6] Cf. Ælfric's Glossary 115.21 *locatus*: *behyring* 'a lease, a letting'.

[7] The devoicing of internal -*g*- would reflect Scots / English speakers' perception of 'broad' intervocalic -*g*- in the name as pronounced by Gaelic speakers.

[8] Though Culross Abbey FIF overlay one, traditionally that of St Serf, and the Cistercian communities of Melrose ROX and Deer BNF saw themselves as successors to the ancient monasteries in their vicinities.

centre of an embanked kirkyard. A plaque says: 'This church, originally a chapel, was enlarged in 1743 and taken down in 1865'.[9] When the chapel was built is not known, but it was probably associated with St Glassen's Well, nearby to the north of the kirkyard. This is now capped but there are several springs around the kirkyard boundary. At this point, the junction is exposed between the porous Carboniferous formation noted above and the underlying Silurian sandstone, so there is a marked spring-line, above which the kirkyard lies. St Glassen is wholly obscure.[10] An Irish St Glaisne is recorded in a list of saints and he may be commemorated in some Irish place-names and even at Kilmaglass in Strathur on Loch Fyne ARG and the two Kinglassies in FIF.[11] However, the salience of springs in the landscape around Rerrick Church strongly suggests that it was **cil-glaisín* 'church of the wee burn',[12] referring to the spring-fed stream flowing down past the kirkyard, and St Glassen arose from a mistaken interpretation of this name.[13] This building only served as the Parish Kirk of Rerrick from the Reformation, 1560, until a new Parish Kirk was built in Dundrennan, and another serving Auchencairn, both opened in 1866. The whereabouts of the mediaeval parish church is unknown.[14] However, Rerrick is very probably Old Norse **hreyr-vík* 'cairn-bay', and this must surely refer to Auchencairn Bay and imply that Auchencairn (4km NE of Barlocco) was the main settlement in the parish until a new one developed around Dundrennan Abbey, perhaps setting up rivalry between the two ends of the parish and giving rise to the need for an intermediate location. The eponymous cairn

[9] It only served as the Parish Kirk of Rerrick from the Reformation, 1560, until a new Parish Kirk was built in Dundrennan, which, alongwith another serving Auchencairn, opened in 1866. The whereabouts of the mediaeval parish church is unknown (though the abbey church at Dundrennan was being used for that purpose immediately before the Reformation).

[10] Cf. Watson 1926, 320, discussing Kinglassie FIF, see below.

[11] One a parish name, the other a church in St Andrews and St Leonards parish; see Taylor 2006, 447–49 and 2009, 486–87, and on all the possible dedications to St Glaisne, Clancy 2004, 140 and note 65.

[12] Or, less likely, 'place of the church by the burn'; see Taylor 2006, 449.

[13] Similar observations apply to the two places called Kinglassie FIF, see Taylor references, above (footnote 11).

[14] Though the abbey church at Dundrennan was being used for that purpose immediately before the Reformation.

must have been one of a number on the ridge overlooking the village, and a wealth of other archaeological remains indicate a very long history of settlement here. Hestan Isle in Auchencairn Bay (6km ENE of Barlocco) is, like Ardwall Isle, a small but habitable island of just the kind favoured by early monastic communities around the Irish Sea. Could the name Barlocco imply such a settlement in this district, perhaps on Hestan Isle?

Clearly in view across the Solway Firth from Barlocco Hill is St Bees Head CMB. Less than 5km inland to the north-east from there is the village of Arlecdon.[15] This, like Barlocco (Rerrick), lacks any discernible lake or marshy area to support an etymology involving *luch* or indeed Ekwall's (1964) suggestion 'perhaps **earn-lācu* "eagle-lake" '.[16] Coates (Coates and Breeze 2000, 285) interpreted it tentatively as **ar-loġōd*, 'place near, opposite to, overlooking a monastery', with Old English *-denu* 'valley' added later. There is again no known early monastic site in the immediate vicinity, but *loġōd* could well refer to land belonging to a monastery rather than the location of its buildings. An area to the west of the village was known as Kirkland, surviving in the hill-name Kirkland Howe. Arlecdon was in the mediaeval parish of St Bees, and the priory held lands here. The Benedictine Priory succeeded an earlier monastery dedicated to a reputedly Irish female St Bega[17] and it is conceivable that this was the house with which Arlecdon was associated.

[15] The potentially quadruple internal consonant cluster has made for varying pronunciations: 19th c. sources give [ārəltən] and [āltən]; Armstrong et al. record [ālkdən] and [ərəltən]; the BBC recommends [āləkdən]: see Forster 1981. I am grateful to Mrs Mary Todd for information about the village.

[16] Armstrong et al. 1950, 335, endorse Ekwall's proposal (citing Ekwall 1947), but the early forms *Arlauchdene* c. 1130, *Arlokeden(e)* c. 1150 on etc., offer little support for it.

[17] Not to be confused with the Northumbrian St Begu of Hackness YNR (Bede *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV.23: Plummer 1896, I, 257, and see also I, 431), though she often was. Sceptics suspect that Bega was another fictitious saint, named from a ring or bracelet (OE *bēag*) kept in the church as a relic. See the very full and balanced account of the cult and legends of St Bega by John M Todd at <www.stebees.org.uk>. The Anglian Begu was probably the patroness of Kilbucho PEB, and other possible traces of her cult are *Gillbechistoun* c. 1200 in Eddleston PEB, and St Bays Well in Dunbar ELO: Watson 1926, 151 (though, for no clear reason, Watson associates the well with the Irish Bega). The oft-repeated assertion that 'there is a place in Scotland called Kilbees from [Bega's] name' seems to derive from Butler 1814, X.64–65 under September 6, which gives this statement 'according to a note of Th Innes on the manuscript calendar kept in the Scotch College of Paris'. I have been unable to find any such place.

Taking these considerations together, there seems a reasonable possibility, albeit well short of certainty, that the two Barloccos along with Arlecdon may contain the element *loġōd* in the sense of 'land belonging to (reserved for) a monastery'. At Barlocco (Kirkandrews), the eponymous monastery is known and close by; at Arlecdon, the monastery in question would probably have been that of St Bega; while the possibility of an early Christian site in the neighbourhood of Barlocco (Rerrick), perhaps on Hestan Isle, is worth investigation.[18]

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[18] In view of the considerations above, it is worth noting in connection with Barluka KCB that Twynholm is an Old English *hām*, which might possibly indicate a *mynster*. (See James 2010, 117). The Doon, a small multivallate fort on Doon Hill between Twynholm and Barluka, implies a place of some ancient importance. All the same, *barr-luch* > *bàrr-locha* remains the likeliest origin.

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Patrick McKay, *A Dictionary of Ulster Place-Names*, second edition, Belfast: Queen's University Belfast, 2007. 160 pp. £10.50. ISBN 0-85389-896-2

The first edition of this work appeared in 1999 and was warmly welcomed by place-name scholars – in Ireland at least, though I get the impression from informal enquiries that it was less well-known in Scotland than it deserved to be. Covering place-names from the nine counties of Ulster, this second edition incorporates changes, a number of which the author says were prompted by 'scholarly reviews or feedback from members of the public'. The book itself is both scholarly and accessible to the general reader, a distillation into a pocket-sized paperback in an accessible format of a vast collection of data and careful analysis undertaken since 1987 by the Northern Ireland Place-Name Project at Queens University, Belfast (though since this project is generally restricted to the six counties of Northern Ireland, the fact that the present volume deals with all nine counties of Ulster indicates that its material is distilled from other research activities too). The output of this project over the intervening years has included the publication of eight volumes of *The Place-Names of Northern Ireland*, containing detailed records and discussions of various areas. The research has also resulted in a large body of data going on-line in a most useful website: <http://www.placenamesni.org/>. Sadly, although the project at Queens was designed to produce 30 or 40 volumes of *The Place-Names of Northern Ireland*, the process has now come to a standstill, at least for the present, as Queens University Belfast has closed down the Northern Ireland Place-Names Project, making the staff redundant.

McKay's small volume discusses names of a wide range of types – counties, towns, townlands, water-courses, mountains, hills and glens. Clearly no single volume could even list – let alone analyse and discuss – all the recorded names of the nine counties. The author has had to limit his scope and has chosen some clear and objective guidelines for inclusion: the *Gasaitéar na hÉireann/Gazetteer of Ireland* (Dublin, 1989) and some names which are not included in the Gazetteer but do appear on the Ordnance Survey map of the area. Other names were included according to more subjective (but perfectly respectable) criteria: 'they were deemed to be of some interest or significance'.

The volume lists all place-names in simple alphabetical order (rather than arranging them, for example, under counties, or under parishes). A great advantage of this method is that one can easily find any place-name in the book without having to know in advance what parish or county it is in, doing away with the need for an alphabetical index of names and thereby saving a few pages at the end of the book. A slight disadvantage of this arrangement is that, where an arrangement on a parish-by-parish basis, for example, would draw together in one section all the place-names of a fundamental social unit and would provide the toponymic basis for a good local history, this is not possible in the format which has actually been chosen.

Each entry follows a certain format, as in the following example:

Moneymore tl. vill., Derry 2838
8 km NE of Cookstown
par: *Artrea/Desertlyne* bar: *Loughinsholin*
Ir. *Muine Mór* [mwinya **more**] 'large thicket or hill' [*Minimore* 1654]

This represents the following information: a standard modern Anglicised spelling of the head-name, given in bold, the indication of what the name refers to (here a townland and a village), what county it is in (Derry) and its grid-reference. Sometimes a variant modern spelling of the head-name is offered in the following line, if another convention is still current.

The following line gives the distance and direction of the head-name's location from the nearest substantial settlement. Though there is a slightly subjective element in the decision whether to describe a place as a 'village' or a 'hamlet', or what counts as a 'substantial settlement', this kind of descriptive spatial and territorial data is indispensible.

The following line tells us the parish and barony (or parishes and baronies) in which the referent is located. And the final section – varying in length from two to twenty or more lines – discusses the meaning of the name, gives an orthographically correct Gaelic form (where applicable) and gives information about its tenurial history, local topography, ecclesiastical history, saint's cult, early medieval legends, alternative or earlier names, associations with other places, or anything else that strikes the author as illuminating. It makes for an informative, entertaining and accessible read, while giving the impression of scholarly rigour and thoroughness: learning worn lightly. Thus, under Hillhall, a townland and

village in Co. Down, we are told that the name refers to 'a former house and defensive bawn which appears to have been built *c.* 1637 by Peter Hill', and that the townland was 'fomerly known as *Kilmuck* ... which is possibly a corruption of *Cloncolmoc* (Ir. *Cluain Cholmóg*) the name of a church recorded in 1306, though there is no record of ecclesiastical remains and the identification must be regarded as tentative' (p. 81). A slight regret must be voiced here that a reader who knows the reference to *Cloncolmoc* in 1306 and seeks to find a reference to it in this book will not be able to do so easily: there is no index of the place-names discussed, and *Cloncolmoc / Cluain Cholmóg* does not have its own entry. It is only discussed under Hillhall.

Under each head-name only one early form is usually offered (presumably one which clearly illustrates the interpretation of the name offered by the author), and no reference is generally given to the source in which that early form appears. This reader found this rather frustrating: there are bound to be many place-names whose early forms are highly varied, offering more than one potential interpretation; and the lack of a reference to the context in which the early form appears makes it impossible to check that source, or to consider the significance of that early form in the context in which it occurs. But the aim to produce a small easily handled dictionary, aimed at a general readership, and presumably one which readers can carry with them on the bus or a bicycle, means that such luxuries are excluded. For readers who want more than this, they will have to go to the relevant volume of *The Place-Names of Northern Ireland* to pursue their enquiries (in the hope that the name they are looking for has been dealt with in one of the eight volumes so far published). There much fuller information of this sort is given. And it must be acknowledged that in some cases, where there is ambiguity or confusion about the name and its history, a brief discussion of forms and variant readings is offered, even in this little paperback. Thus under *Lough Derg*, for example (p. 98), an analysis of the modern form is offered ('red lake'), but it is followed by a discussion of alternative possibilities involving OIr *gerg* 'grouse, quail' and the personal name *Gerg* as found in the Ulster Cycle as the name of a king slain by Conchobhur mac Nessa on the loch – a *dindsenchas* on the name as it occurs in the ninth century as *Locha Geirg*.

A degree of frustration also arises from the way in which pronunciation is indicated. The vagaries of English spelling (as indicated by George Bernard Shaw's famous observation that *ghoti* was an acceptable way

of spelling 'fish') are such that, even with a very short guide given on p. xii, the pronunciations indicated in the text are sometimes ambiguous. On p. 111, *Droichead Uí Dhálaigh* is said to by pronounced [dryhid ee **ġaal**ee], but it is not at all clear from this whether the stressed long vowel, represented as [**aa**], should be read as [aː] or as [ɔː]. A brief introduction to IPA and the use of this to indicate pronunciation, even in the broadest possible way, would be a clearer guide – and there is no harm in helping members of the reading public to acquaint themselves with the basic outlines of IPA.

The book would be a most useful addition to the shelf of any Scottish toponymist – not least because of the very useful index of place-name elements which includes all the elements cited in explanation of place-names, referring the reader to each place where those elements occur. It contains several Gaelic words which are not commonly referred to in Scotland in our discussion of our own place-names and Scottish readers might find some revealing surprises here – perhaps references to Gaelic words or usages still current in Ireland but obsolete or unrecorded in Scottish Gaelic.

It would be very good to see books like this being made available in Scotland. Over the past couple of decades a good deal of progress has been made in the interpretation of our toponymy and much has been published in books and learned journals (like this one) to advance scholarly understanding. McKay's book provides a model for future publication in Scotland, making the best of scholarship available to a general audience. McKay's success in doing this only serves to sharpen the regret one feels that the principal forum in which this scholarship was developed in Northern Ireland has been brought to a premature close.

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Diarmaid Ó Muirithe, *From the Viking Word-Hoard: A Dictionary of Scandinavian Words in the Languages of Britain & Ireland*, Four Courts Press: Dublin, 2010. 342 pp. €50 hardback. ISBN 978-1-84682-173-8

Mention the word 'Viking' in polite conversation and the chances are that thoughts will turn to murder, mayhem and the looting of monasteries – none

of which are likely precursors to the meaningful exchange of language. This somewhat pejorative view of Viking activity in the British Isles is, of course, a legacy of Victorian Romanticism. The most tenacious and vibrant legacy of the Vikings themselves is actually a touch less dramatic, but for readers of this review, it is an integral part of their sentient experience. By this, I am referring to the permanent migration of Scandinavian communities and the impact of their dialects on those of the British Isles during the Viking Age (c. AD 800–1050). According to the Danish linguist Otto Jespersen, a speaker of English cannot '*thrive* or be *ill* or *die* without Scandinavian words: *they are* to the language what *bread* and *eggs* are to the daily fare.' A lesser, but not insignificant influence has also been identified in Britain's Celtic languages, especially Scottish Gaelic, whose modern vocabulary and pronunciation appear to have been substantially reshaped by speakers of Scandinavian. The extent and causes of these various changes have been the subject of numerous academic papers over the years. And, while there have been some well-received regional summaries, such as Susanne Kries' 2003 monograph, *Skandinavische-Schottische Sprachbeziehungen im Mittelalter*,[1] there have, as yet, been no attempts to produce a single lexical overview of Medieval Scandinavian loanwords in the British Isles. The absence of such a work will not have gone unnoticed by members of the place-name community, keenly aware that seemingly indigenous toponyms can actually belie Norse origins. Filling that void completely would be no mean feat, but now, at least, we have a contender. It comes in the shape of Diarmaid Muirithe's *From the Viking Word-Hoard: A Dictionary of Scandinavian Words in the Languages of Britain & Ireland.*

Professor Ó Muirithe's offering is a hefty 300-page volume that sets out to provide 'a glossary of words in the various languages of Britain and Ireland which owe their origins to the intrepid raiders, merchants and migrants of medieval Scandinavia.' In assessing whether he has succeeded, we must certainly not judge this particular book by its cover. Although eye-catchingly crafted in black and gold and adorned with the image of a wonderfully arcane model boat, closer inspection reveals that what is intended as a source book of Scandinavian loan-words from the Viking Age is being marketed with an image from 1st century BC Ireland. Ó Muirithe has been done a disservice here, the pages in between have a lot more to offer.

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[1] University Press of Southern Denmark, Århus.

From the Viking Word-Hoard comprises four sections; a preface and introduction (c. 29 pages); the dictionary itself (226 pages); a bibliography (45 pages); and an 'Index of Scandinavian Words and Word Components' (26 pages). The last three of these form a welcome addition to the etymological arsenal of any place-name enthusiast with an interest in the British Isles. Most impressive is the dictionary itself, with somewhere in the region of 2000 headwords, often with several attested variant spellings and referenced etymologies. These go beyond standard language varieties to take in a broad sweep of modern dialects, from East Anglian to Shetlandic, in addition to historical examples from old, middle and modern language periods. While this collection makes no claims to be exhaustive, it has been gleaned from a comprehensive survey of a very wide range of original sources, alongside an ample selection of the most relevant philological and onomastic works. Indeed, the collated references presented in the bibliography constitute a valuable resource in their own right and will doubtless streamline the opening stages of many a future research project. Place-name buffs will notice a few omissions here, such as Richard Cox's proposal of the otherwise unattested Norse generic **bólshagi* in his 1998 article, 'Descendents of *bólstaðr*? A re-examination of bost & co.'.[2] In all fairness, however, there have been few such articles in recent years which have added to the known pool of Norse loans.

The dictionary is not completely without problems. Perhaps inevitably in an undertaking of this size and scope, there are a few oversights and inconsistencies. Why, for example, list *grime* but not *grim*? How, exactly are Modern Irish *ciotach* and *ciotóg* derived from Scandinavian? Is it really likely that Irish *beirling (<* ON *berling* 'a galley') derives from a completely different source from Scots Gaelic *birlinn* ('galley') (< ON *byrðingr*, 'a ship of burdern, a merchant ship')? There are also quite a large number of underdeveloped entries, where the only basis for Scandinavian antecedence is similarity to a modern Scandinavian dialect word, e.g. *finks, fipple, flizze.* If these are, in fact, loans from a later period, the stated scope of the volume should clearly be widened. If not, it would have been easy enough to suggest normalised Old Norse precursors to bring them in line with the other entries. The most surprising omission, from the point of view of

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[2] Cox, R. A.V., (1998) 'Descendents of bólstaðr? A re-examination of bost & co.' in Baldwin, J. (ed.) Peoples and Settlement in North-West Ross. The Scottish Society for Northern Studies, Edinburgh; 43–52.

place-name studies, is personal names, which are often prime candidates for the specific element in compound place-names. As Ó Muirithe explains in his preface, however, this was the result of publishing constraints and, regrettably, unavoidable. Until the second edition hits the shelves, Scottish onomasts should continue to consult Henderson, MacBain, Watson etc. in conjunction with the works of Lind, Petersen and others.[3]

The 'Index of Scandinavian Words' that follows is also useful. Having Norse headwords listed alongside their insular reflexes will come in very handy in a number of research scenarios. Settlement historians, for example, now have a concise handbook for tracing the spread of Norse place-name generics across modern language boundaries. Ideally, this would have been simplified slightly. Is it really necessary, for example, to list *skit* (1), *skit, skitters* (2) and *skite* (verb, noun) as separate entries, when all three are clearly derived from the same root and all three are given exactly the same derivation (ON *skjóta*)? Once again, this is a relatively minor niggle.

More problematic, however, is the introductory section. Although an ambitious attempt to document and evaluate the Viking expansion into the British Isles, it suffers from a lack of space and ends up posing more questions than it answers. We are told, for example, that 'about a thousand Scandinavian words eventually entered Standard English', but what about the dialects, and how many survive in common usage? Moreover, while the approach is relatively systematic, its assumptions are of the traditional kind that continue to posit that the 'Gall-Ghaeil' of the Irish Annals spoke a 'dialect comprised of broken Norse and broken Irish' – as opposed to simply, Irish.[4] Given the linguistic orientation of the book, this space would have been better devoted to closer definition of the terminology and methodology used, or consideration of the modes through which the loanwords were transmitted and preserved.

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[3] Lind, E. H. (1905–15), *Norsk-isländska dopnamn ock fingerade namn från medeltiden* (A.-B. Lundequist, Uppsala); Lind, E. H. (1920–21), *Norsk-isländska personbinamn från medeltiden* (A.-B. Lundequist, Uppsala); Lind, E. H. (1931), *Norsk-isländska dopnamn ock fingerade namn från medeltiden: Supplementband* (A.-B. Lundequist, Uppsala); Petersen, L. (2002), Nordiskt runnamnslexikon: <http:www.sofi.se/namn> – 6 September 2011; Petersen, L. (2002), Lexikon över urnordiska personnamn: <http:www.sofi.se/namn> – 6 September 2011).

[4] See, for example, Jennings, A. (1996), 'Historical and linguistic evidence for Gall-Gaidheil and Norse in Western Scotland', in P. S. Ureland and I. Clarkson, eds., *Language Contact across the North Atlantic* (M. Niemyer: Tübingen), 61–73.

To conclude, Ó Muirithe's dictionary ticks a lot of boxes. It is an impressive work, broad in scope and dripping with references and etymologies which will be of interest to the expert and lay reader alike. It will also look equally good on a book-shelf or coffee-table. My advice is to buy it.

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Bibliography of Scottish Name Studies for 2010

Simon Taylor
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This is the second such bibliography in *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies* (*JSNS*), the first appearing in *JSNS* 4 (2010) covering the years 2006–2009.[1] It aims to present, in a continuous list, chiefly arranged alphabetically by author, all relevant articles, chapters in edited books, monographs, CDs, e-books and PhDs (some of which are now available on-line) which appeared in 2010.[2] It draws heavily on the bibliographies which I compile for *Scottish Place-Name News* (see below, s.n.), the twice-yearly Newsletter of the Scottish Place-Name Society. It is therefore somewhat biased towards place-names rather than personal names. However, the much higher proportion of place-name related material is also a reflection of the relative state of each of these disciplines in Scotland. Included here, too, are several works on the insular cult of saints, since these had such a profound effect on naming of both persons and place.

For more extensive bibliographies of name-studies in Britain and Ireland, and, less comprehensively, other parts of northern Europe, see the bibliographic sections in the relevant issues of *Nomina*, the journal of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland: 'Bibliography for 2006', compiled by Carole Hough, *Nomina* 30 (2007), 149–60; 'Bibliography for 2007', compiled by Carole Hough, *Nomina* 31 (2008), 157–74; and 'Bibliography for 2008', compiled by Carole Hough, *Nomina* 32 (2009), 195–207.[3] The material in the *Nomina* bibliographies is set out thematically and includes relevant reviews which have appeared in the given year.

An extensive, though by no means exhaustive, bibliography of Scottish toponymics, set out thematically, and regionally, can be found on-line at <http://www.spns.org.uk/bibliography09.html#advanced>.

I would be very pleased to hear from anyone who spots any omissions or errors in the following bibliography. I can be contacted via the *JSNS* website, or by post via the publisher. Also, I would be glad to receive notice of anything published in 2011 for inclusion in *JSNS* 6.

In order to make it easier for the reader to find their way around, I have put

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[1] Works which I erroneously omitted from that bibliography have been added in an Addenda Section, below.

[2] I owe special thanks to Andrew Breeze and Carole Hough for help with this bibliography.

[3] *Nomina* 33 (2010) was still to appear when this issue of *JSNS* went to press.

in **bold** not only authors' surnames but also some of the key places, persons or elements discussed in the individual entries.

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Notes on Contributors

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John M. Gilbert is a retired Depute Head Teacher living in Cupar in Fife. He worked for his PhD at Edinburgh University and his thesis was published in 1979 as *Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland* by John Donald.

Dr Alan G. James read English philology and medieval literature at Oxford, then spent 30 years in school-teaching, training teachers and research in modern linguistics. He maintained his interest in place-name studies through membership of the English Place-Name Society, the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland, and the Scottish Place-Name Society. After retiring, he spent a year as a Visiting Scholar in Cambridge University's Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, studying Celtic philology. Since then, he has been working on the linguistic history of Northumbria and the Old North. 'The Brittonic Language in the Old North: a guide to the place-name elements' is currently being digitised to appear on the SPNS web-site, <www.spns.org.uk>.

Dr Alan Macniven is a lecturer in the department of Scandinavian Studies at the University of Edinburgh. His current research interests are in Scandinavian settlement in the Inner Hebrides during the Viking Age as seen through the names of places.

Gilbert Márkus is a researcher at the University of Glasgow in the Department of Celtic and Gaelic, employed in a project funded by the Leverhulme Trust: Commemorations of Saints in Scottish Place-Names. This combines his long-standing interest in medieval Scottish literary and religious culture with a more recent engagement with place-names.

Denis Rixson is a retired schoolteacher living in Mallaig. He has written a number of books on aspects of Highland history: *The West Highland Galley* (Birlinn), *Knoydart* (Birlinn), *The Small Isles* (Birlinn), *Arisaig and Morar* (Tuckwell Press), *The Hebridean Traveller* (Birlinn). An interest in early levying

arrangements led him into a study of land assessment structures on the west coast and in the Hebrides. This has occupied much of the last decade but is now complete and he is extending his research into other parts of Scotland.

Dr David Parsons was Director of the Institute for Name-Studies at the University of Nottingham until 2009; he is now a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Welsh and Advanced Celtic Studies in Aberystwyth.

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COUNTY ABBREVIATIONS FOR SCOTLAND, ENGLAND AND WALES (PRE-1975)

ABD Aberdeenshire	KNT Kent
AGL Anglesey	LAN Lanarkshire
ANG Angus	LEI Leicestershire
ARG Argyllshire	LIN Lincolnshire
AYR Ayrshire	LNC Lancashire
BDF Bedfordshire	MDX Middlesex
BNF Banffshire	MER Merionethshire
BRE Brecknockshire	MLO Midlothian
BRK Berkshire	MON Monmouthshire
BTE Bute	MOR Morayshire
BUC Buckinghamshire	MTG Montgomeryshire
BWK Berwickshire	NAI Nairnshire
CAI Caithness	NFK Norfolk
CAM Cambridgeshire	NTB Northumberland
CHE Cheshire	NTP Northamptonshire
CLA Clackmannanshire	NTT Nottinghamshire
CMB Cumberland	ORK Orkney
CNW Cornwall	OXF Oxfordshire
CRD Cardiganshire	PEB Peeblesshire
CRM Carmarthenshire	PEM Pembrokeshire
CRN Caernarvonshire	PER Perthshire
DEN Denbighshire	RAD Radnorshire
DEV Devon	RNF Renfrewshire
DMF Dumfriesshire	ROS Ross and Cromarty
DNB Dunbartonshire	ROX Roxburghshire
DOR Dosetshire	RUT Rutland
DRB Derbyshire	SFK Suffolk
DRH Durham	SHE Shetland
ELO East Lothian	SHR Shropshire
ESX Essex	SLK Selkirkshire
FIF Fife	SOM Somerset
FLI Flintshire	SSX Sussex
GLA Glamorgan	STF Staffordshire
GLO Gloucestershire	STL Stirlingshire
GTL Greater London	SUR Surrey
HMP Hampshire	SUT Sutherland
HNT Huntingdonshire	WAR Warwickshire
HRE Herefordshire	WIG Wigtownshire
HRT Hertfordshire	WLO West Lothian
INV Inverness-shire	WLT Wiltshire
IOM Isle of Man	WML Westmoreland
IOW Isle of Wight	WOR Worcestershire
KCB Kirkcudbrightshire	YOE Yorkshire (East Riding)
KCD Kincardineshire	YON Yorkshire (North Riding)
KNR Kinross-shire	YOW Yorkshire (West Riding)