

ETHNONYMS IN THE PLACE-NAMES OF SCOTLAND AND THE BORDER COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

Ailig Peadar Morgan

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and the Border Counties of England

Ailig Peadar Morgan

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of

Ph.D.

at the

University of St Andrews

September 2011

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Abstract

This study has collected and analysed a database of place-names containing potential ethnonymic elements. Competing models of ethnicity are investigated and applied to names about which there is reasonable confidence. A number of motivations for employment of ethnonyms in place-names emerge. Ongoing interaction between ethnicities is marked by reference to domain or borderland, and occasional interaction by reference to resource or transit. More superficial interaction is expressed in names of commemorative, antiquarian or figurative motivation.

The implications of the names for our understanding of the history of individual ethnicities are considered. Distribution of *Walh*-names has been extended north into Scotland; but reference may be to Romance-speaking feudal incomers, not the British. Briton-names are confirmed in Cumberland and are found on and beyond the fringes of the polity of Strathclyde. Dumbarton, however, is an antiquarian coining. Distribution of Cumbrian-names suggests that the south side of the Solway Firth was not securely under Cumbrian influence; but also that the ethnicity, expanding in the tenth century, was found from the Ayrshire coast to East Lothian, with the Saxon culture under pressure in the Southern Uplands. An ethnonym borrowed from British in the name Cumberland and the Lothian outlier of Cummercolstoun had either entered northern English dialect or was being employed by the Cumbrians themselves to coin these names in Old English. If the latter, such self-referential pronouncement in a language contact situation was from a position of status, in contrast to the ethnicism of the Gaels. Growing Gaelic self-awareness is manifested in early-modern domain demarcation and self-referential naming of routes across the cultural boundary. But by the nineteenth century cultural change came from within, with the impact felt most acutely in west-mainland and Hebridean Argyll, according to the toponymic evidence.

Earlier interfaces between Gaelic and Scots are indicated on the east of the Firth of Clyde by the early fourteenth century, under the Sidlaws and in Buchan by the fifteenth, in Caithness and in Perthshire by the sixteenth. Earlier, Norse-speakers may have referred to Gaels in the hills of Kintyre. The border between Scotland and England was toponymically marked, but not until the modern era. In Carrick, Argyll and north

and west of the Great Glen, Albanians were to be contrasted, not necessarily linguistically, from neighbouring Gaelic-speakers; *Alba* is probably to be equated with the ancient territory of Scotia. Early Scot-names, recorded from the twelfth century, similarly reflect expanding Scotian influence in Cumberland and Lothian. However, late instances refer to Gaelic-speakers. Most *Eireannach*-names refer to wedder goats rather than the ethnonym, but residual Gaelic-speakers in east Dumfriesshire are indicated by *Erisch*-names at the end of the fifteenth century or later. Others west into Galloway suggest an earlier Irish immigration, probably as a consequence of normanisation and of engagement in Irish Sea politics.

Other immigrants include French estate administrators, Flemish wool producers and English feudal subjects. The latter have long been discussed, but the relationship of the north-eastern Ingliston-names to mottes is rejected, and that of the south-western Ingleston-names is rather to former motte-hills with degraded fortifications. Most Dane-names are also antiquarian, attracted less by folk memory than by modern folklore. The *Goill* could also be summoned out of the past to explain defensive remains in particular. Antiquarianism in the eighteenth century onwards similarly ascribed many remains to the Picts and the Cruithnians, though in Shetland a long-standing supernatural association with the Picts may have been maintained. Ethnicities were invoked to personify past cultures, but ethnonyms also commemorate actual events, typified by *Sasannach*-names. These tend to recall dramatic, generally fatal, incidents, usually involving soldiers or sailors.

Any figures of secular authority or hostile activity from outwith the community came to be considered *Goill*, but also agents of ecclesiastical authority or economic activity and passing travellers by land or sea. The label *Goill*, ostensibly providing 178 of the 652 probable ethnonymic database entries, is in most names no indication of ethnicity, culture or language. It had a medieval geographical reference, however, to Hebrideans, and did develop renewed, early-modern specificity in response to a vague concept of Scottish society outwith the Gaelic cultural domain.

The study concludes by considering the forms of interaction between ethnicities and looking at the names as a set. It proposes classification of those recalled in the names as *overlord*, *interloper* or *native*.

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Glossary

- affix** A word attached to an existing name so as to name a subdivision of its area. Such a word can be an adjective or a noun, or a name, whether *ethnonymic* or *familial*. A *familial affix* is termed *manorial* in the toponymic literature of England, but reference to a manor is neither appropriate to Scottish feudal terminology nor to every context in which a subdivision may be named for a family.
- alarm-point** Used in the study to cover both *watch-points*, from where provision is made for the observation of any approaching danger, and *warning-points*, from where provision is made for the transmission of this knowledge by a signal such as a beacon.
- Albanian** Ultimately derived from EG *Albu*, the noun and adjective *Albanian* 'Scot, Scottish' entered English via Latin *Albania* for the medieval kingdom of Scotland. It is used in the study in relation to the Gaelic ethnonym represented in the modern language by *Albannach*.
- anthroponym** The name, or one of the names, applied to a specific individual. This can include a *given name*, below, and a *surname*, typically a family name: together they make a personal name. Other anthroponyms include nicknames, bynames and hypocorisms.
- antiquarian name** Commemorates an ethnicity associated with, or imagined to have been associated with, the feature in the past. Implies superficial interaction between ethnicities.
- borderland-name** Signals association with a contemporary boundary. Implies ongoing interaction between ethnicities.
- coincidental name** Contains an ethnonym without itself having had a direct association with the ethnicity, for instance by specific element borrowing from a neighbouring place-name or by translation of an older one. Implies superficial interaction between ethnicities.

commemorative name	Acts as a memorial for a single event or episode linked to the location of a feature, without expectation of repeat. Implies superficial interaction between ethnicities.
contrastive pair(ing)	Two associated place-names including ethnonyms apparently chosen in opposition to one another.
cosmos	The collective consciousness and experience of an ethnicity, establishing group norms and geographical knowledge, and giving order to internal relations up to, and including, conflict.
Cruithnian	Derived from EG <i>Cruithen</i> referring to indigenous Celts in northern Britain, the term is used in the study in relation to the Gaelic ethnonym represented in the modern language by <i>Cruithneach</i> .
Cumbrian	Used in the study in relation to ethnonyms derived from BrB plural <i>*Combrogī</i> referring to indigenous Celts in northern Britain, rather than in the sense of someone associated with the modern English county of Cumbria or its predecessor, Cumberland (though these names are ultimately similarly derived).
domain-name	Signals contemporary influence or physical presence in a distinct space by a member or members of the ethnicity. Implies ongoing interaction between ethnicities.
emic	An ethnic reference, reflecting the collective perceptions and aspirations of an ethnicity, emanating from within that ethnicity. The antonym of <i>etic</i> , below.
ethnicism	A collective movement of ethnic resistance and cultural restoration aimed at resisting perceived threats from outside and corrosion within, which may result in self-referential place-names in the language of the ethnicity.

etic	An ethnic reference emanating from outwith that ethnicity, typically perceiving difference from the culture of the observer. The antonym of <i>emic</i> , above.
exonym	A name used principally by those not associated with the referent, typically in a language other than one providing an indigenous equivalent. The antonym of <i>endonym</i> .
figurative name	Signals a perceived resemblance to a stereotypical characteristic of, or association with, the ethnicity. Implies superficial interaction between ethnicities.
generic variation	The process by which a generic, the element which establishes the basic character of the feature named, can vary over time.
given name	An <i>anthroponym</i> , above, usually applied from birth so as to distinguish the individual, as opposed to a shared surname such as a family name. In the context of the languages in the study area, a given name is usually a first name.
kin	A broad family group associated by claimed descent from a common ancestor, to which membership is often marked by use of a shared label, such as a surname or clan name.
migrated name	A place-name, the location of which has changed, either through a shift in focus or by a conscious or unconscious association with a different feature. This is normally less dramatic, but also less obvious, than for a <i>transferred name</i> , below.
obsolete	Applied to a place-name no longer in use, defined here as not reported as extant in 1950 or thereafter, whether identified or not.
resource-name	Signals contemporary exploitation of a renewable or finite resource by a member or members of the ethnicity, without a permanent presence in the space. Implies occasional interaction between ethnicities.

Scots	A lexical item is typically labelled in the study as Scots, rather than Scottish Standard English, if it is to be found in the <i>Scottish National Dictionary (SND)</i> .
scribal sequence	The order in which place-names are consecutively mentioned in a manuscript.
secondary name	A name in which the name of another feature forms the specific. The primary name is usually borrowed as a toponymic unit, but can also be the donor for <i>specific element borrowing</i> , below.
specific element borrowing	The adoption in the coining of one name of the specific element (such as an ethnonym) of another, producing an independent name. If the direction of borrowing is unclear, the neutral phrase <i>specific element sharing</i> has been used.
stock name	One of a reserve of place-name forms associated with topographic archetypes in the collective memory of a culture. It differs from a <i>transferred name</i> , below, in not being commemorative.
transferred name	A daughter place-name, commemorating a particular mother name, normally having travelled over a much greater distance than a <i>migrated name</i> , above.
transit-name	Indicates a contemporary potential for passage by travellers and those seeking to trade; or a perceived threat from, or warning of, hostile transit. Implies occasional interaction between ethnicities.

1 Rationale for research

This study employs the toponymicon as a historical resource. Rather than commencing with a geographical district and unlocking the varied linguistic and historical evidence in the place-names contained, the study has sought out past and present clues to a particular aspect of history over a much wider area. Ethnic interaction, as indicated by the use of an ethnonym in the naming of a feature, has been investigated with no prejudgement as to ethnicities encountered, languages of naming or time periods of reference or formation. Although primarily an historical enquiry, however, the place-name motivations which are uncovered are also a contribution to the understanding of toponymics, to be tested against ethnonyms in place-names in other geohistorical contexts.

a) Place-names

A name is a proper noun, i.e. a word or phrase constituting the individual designation by which a particular person or thing is known, referred to or addressed; a place is a space that can be occupied (*OED*, s.vv.). A place-name is the name of a geographical location (*loc. cit.*), i.e. an individual designation by which a geographical feature is (or was) known to distinguish it from other such features. It might not be unique, but will be significantly distinctive or prototypical (Hough 2007, especially 105–8) to designate the feature's individuality.

A place-name can thus transmit a message through time and space about the encounters, experiences and expectations of its creators, and reveal something of both people and environment, and the interplay between them, at the time of creation or of subsequent reinterpretation.

The term *place-name*, or *toponym*, is sometimes restricted to the names for settlement along with the most significant topographic spaces (e.g. in the *English Place-*

Name Survey). In the study, however, a place-name is defined in a wider sense,¹ that is, the name applied to a feature occupying a location in any geographical environment, whether topographic, urban, freshwater or marine. This includes both natural and artificial features in these environments, whether expansive features such as regions, firths, woods or lochs, linear features such as rivers or roads, or specific features such as bridges or boulders. However, given the abundance of spurious, anthroponymic and transfer namings, street-names and house-names on streets have not been collected.

b) Study area

The study area consists of modern-day Scotland, plus the pre-1975 English counties of Cumberland and Northumberland. By straddling the modern border between England and Scotland, the study seeks to avoid anachronistic partition before the emergent kingdoms established their boundaries and exercised effective authority throughout their territories. In 1975 Cumberland was replaced by the county of Cumbria, extending south-east, and Northumberland lost the area of Newcastle-on-Tyne. Cumberland was covered by the *English Place-Name Survey* volumes 20 to 22 in 1950 and 1952 (*PNCu*), but Northumberland has yet to be researched for this series. Northumberland has, however, received some attention from creditable scholars, in particular Mawer (1920) and Watts (1995). Case studies of Northumbrian field-names and a survey of the work of Mawer and Ekwall in the county have recently been brought under one cover (Beckensall 2006).² However, the depth of coverage for both countries remains limited and lacking in rigorous modern analysis.

A similar case could be made for a south-west limit extending into Ulster. But while not a barrier to intercourse, sea channels often delineate polities, and this argument has not been viewed as strong as that for a land border which was only finally fixed in 1552 (*PNCu* 3, xxxvii). Likewise, the northern limit is set to include Shetland, within the study area, but exclude Norway and the Faeroe Islands. Nevertheless, data has been

¹ Excluded are names created by an individual or close family unit, or in works of fiction, unless subsequently adopted more widely.

² Reviewed by the study author in *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 1, 2007, 169–74.

collected from beyond the study area for comparative purposes, and is introduced as appropriate.

A distribution map covering the whole of the study area at a common scale is provided for each ethnonym grouping, showing those identified headnames considered to probably contain an ethnonym. The colour of the place-name location marker indicates the motivation allocated to a name at each location, as per the key on the map. Names for expansive regions have not been included on the maps. The maps have been processed using GenMap UK, version 2.2, showing pre-1975 county boundaries. Relief colouring indicates five hundred and one, two and three thousand feet above sea level, but the software unfortunately does not allow for the depiction of rivers. The scale is one centimetre to 25.6 kilometres, or sixteen miles.

c) Database

The study examined all those place-names, past and present, detected in the study area which on the basis of some or all of their forms potentially contained an ethnonym, or are stated in toponymic literature to contain (or possibly contain) an ethnonym. Also considered for comparative purposes were select names of both categories elsewhere, particularly in England, Wales and Ireland. Following exclusion of aberrant early forms, a database of 1,724 names in the study area was constructed. Of these, 652 have been deemed to probably contain an ethnonym, with a further 135 possible identifications. The data on these probable and possible identifications have been laid out in full in the database in Appendix D.

The entries for the database have been obtained by systematic scrutiny of a number of sources.³ For current map forms, electronic searches were made of the Hooker 1991 database of the names on the Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 (OS²⁵) *Pathfinder* maps for Scotland (incorporating small parts of England adjacent to the Border). Other current or recent names were extracted by visual scrutiny of various Gaelic or English local collections and/or studies of place-names, such as the extensive research by Watson and

³ Serendipitous encounter in the literature and sources, notably the OSnb, has also played a random, but welcome, part.

Allan (1984) for *The Place Names of Upper Deeside*. For early forms the principle sources were the indices of various transcribed Scottish sources, again extracted by visual scrutiny.⁴ These include the seventeenth-century and earlier records (place-name indices) in *Retours*, the sixteenth-century and earlier records (personal and place-name indices) in the *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland (ER)* and the *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland (RMS)*, and the earliest records in the *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland (RSS)* and the *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland (CDS)*, plus a number of transcribed charters and the digitised Pont Maps. Apart from a few late sources in Scots, these texts are in Latin, though only in a very few cases are the names Latinised.⁵ The scribes compiling them will not always have been literate or even competent in all the indigenous languages, or knowledgeable of all the localities, involved; similarly with the nineteenth- and twentieth-century transcribers, with the added difficulty of interpreting earlier handwritten script. Allowance has to be made for sometimes gross errors in transmission of the names.

Names identified by such scrutiny have been followed up where relevant by extensive consultation of digitised historic mapping, and as much as possible by consultation of the notes in the original Ordnance Survey Object Name Books (OSnb), in microfilm format. These have allowed for snapshots in time of the feature in relation to a dynamic historical environment, and with OSnb in particular, of perceptions and occasionally of conflict in name traditions.⁶ Observation of a quarter of the features named in the database has been achieved, either by personal visit or by photographs, particular those available through Geograph Britain and Ireland at www.geograph.org.uk.

The method of collection by scrutiny of a wide range of sources has the advantage of maximising examples of toponymic constructions, with perhaps near-complete coverage of existing and recoverable major names. The disadvantage is that the corpus of data is geographically uneven, with much more complete coverage, of minor names in

⁴ Many have subsequently been made available in digital format, though digital searching presumes prior knowledge of all possible permutations of ethnonyms in early forms.

⁵ It is possible that the area-names **Cumbria** ✧, **Mare Britannorum** † ✧, **Mare Frisicum** † ✧ and **Pictavia** † ✧ were coined in Latin, but **Rune Pictorum** † RAF-MOR and **Saxum Hiberniensium** † KGL+PTM-FIF+KNR are taken to be from Gaelic, and **Karramund Scottorum** † CRM-MLO and **Scottie Molendinum** † KSS-MOR from Older Scots.

⁶ E.g. **Denbie** DTN-DMF, with *Denbie* vs *Danbie* (OSnb 8:64).

particular, in those areas covered by comprehensive local studies. This imbalance of evidence must be taken into consideration in assessing the distribution of names drawn from the database. It will have contributed to the imbalance of extant names not on modern Ordnance Survey mapping of any scale (that is, those names marked in the study with ◇). Of those probably or possibly incorporating an ethnonym, none has been found in eighteen counties, and only one apiece in eight areas: Banffshire, Buteshire, Fife, Kirkcudbrightshire, Moray, Northumberland, Perthshire and mainland Ross-shire. But two names each have been identified in Ayrshire, Cumberland, Selkirkshire and Stirlingshire; three names each in mainland Argyll, Cumberland, Lanarkshire, Hebridean Ross-shire and Shetland; four in mainland Inverness-shire; five in Orkney; eight in Aberdeenshire; nine in Hebridean Inverness-shire; and twelve in Hebridean Argyll.

Excluded from the study are suggestions of Early Gaelic or Scots Gaelic names in the Northern Isles, and of Old English names north of the firths of Forth and Clyde which require an Old English derivation to produce an interpretation with an ethnonym. Also excluded are place-names in which the Scots and Standard-English genitive ending *-s* follows a personal name composed of a first name and a surname, unless there is evidence that they do not in fact refer to an individual.

d) **Ethnicity**

The term used in the study for the unit of population defined by an ethnonym in a particular language and particular language period is the noun *ethnicity*. The equivalent term *ethnic group* has developed a popular nuance of 'foreign; a minority', whereas the bearers of an ethnicity can be indigenous and/or form a local or wider majority (e.g. SSE *Scot*).⁷ Conversely, those of a particular ethnicity might constitute a negligible number within the study area at any one time and form no local unit of population (e.g. SSE *Japanese*).⁸ Ethnonyms are grouped for analytical purposes (*Ethnonyms*, below), each

⁷ Smith (1986, 21–2) prefers French *ethnie*, which "unites an emphasis upon cultural differences with the sense of an historical community." It shares its root (Greek *ethnos*, plural *ethne*) with the root of English *ethnic*. *Ethnos* itself has been adopted by Dragadze (1980; cited in Evans 1999, 10) to refer to ethnicities. However, *ethnos* can be interpreted as 'nation' (*OED*, under *ethnic*), while there is no equivalence between the modern concepts of 'nation' and 'ethnicity'.

⁸ **Japanese Garden** STB-PEB, **Japanese Strip** LUS-DNB.

group forming a single chapter. Ethnicity may be common with the referents of ethnonyms in more than one chapter, so these have for the convenience of the reader been ordered by what could be called *peoples*.

Anthropological definitions of such units of population diverged in the late twentieth century, from an earlier position which saw them as being self-perpetuating, each with shared cultural values and constituting an area of interaction.⁹ Fredrik Barth initiated one new approach, characterised by Anthony Smith (1986, 97) as seeing ethnicities as "bundles of attitudes and sentiments which define social boundaries and the cultures within them." These clusters of characteristics are not absolutely interdependent and connected, with variations between members and possible ambiguity between current identity and origin (Barth 1969, 29). Smith (1986, 97) initiated the alternative view of ethnicities as "clusters of population with similar perceptions and sentiments generated by, and encoded in, specific beliefs, values and practices"; he puts the cultural element before a demographic one.¹⁰ It is a sense of history and the perception of cultural uniqueness and individuality, he says, which differentiates populations from each other and which endows a given population with a definite identity, both in their own eyes and in those of outsiders (*ibid.*, 22).

Smith (*ibid.*, 76–7) further divides pre-modern ethnicities into lateral and vertical. Lateral ethnicities were extensive in coverage, but weak in penetration down the social scale; typically they were aristocratic, with clerical and scribal strata, and a few wealthy urban merchants. Vertical ethnicities were intensive in social penetration, but more exclusive in nature and often religious in quality; typically they were urban-based, priestly, trading and artisan, or were a loose coalition of clans. Vertical ethnicities, also labelled "demotic" by Smith, are grouped into four subcategories, with those of relevance to the study being "frontier" and "diaspora/sect" ethnicities (*ibid.*, 83–7).¹¹ No evidence to support this model or to confirm its application to the ethnicities under consideration has

⁹ Summarised by Barth (1969, 10–11).

¹⁰ Smith (1986, 97) argues that ethnicities consist of, i) symbolic, cognitive and normative elements common to a unit of population, ii) practices and mores that bind them together over generations, and iii) sentiments and attitudes that are held in common and which differentiate them from other populations.

¹¹ The others are "city-state amphictyonies", unknown in the study area, and "tribal confederations", which pre-date the toponymic record here.

been found in the study corpus. However, the danger of negative evidence must be borne in mind: the lack of an urban or rural toponymic context for an ethnonym may be more a function of name loss and source unevenness than of an absence of the ethnicity from that environment.

Ethnic dimensions

The dimensions of ethnicities themselves are not universally agreed. A working model is required in order to analyse whether a group referred to in a place-name is in fact an ethnicity, rather than a regional ethnic subcategory or a non-ethnicity (ibid., 30).

Smith (ibid., 22–30) outlines six dimensions: a collective name, a common myth of descent, a shared history, a distinctive shared culture,¹² an association with a specific territory,¹³ and a sense of solidarity. Smith (ibid., 97) argues that such myth-symbol complexes with networks of memories and values provide the distinction between, and the bind within, populations. He summarises this with the observation that "without memory, there can be no ethnicity" (ibid., 87).

There is a danger in extending pre-modern models of ethnicity into the modern era, with the rise of nationality introducing a public and political myth-symbol complex of the state, overlaid on the semi-private and cultural myth-symbol complex of the ethnicity (ibid., 151). On the other hand, Smith (ibid., 26–7, 129) himself continues the analytical model of sub-state ethnicities into the modern era for stateless communities such as the Scots, even though recognising them as fully-fledged nations.

Despite their popular association with ethnicity, economic and social organisation such as a unified division of labour, common legal rights, patterns of lordship and tenurial obligations are not considered to be ethnic dimensions (O'Sullivan 1985, 26; Smith 1986,

¹² Barth (1969, 11) views culture to be a very important feature, but "an implication or result, rather than a primary and definitional characteristic of ethnicity organization"; indeed, he believes (ibid., 38) that most cultural matter associated with a human population is not constrained by the boundary between ethnic units.

¹³ Smith (1986, 28) says that association with a specific territory may be symbolic and remains valid despite a lack of political control over it, or, following migration (forced or otherwise), from it. He argues that it is even possible for an ethnicity to exchange one homeland for another, as with "the Norsemen who left Scandinavian fjords for France, England, Sicily and beyond."

31). Neither does a tribal structure imply separate ethnicities (though a confederation of tribes may develop into one) (Smith 1986, 70 n. 2). Religion, customs, institutions, laws, folklore, architecture, dress, food, music, art, colour and physique are viewed by Smith (ibid., 26) as shared and distinctive traits of ethnicities, but not as determinants.

More controversial is the role of language in ethnicity. Smith (loc. cit.) again sees this as a trait rather than a determinant; Barth (1969, 14) sees it as a feature which the ethnicity may or may not choose to employ as an overt signal of difference. However, Campbell (1999, 14) points out that when pre-modern storytellers recounted tales of a people's origin, it was assumed that all those who spoke a common language must have come from the same place, implying a shared ethnicity. Dragadze (1980, 162, cited in Evans 1999, 10) would include as dimensions of ethnicity shared and relatively stable particularities of language, as well as culture.¹⁴ Evans (1999, 10) contents himself with urging caution when dealing with linguistic cultures defined retrospectively.

The study thus defines an ethnicity as having either:

- i) elements of all of the following in pre-modern or relatively undeveloped communities:
 - an emic ethnonym,
 - a common myth of ancestry,
 - a shared historical memory,
 - a distinctive shared culture (potentially, but not essentially, including language),
 - an ethnic homeland, and
 - a sense of solidarity

or,

- ii) relatively developed modern communities demonstrating a sense of nationality through either:

¹⁴ Also, historic establishment on a given territory, an emic ethnonym and self-awareness.

- territoriality, i.e. association with a territorial polity demonstrating elements of legal code, citizenship and common culture, or
- ethnic affiliation, i.e. building on ethnic ties along genealogical, populist, customary and nativist lines (Smith 1986, 134–8).

e) **Ethnic interaction**

The study has, where possible, classified the interaction implied by all those place-names deemed to probably contain an ethnonym. It considers a domain-name or a borderland-name to have been motivated by an ongoing interaction. In a domain-name, the ethnonym signals contemporary influence or physical presence in a distinct space by a member or members of the ethnicity. In a borderland-name, the ethnonym signals association with a contemporary boundary.

Barth (1969, 18–19) believes that complementarity in some characteristic cultural features underlies any encompassing social system with positive multi-ethnic interaction, and that such complementarity is a requisite if any interaction is to make reference to ethnic identity. In a stable situation of this nature, there may be minimal competition between members of different ethnicities for resources, as when there is a high level of rural self-sufficiency, or they may occupy interdependent niches, with reciprocal specialism in goods or services.

Alternatively, the ethnicities may occupy separate territories, with interaction restricted to economic contacts such as fishing or trading. Such stable interethnic relations presuppose an organisational structuring of interaction (*ibid.*, 16). Otherwise, two or more interspersed ethnicities can be in at least partial competition within the same niche in an inherently unstable situation (*ibid.*, 20). The study considers occasional interaction of either kind to be marked by a resource-name or a transit-name. In a resource-name, the ethnonym signals contemporary exploitation of a renewable or finite resource by a member or members of the ethnicity, without a permanent presence in the space. In a transit-name, the ethnonym indicates a contemporary potential for passage by travellers

and by those who seek to trade. It can also relate to a perceived threat from, or warning of, hostile transit.

According to Smith (1986, 83), lateral communities are united by class bonds, whereas vertical communities emphasise an ethnic bond with an emphasis on sharp boundaries with self-imposed religious, cultural and/or social restrictions. Smith (*ibid.*, 119) identifies the relationship to the homeland and the degree of autonomy as factors in safeguarding ethnic identity and securing ethnic survival, but singles out religion as being the most important in the pre-modern era.

But in an unstable multi-ethnic situation, with competition within the same niche, ethnic change will occur until stability is achieved by reaching an accommodation of complementarity or interdependence, or the process of change is fully completed by displacement of the retreating ethnicity (Barth 1969, 20). Displacement can entail the dislocation of a population by violence, threat of violence, or targeted economic pressure: what has come to be known as ethnic cleansing. It also covers ethnic shift, with what Barth (*ibid.*, 21) calls "osmosis" through ethnic boundaries of individuals switching from one ethnicity to another. Smith (1986, 16) describes such assimilation as potentially leading to total dissolution of the ethnicity.¹⁵

Superficial interaction is marked through one of four classes of motivation. A commemorative name acts as a memorial for a single event or episode linked to the location of the feature, without expectation of repeat of the interaction. In an antiquarian name, the interaction is spurious. The ethnonym commemorates an ethnicity associated with, or imagined to have been associated with, the feature in the past. A figurative name involves no such claim, but the ethnonym signals a perceived resemblance to a stereotypical characteristic of, or association with, the ethnicity. A coincidental name has acquired an ethnonym without itself having had a direct association with the ethnicity, for instance by specific element borrowing from a neighbouring place-name or by translation of an older one.

¹⁵ Smith (1986, 16) terms dissolution due to a radical breakdown, caused by external pressure in concert with internal alterations, as ethnocide.

f) Ethnonyms and the chapter structure

An ethnonym is a proper name by which a people or ethnic group is known (*OED*, s.v.), and can be emic or etic. Discussion of the individual ethnonyms and the place-names related to them is laid out in the following chapters. Linguistically related ethnonyms, from various languages and language periods, are considered within each chapter, under a title chosen to encapsulate the commonality of the terms. These chapters are grouped to reflect ethnic relationship, in order of earliest direct impact of the main ethnicities represented on the study area: P-Celts, Goidels, West Germanics, Nordics, Latins, then Scotians, followed by the *Goill* and various exotics. This is designed for facility of comparison. Such comparison is not always exact, however, as with the dynamic reference of Scot-ethnonyms, and the interpretation of Welsh-ethnonyms as Latin, rather than the expected P-Celtic, on the basis of interpretation as applying in the study area to Romance-speakers.

Fig. 1 Principle language codes

P-Celtic	BrB	British <i>incorporates Cumbric and Pictish</i>
Scandinavian	ON	Old Norse to 1200 <i>unless otherwise stated, Old West Norse (with Norn in the Northern Isles)</i>
Q-Celtic	EG	Early Gaelic to 1100 ¹⁶ <i>incorporates Old Irish and Middle Irish</i>
	ScG	Scots Gaelic from 1100
West Germanic	OE	Old English to 1100 <i>within the study area, Old Northern English</i>
	OSc	Older Scots 1100 to 1700 <i>early Standard English in Cumberland and Northumberland from 1500</i>
	ScS	Scots from 1700
	SSE	Scottish Standard English from 1700 <i>English Standard English in Cumberland and Northumberland from 1700</i>

Within each chapter, lemmata are shown for the relevant ethnonyms. Each ethnonym is labelled by a language code for the language of naming, defined by stage of historical development, followed by a representative spelling. They are ordered on the basis of Figure 1, with its paradigm of when indigenous languages ceased to feature prominently in the study area. The lemma consists of a standardised nominative singular

¹⁶ This date for the divergence of Scots and Irish Gaelic, often given as 1200, has been hypothesised on the basis of evidence from the Book of Deer and the general onomasticon (Ó Maolalaigh 2008; Taylor 2011).

form (with any distinct variants), following the established practice in toponymic literature for OE *Walh*. In each case this is followed by the various nominative and genitive morphological forms and, where possible, the adjective.

g) Extra-toponymic evidence for ethnicities

The archaeological record is often used to indicate the ethnicity of a population group, though limited to investigating any physical expressions that the ethnicity may have. But it can indicate patterns of contact between ethnicities, such as the close geographical relationship in England between almost all OE *Walh*-names and major Anglian sites (Cameron 1980, 22).

The historical record, on the other hand, gives direct reference to ethnicity, as well as indirect reference to ethnic markers. The reality of ethnicity as a classifier in medieval society is typified by twelfth-century charters of the Scottish royal family to various population groups in what is now Scotland and Northern England, using the Latin ethnonyms *Francus*, *Anglus*, *Flamingus*, *Scotus*, *Wallensis* and *Galwalensis* (Black 1946, xvii). As Davies (1994, 7) has pointed out, "the medieval construction of the world [...] was one which defined it as a collection of people; whatever modern historians care to believe, contemporaries were not in doubt about the reality and solidity of such communities." The limitation of the historical record is in its sporadic reference to the ethnicity of individuals and specific communities.

Evidence for ethnicities and ethnonyms is also provided by the sister discipline of the study of anthroponomy, in particular the emergence, form and status of personal names derived from ethnonyms (though also a source of confusion with place-names). As with place-names, the study of early forms and of the environment in which the anthroponyms were used is key to the exploitation of this resource.¹⁷ However, personal names suffer from similar disadvantages to place-names, for example attribution of ethnonyms as a mark of remembered rather than extant ethnicity, and have a significant disadvantage in that personal names are highly mobile compared with place-names.

¹⁷ As exemplified by the work of Hammond (2007) on the surname *Scot* in the Central Middle Ages.

Individuals move, families disperse, and names shift through infertility, marriage, adoption and social and political expediency.

h) Restrictions of place-name evidence

A place-name is a valuable source of information. However, given the loss of names and the vagaries of source content and survival, absence from the toponymicon cannot be taken as demonstrating that a particular toponymic concept was not present. If a name has survived on record but is not in current use, the location has to be established. Even with surviving names, there is the possibility of a shift in focus of the place-name through migration to another location, or replication through transfer to a distant feature. Locating the probable location of unidentified place-names, and matching obscure early forms with their later reflexes, has been a major task for the study and is a possible source of error.

In analysing the etymology of a place-name, the language of coining must be determined, and the words and grammar employed in the name deciphered (along with the language and reinterpretation of any subsequent developments). The stage of historical development of the language can be a clue to age, with the choice and form of an element a chronological marker. But as a marker, it is not infallible. Many names are likely to be older than they seem, with developments in the lexicon sometimes impacting on elements in the toponymicon too.¹⁸ Vital to unlocking the clues is the researching and interpretation of early forms. Scotland is poorly served in the survival of early documents compared with some other European countries, most notably for comparative purposes, England. Name forms for the study, with few exceptions, do not start to appear in sources until the twelfth century at the earliest. However, Nicolaisen (2001, 22–43) has shown that this relatively late start has not negated their value to the research of Scottish place-names.

¹⁸ E.g. OSc n. *wod* > SSE n. *wood* in **Airswood**‡ WES-DMF, 1493 *Erswod*. Names could also be younger than they appear, through antiquarian application of an archaic form, though no evidence of this has been found in the study.

Collection of pronunciation of surviving place-names can give useful insight in the analysis and interpretation of a place-name. This evidence cannot be considered secure, though, given the possibility of changes in stress or other aspects of pronunciation under such pressures as reinterpretation, external analogy, language shift or population change. The number and wide distribution of names collected for the study has precluded the significant collection of aural data.

Confusion and reinterpretation

The evidence of place-names for ethnonymic research has some specific complications. Some ethnonyms, or their reflexes, have orthographically or phonologically identical or near-identical parallels in the lexicon of other possible languages, or even of the same language of origin. The analysis to determine what constitutes the linguistic elements of a name, and then the interpretation of these elements, encounter this confusion.

Furthermore, due to folk etymology or antiquarian wishful thinking, the reinterpretation as ethnonyms of some frequently occurring appellatives has become popularised in Scotland. For instance, the possible presence of an appellative identical to ScG *Gall*, ScG n.m. *gall* 'freestanding stone or rock', has hardly been mentioned in mainstream Scottish academic publications for a generation,¹⁹ despite common references to ScG n.m. *gallan* 'big stone, standing stone' and despite IrG n.m. *gall* 'big rock; pillar stone, standing stone' remaining a recognised element in Irish toponymic writing.

Several ethnonyms have attached themselves to individuals or families as epithets or personal names (given names or surnames) to mark an actual or perceived association, or desire for association, with the relevant ethnicity. These anthroponyms can in turn appear as elements of place-names. Appellatives, too, can be directly derived from ethnonyms. An example of this comes from the practice of labelling a vessel or vessel-type by its nationality. Four examples are to be found in *DOST*: OSc n. *Bertonar* ('man or ship

¹⁹ ScG n.m. *gall* 'freestanding stone or rock' is mentioned as a viable interpretation by Matheson (1905, 113), Maxwell (1930, 105, 106, 127, 140, 165, 180, 212, 216), Alexander (1952, 13, 30, 150), Stewart (1971, 30) and Thompson (1988, 198). It is also considered but rejected by McKerracher (1992, 33), assuming only ScG n.m. *gallan*, and Maclean (1997, 51).

of Brittany'), OSc n. *Portingall* ('man or ship of Portugal'), OSc n. *Frenchman* and OSc n. *Hollander*. This practice is also found in Gaelic languages, e.g. IrG n.m. *Francach* 'Frenchman, French ship' (Ó Dónaill 1977, s.v.). By their very nature it is likely that such vessels, in the days before the internationalisation of the shipping industry, would have been largely crewed by members of (or associated with) the ethnicity of the name, and so remain of relevance to the study.

i) Studies outwith Scotland

Several ethnonymic elements in the study are also found in regions adjacent to, or across sea channels from, the study area. The impact of the study on the understanding of these elements in those regions and *vice versa* is examined in consideration of the individual ethnonyms. Among such elements which have had their general distribution commented upon in the literature are:

OE *Brett* – northern England, particularly the north-west counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire. However, it has been recognised that as a place-name element it is difficult to distinguish from ON *Bretr* (below), with which it shares this distribution (VEPN 2000, 26–8). The current study finds no convincing evidence of the distribution reaching Cumberland or Scotland.

OE **Cumer* – though appearing in eastern England, the distribution is mainly distributed in the north-west and in the West Midlands (Gelling 1978, 95–6; Cameron 1996, 47). The study, however, allows for the view that OE **Cumer* may be BrB **Cumbro* applied in an Old English context, rather than as a loan-word, and adds evidence of Cumbrian immigration into East Lothian.²⁰

OE *Norðmann* – eastern England (Fellows-Jensen 1985, 65). The study has noted no secure possibility.

²⁰ **Cummercolstoun**† HAD-ELO.

OE *Walh* – absent from the extreme north of England, despite being widely distributed in the rest of the country (Cameron 1980, 28). It has been identified by the study in Scotland,²¹ but is argued to apply here to Romance-speakers.

ON n.m. *Bretr* – the Scandinavian districts of northern England south to and including Derbyshire, particularly the north-west counties of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire (Reaney 1964, 85; *VEPN* 2000, 26–8). The current study confirms the presence of this ethnonym in two names in Cumberland,²² and tentatively suggests that the former Debatable Land along the border with Dumfriesshire was also named with a *Bretr*-name.²³

ON n.m. **Danr* – none in modern Cumbria, though found in **Denbie** DTN-DMF (Fellows-Jensen 1985, 66). The current study confirms this assessment in respect of former Cumberland and shows **Denbie** DTN-DMF to be a lone *Danr*-name in southern Scotland.

j) The Scottish context

Individual ethnonyms have long exercised the minds of Scottish toponymists; perhaps unsurprisingly, given the variety of people and languages present at various times across the areas that constitute what we now know as Scotland. They were certainly understood to be present in the toponymicon during the gathering of data for the OS Original Object Name Books in the third quarter of the nineteenth century (with some short addenda to the original in advance of amendments in 1895).

The ethnonym with the longest history of academic discussion is ScG *Gall* (plural *Goill*), dating back to Shaw (1780, s.v.), who defined it as 'stranger, foreigner', cited with approval by MacBain (1922, 4) in his discussion of ScG **Gallaibh** ◊ CAI, 'Caithness'.²⁴ As befits an apparently common element, it has attracted the attention of many

²¹ **Wauchope** † HOB-ROX, **Wauchope** † LHM-DMF, **Waughton** PRK-ELO.

²² **Birkby** BOOT-CMB, **Birkby** WIGT-CMB.

²³ **Bretallaughe** † (unidentified) DMF+CMB.

²⁴ However, Shaw also gives in the same entry, 'an Englishman, or Low Country Scotchman', not mentioned by MacBain.

commentators since, with the possibility of a stone-related appellative being represented in some names discussed by Matheson (1905, 113) and Maxwell (1930 *passim*). The *Goill* were always seen in the OS Name Books as being Lowlanders or strangers, with the sole exception of **Dùn nan Gall** KKE²-ARG^{Heb}, which was interpreted as 'the heap of the Scandinavian[s]'.

A short study of ethnonyms was appended by MacBain to his 1896 etymological dictionary of Gaelic but, though a major Scottish toponymist, he did not incorporate place-names in the discussion. Only brief comments on ethnonyms are found in the early toponymic literature, largely as part of the interpretation of individual place-names. An ethnonym-based look at toponyms was introduced by Henderson in 1910, when he briefly considered reference to the Norse in EG *Gall*, *Dubgall* and *Findgall* and ScG *Gall-Brait*. This was followed by a look at the Celts in the 1916 Rhind Lectures (Watson 1926), when historic and toponymic references were brought together, in particular for Early Gaelic ethnonyms. Robertson touched on the Albanians in particular, emphasising their geographical focus on the early polity of *Alba* (in contrast to Argyll), in a paper in 1925 (206–7).

A relationship between Ingleston-names and fortified mottes was observed in the 1925–26 Rhind Lectures (MacKenzie 1927), when it was briefly argued that they referred to English settlements (and Flemings in **Flemington**‡ PET-INV) in dependence upon the castle. This was uncritically accepted by Simpson (1949, 39 n.) over twenty years later, and in turn by Alexander (1952, 71). The only examination of the proposition came with a map and discussion by Barrow in 1993 (210–2; and in 2003, 302, 310–1).

In 1926, and again in 1936, Jakobsen discussed the ON ethnonyms *Finnr* and *Pettr* as they appeared in Shetland place-names, emphasising the danger of confusion with anthroponyms derived from these. The research of anthroponyms in Scotland was put on a firm basis by Black (1946), who provided what is still the prime resource for the subject.

Ethnonymic place-names have occasionally surfaced in local and regional toponymic studies, but only incidentally. These have focussed on the interpretation of individual names, with little enquiry as to broader implications. There are two important exceptions. Taylor in 1995 and *The Place-Names of Fife* (2006–) has discussed ScG *Gall*,

and in 2007 Latin *Hiberniensis* (for EG *Érennach*), but his survey did not extend to analogous names beyond Fife. Rixson (2002, 22–4) considered a string of *Coire nan Gall* names in the West Highlands, which he saw as marking the boundary of Norse colonisation; a wider study provides two other instances (**Coire nan Gall** LAG-INV probably being fatal to Rixson's theory). The aim of the current study is to provide that wider analysis, both in terms of geography and of range of names. It also attempts to bring the widest collection of data on the subject together in one database with the intention of casting light on distribution patterns and on universal models.

Ethnonyms associated with

P-Celts

2 Britons: ethnonyms derived from BrB plural **Pretani*

Probable identifications: 16 (see Map 1, p. 38)

Possible identifications: 6

BrB **Britto*, *Britton* (nom. sg., masc.)

nom. pl. *Britton*

gen. pl. *Britton*

The southern plural variant of the emic ethnonym for the inhabitants of Britain, BrB **Pretani*, was adopted into Latin as *Brit(t)ani*, then readopted into British for Romanised Britons (Jackson 1954, 16). This process produced both the ethnonym BrB **Britto* and the toponym *Britain*. The plural of the new ethnonym, BrB *Britton*, itself eventually supplanted the old singular, and went on to develop into BrB *Briθon* (Coates, in Coates & Breeze 2000, 348).¹ No place-name in the study area has been found to contain the ethnonym.²

ON *Bretr* (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Brets*

nom. pl. *Bretar*

gen. pl. *Breta*

adj. *Brezkr*

Though it is recognised that *Bretr*-names are difficult to distinguish from those with OE *Brett*, those in England are concentrated in the north, and in particular the north-west, where Scandinavian settlement was significant (VEPN 2000, 26). The

¹ Coates (Coates & Breeze 2000, 11, 150–2) proposes that Carburton E/NIT is from BrW **Cair Britton*, 'Britons' homestead or village', as a possible main settlement for a late enclave of Britons indicated by other Brittonic place-names. He argues that **Cair Brithon**† DUM-DNB (SSE **Dumbarton**) is an indigenous British development along the same lines; it is, however, more likely to be an exonymic translation of ScG *Dùn Breatann*. He also allows for the possibility of **Cair Britton* being a British description adopted as an Old English toponym. But coining of the name under cultural pressure would be consistent with the theory of ethnicism.

² Discounted is Breton Rock ROG-SUT NC746090, 1820 *Craggy Brattan* (Forbes Map), perhaps with ScG n.m. *bradan* 'ridgy swelling'.

Bretr-names in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire have been viewed as probably referring to residual Cumbrian settlement (loc. cit.), though Ekwall (1953, 162) allows for the possibility, in the case of **Birkby** BOOT-CMB and **Birkby** WIGT-CMB,³ that these may have referred to British incomers who arrived on the back of Viking expansion.

EG Britt, *Bretnach* (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. **Britte, Bretnaig*

nom. pl. *Bretain, Bretnaig*

gen. pl. *Bretan, Bretnach*

adj. *Britt, Bretnach*

EG *Britt*, and the adjectival form EG *Bretnach* which eventually replaced it, are derivative of the Proto-Celtic country-name given by Aandewiel and Koch (2002) as **Brittā*. No place-name in the study area has been found to contain this ethnonym.⁴

EG Gall-Britt (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. **Gall-Britte*

nom. pl. **Gall-Bretain*

gen. pl. **Gall-Breatan*

adj. **Gall-Bretnach*

Recorded 1208×14 as an anthroponym, for the progenitor of the Galbraiths (*PoMS*, person 6123), meaning 'alien *Britt*'. No place-name in the study area has been found to contain this ethnonym.

³ By implication Ekwall does not see this as plausible for **Briscoe** WHTV-CMB, presumably because it superficially refers to a copse, not a settlement.

⁴ Three names with *-braith* were considered by Johnson-Ferguson (1935, 31, 74, 114) to be Gaelic references to Britons: Auchenbraith DDR-DMF NS860038, 1858 (OSnb 14:128); Auchenbraith Linn KMC-DMF NX985915, 1858 (OSnb 32:58); Glenbraith SAN-DMF NS830066, 1858 (OSnb 44:381). For such an interpretation he was presumably influenced by ScG *Gall-Brait* which produced the OSc surname *Galbrath* and SSE surname *Galbraith*; possibly also by the large earthwork at Auchenbraith DDR-DMF. However, no forms earlier than those on the OS 6" 1st edn are known for any of them, and no parallels exist to show toponymic use of the element or of the proposed form.

ScG *Breatan*, *Breatannach* (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Breatain*, *Breatannaich*

nom. pl. *Breatain*, *Breatannaich*

gen. pl. *Breatan*, *Breatannach*

adj. *Breatnach*, *Breatannach*

Rather than being a direct development of ScG *Breatan*, the modern form *Breatannach* may be a separate development from the geographical name ScG n.f. *Breatainn* 'Britain'.⁵ After a break following the disappearance of the ethnicity, ScG *Breatannach* may have emerged due to the lexical requirements of politics (in particular following the Act of Union in 1707). An exception, though possibly under the influence of this lexical development, is as an anthroponym. The Gaelic equivalent of SSE *Galbraith* is said to be *Mac a' Bhreatnaich* (Dwelly, 1015; Black 1946, 285),⁶ but the label of the progenitor of the clan to be *Breatannach* (Henderson 1910, 60; Black 1946, 285; Newton 1999, 142), with the medial vowel. The surname is found in Cnoc MhicBhreatainich SKN-ARG (unless this contains a corruption of ScG n.? **breatan*, referring to the low, narrow ridge here; see below).⁷ A Gallovidian reflex of this surname, *MacBratney* (Black 1946, 459), is found in reduced form (Black 1946, 99) in *Bratney Walls*‡ KKR-WIG.⁸ ScG *Breatannach* appears in two names where, if not the ethnonym, it may be a kin label or a reference to the clan chief. **Glac a' Bhreatannaich** KMV-INV lies outwith the territory associated with the clan, so a normal kin member associated with the shieling could well be the subject of the qualifying element. But **Clach a' Bhreatannaich** LGK-ARG could relate to an event or territory of the chief; it could alternatively contain a corruption of ScG *Breatan*.

ScG *Breatan* is reasonably well attested, and along with ON *Bretr* provides the only Briton-names contemporary with the ethnicity. However, the study has found a

⁵ *Breatunn* (Dwelly, 1008; MacLennan 1925, 49), *Breatunn brécdun* (Dieckhoff 1932, 181; for [ˈbr̥ɛxtun]), but now the nominative has generally given way to the palatalised form, in common with similar country-names: *Breatainn* (Dorian 1978, 170), *Breatainn* [br̥ˈɛhtənˈ] (Wentworth 2003, under *Britain*, for [br̥ˈɛhtən]), *Breata(i)nn* (Robertson & MacDonald 2004, 303).

⁶ Henderson's (1910, 60) *Mac Na Breatnuich* makes *Breatnach* feminine, which would be a unique treatment of a Gaelic ethnonym and so may be a transmission error.

⁷ NR782620, 1878 *Cnoc Mhic Bhreatainich* (*Cnoc Mhic Bhreatnie*) (OSnb 59:100).

⁸ @NX398506, 1849 *Bratney Walls Pond* (*Bratney Wall's Pond*) (OSnb 66:7).

relationship between *breatan(nach)*-names and long narrow projections in the landscape or seascape. *Sròn a' Bhreatannaich* ARD-ARG forms the steep end of a four-kilometre narrow hill ridge of more or less consistent height.⁹ *Rubha Bhreatanaich* NKN-ARG is a low, narrow peninsula of slightly more than one kilometre in length,¹⁰ while *Geodha na Breatainn* BVS-ROS^{Heb} may refer to a much shorter, but proportionally equally narrow, row of skerries.¹¹ It is likely that ScG **breatan* 'long narrow projection' is a figurative allusion to a pin-like shape, deriving from EG n.f. *bretnas* 'brooch, pin', possibly itself ultimately being a reference to a *Bretnach* origin (*DIL*, under *bretnas*).

OE Brett (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Brettes*

nom. pl. *Brettas*

gen. pl. *Bretta*

adj. *Brettisc*

Variants are *Britt* and *Brytt* (*VEPN* 2000, 26). This is not a common ethnonym in place-names in England (*ibid.*, 26–8), where OE *Walh* is the usual Old English toponymic term (Gelling & Cole 2000, 34). It has been argued that there are no confirmed occurrences in place-names before the ninth-century Scandinavian settlements (Gelling 1978, 96) and questions remain over the interpretation of much of the proposed English *Brett*-name toponymicon (*VEPN* 2000, 26–7), though it is possible that earlier Old English instances were adapted to Scandinavian forms (*ibid.*, 26). The single possible Old English name, unidentified **Wobrethills**† CAN-DMF, must therefore be considered unlikely.

Three Old English elements have been highlighted in *VEPN* as the cause of confusion with OE *Brett*: OE n.nt. *bred* 'board, plank; plank-bridge' (*VEPN* 2000, 13–14);

⁹ NM795683, 1878 *Sròn a' Bhreatuinnaich* (OSnb 62:65). **Glac a' Bhreatannaich** KMV-INV, 1761 *Glackbrettan*, is a further hill possibility, if referring to the neighbouring narrow steep spur; also *Cnoc MhicBhreatainich* SKN-ARG NR782620, 1878 *Cnoc Mhic Bhreatuinich (Cnoc Mhic Bhreatnie)* (OSnb 59:100), a narrow spur which may have been reinterpreted. However, these descend in altitude, and other interpretations, above, are available.

¹⁰ NR712805, 1878 *Rudha Bhreatanich* (OSnb 57:116).

¹¹ HW816319, 1852 *Geodha na Breatuinn (Geodh an Brathan· Geodha na Breatunn)* (OSnb 136:24) *Geodh a Brathan* (OSnb 136:77).

OE **bryt(ta)* (or adj. **brȳd*), a possible stream-name evidenced in southern England (ibid., 27); and OE n.m/nt. *brēc* 'land broken for cultivation' (ibid., 11–13). Ekwall (*DEPN*, under *bræc*) suggests that OE *brēc* may be the specific in northern English Bretton-names, the equivalent of Bratton-names further south. None of these three elements, however, has been identified in the Briton-name data in the study area.

OSc *Brit*, *Briton* (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Britis, Britonis*

nom. pl. *Britis, Britonis*

gen. pl. *Britis, Britonis*

adj. *Brit, Briton*

Both forms are encountered in the lexicon with a lower first vowel, as *Bret(on)*. No place-name in the study area has been found to contain this ethnonym.

SE *Briton* (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Briton's*

nom. pl. *British, Britons*

gen. pl. *Britons'*

adj. *British, Briton*

Standard English has settled on *British* as the common adjective, but *Briton* survives in a historical context (*OED*, s.v.). Three Briton-names have been found, with two of the locations known to have been associated with assumed archaeological features.¹² The earliest recording is 1755,¹³ which may show a name coined with OSc *Briton*, applied in the same manner. But the lack of evidence for OE *Brett* and OSc *Briton* in place-names reinforces the impression of an antiquarian motivation for application of these names.

¹² **Briton Sike** ECK-ROX is associated with a bronze-age cairn; **Britton Wall**† ANN-DMF was once thought to be the line of the end of the Deil's Dyke.

¹³ **Brittons Walls**† STM-DMF, 1755 *Bralen* [recte *Braten*] *Wells* (Roy Map).

Dataset Overview

Beyond three SSE antiquarian references,¹⁴ a single dubious Old English possibility,¹⁵ an Old Welsh exonym,¹⁶ and a Latin name reflecting, if any, an unknown vernacular,¹⁷ only Old Norse and Scots Gaelic names are evidenced. A geographical division is apparent with all the probable or possible Gaelic Briton-names within modern Scotland, from Dumfriesshire going north and west, with the most secure instances from Dumfriesshire to Fife, Dunbartonshire (and just beyond into Perthshire) and Wigtownshire. The four Old Norse names are all in Cumberland. The less certain of them, unidentified **Bretallaughe**† DMF+CMB, possibly applied to what later became the Debatable Land between England and Scotland.

The three relatively secure Old Norse interpretations are strung along the Cumberland coast. Two settlement-names, **Birkby** BOOT-CMB and **Birkby** WIGT-CMB, appear to contain ON n.m. *býr*, with a settlement pattern more in keeping with OWN n.m. *býr* than with the nucleated villages typical of OD n.m. *bȳ* (*VEPN* 2000, 105). This argues for British communities in contact with Norse arriving from the north or west, but leaves open the question as to whether these British communities dated back to pre-Anglian days or were the result of subsequent immigration. **Briscoe** WHTV-CMB, probably shows ownership and/or exploitation of 'wood of the Britons' by a third settlement.¹⁸

Of the four possible Gaelic Briton-names, two are northern outliers and are safer discounted.¹⁹ Prominent among the two possible and eight probable names in south and central Scotland is **Dumbarton** DUM-DNB, which reflects the meaning of its Old Welsh exonym **Cair Brithon**†, 'fort associated with Britons'. However, the earliest forms are not contemporary. **Dumbarton** DUM-DNB is first recorded in 1235, and **Cair Brithon**† DUM-DNB may be twelfth century. **Dumbarton** DUM-DNB had been a major centre for the British until it was sacked in 870, and is not referred to again in Scottish sources until

¹⁴ **Briton Sike** ECK-ROX, **Britton Wall**† ☼, **Brittons Walls**† STM-DMF.

¹⁵ **Wobrethills**† CAN-DMF.

¹⁶ **Cair Brithon**† DUM-DNB. The indigenous British name was probably Kaer Alclut†.

¹⁷ **Mare Britannorum**† ☼.

¹⁸ Cf. fourteenth-century Britscoghenges† E/WML, with ON n.m. *skógr* 'wood' + ON n.f. *eng* 'meadow' (*PNWe* 2, 138; *VEPN* 2000, 27–8).

¹⁹ **Drumbarton Hill** TUF-ABD, **Glac a' Bhreatannaich** KMV-INV.

1235. The name is best seen as an antiquarian coining referring to the abandoned or seriously diminished fort. ScG *Breatann*, however, was applied to the ethnicity of the subsequent Cumbrian polity of Strathclyde, and is apparently found on the margins of the polity's territory where it marched with Gaelic communities. In the south, probable **Dumbretton** ANN-DMF (with the same meaning as **Dumbarton** DUM-DNB but on a low hill)²⁰ and possible **Glenbertle**‡ WES-DMF form a loose cluster with **Bretallaughe**‡ DMF+CMB and may refer to pockets, or possibly a cohesive area, of remnant British presence. At the northern end of Strathclyde is **Clach na Briton** KIL-PER, whether or not the coining was contemporary with the presumed northern limit.²¹ The fourth possible Gaelic Briton-name, **Clach a' Bhreatannaich** LGK-ARG, is plausibly located to correspond with this border.

The remaining five names are beyond the Cumbrian zone, being by the Forth of Forth and in Galloway and Carrick. The eastern names both have specifics referring to occupation: ScG n.m. *baile* 'settlement', in **Balbarton**‡ KGH-FIF, and a third instance of ScG n.m. *dùn* 'fort', in **Dumbryden**‡ COT-MLO. If the latter is antiquarian, the feature referred to is now unknown, and this is unlikely to be the motivation for *baile*. Association with contemporary members of the ethnicity can therefore be assumed. The names in the south-west, on the other hand, have topographic specifics, but possibly in the context of settlement: 1) **Drumbreddan** SOK-WIG, with ScG n.m. *druim* 'ridge', is associated with a broad ridge on which are the archaeological remains of a settlement, and the earliest forms with ScG n.m. *dùn* suggest that it may be named for a fort. 2) The farm-name **Barbrethan** KML-AYR, below a small but prominent hill with no mapped name, contains ScG n.m. *bàrr* 'hill'. As pointed out by Watson (1926, 191, 362), this is in the centre of a cluster of names with BrB n.f. **treß* 'settlement'.²² 3) **Culbratten** PEH-WIG, with ScG n.f. *cùil* 'neuk, nook', applied to a farm in a slight hollow.

²⁰ Bretton‡ ANN-DMF NY226709, 1858 E/W. *Bretton* (OSnb 1:41:72), appears to be a late secondary name drawing on reanalysis of **Dumbretton** ANN-DMF as containing an existing name.

²¹ The structure, with a medial article, counts against an Early Gaelic coining (though the presence of the article could be an accretion in line with developments in the language).

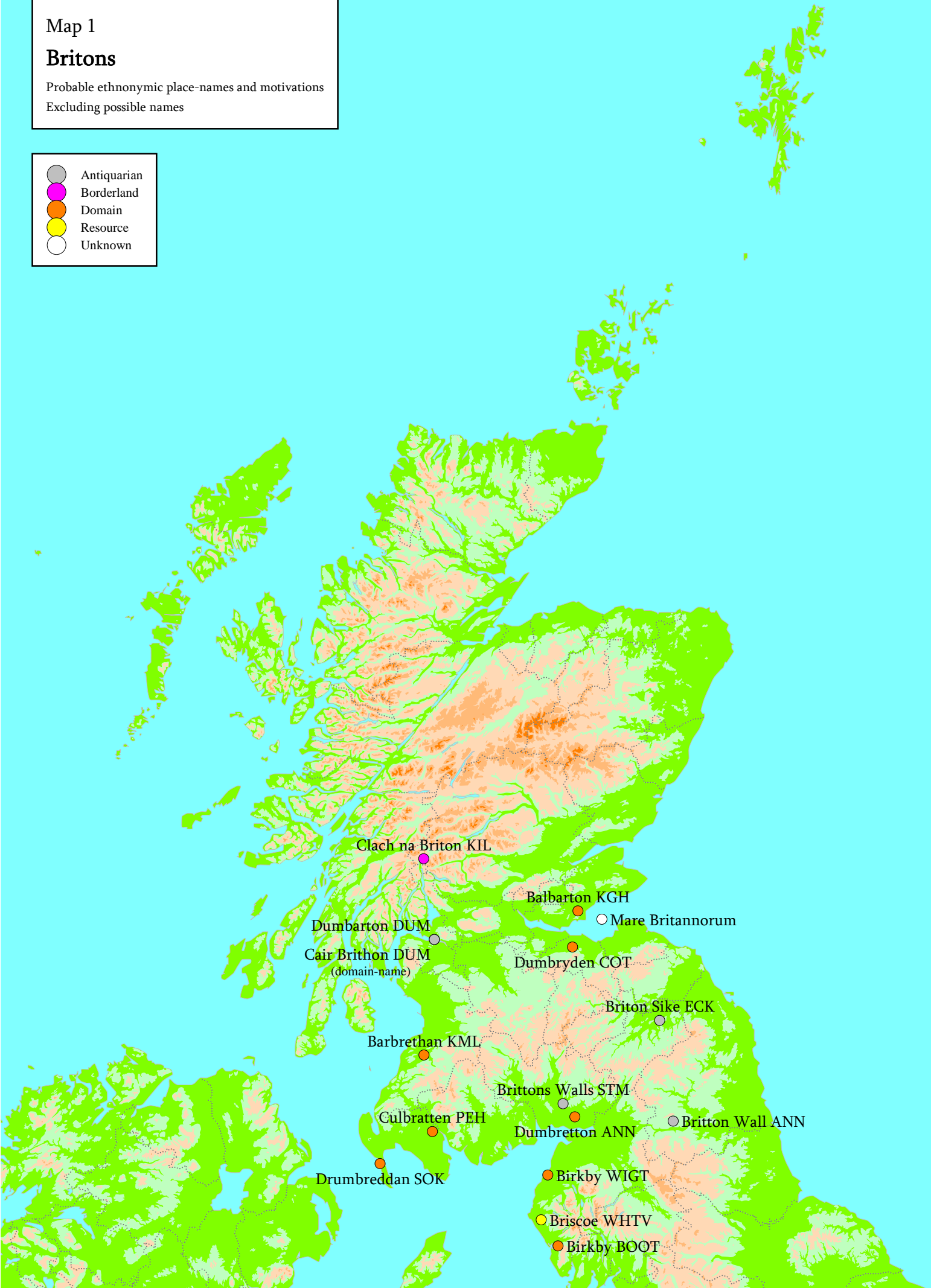
²² Watson says five (1926, 362), but only names four (*ibid.*, 191), perhaps erroneously including **Barbrethan** KML-AYR in the number. Immediately on either side of **Barbrethan** KML-AYR are Threave NS338067 and Tranew NS352071. Further out on either side are Troquhain NS375092 and Tradunnock NS301045, but they could not be said to be directly associated with the hill.

Map 1

Britons

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding possible names

●	Antiquarian
●	Borderland
●	Domain
●	Resource
○	Unknown



3 Cruithnians: ethnonyms derived from BrB plural **Priteni*

Probable identifications: 7 (see Map 2, p. 43)

Possible identifications: 3

EG Cruithen (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg.	<i>*Cruithnech</i>
nom. pl.	<i>*Cruithin, Cruithnig</i>
collective	<i>Cruithne, Cruithni</i>
gen. pl.	<i>Cruithen, Cruithnech</i>
adj.	<i>*Cruithnech</i>

EG *Cruithen* was adopted, through its plural, from the northern BrB plural **Priteni*, and applied originally to the indigenous people of Britain both north and south of the Roman frontier (Jackson 1954, 17–18). Two related forms of the ethnonym appear as genitive plurals by the middle of the twelfth century, viz *Cru(i)then*¹ and *Cruithnech*, the latter also recorded as the plural *Cruithnig*.²

EG *Cruithen* is used attributively in Irish sources prefixed to two terms referring to the Cruithnians collectively, **Cruithentuath**† ☼ and **Cruitheanchlár**† ☼. It is unclear whether **Cruithentuath**† refers to the territory, to the ethnicity or to both. MacNeill (1911, 91–2) argues for *tuath* being a subdivision of a people without designating territory, also (ibid., 99) occasionally for a whole people as in the case of **Cruithentuath**†, but allows (ibid., 88) for transference to the territory occupied by that ethnicity. **Cruithentuath**† he takes to be a general term for the "Picts" of both Ireland and Scotland (but also applicable to the Irish tribe Dál Araidi specifically), and he reports (ibid., 99–100) Tuath Chruithnech as an ethnicity in the north of Ireland. **Cruitheanchlár**†, however, is clearly toponymic, though Watson (1926, 14) suggests it may be poetic in use only.³

¹ LL In. 5863: *Aed Brecc. i cath Monad Daire Lothair ro marbad 7 cethri rig Cruithen*, 'Aed Brecc, was killed in the battle of Monad Daire Lothair along with four Cruithnian kings'.

² LL In. 29a: *Albanaig .i. Saxain 7 Bretnaig 7 Cruithnig*, 'Albanians, i.e. Saxons & Britons & Cruithnians'.

³ Watson (1904, xlv) talks of a place "Cruithnechan in Lochaber" as referring to the *Cruithne*. He probably had in mind Cranachan KMV-INV NN298844, 1476 *Crannachane* (RMS ii no. 1243), which is better interpreted as 'churn-like pool'.

ScG Cruithneach (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Cruithnich*

nom. pl. *Cruithnich*

gen. pl. *Cruithneach*

adj. *Cruithneach*

The only ethnonym form to continue into the recorded Scots Gaelic period is EG **Cruithnech*. It is generally used in the present-day language to equate with SSE *Pict*.⁴ There is no evidence of the ethnonym having been used toponymically other than in the genitive plural.

Potential confusion with the ethnonym comes from ScG n.f. *cruinneach* 'dew, mist, fog'. But this noun is feminine, whereas the element in place-names is masculine or an adjective (or indeclinable noun). *Cruinneach* is interpreted in a number of OSnb entries as a reduced form of ScG n.m. *cruinneachadh* 'gathering',⁵ and as pointed out by Alexander (1952, 173, 191), it is an element found in hydronyms.⁶ With intransitive application, accumulation of mist or low cloud might explain both the noun and the toponyms.⁷

Dataset Overview

Of Early Gaelic names, two are known from Irish literary sources in reference to Pictland as a territory, **Cruitheanchlár**† ☀ and **Cruithentuath**† ☀. It is possible that the

⁴ ScG n.m. *Piochdach*, based on the Pict-ethnonym of other languages, is occasionally encountered.

⁵ Said to be a "provincialism" (1871 OSnb 81:23 ABD) in *Beinn a' Chruinnich* KRM+STD-BNF+ABD. Reduction of *cruinneachadh* in transitive use as a verbal noun is evidenced in Wester Ross (Wentworth 2003, under *gather*).

⁶ Allt Cruinneachaidh KMV-INV NN297979, 1873 *Allt Cruinneachaidh* (*Allt Chruinnich*· *Allt Cruinnichte*) (OSnb 39:123); Allt Crunachgan KMV-INV NN326691, 1873 *An Cruinneachdhag* (OS 6th 1st edn); Burncruinach GAR-ABD NJ501353, 1871 (OSnb 36:89); Crunachdan† LAG-INV NN536919, 1755 *Loch Crunachan* (Roy Map).

⁷ Such might be applicable to the south-west facing corrie of Coire Cruinneachan KNM-PER NN731390, 1984 (OS²⁵) with its several burns; the low-lying field of Cruinach† CAM-ARG @NR670231, 1943 (Colville & Martin 2009b, 19); the meadows at Dalchruneach AMN-ARG NM889396, 1978 (OS²⁵), Dalchrunnich† INA-ARG NN089125, 1878 (OSnb 8:102) and Dalchrunch† CDR-NAI @NH8449, 1622 (1623 *RMS* viii no. 411); and the spring well of Tappie Crunnich KEI-ABD NJ642203, 1871 (OSnb 43:46). The latter might instead refer to upland mist, along with *Beinn a' Chruinnich* KRM+STD-BNF+ABD NJ236132, 1870 *Beinn a' Chruinnich* (*Beinn a' Chruinneachaidh*· *Beinn Cruinneachaidh*) (OSnb 18:124 BNF), 1871 *Beinn a' Chruinnich* (*Beinn a' Chruinneach*) (OSnb 81:23 ABD), and the inhospitable Càrnan Cruithneachd KIT-ROS NG994258, 1755 *Carn Crunech* (Roy Map). Cf. Clach a' Chruinneachaidh BRL-INV^{Heb} NG349369, a shoreline skerry in a sea-loch.

latter was also used as a collective for the ethnicity, as opposed to the territory dominated by it, but the evidence for this is restricted to Cruithnians in Ireland. However, it cannot be confirmed that either term was indigenous to what became Scotland, and they may have been applied to the territory of Scottish Cruithnians only when viewed from an Irish perspective.

At least three surviving instances of the EG gen. pl. *Cruithen* have been identified in Ireland,⁸ the only tentative Scottish addition being the once-recorded **Ardescroon Point**† ARS-INV. Here, a barrow was reported to have been cleared for the building of Fort George in 1750, raising the possibility of association between ethnicity and archaeological feature. But barrows are not normally associated with Cruithnian culture (though a monument marking the limit of Cruithnian territory is reported at the Crown Mound I/DWN; Muhr 1999, 7), so if **Ardescroon Point**† ARS-INV does contain the ethnonym, it is perhaps antiquarian in application.

Three Gaelic identifications with archaeological associations are in the West Highland littoral. The earliest record for any of them, **Arinacrinachd** APC-ROS, is only in 1755. This need not mean a late date for coining, but does give a very wide timeframe in which the names could have developed, from the hypothetical beginning of Scots Gaelic in 1100, or earlier; or they could be linked to the post-1700 trend for Pict-names. In either case there is a possible association with antiquities which may have generated the ethnonymic specific. These archaeological features include a possible former standing stone at **Arinacrinachd** APC-ROS, an early Christian circular burial-ground at **Cladh nan Cruinneach**† LAP-ARG^{Heb}, and a prehistoric settlement-site among numerous other features at **Leathad nan Cruineachd** EDS-SUT. Apart from the burial-ground, the archaeology associated with these names is pre-Gaelic, so it is likely that the motivation for coining is antiquarian. If so, ScG *Cruithneach* is applied with a generic sense of 'past people' rather than to a specific ethnicity. A fourth instance in the West Highland littoral is the former shieling ground of **Clais nan Cruineachd** ASY-SUT; it has no archaeological

⁸ The Crown Mound a.k.a. IrG Áth Cruithean I/DWN (Muhr 1999, 7), Drumcroon a.k.a. IrG Droim Cruithean I/LON (McKay 2007, 61), and Duncrun a.k.a. IrG Dún Cruithean I/LON (Flanagan 1994, 23; Muhr 1999, 7; McKay 2007, 61).

remains identified, though a rock shelter and possible folkloric "fairy hill" might offer the association.

A further Cruithnian-name, assuming translation, is a boundary feature for Burgie in Moray. Recorded in 1221 as a hybrid in a Latin context, **Rune Pictorum**† RAF-MOR seems to be a field associated with the twenty-foot sculptured Sueno's Stone. In the light of the other Cruithnian-names, the safest conclusion is that this, too, is antiquarian in motivation.

Map 2

Cruithnians

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding possible names

● Antiquarian

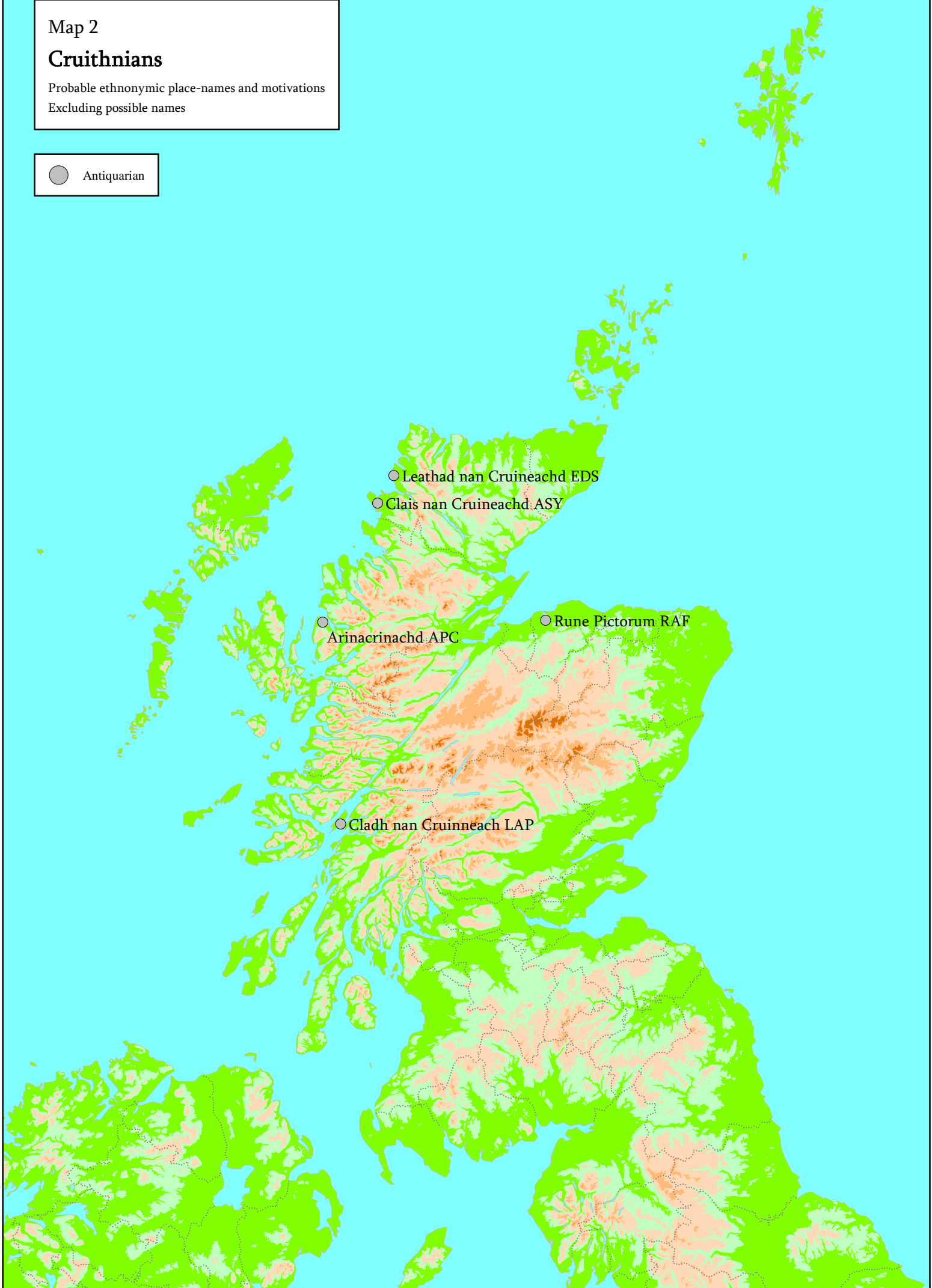
○ Leathad nan Cruineachd EDS

○ Clais nan Cruineachd ASY

○ Arinacrinachd APC

○ Rune Pictorum RAF

○ Cladh nan Cruinneach LAP



4 Cumbrians: ethnonyms derived from BrB plural **Combrogī*

Probable identifications: 7 (see Map 3, p. 49)

Possible identifications: 1

BrB **Cumbro* (nom. sg., masc.)

nom. pl. **Cumbri*

gen. pl. in OE context, **Cumbra*

gen. pl. in ON context, **Kumbra*

BrB plural *Britton* (singular **Britto*) lasted longer in north Britain than in the south (Jackson 1963, 61), but the Britons of **Cumbria** ☼¹ came to adopt the BrC plural **Cumbri* (Hicks d2005).

Modern scholarship has been of the view that there is "no ambiguity" (Gelling 1978, 95) as to a supposed OE **Cumber* loan-word derived from BrB plural **Combrogī*,² perhaps used as a higher status term than the etic OE *Walh* (*PNCh* 5 §2, 354; Gelling 1997, introduction). It is considered to be present in the Old English name for **Cumbria** ☼, *Cumbra land* (**Cumberland** ☼) adopted by 945; Hicks (d2005) argues that this change of nomenclature was necessary once the geographically specific name "Strathclyde" had ceased to equate with the expanding British territory of the tenth century. Woolf (2010, 230–2), on the other hand, considers it to perhaps represent a distinct Northumbrian usage, either because the polity of Strathclyde was the only British political entity with which it had regular contact, or because a "genuine distinction" existed between OE **Cumer* and OE *Walh*, with the latter applied in England to more Romanised Britons.

¹ As defined for this period by Hicks (d2005), **Cumbria** ☼ encompassed the Lennox, Strathclyde and modern Cumberland, possibly at times Ayrshire, West Lothian and Peeblesshire. However, Woolf (2007, 210) has pointed to ambiguity as to whether the Solway plain was still – or was yet – included.

² This reduction of /o/ to /u/ is used as an example of pre-tonic back vowels in full Old English lexical words and names of this time (e.g. Breeze in Coates & Breeze 2000, 91, following Jackson 1953, 663), so it would be a circular argument to employ this as evidence for OE **Cumber*.

Drawing on cognitive linguistics, Hough (2007, especially 113–5) challenges the assumption that reference in place-names is always to a distinctive feature, that the ethnicity must be distinctive and notable in the local context (Cameron 1996, 77). Hough postulates that some settlements gained an ethnonymic name through renaming by the inhabitants as an affirmation of identity in the language of a neighbouring majority community. Hough (2007, 115–6) argues that a minority-language community would have a level of bilingualism and a requirement to communicate an affirmation of ownership to the majority society, and suggests the possibility of the emic ethnonym being purposefully hybridised with OE n.nt. *land* and ON n.m. *dalr* by Cumbric speakers to coin **Cumberland** ☼ and **Cummersdale** CARL-CMB (1225 *Cumbrehale*, 1227 *Cumbredal*).

ON *Kumrir (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. **Kumris*

nom. pl. *Kumrar*

gen. pl. *Kumra*

adj. *Kumbreskr*³

There is no medial *-b-* in the noun in the Norse sources, though it is shown with this in the forms of Norse-derived names in Scottish sources. This is most clearly contrasted in the near-contemporary thirteenth-century forms for **Cumbrae** ARO^{dtchd}+CUM-BTE. This Scottish form with *-b-* may have developed under the influence of BrB **Cumbro* in an Old English context, or reflect a direct loan from British into Old Norse.

OE *Cumer (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. **Cumeres*

nom. pl. **Cumere* (?-*ras*)

gen. pl. *Cumera*

³ Reconstructed from *Kumbrskar* by Ekwall (1953, 163).

OE **Cumer* is only once attested, in the genitive plural *Cumera*. By analogy with other Old English ethnonyms, the nominative plural **Cumere* can be postulated (or **Cumeras* by analogy with other appellatives of the noun class). Other references in Old English are limited and show a medial *-b-*.⁴ It is possible that OE **Cumer* is but a variant example of use of the British ethnonym in an Old English scribal context, perhaps influenced by BrW plural **Cömmri* (*PNCh* 5 §2, 354) or by ON **Kumrir*.

Excluded from the study are suggestions of Old English names north of the firths of Forth and Clyde. To the south, the critical element in distinguishing potential BrB **Cumbro* from OE **Cumer* and ON **Kumrir* is the presence of a medial *-b-* in early forms. There is an apparent tendency for this to be assimilated to the preceding *-m-* in the fifteenth century,⁵ apart from in the high-recognition territorial name **Cumberland** ☼ (and Latin **Cumbria** ☼).⁶ This assimilation may be compared with the tendency in Older Scots for the loss of *-b-* in *cummer*, *cumber* 'hardship; encumbrance', derived from ME n. *kumbre*, *komber* (*DOST*, under *cummer*).

The genitive plural of BrB **Cumbro* is taken to be realised in Old English names as **Cumbra* and Old Norse names as **Kumbra* when coined by the Cumbrians themselves. However, where *cumbra* can be shown in early forms, it is lost through assimilation to

⁴ *Cumbri* in the *Chronicle of Ædelweard* c.1000 and by Florence of Worcester a.1118; adjectival *Combres* in Gospatric's Writ of 1041–64 is taken to represent **Combresc* and to be based on ON adj. *kumbreskr* (Ekwall 1953, 163).

⁵ A medial *-b-* in the initial element of **Cumbrae** ARO^{dtchd+}CUM-BTE is consistently shown in sources of Scottish provenance until 1440 and is all but unknown in the sixteenth century (and is not in the modern Gaelic name). It is shown in **Cummercolstoun**† HAD-ELO, apart from in 1361, until lost between the recordings of 1458 and 1472; in **Cummertrees** CUT-DMF until between 1285 and 1454; in **Cummersdale** CARL-CMB between 1454 and 1540; and in the possibly ethnonymic **Cumrue** KMC-DMF between 1329 and 1573 (with a late reappearance in 1611). Cf. Cumrew BRMP-CMB NY550504, c.1200 *Cumreu* (*RPW passim*), which has a single erratic occurrence of a medial *-b-*, 1278 *Cumbreu* {assize roll} (*PNCu* 1, 77): BrB n.m/f. *cum* 'valley' + BrB n.m/f. *rīw* 'steep slope' (*PNCu* 1, 77; Jackson 1963, 80; Coates & Breeze 2000, 283). Modern development of a medial *-b-* must be assumed in **Cumber**† LEW-LAN NS775345, 1533 *Cummir* (*RMS* iii no. 1330) etc. till 1583×96 *Kumberheads*. Nr.*cumbr*. Sth.*Kumbyr*. O.*Kumbyr* (Pont Map 34); Cumblands BOOT-CMB SD083977, 1578 *Cumerlandes* {Cockermouth MS, unspecified} (*PNCu* 2, 377); Cummerland† PTT-LAN @NS965415, 1511 *Cummyrlande* (*RMS* ii no. 3603) but 1583×96 *Kumberland* (Pont Map 34). Early forms are lacking for the intriguing Longcummercattiff WIGT-CMB NY130532, 1865 *Longcummercattiff* (OS 6" 1st edn).

⁶ Stability is also demonstrated in other English names considered by authorities to contain an ethnonym, albeit assumed to be OE **Cumber*, for example: Comberton E/CAM, 1086 *Cumbertone* (Mills 1998, 94); Comberbach E/CHE, 1172×81 *Cambrebech*, 1190 *Combrebeche* (*PNCh* 5 §2, 297 n. 117); Combermere† E/CHE, 1119×28 (1285) *Combermere*, c.1130 *Cumbremara*, 1181 *Comber Mere* (*PNCh* 5 §2, 297 n. 116); Cumberdale E/LEI, 1543 *Cumberdale*, c.1625 *Comberdale* (*PNLei* 3, 279); Cumberly† E/LEI, 1601 (*Cumberlea*, *PNLei* 3, 211); Cumberworth E/LIN, 1086 *Combreuorde* (Mills 1998, 106); Comberford E/STF, 1187 *Cumbreford* (Mills 1998, 94); Cumberworth E/YOW, 1086 *Cumbreuorde* (Mills 1998, 106).

cumer by the fifteenth century, meaning that it is not possible to make an assumption one way or the other for names with *cumer* lacking earlier forms.⁷

Dataset Overview

No names can be considered to contain BrB **Cumbro*. Cognate names can, however, be identified with reasonable certainty. The three cognate names which came to be attached to the polity of Strathclyde, i.e. OE **Cumberland** ☼, ON **Kumraland** † ☼ and Latin **Cumbria** ☼, almost certainly contain an ethnonymic reference. That both English and Norse neighbours adopted the new ethnic terminology for polity and people could support the view that this was a change promoted by that polity itself, or that it reflected existing vocabulary. If the former, then it can be viewed as stemming from a desire to declare a change in the ethnic balance at a time of expansion.

The four subregional names identified give a distribution that might equate with the borderlands of **Cumbria** ☼ at some point (or points). Three are probably coined in an Old Norse context, one in that of Old English. The saga forms typified by *Kumreyjar* (early fourteenth century, s.a. 1263) allow for **Cumbrae** † ARO^{dtchd}+CUM-BTE to have been coined by a Norse ethnicity and subsequently adopted and treated with an indigenous reflex by members of the Cumbrians themselves.

Cumbrae † ARO^{dtchd}+CUM-BTE is on the western extreme of plausible Cumbrian territory, and if translation of a Cumbric name, it declares the islands to be within that territory, irrespective of the language or ethnicity of their inhabitants. But if originally coined by the Norse, the implication is of Norse control or influence, but marking Cumbrian association through the inhabitants, past or present, or through proximity to Cumbrian territory.

Cumbretrute-wra † PENR-CMB must be towards the southern extreme of Cumbrian expansion, though its motivation and implications are unclear due to the

⁷ A personal name *Cumbra* is seen as having been adopted into the English name stock with a probable reference to British ancestry (Cameron 1996, 47; Faull 1981, 176; Gelling 1978, 96). It is described by Faull (1981, 176) as "not (...) a common name", and is not mentioned by Feilitzten (1937). It has not been encountered in the study.

opacity of the second element, due to its relatively low status, and due to its single appearance on record.

Cummersdale CARL-CMB is on the western reaches, and suggests that Cumbrian expansion (or contraction) did not extend, for a period, west along (or east from) the southern shore of the Solway Firth. This would reinforce the doubt expressed by Woolf (2007, 210) over Cumbrian possession of the Solway plain in the mid tenth century.

Cummersdale CARL-CMB was probably coined in an Old Norse context, indicating ethnic contact south of Carlisle and/or west of the River Eden. It is notable that the settlement is of sufficient status to give its name to the parish.

Cummercolstoun† HAD-ELO stands out as being the only name in Old English, the only name on the east, and the only name to challenge the accepted extent of Cumbrian influence. If correct, it would extend evidence of that influence into central East Lothian (perhaps arriving north-east from the Southern Uplands rather than along the Lothian coast). The name necessarily postdates the Anglo-Scandinavian presence in Lothian noted from the early eleventh century (Taylor 1995, 151), since it is formed by affixing the ethnonym to an existing name which contains an Anglo-Scandinavian male given name, ON *Kolr*. If a Cumbrian possessor was making a statement in the language of the neighbouring culture, it was an attempt to project status from a minority, perhaps as small as a family unit, but one of some standing. This fits well with the administrative status of **Cummercolstoun**† HAD-ELO as a barony, and with the maintenance of the ethnonymic affix well into the sixteenth century.

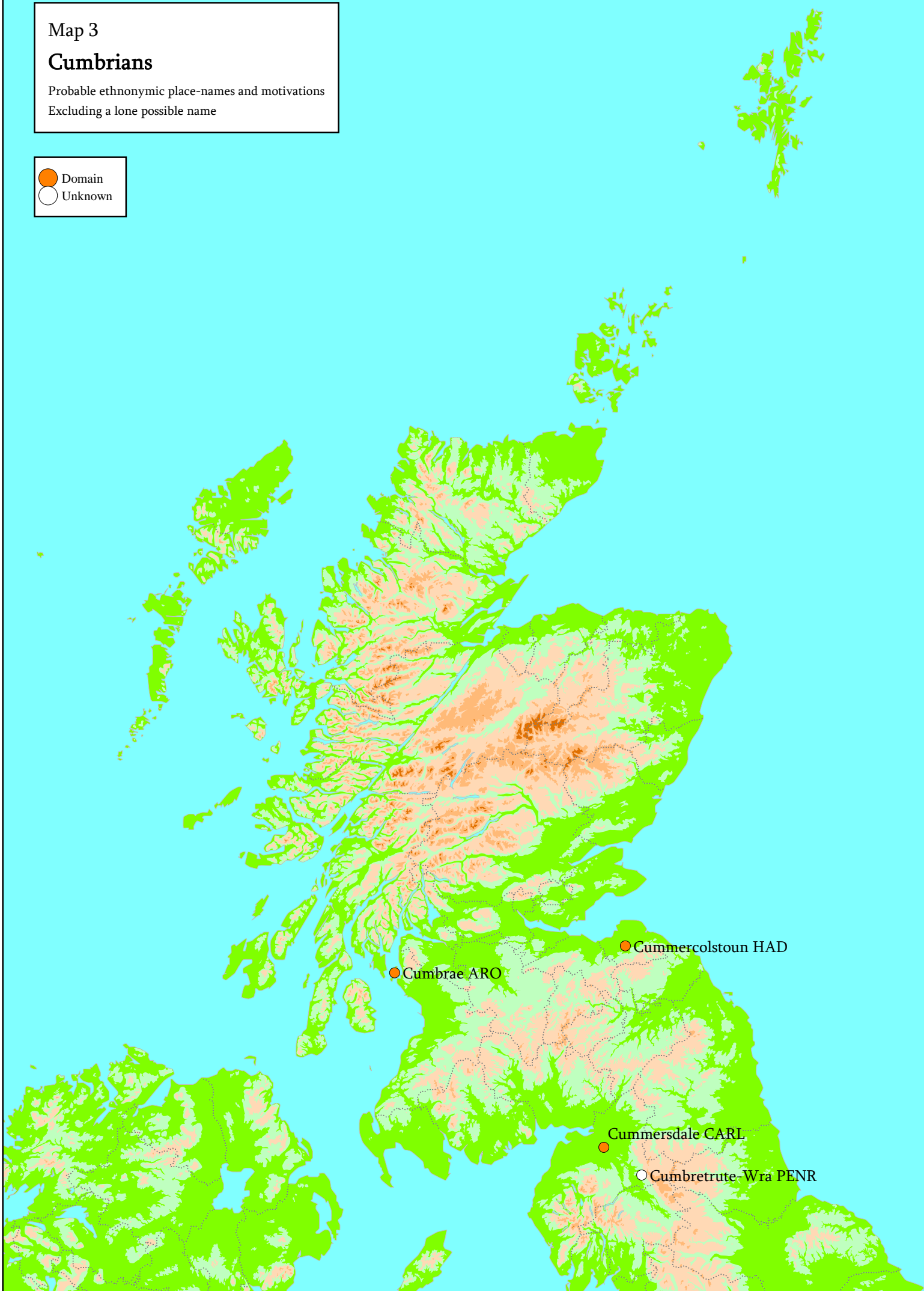
Map 3

Cumbrians

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations

Excluding a lone possible name

- Domain
- Unknown



5 Picts: ethnonyms derived from Ln plural *Picti*

Probable identifications: 47 (see Map 4, p. 60)

Possible identifications: 9

Ln *Pictus, *Pectus (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Picti, Pecti*

nom. pl. *Picti, Pecti*

gen. pl. *Pictorum, Pectorum*

The Latin ethnonym is first recorded as the Latin nominative plural *Picti* in 297, with a unique occurrence the following century of a possible variant, Latin plural *Pecti*.¹ This variant, supported by the Old English and Old Norse forms (below), may also be present in the name *Pexa* in the *Ravenna Cosmography* (Rivet & Smith 1979, 438). If correct, this is the only Pict-name recording contemporaneous with the Picts as a recognisable ethnicity. It is not known what the Picts called themselves (ibid., 439; Nicolaisen 2001, 193–4), though Jackson (1954, 16–18) believed them to include themselves among those termed in northern British **Priteni*. But Nicolaisen (loc. cit.) sees the ethnonyms Ln **Pictus*, ON *Pettr* and OE *Peht* as each borrowing direct from a probable emic name.

In addition to **Pictavia**† ☀, Latin **Pictus* appears in the name **Rune Pictorum**† RAF-MOR, recorded in 1221. But the ethnonym is considered in the study to be a translation of a Cruithnian-name.

ON Pettr (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Petts*

nom. pl. *Pettar, Peti*²

gen. pl. *Petta*

¹ By Ammianus Marcellinus (330–395), who otherwise used the standard Latin plural *Picti*, twice (Rivet & Smith 1979, 438).

² *Peti* in the *Historia Norvegiæ*, cited by Nicolaisen (2001, 194).

A number of place-names have been identified as containing the element, though only **Pettland**† ☀, 'land associated with the Picts', is likely to be contemporary with the ethnicity. By the twelfth century, the vowel had become lengthened in the secondary name *Péttlandsfjörðr*, later corrupted to Pentland Firth CAI+ORK.³ Jakobsen (1926, 68, 74; 1936, 168) appears to have introduced the notion that the vowel of the ethnonym had always been long.⁴ Certainly, the ethnonym appears to have derived from short-vowelled OE *Peht* (Woolf 2002, 16), and the male given name ON *Pétr*, originally *Pet(t)arr*, similarly experienced a vowel lengthening (Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874, under *Petarr*).

Excluded from the database are place-names with the letter string *pet*, with a working assumption that this represents EG n.f. *pett* '(land-)holding' (Taylor 1997, 10). Exceptions to this are those names in a Norse linguistic context, which may represent the ethnonym ON *Pettr*. In practice these names are limited to Shetland and the Pentland Firth. Jakobsen (1936, 168) considers that there is a possibility of confusion of the ethnonym with ON anthroponym *Pétr* (genitive *Pétr*s) "[i]n one or two instances only ... according to circumstances", but it has not been found in the study. However, the cognate SSE *Peter* has been, in *Peterstegs*, recorded in 1970 alongside the form *Pétistegs*◊ WAS-SHE.⁵ This name demonstrates the possibility of the loss in Scots in Shetland of the initial consonant in the cluster *-rs-*; it is therefore possible, though deemed unlikely, that ON *Pétr*, infrequent in Iceland until the fifteenth century (Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874, under *Petarr*), could be the specific in **Petester** UNS-SHE, **Pettasmog**† UNS-SHE and **Petti's Geo** WAS-SHE.

OE Peht (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Pehtes*

nom. pl. *Pehtas, Peohtas, Pihtas, Piohtas*

gen. pl. *Pehta*

No name with this ethnonym has been found in the study area.

³ ND325825, C12 *Péttlandsfjörðr* {Orkneyinga Saga} (Waugh 1985, 1, 336).

⁴ Ex info. Richard A.V. Cox in 2012.

⁵ @HT960390, 1970 *Peterstegs*-*Pétistegs* (Stewart 1970, 317).

Osc Pecht, *Picht* (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Pechtis*, *Pichtis*

nom. pl. *Pechtis*, *Pichtis*

gen. pl. *Pechtis*, *Pichtis*

adj. *Pechtis*, *Pichtis*

Used in referring to **Pictland** ☀ in early historical writings (C16 *Pichland*·*Pichtland*·*Pechtland*, 1697 *Pictland*).

ScS Pecht, *Pech*, *Picht*, *Pick*, *Pickie* (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Pecht's*

nom. pl. *Pechts*

gen. pl. *Pechts'*

adj. *Picish* [*sic*]

A small number of probable cases have been identified in the Northern Isles only, with both *Pecht* and *Pickie*. That *Pickie* can take the prefixed form *Picka-* in combination is demonstrated by the North Ronaldsay name **Pickadike**† CBS-ORK, described as being pronounced "pik.edaik", for ScS n. *picki-dike* 'prehistoric dyke' (Marwick 1923, 25; *SND*, under *Pecht*; cf. OSc n. *pickadyke*, *DOST*, s.v.). *Picki-dikes* are strips of stones found in Orkney, now often under the soil or peat (Marwick 1923b, 55). Though popularly ascribed to the Picts (Marwick 1923, 25; Marwick 1929, s.v.), they seemingly predate them (Marwick 1923b, 55). Though literally meaning 'Pict dyke', *picki-dike* is an appellative, and therefore generally ignored by the study. But no doubt the boundary between toponymicon and lexicon was and is hazy, and it is possible that **Pickadike**† CBS-ORK had made the transition. The derivative **Picto**◇ ERL-ORK, indeed, shows a clear move into the toponymicon.

Also excluded from the database are place-names with the letter string *-pick* in final position, given that grammar does not permit a phrase-final genitive for the ethnonym. Confusion is also possible with ScS adj. *pikie* 'sharp-pointed', in Pickyhillock

DLS-MOR⁶ and Pickylaw DUF-MOR.⁷ These can be compared to names with OSc adj. *pikit* 'pointed', each combined with OSc n. *law* 'hill'.⁸ As no notable pointed hill is present in any of these cases, it must be assumed that a small (and possibly lost) feature, a 'pointed mound', is intended. A similar explanation may fit a cluster of three names with e.ESE n. *how* 'mound' in Cumberland,⁹ but in these there is no evidence of a second vowel in the first element, which may therefore indeed be OSc *Pict*.

SE Pict (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Pict's*

nom. pl. *Picts*, **Picardy*

gen. pl. *Picts'*

adj. *Pictish*

SE *Pict* is a break in the linguistic tradition represented by ScS *Pecht*, and borrows directly from the Latin plural *Picti*, presumably as a result of learned antiquarianism. This is the ethnonym that is to be found in the majority of Pict-names. SSE plural **Picardy* is similarly antiquarian, but draws on late EG n.m. *Picardach* for its inspiration. Though only attested in Irish texts, *Picardach* refers to Picts in northern Britain (*DIL*, under *pic(c)ardach*).¹⁰ It is unlikely to predate the thirteenth century, and may have been fancifully based on Latin *Picardi* 'men of (the historical French province of) Picardy' (Anderson 1973, 39; though *DIL* suggests formation by metathesis from Latin *pictores* 'painters'). SSE **Picardy* is to be found in **Picardy Heugh**† INC-ABD and **Picardy Stone** INC-ABD.

As with ScS n. *picki-dike*, above, ScS n. *Picts-house* 'ancient dwelling' demonstrates the difficulty in determining when an appellative becomes a toponym,

⁶ NJ147527, 1755 *Pickyhilloch* (Roy Map).

⁷ NJ153693, 1870 *Pickylaw* (*Pickielaw*) (OSnb 9:61).

⁸ Picketlaw CMK-LAN NS594570, 1755 *Pikedlaw* (Roy Map); Picketlaw EAG-RNF NS571512, 1755 *Piketlaw* (Roy Map); Picketlaw NEI-RNF NS466523 (1796 Ainslie Map).

⁹ **Pickthowe**† WIGT-CMB, **Pict-How** PENR-CMB, **Pictowe**† PENR-CMB. A similar name outwith the study area is Pichhall E/LNC, 1609 *Pickthowe*, 1644 *Pickthawe*, 1729 *Pickthawe*; 'the peaked or pointed hill' (Whaley 2006, 264).

¹⁰ The usual Scots Gaelic term in the current language is *Cruithneach*, though *Piochdach*, based on the Pict-ethnonym of other languages, is occasionally encountered. Henderson (1910, 115) argues that Sutherland dialect ScG n.m. *piocach* 'little boy, brat' is related to Norwegian n.m. *pjokk* 'young boy', not *Piochdach* as had been claimed.

especially with one in such common use on the OS 6" 1st edn. References are to underground dwellings and circular stone fortified dwellings in northern Scotland and the islands (*OED*, under *Pict*). Similar use for related terms also appears on the OS 6" 1st edn, for instance "Site of Picts Mill" GLA-ANG NO359445, where the treatment can be assumed to be descriptive. Again, the boundary between toponymicon and lexicon is hazy, and such terms have only been included in the study where use as a toponym appears to have been recorded.

Dataset Overview

The motivation for use of the Pict ethnonym is largely antiquarian. There are probable exceptions to this, though, in particular the two territorial names securely recorded in the twelfth century. Latin **Pictavia**† ☀, it is suggested by Rivet and Smith (1979, 438), may reflect a British name recorded in the early seventh-century *Ravenna Cosmography* (thirteenth-century copy) as *Pexa*. This is shown as the name of a fort on the Antonine Wall, but so too are two probable tribal names, and so may be the name of the ethnicity, and perhaps by extension, the name of its territory (assuming omission of *-t-* in transmission from an earlier military map, and interchange between *-xt-* and *-ct-* as found elsewhere) somewhere to the north of the Wall. Though this requires a somewhat tortured trail of assumptions, there are no competing candidates for *Pexa*, and if correct it demonstrates a native source, and probable origin, for the ethnonym. It is even then poor as an indicator of the exact location of **Pictland** ☀ at an indeterminate time following the construction of the Antonine Wall in the second century.¹¹ Unlike *Pexa*, ON **Pettland**† ☀ survives, though only as an existing name retained in corrupted form in Pentland Firth CAI+ORK and, as a secondary name, Pentland Skerries SRO-ORK.¹² It is generally accepted that the two places (the latter situated within the other) indicate a onetime boundary between Pictish and Norse cultural territories (whether or not either territory was homogeneous at the time). This is in line with the previous understanding of ON *Skotlandsfirðir*, 'firths associated with **Skotland** ☀', as being based on the Minch,

¹¹ Though the Antonine Wall only functioned in the second century AD (Fraser 2009, 22), it has remained a notable feature of the landscape.

¹² ND466784, 1329 *Petlandz sk<ae>r* (Gammeltoft 2004, 43).

separating the Outer Hebrides from the rest of modern Scotland. However, Woolf (2010, 233) has refocused this to the Firth of Lorne ARG, extending into Loch Linnhe ARG+INV. Contact by the Norse with the Northern Isles before the significant settlement of c.790–875 is distinctly possible and, in the light of both historical and archaeological evidence, perhaps even probable (Woolf 2007, 286–9). It is possible, therefore, that the Pentland Firth was seen as being, and became fossilised in Norse nomenclature as, the water amid **Pictland**, rather than a Norse–Pictish divider (whether it ever became such a clear-cut boundary).¹³ The Pentland Skerries SRO-ORK can be assumed to be a later, secondary naming, introduced once Old Norse was established in Orkney.

In the analysis of the other probable and possible Pict-names in Figure 2, the database entries are classified by the feature which has inspired the use of the ethnonym (not necessarily the feature to which the place-name applies); or where such a feature has not been identified, the type of feature to which the place-name applies, according to the generic:

Fig. 2 Features inspiring Pict-names

Incidences [Possible]	Feature [Possible]	Geographical distribution
ON <i>Pettr</i> 10[2]:	agriculture : 1 ¹⁴	SHE
	beacon-site : 1 ¹⁵	SHE
	coastal : 1 ¹⁶	SHE
	hill : [1] ¹⁷	SHE
	loch : 1 ¹⁸	SHE

¹³ It might be challenged that the Moray Firth would be a more likely candidate for the accolade of 'the firth of **Péttaland**†', given that it was much more central to the general Pictish cosmos, and indeed topographically qualifies for ON n.m. *fjorðr* 'firth' at least in its inner reaches, whereas the straits of the Pentland Firth do not. From the perspective of Norse travellers between Norway and Ireland, the Pentland Firth could be said to have had more reality (and immediate danger) than the Moray Firth. But Woolf (2010, 234 n. 49) has broached the possibility, albeit tentatively, that the original *Péttlandsfjorðr* was indeed the Moray Firth, with the name having migrated along with the retreat of the earldom of Orkney from the Scottish mainland. He points out that not only did the Moray Firth penetrate to "the heart of the Pictish kingdom", but that it also served to separate the earldom from Scotland.

¹⁴ **Petester** UNS-SHE (with ON n.nt. *sætr* 'pasture land').

¹⁵ **Pettifirth** BRS-SHE (with ON n.f. *varða* 'beacon').

¹⁶ **Pettena Shaigo**† YEL-SHE (generic unknown).

¹⁷ **Pettafel**† BRS-SHE (a.k.a. Beacon Hill†; but only recorded once, in Jakobsen 1936, where it is conceivably a transmission error for **Pettifirth**).

¹⁸ **Petta Water** DTG+TWL-SHE (with ON n.nt. *vatn* 'loch'; at the top of **Petta Dale** NES+TWL-SHE).

	mound : 1 ¹⁹	SHE
	subterranean : 2 ²⁰	SHE
	surface structure : 1 ²¹	SHE
	territory : [1] ²²	SHE
	valley : 2 ²³	SHE
ScS <i>Pecht</i> 2:	bogland : 1 ²⁴	SHE
	building : 1 ²⁵	SHE
ScS <i>Pick(ie)</i> 4[4]:	agriculture : 1 ²⁶	SHE
	linear structure : [1] ²⁷	[ORK]
	mound : 3 ²⁸	ORK
	settlement : [1] ²⁹	[DMF]
	stone : [1] ³⁰	[BWK]
	subterranean : [1] ³¹	[BWK]
SSE * <i>Picardy</i> 2:	fort : 1 ³²	ABD
	stone : 1 ³³	ABD

¹⁹ **Pettigarth**◊ BRS-SHE (near a burnt mound formerly considered to be a tumulus).

²⁰ **Pettasmog**† UNS-SHE (a cave or cleft on the shore, accessible, but hidden, from above), **Petti's Geo** WAS-SHE (possibly properly applicable to a neighbouring, unnamed creek, with a subterranean passage at its end).

²¹ **Pettigarths Field** NES-SHE (with a mix of ancient remains, said to be the haunts of trolls).

²² **Paidland Vird** NMV-SHE (with ON n.nt. *land* 'land' and ON n.f. *varða* 'beacon'; but the form of the ethnonymic element is unique).

²³ **Petta Dale** NES+TWL-SHE, **Petta Dale** NMV-SHE (both with ON n.m. *dalr* 'valley').

²⁴ **Petvarg**† WAS-SHE (with ScS n. *varg* 'bog').

²⁵ **Pict's Hoose**◊ WAS-SHE (a semi-circular stone structure).

²⁶ **Pickigarth**† DNR-SHE (with ScS n. *garth* 'enclosure').

²⁷ **Pickadike**† CBS-ORK (a ridge of loose stones around a shore pool; recorded as a toponym, but possibly the appellative).

²⁸ **Pickaquooy** KSO-ORK (a burnt mound formerly considered to be a burial chamber), **Pickasquooy**◊ BIH-ORK (in the vicinity of a large natural mound formerly known as Fairy Knowe and considered a tumulus), **Pikanestie** CBS-ORK (a field-name possibly related to a chambered cairn discovered c.1911–12, though this is speculative).

²⁹ **Pikieston Burn** SAN-DMF (with ScS n. *toun*; but there is no evidence for a settlement at this remote site).

³⁰ **Pikiestane** CHK-BWK (but recorded late, without evidence for a stone).

³¹ **Pikie's Cove** CHM-BWK (with ScS n. *cove* 'cave', along with Pikie's Rock and Pikie's Stell; but possibly referring to ScS n. *pickie* 'coalfish').

³² **Picardy Heugh**† INC-ABD (below a vitrified fort).

³³ **Picardy Stone** INC-ABD (a Class One Pictish symbol stone).

SE <i>Pict</i> 23[3]:	agriculture : 1 ³⁴	ORK
	building : 2 ³⁵	ABD, ROX
	cairnfield : 1 ³⁶	PER
	linear structure : 7 ³⁷	AYR, CMB, DMF, KCB, NTB, ORK, PER, SLK
	mound : 1 ³⁸ [3] ³⁹	[CMB], KCB
	promontory : 1 ⁴⁰	SHE
	stone circle : 1 ⁴¹	ELO
	subterranean : 6 ⁴²	ABD, CMB, MOR
	watercourse : 1 ⁴³	SHE
	well : 1 ⁴⁴	ORK
	? : 1 ⁴⁵	ORK

Of the above ethnonyms, only the ON *Pettr*-names in Shetland can be expected to be contemporary with the Picts, who are understood to have ceased to be an identifiable ethnicity by c.900 (Woolf 2002, 12). It cannot be assumed, on the other hand, that Old Norse names are not antiquarian in motivation, being coined after the end of the Pictish presence in Shetland. Indeed, demonstrably anachronistic is **Pettigarths Field** NES-SHE, with its mix of pre-Pictish remains including a chambered cairn, a cairn with a cist, and

³⁴ **Pictail** SAD-ORK (with ScS n. *tail* 'attached land'; but the interpretation of the generic is insecure).

³⁵ **Picts' Hill** MLR-ROX (formerly covered with buildings, one of which was said to have been the remains of a Pictish tower), **Pict's Houses**† ALF-ABD (boulders, formerly part of perceived oval foundations).

³⁶ **Pictfield** BDY-PER (by a field formerly containing a number of cairns).

³⁷ **Picto**◇ ERL-ORK (the remains of an old hill dyke), **Pict's Ditch**◇ SEL-SLK (a rubble bank and rock-cut ditch, possibly to delineate woodland), **Pict's Dyke** CLI-PER (a medieval park boundary), **Pict's Dyke**◇ GRN-KCB (probably a series of ruined modern field wall(s)), **Picts' Dyke**† NCU+SAN-AYR+DMF (probably a medieval political boundary marker), e.ESE **Picts Wall**† CMB+NTB (a.k.a. SSE Hadrian's Wall), **Pictswork** KHP+SEL-SLK (a series of short earthworks for agricultural division).

³⁸ **Pict's Knowe** TRO-KCB (a probable late henge monument).

³⁹ **Pickthowe**† WIGT-CMB, **Pict-How** PENR-CMB, **Pictowe**† PENR-CMB (all three possibly for OSc adj. *pikit* 'pointed').

⁴⁰ **Picts Ness** DTG-SHE (a small headland).

⁴¹ **Picts Well**† SPO-ELO (near a stone circle).

⁴² **Petti's Geo** WAS-ABD (a former boulder-lined pit), **Pictish Well**◇ DUF-MOR (an underground well chamber, a.k.a. **Roman Well**†; the name changed along with development of archaeological understanding), **Picts Holes**† WHTV-CMB (probable prehistoric pit dwellings), **Picts' House** a.k.a. **Picts' Ring**◇ GTG-ABD (along with Picts' Field; a souterrain discovered in 1894), **Picts' Housie**◇ GTG-ABD (a souterrain discovered shortly before 1941), **Pictshouse** TYR-ABD (the site of a possible cairn, formerly considered to be a British habitation or prehistoric underground structure).

⁴³ **Picts Burn**† NES-SHE (a very small burn, no longer mapped).

⁴⁴ **Pict's Well** HOY-ORK (the site of a probably modern-period drystone well).

⁴⁵ **Pictou** SHA-ORK (with ScS locational suffix -o).

"the Standing Stones of Yoxie", a Neolithic or Bronze Age structure and associated "priest's house". A similar name, **Pettigarth**◇ BRS-SHE, probably refers to a nearby burnt mound, which had been thought to be a tumulus. The clue to the motivation in these names is the folk belief that trolls were often heard fiddling, singing and dancing here (Jakobsen 1926, 70; Jakobsen 1936, 169). Jakobsen (1926, 69) reports that he collected from an oral source a Shetland tradition of the Picts changing into trolls.⁴⁶ He concludes that places occupied by the Picts came to be associated with trolls, thus implying that he believed that there had been a period of significant Pictish survival following settlement of Shetland by the Norse (as argued by Bäcklund in 2001). However, it could equally be held that places associated with the supernatural could be named for the Picts, and hold no indication of Pictish survival (in line with the position held by Smith, 2001, that the Norse settlement of the Northern Isles involved genocide).

With one exception, the Shetland Old Norse names lack early forms from before the nineteenth century,⁴⁷ and though they linguistically date back to a time of Old Norse speech in the islands there is certainly no evidence of dating before 900. For many of the names, it is at least as likely that they refer to supernatural associations of remote, uninhabited spots in the centuries after the Picts as to incidents concerning real Picts or to their habitation on poor land during a shorter, earlier period. These include the two upland valleys, **Petta Dale** NES+TWL-SHE (with **Petta Water** DTG+TWL-SHE at its head, near the watershed) and **Petta Dale** NMV-SHE. On the coast, a possible instance is **Petti's Geo** WAS-SHE, if it is accepted that there has been an identification error on OS¹⁰ and that the next creek south, with its subterranean passage, is intended. More secure is **Pettasmog**† UNS-SHE, with its shoreline cave or cleft (ON n.f. *smuga*), accessible, but hidden, from above.

Less easy to explain in terms of trolls are the pastures recorded in **Petester** UNS-SHE, which became a crofting township, now abandoned, and unidentified **Pettena Shaigo**† YEL-SHE (the only ethnonymic place-name in the study to contain the Old Norse article), which served as a landing-place. The oldest of the names on record,

⁴⁶ It has been claimed by Lamb (1993, 69) that the association was with "fairies". Such a term is probably anachronistic, but a similar link with the supernatural to that in Shetland is certainly possible.

⁴⁷ Gammeltoft (2004b, 43) has been unwilling to trust them as containing ON *Pettr* on this basis alone.

Pettifirth BRS-SHE (though still with a history only back to 1576 *Patafirth*), means 'beacon associated with the Picts'. This is on a hill which seems to be what is mapped in 1827 as Beacon Hill†, and which is probably to be identified with **Pettafel**† BRS-SHE, tentatively interpreted as 'the hill of the Picts' (if this is not simply a transmission error for **Pettifirth** BRS-SHE). These are conceivably prosaic names, with reference to an alarm system for Pictish maritime attack. The most difficult name is another beacon-site, **Paidland Vird** NMV-SHE. The interpretation of the initial element is insecure, but if it is indeed ON *Pettr*, then its combination with ON n.nt. *land* 'land' is notable. The labelling of an alarm-point with a name for Pictish territory would be unusual, particularly in the north of Shetland. The alternative is that the local area, perhaps equating with the peninsula of North Roe (virtually an island and including **Petta Dale** NMV-SHE), is a land of (or associated with) Picts. However, for all these names, relative isolation is again a distinct possibility, and the "Picts" could be trolls believed to haunt these high hills, remote pastures and small bays.

Other than Old Norse names in Shetland, there is no convincing evidence for Pict-names in the study area before c.1700 and the start of the Scots linguistic period, with one exception. This is **Picts Wall**† CMB+NTB, from c.1540 applied to Hadrian's Wall. The Pict-names that then appear on the mainland have an antiquarian motivation that is prompted by archaeological remains.⁴⁸ But this is not always the prompt in Shetland, and it appears that the tradition of naming remote spots for the Picts continued here in at least the bog (ScS n. *varg*) of **Petvarg**† WAS-SHE, the tiny watercourse of **Picts Burn**† NES-SHE, and the small headland of **Picts Ness** DTG-SHE.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ A frequent element in such archaeological features is the presence of stone in the fabric, whether cairns, enclosures, foundations, standing stones, vitrified forts or walls. But this is not consistent, as seen in some of the mounds and linear features, and may simply be a function of the durability of stone.

⁴⁹ It is possible that the same motivation lies behind the upland 'attached land' (ScS n. *tail*) of **Pictail** SAD-ORK, but as all other Orcadian Pict-names follow the mainland pattern, it is safer to assume otherwise.

Map 4

Picts

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding possible names

Antiquarian



Ethnonyms associated with

Goidels

6 Gaels: ethnonyms derived from EG plural *Goídil*

Probable identifications: 26 (see Map 5, p. 69)

Possible identifications: 5

EG Goídel (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Goídil*

nom. pl. *Goídil*

gen. pl. *Goídel*

adj. *Goídelach*

EG *Goídel* was adopted to fill a gap in the ethnicity's own nomenclature once a collective definition for the ethnicity was required to encompass Gaelic settlements beyond Ireland (Woolf 2002, 12–14), from Scotland to Cornwall (Ó Baoill 2010, 2). The timing and mechanism for the arrival of the Gaels in the various parts of the study area are still matters of historical debate,¹ despite the language coming to be dominant with a political and social zenith towards the end of the Early Gaelic period (Withers 1984, 18–20), and expanding geographically in some areas after the change to Scots Gaelic. The paucity of archaeological evidence of any immigration from Ireland c.500 has even permitted it to be argued that the political projection of power in fact emanated from what was the northern portion of a single, established, linguistically-conservative speech community (Campbell 1999, 11–15).

EG Gall-Goídel (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Gall-Goídil*

nom. pl. *Gall-Goídil*

gen. pl. *Gall-Goídel*

adj. **Gall-Goídelach*

¹ Thomas Clancy has recently highlighted a lack of evidence for much time-depth in the Gaelic toponymy of the early historical period (talk on *The Gaelic Place-Names of the Earliest Scottish Records*, 23 Aug. 2010, at the *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* conference, Aberdeen).

Formed from EG *Gall* 'alien', giving the meaning 'alien *Goídel*'. The first mention, in Ireland in 856–857 (*AU*), is unrelated to the people who appear at the end of the Early Gaelic period from 1035 (*ibid.*), with their polity in what is now commemorated in the name **Galloway** ☼. This ethnonym developed into ScG *Gall-Ghàidheal*, but by 1200 it had probably ceased to have political import (Clancy 2008, 45). If it survived at all as a current term, it probably only had regional, not ethnic, implications, meaning 'someone associated with Galloway'.²

ScG Gàidheal³ (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Gàidheil*

nom. pl. *Gàidheil*⁴

gen. pl. *Gàidheal*

adj. *Gàidhealach*

ScG *Gàidheal* is a regular development of EG *Goídel*, with a fronting of the vowel of the first syllable. The pronunciation falls into two groups in the modern language, between /ge:ɫ/ in the now dominant dialects of the Outer Hebrides, and /ga:ɫ/ in many dialects elsewhere.⁵ Unlike the Irish Gaels, who are not defined in their own poetry as being subjects of the English throne, medieval Scottish Gaels could be treated in poetry as being ScG *Albannach*, at a time when 'Albanian' had encompassing national import (Coira 2008, 149–50).

Despite the conflicting implications of the two terms, ScG *Gall* has become anglicised as if ScG *Gàidheal* in **Fleenas-na-gael** ACL-NAI (see Chapter 20). Further, ScG

² The only settlement-name to possibly contain ScG *Gall-Ghàidheal*, **Dargodjel** PEH-WIG, may have a borderland motivation. However, if so, this border is with the parish of Kirkcowan and therefore internal to Wigtownshire.

³ The length-mark diacritic (the grave accent) was removed from the standard orthography for use in education in 1981 (*GOC* 1981, 17), but restored upon revision (*GOC* 2005, 25).

⁴ Ó Murchú (1989, 348) gives the twentieth-century Eastern Perthshire form as *Gàidhiltean*.

⁵ Given as /ga:ɫ/ in East Perthshire by Ó Murchú (1989, 348), as *ga:L* ("the a lies between ä and a") in Glengarry by Dieckhoff (1932, under *Gaidheal*, for between [ǵæ:L] and [ǵa:L]), as [ǵa:ɪL] in Wester Ross by Wentworth (2003, under *Gael*, for [ǵa:ɪL]?), and as /ga:jəɫ/ in Arran by Holmer (1957, §172, §212); but as /ke:ɫ/ in Easter Ross by Watson (1986, 4). Robertson (1906–08 iii, 230) comments on the wider phonology: "The digraph *ai* is variously sounded.... Any distinctions are more local than general. The most prominent of them is that before *n*[,] as in *gràin*, *thàinig*, *ainm*, *gainmheach*, *raineach*[,] the digraph receives the sound of *à* or *a* in some districts as '*grà'n*,' '*a'nm*,' etc., and that of *è* or *e* in others, '*gr'èn*,' '*enm*.' Two prominent words that follow this analogy are *màthair*, '*mèhir*,' or '*mèr*,' and *Gàidheal* '*G'è-al*.'"

n.m. *gall* 'freestanding stone or rock' is behind **Pennyghael** KKV-ARG^{Heb},⁶ and ScG n.f. *gaille* 'rock, stone' behind **Gaeilavore Island** KLR-INV^{Heb}. There has even been reinterpretation of *Gall* to *Gàidheal* in **Corrie Gaul†** KCV-INV to **Coire a' Ghàidheil**, and in **Eilean nan Gall‡** TNG²-SUT to **Eilean nan Gàidheal†** then back again. This confusion may have been facilitated by near-homophony in those Gaelic dialects pronouncing *Gàidheal* as /gɑ:ɪ/. The anglicised form *-g(h)ael* has also been used to represent ScG adj. *geal* 'white',⁷ ScG n.m. *giall* 'hostage',⁸ ScG n.m. *gobhal* 'fork'⁹ and lenited ScG n.f. *dail* 'meadow'.¹⁰

Dataset Overview

Those instances of the ethnonym that have been identified with confidence fall into two main groups, divided both by naming motivation and by temporal distribution. The evidence suggests that the smaller of these groups was coined before monolingualism ceased to be the norm among the general Gaelic-speaking population in the areas referred to by the names themselves. With **Argyll** ☼ and **Galloway** ☼ (equivalents of ScG **Earra-Ghàidheal** ◊ ☼ and ScG **Gall-Ghàidhealaibh** ◊ ☼ respectively), these refer to Gaelic polities displaying cultural traits with Scandinavian origins.¹¹ The others in this group appear to be much younger.¹² **Gàidhealtach** ◊ ☼ also refers to territory, but was only used for the first

⁶ NM516258, 1509 *Penyegile* (*ER* xiii, 214). It would be difficult to explain how a pennyland in west Mull in 1509 could be specified, in Gaelic, by an association with a Gael. The early forms allow for ScG *Gall*, but the evidence points to an erect cross slab, formerly at NM516259 (OS 6" 1st edn; *Canmore*, 114056).

⁷ Inchgael ◊ GTG-ABD @NO3795, 1952 *Inchgale* (Alexander 1952, App. 2).

⁸ Knocknagael INB-INV NH659407, 1456 *Knokynigill* (*ER* vi, 215).

⁹ Stragael† KMY-BTE NR992239, 1637 *Stragall* {rent roll} (Fraser 1999, 93): cf. Stragyle† SOE-ARG ?NR659079, n.d. {rent roll} (Colville & Martin 2009, 33) and Strathgyle DUR-KCD NO797928, 1583×96 *Stragoil hill* a.k.a. *Pap Stra-kaill* (Pont Map 11).

¹⁰ Camaghael KLE-ARG^(INV) NN120764, 1878 (OSnb 41:46).

¹¹ **Argyll** refers directly to the area of the original ninth-century polity of that name (Jennings & Kruse 2009, 98–9), with surrounding territory associated with the core through expansion and administrative changes, whereas **Galloway** and **Gall-Ghàidhealaibh** ◊ now refer to a later outlier of a polity originally, c.900, on the littoral of the lower Clyde (Clancy 2008 *passim*). It is not known whether these names were an emic or etic (i.e. Irish) coining, but if etic, they were subsequently adopted by those associated with these territories. This was logically true for **Galloway** by the time the territory was seen to incorporate the region now retaining the name, postulated by Clancy (2008, 38) to be in the twelfth century.

¹² A possible early name is unidentified **Drumwedyl†‡** (North East Scotland), which may contain a Pictish cognate of BrB n.m. *Gwyddel* 'Irishman'.

time c.1700, for an extensive area united only by geography and culture, with no administrative cohesion.

The remaining four names in this group apply to routes crossing the cultural boundary separating the area from the rest of Scotland, where Gaelic had ceased to be dominant. **Rathad Mòr nan Gàidheal**† AAR+LUS+RHU-DNB is thus termed in 1603, and **Stairsneach nan Gàidheal** DDY+MDL-INV has been known as this from at least the eighteenth century. Only very late evidence is available for **Cachla nan Gàidheal**† COM-PER and **Rathad Mòr nan Gàidheal**† INB+KIH-INV, but these too might be assumed to date from the early modern period. What is notable is that these routes are named from the Gaelic side only, with no corresponding Older Scots, Scots or Standard English names recorded for these routes.¹³ The same is true of **Gàidhealtachd**◊ ☀, with the nearest equivalent name in English, the Highlands, having no intrinsic ethnic inference.

In the second group, the Gael-names are all evidenced from the period of increasing Gaelic and Standard English or Scots language contact and bilingualism throughout the Gaelic community. No evidence exists for any of the names before the nineteenth century,¹⁴ though reinterpretation from *Goill*-names can be seen in **Coire a' Ghàidheil** KCV-INV (by 1830), and probably in **Eilean nan Gàidheal**† TNG-SUT (by 1874)¹⁵ and **Port na Gael** SSS-ARG (by 1988 [*sic*]). **Sgeir nan Gàidheal** LAP-ARG^{Heb} developed from a variation of this process, it being postulated in the study that reinterpretation of the specific, originally singular, has followed misunderstanding of ScG n.m. *gall*, which referred to an adjacent standing stone.

There is a preponderance of Gael-names of the second group (ten of eighteen; 55.6%) in Hebridean and mainland Argyll. In Ardnamurchan ARG,¹⁶ a degree of

¹³ **Highlandman's Road** RHU-DNB, like **Rathad Mòr nan Gàidheal**† AAR+LUS+RHU-DNB, runs from Glen Fruin, but not in the same direction. Whereas the Rathad Mòr heads north out of the glen, the much shorter **Highlandman's Road**, originally a pack-horse track, heads south to the parish church. It is possible, however, that the latter was conceived of as an extension, rather than branch, of the other, and that the two names are directly related.

¹⁴ This importantly rests on the conclusion, above, that Pennyghael KKV-ARG^{Heb} does not, contrary to the view expressed in twentieth-century literature, contain ScG *Gàidheal*; rather, it contains ScG n.m. *gall* 'freestanding stone' (or failing this, ScG *Gall*). It is first recorded in 1509, at a time when Mull can be assumed to be culturally and linguistically overwhelmingly Gaelic.

¹⁵ Subsequently restored to **Eilean nan Gall**† TNG²-SUT. There is no proof, only probability, that the *Goill*-name is the original. There were only two informants for the 1874 name, at least one of whom was not local.

¹⁶ **Coire nan Gàidheal** ARD-ARG, **Eas a' Ghàidheil**† ARD-ARG.

bilingualism was common in 1760 due to the immigrant mining community at Strontian (Withers 1984, 67–8). *Circa* 1726, Edmund Burt considered Saddell & Skipness ARG¹⁷ to be linguistically mixed, and Southend ARG¹⁸ to be "a Lowland parish with some Highlanders" (ibid., 61–2). On the margins of the then Gaelic heartland were also names in Mortlach BNF,¹⁹ where the language had declined markedly by the mid-eighteenth century (ibid., 255–6); Fortingall PER,²⁰ where Scots was said to be "daily gaining ground" in 1760 (ibid., 67–8); Little Dunkeld PER,²¹ which was two-thirds a Gaelic-speaking area in 1705 (ibid., 56). Gaelic was stronger in Hebridean Argyll,²² also in Inverness-shire²³ and Sutherland,²⁴ though bilingualism was on the increase (ibid. *passim*) by the time the Gael-names were recorded.

The specific motivations for this group are largely unknown, with no concrete indicators or significant features named. There are some possibilities, however. The pairing of **Allt nan Gàidheal** ROG-SUT and **Creagan nan Gàidheal** ROG-SUT may be of domain-names, if marking the extent of a farm. **Loch nan Gàidheal** KKV-ARG^{Heb} is a fairly recent replacement name for Loch na Co'dhala; if this and other minor names here indicate a drinking den, then this commemoration is a self-deprecating emic reference.²⁵ Probably referring to shieling-sites, with a similar self-effacing emic reference to what was becoming a marginal activity in a modernising society, are **Loch a' Ghàidheil** KKE-ARG^{Heb},²⁶ **Blàr nan Gàidheal** LDK+LOR-PER²⁷ and **Port Ghàidheil**† FTL-PER.²⁸

¹⁷ **Port na Gael** SSS-ARG.

¹⁸ **Lag nan Gàidheal** SOE-ARG.

¹⁹ **Clachangael**† MLH-BNF.

²⁰ **Port Ghàidheil**† FTL-PER.

²¹ **Blàr nan Gàidheal** LDK+LOR-PER.

²² Islay ARG^{Heb}: **Cnoc a' Ghàidheil** KDO (with adjacent **Linne a' Ghàidheil** KDO+KKM), **Rubha Gàidhealach** KCN. Mull ARG^{Heb}: **Loch a' Ghàidheil** KKE, **Loch nan Gàidheal** KKV. Lismore ARG^{Heb}: **Sgeir nan Gàidheal** LAP.

²³ **Coire a' Ghàidheil** KCV-INV, **Cnoc a' Ghàidheil**† (unidentified) Skye INV^{Heb}.

²⁴ **Allt nan Gàidheal** ROG-SUT, **Creagan nan Gàidheal** ROG-SUT, **Eilean nan Gàidheal**† TNG-SUT.

²⁵ Loch na Co'dhala (for **Loch na Còmhdhala*), 'the loch of the meeting (*còmhdhail*)', is a cliff-top lochan above Cadha nan Gloineachan, 'the narrow pass of the glasses', and near Cnoc nam Pìob, 'the hill of the pipes', and Allt a' Ghuail, 'the burn of the coal or hard peat'. It is an unlikely spot for a legal meeting place, as postulated for the *còmhdhail*-names of eastern mainland Scotland by Barrow (1992, 217–45), with no examples identified by him in the central or west Highlands or in the islands (ibid., 227–8; his explanation for this absence, that it only passed into the toponymicon in a bilingual context, is not convincing).

²⁶ Or possibly a transit-name, being close to the watershed of a moorland pass.

²⁷ Or possibly a borderland-name, being on a parish boundary and the boundary of the district called the Bishopric (OS 6" 1st edn).

²⁸ A further example of gentle self-deprecation may be **Coire na Seanagalla** LAG-INV, if this possible Gael-name is a reinterpretation of *sean Ghàidheal*, 'old (i.e. worldly wise?) Gael'.

Contrasting may also have occurred, with **Port na Gael** SSS-ARG, if this late name is not in error or a conscious reinterpretation,²⁹ contrasting with neighbouring **Port na Gall** SSS-ARG. **Rubha Gàidhealach** KCN-ARG^{Heb} just conceivably (but no more) contrasts, not with a known name, but with the brief presence just along the coast of an ethnicity reputedly brought in to impart fishing skills, in the short-lived eighteenth-century settlement of Portuguese at Claddach KCN-ARG^{Heb} NR165531;³⁰ no other explanation can be found for this unique name with the ethnonymic adjective ScG *Gàidhealach*, applied to an inconspicuous rocky point.

Ethnicism

Self-referential, own-language naming is considered by the study to be an example of *ethnicism*. This term is adopted by Smith (1986, 50) to describe movements of ethnic resistance and cultural restoration. Ethnicism is, he says, "a collective movement, whose activities and efforts are aimed at resisting perceived threats from outside and corrosion within, at renewing a community's forms and traditions, and at reintegrating a community's members and strata which have become dangerously divided by conflicting pressures. In these endeavours there is always a summons to communal action and a crude but clear programme for restoring aspects of the community's culture and territory; and this goes well beyond the often complacent and static, sometimes unself-conscious, sentiments of ethnic centrality, superiority and uniqueness that characterize ethnocentrism."

Smith (*ibid.*, 55–6) analyses this defensive and restorative renewal of ethnic ties and sentiments as being in the face of a perceived double threat to status and heritage from internal divisions and decay and from external challenges and influences. The various forms of danger include military threat (with an ethnic response in particular to a slow and foreseeable impact), socio-economic challenge from contact with an economically more developed society (with a rapid changeover from one mode of

²⁹ Deliberate swapping of contrasting terms, from ScG *Gall* to ScG *Gàidheal*, may also have occurred in **Coire a' Ghàidheil** KCV-INV, **Eilean nan Gàidheal**† TNG-SUT and **Sgeir nan Gàidheal** LAP-ARG^{Heb}, but there is no evidence to this effect.

³⁰ Ex info. Cathy Johnson, ex Port Wemyss KCN-ARG^{Heb}, in 2010.

production and distribution to another), and culture contact (the prolonged contact with a more developed power leading to a crisis of confidence, often with competing responses of acculturative cosmopolitanism and indigenous nativism).

Apart from the few medieval instances, the Gael-names fit well with the theory of ethnicism, as part of a "crude programme" for cultural and territorial restoration. First there is a group of names coined in the context of military and cultural contact from the modernising influences of non-Gaelic national, then imperial, society.³¹ Then a second group coined in the context of intensified socio-economic challenge, with intense agricultural, industrial and bureaucratic development centred on the Lowlands, and internal divisions and decay such as the break-down of clan structures and exposure to commercialisation. The distribution of this second group suggests that this challenge was most acutely felt in Hebridean and west-mainland Argyll.

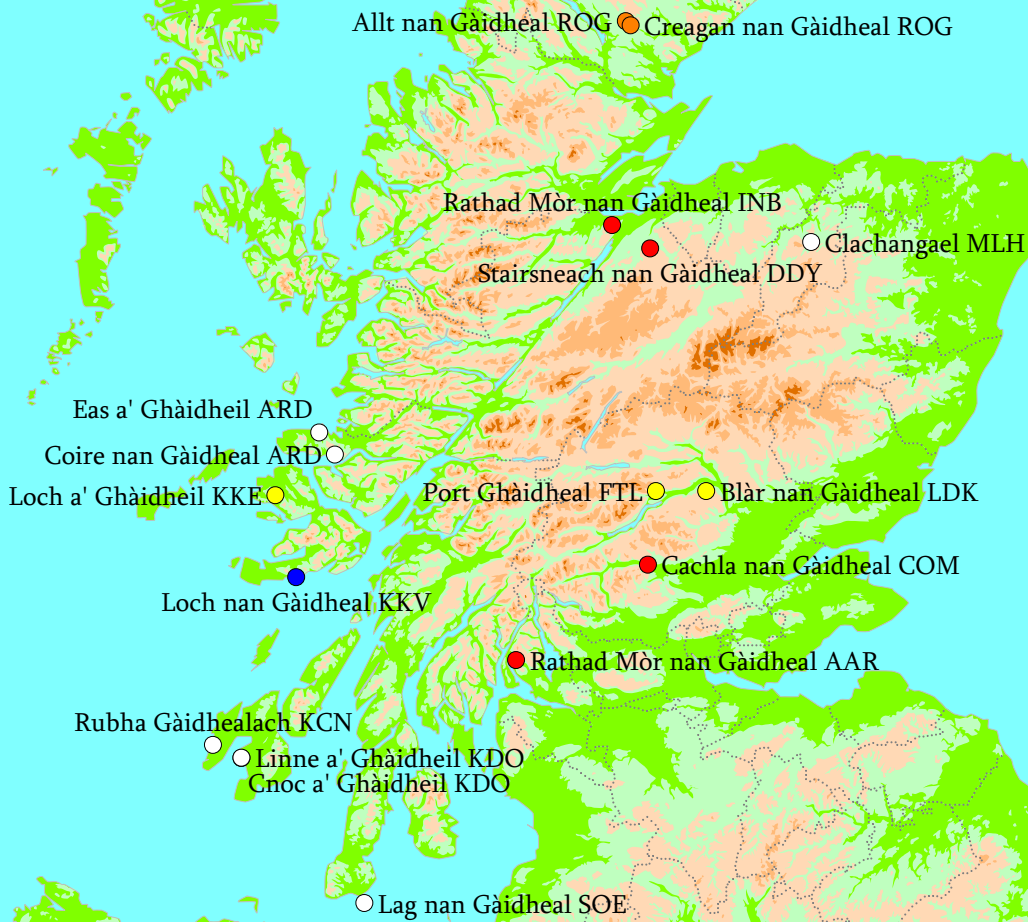
³¹ It may have been in the sixteenth century that speakers of Gaelic ceased to constitute a majority of the Scottish population (Ó Baoill 2010, 13).

Map 5

Gaels

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding possible names and coincidental motivation

- Commemorative
- Domain
- Resource
- Transit
- Unknown



7 Irish: ethnonyms derived from EG *Ériu* 'Ireland'

Probable identifications: 19 (see Map 6, p. 82)

Possible identifications: 8

ON *Íri* (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Íris*

nom. pl. *Írar*

gen. pl. *Íra*

adj. *Írskr*

Evidenced in English place-names, where it is generally taken by commentators to refer to Hiberno-Norse (e.g. Watts 1995, 212), or possibly ethnic Irish as their associates (Ekwall 1953, 167; Higham 1995, 199).

EG *Érennach* (nom. sg., masc. & fem.)

gen. sg. *Érennaigh*

nom. pl. *Érainn, Érennaigh*

gen. pl. *Érann, Érennach*

adj. *Érennach*

No place-name in the study area has been found to contain this ethnonym.

ScG *Èireannach* (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Èireannaich*

nom. pl. *Èireannaich*

gen. pl. *Èireannach*

adj. *Èireannach*

Despite many apparent instances of this name appearing in the toponymicon, only three names are suggested by the study to contain the ethnonym.¹ The length diacritic (formerly é; since *GOC* 1981, 8, è) is not shown on current OS mapping on any "eireannach"-name, but as it was not general practice to represent the accent on capital letters until the revised *GOC* (2005, 5) the spelling was neutral between ScG *Èireannach* 'Irishman; churn' and *Eireannach* (for ScG n.m. *eibhreannach*).

Excluded from the study are place-names with the letter string *e(a)rn*, if there is no the evidence for there having been a medial vowel between the *-r-* and the *-n*. Such a vowel would have existed if the derivation was from EG *Érennach* or ScG *Èireannach*.² Also excluded are place-names with the letter string *-ers* in a final position, as grammar does not permit a phrase-final position for the ethnonym OSc *Erish*.

Eibhreannach 'wedder goat'

For the vast majority of the names shown on OS mapping with *Eireannach*, the only supporting evidence for ScG *Èireannach* or any Irish connection is a late-recorded folk tale,³ which itself probably arose through reinterpretation of the name. The conclusion in the study is that the potential interpretation as ScG n.m. *eibhreannach* 'wedder (*anglice* wether) goat', recognised but not always accepted by twentieth-century writers,⁴ is applicable to the bulk of names.

¹ **Eilean an Èireannaich** EDS-SUT, **Cladh nan Èireannach** JUR-ARG^{Heb}, **Gleann Capall an Èireannaich** KDO-ARG^{Heb}.

² Confusion is still possible with ScG n.f. *raineach* 'bracken', however, which can appear to have an initial vowel in early forms: Coltrannie AUG-PER NO067358, e.g. 1864 *Coulterenny* (OSnb 8:35); Culteranich† CRF-PER NN874231, e.g. 1497 *Culterannych* (*ER* xi, 22). Similarly, Drininrianack† SOE-ARG NR661090, with ScG n.m. *druimean* + ScG adj. *reannach* 'marked', e.g. 1525 *Drummerinach* (*ER* xv, 164).

³ Auchernack AKE-INV NJ026246, 1583×96 *Achacheirnach*-*Ald Achacheirnaig* (Pont Map 6:1), from a murdered Irishman (Forsyth 1900, 40–1); Coire an Eireannaich◊ DRM-INV NH945050, from an Irishman drowned in a flood (pers. comm. Seumas Grannd a.k.a. James Grant, ex Rothiemurchus DRM-INV, in 2000); Druim an Eireannaich† Skye INV^{Heb} (unidentified), from an itinerant Irish piper (Forbes 1923, 156); Drummond Earnoch MZS-PER NN796208, 1444 *Drumanerynoch* (*ER* v, 171), from John Drummond spending time in Ireland (Watson 2002, 312–3); Geodha an Èireannaich HAR-INV^{Heb} NF077991, 1900 *Irishman's Cave* (Heathcote Map), 1928 *Geo an Eireanach* (Mathieson 1928), from an Irishman blown off course [Quine 1983, 41] (Coates 1990, 86); Lòan an Eireannaich SNZ-INV^{Heb} NG426480, 1878 (OSnb 8:23), from a panicking Irish pedlar falling and drowning when thinking he was the *eibhreannach* to be killed by his hosts (Forbes 1923, 255); Rubha an Eireannaich STH-INV^{Heb} NG645247, 1878 *Rudh' an Eireannaich* (OSnb 18:4), from an Irish champion dying at sea and buried here (Forbes 1923, 305) or a resident Irish family (ex info. Alasdair Martin, Skye, in 2001).

⁴ It is recognised as a possibility by Forbes (1923, 156, 255), Fraser (1999, 35, 73, 104), Watson (2002, 91, 312–3), Wentworth (2003, under *Irishman*) and Dòmhnallach (2004, 62); with more confidence by MacGregor (1886, 24), Currie (1908, cited in

The etymology of *ei(bh)reannach* is given by MacBain (1911, under *eibhrionnach*) as being ScS n. *aiver* 'wedder goat' + ScG termination *-ionnach* (now *-eannach*; *GOC* 2009, 5). *Aiver* in turn derives from OE n.? *hæfer* 'male goat' (*SND*, s.v.; where *hæfer* is equated with ON n.m. *hafr*), though no derivative is recorded in Older Scots,⁵ or for any period in *OED*. Neither is an Irish Gaelic loan-word to be found in *DIL* or Ó Dónaill 1977. If the interpretation in the corpus of fifty-four names is correct, this would appear to have been reinterpreted by the time of the OSnb, in which the names are generally stated to refer to an Irishman or Irishmen. There are three exceptions,⁶ though, and it is notable that the tale associated with Lòn an Eireannaich SNZ-INV^{Heb} reported by Forbes as late as 1923 (p. 305) revolves around a misunderstanding of *eibhreannach* for *Èireannach*. But it would not be surprising if popular familiarity with the term was being lost, with increased confusion between the near-homophones, as the previous common presence of goats in Highland agriculture⁷ died away as a result of the spread of enclosure, leading to the simplification and improvement of sheep husbandry (Campbell 1965, 185).

Male goats would have been gelded for the same reason as sheep, improving meat production and making for easier stock management. It was not a practice known to Campbell in 1965 (loc. cit.), but wedder goats had a significantly higher market value in April 1791 in Kildonan SUT than other goats, higher indeed than wedder sheep (*OSA* 3, 408).⁸ It is also indicated six times in the SSE toponymicon, with variants of ScS n. *aiver*, *aver*, *haverel* and *haveron*,⁹ though not the alternatives from the Gaelic lexicon, *cullbhoc* and *laosboc*.

Fraser 1999, 104) and Newton 1999, 180, 182). Forbes (1923, 182) additionally considers the core of the term, ScG n.? *eibhreann*, as a possibility in an unidentified Eilean Eirinn, off Skye INV^{Heb}.

⁵ The earliest reference in *SND* is from 1792, *OSA* iii, 408.

⁶ Bealach an Eireannaich LGK-ARG NN208002, 1878 *Bealach an Eirionnaich* (OSnb 81:74; though an annotation contradicted the original interpretation as 'castrated goat' to suggest that it was probably 'Irishman'); Cnoc Eireannaich BGE-PER NO117574, 1864 *Cnoc Eirionnaich (Cnoc Eirionnach)* (OSnb 11:3); Goirtean an Eibhreannaich KKM-ARG^{Heb} NR372659, 1878 *Goirtean an Eibhrionnaich* (OSnb 39:173; with *É-* on the OS 6th 1st edn).

⁷ See the discussion on *Goat-Keeping in the Old Highland Economy* in *Scottish Studies* by Megaw (1963 and 1964), Campbell (1965) and Smout (1965).

⁸ "Yell goats" ('not bearing young', *SND*, under *yeld*) fetched between three and four shillings, goats with kid, five shillings, but "avers, i.e. gelded he-goats, from 5s. 6d. to 6s. 6d." Sheep and wedder sheep, on the other hand, commanded between four and six shillings.

⁹ Cf. obsolete ScS n. *aiver*, *aver*, *haiver*, and derivatives *haverel*, *haivrel*, *haveron*, *heburn*, *hebrun* (*SND*, under *haiver*). ScS n. *aiver*, *aver* is also 'cart-horse, old horse', independently from OSc n. *avir* 'cart-horse' (loc. cit.), but does not suit the topography of the names featured in the study.

The topography (not always obvious from the generic) and distribution of the forty-three *eibhreannach* primary names, and six Scots/SSE names (in brackets), is as follows (multiples are indicated, otherwise a single incidence):

Fig. 3 Topography of *eibhreannach*-names

Topography	Distribution of <i>eibhreannach</i> -names
burn ¹⁰ 13:	ARG×3 ¹¹ , ARG ^{Heb} ×3 ¹² , BTE ¹³ , CAI ¹⁴ , INV ¹⁵ , INV ^{Heb} ×2 ¹⁶ , PER×2 ¹⁷
(+2:)	(BNF ¹⁸ , ROX ¹⁹)
grazing 3:	ARG ^{Heb} ²⁰ , INV ²¹ , INV ^{Heb} ²²
(+1:)	(MLO ²³)
headland 4:	INV ²⁴ , INV ^{Heb} ×3 ²⁵
(+1:)	(ABD ²⁶)

¹⁰ An additional, translated burn-name is probably **Irish Burn** GLV-KCD, for ScG **Allt an Èireannaich*.

¹¹ Allt an Èireannaich GIL-ARG NN072215, 1878 *Allt an Èireannaich (Allt an Èireannach)* (OSnb 54:73); Allt an Èireannaich KLE-ARG, 1878 (OSnb 68:57), with secondary names Drochaid an Èireannaich KLE-ARG NM936798 and Loch an Èireannaich KLE-ARG NM941806; Eas an Èireannaich KKT-ARG NM873204, 1878 (OSnb 53:46).

¹² Allt an Èireannaich in JUR-ARG^{Heb} NR563793, 1878 (OSnb 67:90), in KKE-ARG^{Heb} NM438488, 1878 (OSnb 69:85), and in KKV-ARG^{Heb} NM527245, 1878 (OSnb 74:133).

¹³ Allt nan Èireannach KMY-BTE NR911488, 1856 (OSnb 3:10), 1814 *Irishman's Burn* {Yule Map} (Fraser 1999, 104).

¹⁴ Allt Èireannaich WAT-CAI ND189517, 1873 (OSnb 12:101).

¹⁵ Fèith an Èireannaich DRM-INV NH948057, 1985 (OS²⁵), 1873 *Allt na Bà Egaich (Allt na Bà Egaiche)* (OSnb 2:100), with secondary name Coire an Èireannaich^o (a.k.a. Coire Fearan Èireannaich^o) DRM-INV NH945050 (pers. comm. Seumas Grandd a.k.a. James Grant, ex Rothiemurchus DRM-INV, in 2000).

¹⁶ Allt an Èireannaich SLT-INV^{Heb} NG729153, 1878 (OSnb 11:52); Lòn an Èireannaich SNZ-INV^{Heb} NG426480, 1878 (OSnb 8:23).

¹⁷ Allt nan Èireannach KIL-PER NN352285, 1864 (OS 6" 1st edn); Alt Eirenich† KRK-PER ?NO078756 a.k.a. Allt Elrig, 1583×96 *Altheyrenach* (Pont Map 27), 1636×52 *Alt Eirenich* (Gordon Map 43).

¹⁸ Aivron Stripe CAB-BNF NJ333273, a short hill burn.

¹⁹ Havering Sike CSL-ROX NY558880, near Dinmont Lair NY553885 'young wedder-sheep fold' and Ewe Brae LNGT-CMB NY558877 (Havering Bog NY557881 is probably secondary, with specific element borrowing from Havering Sike).

²⁰ Goirtean an Eibhreannaich KKM-ARG^{Heb} NR372659, 1878 *Goirtean an Eibhrionnaich* (OSnb 39:173; with *É-* on the OS 6" 1st edn).

²¹ Eirinneach^o UGM-INV @NH518290, a.2004 *Eirinneach* (Dòmhnallach 2004, 62), and *Èireannach* (ibid., 63).

²² Glaic an Èireannaich† POR-INV^{Heb} @NG508389, 1923 (Forbes 1923, 199).

²³ Haveral Wood LAS-MLO NT293662, in a small steep-sided glen (but not named on the OS 6" 1st edn).

²⁴ Rubha an Èireannaich AMT-INV NM844757, 1878 *Rudha an Èireannaich (Rudha an Eirionnaich)* (OSnb 68:134 ARG).

²⁵ Rubha an Èireannaich BRR¹-INV^{Heb} NF745022, 1874 *Irishman's P<oin>t* (Admiralty 2770), 1878 *Rudh' an Èireannaich* (OSnb 2:77), with secondary name Irishman Rock^o BRR-INV^{Heb} @NF747022 (Haswell-Smith 2004, 224; from a sailing chart?); Rubha an Èireannaich STH-INV^{Heb} NG645247, 1878 *Rudh' an Èireannaich* (OSnb 18:4) *Rudha Èireannaich* (OSnb 18:6); and Rubha nan Èireannach SUS-INV^{Heb} NF794194, 1878 *Rudha nan Èireannach* (OSnb 12:71).

²⁶ Aver Hill SLA-ABD NK046289, a headland almost forming an island (OS¹⁰).

hill(side) 14:	ABD ²⁷ , ARG×3 ²⁸ , ARG ^{Heb} ²⁹ , INV ³⁰ , INV ^{Heb} ³¹ , PER×2 ³² , ROS×2 ³³ , SUT×3 ³⁴
(+2:)	(LAN ³⁵ , PER ³⁶)
island 1:	ARG ^{Heb} ³⁷
loch(side) 2:	ARG×2 ³⁸
pass 1:	PER ³⁹
rock 2:	ARG ⁴⁰ , SUT ⁴¹
skerry ⁴² 3:	ARG ⁴³ , INV ^{Heb} ×2 ⁴⁴

²⁷ Baderonoch Hill TLD^{dtchd}+TOW-ABD NJ435086, 1871 *Baderonoch Hill (Badaronach)* (OSnb 56:44).

²⁸ Bàrr nan Eireannach GIL-ARG NN160266, 1878 *Barr nan Eireannach (Barr nan Earanaich)* (OSnb 6:36); Mononernicht KMG-ARG ?NR909949, 1541 *Monenearnach (RMS iii no. 2306)*, but especially 1610 *Monenearinach (RMS vii no. 265)*, with secondary name Dailaneireanach† KMG-ARG NR900940 (1878 OSnb 56:78), 1801 *Dalnernach* (Langlands Map); Tom an Eirinnich KKB-ARG NM890289, 1878 *Tom an Eirinnich (Tom an Eirionnaich· Tom an Eireannach)* (OSnb 19:88).

²⁹ Tòrr nan Eireannach TOY-ARG^{Heb} NM675247, 1878 (OSnb 76:136).

³⁰ Tom an Eireannaich KLE-INV NN202885, 1873 *Tom an Eireannaich (Tom an Eireannach)* (OSnb 35:46).

³¹ Druim an Eireannaich† Skye-INV^{Heb} (unidentified), 1923 *Druim an Eireinich· Druim an Eireannaich* (Forbes 1923, 156).

³² Cnoc Eireannaich BGE-PER NO117574, 1864 *Cnoc Eirionnaich (Cnoc Eirionnach)* (OSnb 11:3); Creag an Eireannaich BLA+DUL-PER NN894620, 1864 *Creag an Eirionnaich* (OS 6" 1st edn).

³³ Bràigh an Eireannaich APC-ROS NG837603, 1876 *Braigh an Eireannaich* (OSnb 41:92); Cnoc an Eireannaich∅ GAI-ROS NG758732 (Wentworth 2003, under *Irishman*; with È-).

³⁴ Cnoc an Eireannaich KDN+LAT-SUT+CAI NC957277, a.1767 *Knochanerinach· Knoc-an-Erinach (GC i, 164) Knocknerinach (GC i, 168)*; Creag Eirionnach ASY-SUT NC141316, 1874 *Creag Fheuranach* (OS 6" 1st edn); Sròn an Eireannach KDN-SUT NC755384, 1855 *Sròn an carnach* (Burnett & Scott Map).

³⁵ Avermarks Hill DGL-LAN NS785301, a steep round hill, next to Wedder Hill NS781310.

³⁶ Aiver Wood LOF-PER NO245338, on the steep hillside of an unnamed pointed hill.

³⁷ Sgeir an Eireannaich KKE-ARG^{Heb} NM284431, 1878 *Sgeir an Eirionnaich* (OSnb 73:11).

³⁸ Camas an Eireannaich ARD-ARG NM852756 (1878 OSnb 68:169); Loch Eireannaich SSS-ARG NR794446, 1878 *Loch Eireannaich (Loch Eireannaiche· Loch Eirionnaiche· Lochinvaclach)* (OSnb 25:37).

³⁹ Larig Eirinach† BQR+KIL-PER NN514243, 1641×54 *Larig Eyrenach (GC ii, 565)*, with secondary names The Eirineach† BQR-PER NN535206, 1886 (MacGregor 1886, 24, a.k.a. *Kirkton Burn*), Gleann Eirionnach† BQR-PER NN529228, 1886 (loc. cit., a.k.a. *Kirkton Glen*), Leum an Eireannaich BQR-PER NN516245, 1864 (OS 6" 1st edn), and Lochan an Eireannaich BQR-PER NN514243, 1864 (OS 6" 1st edn).

⁴⁰ Creagan Eireannaich SKN-ARG NR861731, 1878 *Creagan Eirionnaich (Creagan Eirionnach· Creagan Iarnaidh)* (OSnb 27:49).

⁴¹ Allt Leum an Eireannaich DUS-SUT NC473593, 1874 *Allt Leum an Eireannaich (Allt Leum an Eirionnaich)* (OSnb 11:47).

⁴² Whereas the generics on the whole refer to the haunt of wedder goats, this cannot be the case for the small offshore skerries Sgeir an Eireannaich KMD-ARG and Skerinerinach† HAR-INV^{Heb}. Though browsing seaweed probably explains the shoreline skerries with ScG n.m/f. *gobhar* 'goat', Sgeir nan Gobhar NC201492, Sgeir nan Gabhar NM685057, NM698079, NM713110 and Sgeireag Gaibhre NR797948 (and Rubha an Eireannaich∅ BRR²-INV^{Heb}), there would be insufficient food here to warrant stocking. It may be that the naming motivation here is figurative, possibly paralleled by Sgeir nan Gobhar ASY-ARG^{Heb} NC066320 and Sgeir nan Gobhar LAP-ARG^{Heb} NM798394, though closer inshore. It is conceivable that Camas an Eireannaich ARD-ARG and Rubha an Eireannaich AMT-INV in fact refer to the skerry between them in inland Loch Shiel, Sgeir Dhubh Camas an Eireannaich ARD-ARG NM849755.

⁴³ Sgeir an Eireannaich KMD-ARG NR995952, 1755 *Sker Hiernich* (Roy Map), 1856 *Paddys R<oc>k* (Admiralty 2321).

⁴⁴ Rubha an Eireannaich∅ BRR²-INV^{Heb} NF651021, 1999 *Rubh' an Eireannach* {ex info.} (Stahl 1999, 242), a skerry adjoining a sand beach at low tide (pers. observ. 2009), with secondary name Raon nan Eireannach∅ BRR-INV^{Heb} NF653017, 1999 *Raon na h-Eireannach* {ex info. Lachlan and Belle MacLean} (Stahl 1999, 240); Skerinerinach† HAR-INV^{Heb} a.k.a. SSE Irishman's Rock NF983889, 1794 *Skerinerinach* (Huddart Map Nth), 1859 *Irishman* (Admiralty 2642).

Most of these topographical settings are suggestive of the keeping of goats on isolated grazings and/or their feeding on grass in awkward spots, this done to remove the temptation for the less manoeuvrable sheep (Campbell 1965, 183): burns, headlands, hillsides and rocks. The only island involved is but a quarter of a mile long,⁴⁵ and its grazing has a steep slope. The only pass among the names has a cluster of secondary names, including a distinctive rock at its watershed. The small moorland loch, while not referring directly to goat habitat (perhaps a watering hole), is paralleled by two secondary names,⁴⁶ and by *gobhar*-names. The same topographical settings are paralleled on current OS mapping by ScG n.m/f. *gobhar* 'goat',⁴⁷ with the same mix of genitives, singular and plural, and with and without the article.

The multiple instances of generics in postulated *eibhreannach*-names have parallels in *gobhar*-names,⁴⁸ with ratios of *eibhreannach* to *gobhar* generally between 1:2 and 1:5. The significant exceptions are ScG n.f. *creag* 'crag; rocky hill' (1:15) and ScG n.m. *rubha* 'headland' (5:1).⁴⁹ These may indicate differences in goat management between wedders and other goats, with wedders kept in, or keeping to, more accessible terrain.⁵⁰

Èireannach 'churn'

Eireannach, with a short initial vowel, is given by Charles Robertson (Dwelly, s.v.) as a Wester Ross masculine noun for a churn. It is recorded by Wentworth (2003,

⁴⁵ Maintenance of a feral herd on Eilean nan Gobhar JUR-ARG^{Heb} NR537674 by boating out fresh goats is reported by Campbell (1965, 183).

⁴⁶ Loch an Eireannaich KLE-ARG for Allt an Eireannaich KLE-ARG, and Lochan an Eireannaich BQR-PER for Larig Eirinach† BQR+KIL-PER.

⁴⁷ However, there are no direct parallels for the generics ScG n.m. *bàrr*, ScG n.m. *bealach*, ScG n.m. *bràigh*, ScG n.f. *dail*, ScG n.f. *drochaid*, ScG n.f. *làirig*, ScG n.m. *monadh* and ScG n.m/f. *raon*. The two simplex names, one of which was recorded with the Standard English article, have probably lost generics in the transmission process.

⁴⁸ ScG n.m. *allt(an)*, *eibhreannach* ×10, *gobhar* ×19 (1:2); ScG n.m. *cnoc*, *eibhreannach* ×3, *gobhar* ×15 (1:3); ScG n.f. (n.m.) *creag(an)*, *eibhreannach* ×3, *gobhar* ×45 (1:15); ScG n.m/f. *leum*, *eibhreannach* ×2, *gobhar* ×1 (2:1); ScG n.m/f. (n.m.) *loch(an)*, *eibhreannach* ×3, *gobhar* ×15 (1:5); ScG n.m. *rubha*, *eibhreannach* ×5, *gobhar* ×1 (5:1); ScG n.f. *sgeir(eag)*, *eibhreannach* ×3, *gobhar* ×7 (1:2); ScG n.m. *tom*, *eibhreannach* ×2, *gobhar* ×6 (1:3). (From OS²⁵ only. Including by-form ScG *gabhar*; excluding names including an existing name. Ratios to rounded number.)

⁴⁹ Àird nan Gobhar SUS-INV^{Heb} NF738281 is also applied to a small headland, but even incorporating this, there is still a notable imbalance in favour of *eibhreannach*.

⁵⁰ Cf. the description of a dramatic cliff in a poem listing a series of rocky hills in Badenoch: *Cadha 'n Fhèidh Lochain Ubhaidh ... gobhar air 'aodainn, is laosboc air a' cheann*, 'Cadha an Fhèidh LAG-INV NN669958 at Lochain Uvie ... Goat on its face, and wedder goat at the (for *aig a*, 'at it's?') top' (Sinton 1906, 3); strictly speaking the *cadha* is the break in the cliff-face called Creag Dhubh on OS mapping, sharing the name of the hill Creag Dubh [*sic*] KIN-INV NN678972, of which it is part.

under *churn*) with a long initial vowel for a barrel churn in Melvaig GAI-ROS NG741867 and a plunger churn in the South Gairloch area, with the standard word for 'churn', ScG n.m. *muidhe*, applied conversely in the two local dialects. Its etymology is entirely obscure. As a traditional churn in both Ireland⁵¹ and the Highlands (Grant 1961, 215), the ethnonym would be unjustified as a label (particularly with the familiarity that the development of a simplex would suggest) even in the Hebrides, to which they were new in the nineteenth century (loc. cit., citing *Carmina* iv, 82). Two names have been judged from the topography to contain ScG n.m. *èireannach* used figuratively, both in the Hebrides. Bàgh an Èireannaich NUS-INV^{Heb} NF908566 is a small round bay with a narrow entrance, and Geodha an Èireannaich HAR-INV^{Heb} NF077991 is a semi-circular cutting made by the sea into the foot of a cliff in St Kilda (said to be where an Irishman was marooned with a keg of whisky for a couple of days in a cave).⁵² It is most likely that such figurative use would have been motivated by the plunger churn, with its narrow container and violent motion.

Other elements

The district-name *Èire*, usually interpreted as being linked to the national name EG n.f. *Ériu* 'Ireland' (e.g. Watson 1922, 177; 1926, 229–30), is found on the border of Nairnshire and Moray, and in Strathearn PER. In line with common Gaelic practice and in parallel to *Ériu*, the adjective **Èireannach* will also provide a noun of association. It is found in Drummond Earnoch MZS-PER NN796208, 'small ridge associated with Earn-folk', where the probable original reference was to the double-ditched fort that stood on the end of the ridge at a narrowing of the strath. ScG **Èireannach* apparently also lies behind the local surname OSc *Erinoch* (Black 1946, 246; *ER* xxiii, 441).⁵³

⁵¹ *History of Butter* on the website of the National Dairy Council in Ireland, www.ndc.ie/butter/history-butter.asp, accessed 27 May 2011, using the term *dash churn*.

⁵² Cf. OSc n. *kyrn* 'churn'; c.1174 *Kernepot* (*Holm Cultram Reg.* no. 49), 1179×85 *Kirnepot* (ibid. no. 49a) and interpreted as applying to a "pothole like a churn, one in which the water goes round like cream in a churn." And ScS n. *kirn* 'churn': "A small village near Edinburgh that has a rivulet running by it, a deep pool of which is called the kirn" (*Scots Magazine*, March 1750, 113, cited in *SND*, under *kirn*, which it defines *inter alia* as "[s]ome natural feature resembling a churn in noise, motion or shape, gen<erally> as a place-name."

⁵³ Though note the OSc surname *Ernach* in Aberdeen (Black 1946, 246) and 1541 *John (Mc)Erenoch* or *Drenoch* in *Kilzemory* 'Kilmory' ARD-ARG NM531699 (*ER* xvii, 624, 645).

ScG n.? *eireannach* is reported by Robertson (1906–08 iv, 169) as being a form of ScG *eidheannach* (n.f. 'ivy',⁵⁴ and adj. 'of ivy') found in the Gaelic of Arran BTE. However, the use of the plural in the one candidate from Arran, Allt nan Eireannach KMY-BTE NN352285, rules this out. Allt Iarnaidh CRB-ABD NN998897 is shown as *Allt an Eireannaich* on the OS 6" 1st edn, but all other evidence supports the current map form with ScG adj. *iarnaidh* 'chalybeate'. ScG n.m. **earrannaiche* 'divider', an otherwise unattested appellative, is evidenced in only one location. The primary name, Cnoc an Earrannaiche LAT+WAT-CAI,⁵⁵ which lies on a parish boundary and at the end of a separate estate boundary. It is based on ScG n.f. *earrann* 'portion, section, division'. Some *eireannach*-names lie on,⁵⁶ others by, a parish boundary, and so may be candidates for **earrannaiche*, but their topography also suits 'wedder goat', and there are no early forms suggesting this derivation.

OE Íre

gen. sg. *Íres*

nom. pl. *Íras*

gen. pl. *Íra*

No place-name in the study area has been found to contain this ethnonym.

OSc Erisch, Irischman

gen. sg. *Irishmanis*

nom. pl. *Erish, Irishmen*

gen. pl. *Irishmenis*

adj. *Erish*

⁵⁴ Arran and Argyll form of ScG n.m/f. *eidheann* (Dwelly, s.v.).

⁵⁵ ND242418, 1809 *Knockinliarnich* {SRO MS SC14:50:3} (Young 1998, 53, 55), 1873 *Cnoc an Earrannaiche* (*Cnoc-na-Earrannaiche*) (OSnb 5:33) *Cnoc Iarnach* (OSnb 12:195). Secondary names with specific element borrowing are Allt an Earrannaiche WAT-CAI ND228430, 1873 *Allt an Earrannaiche* (*Allt Iarnach*) (OSnb 12:193), and Loch an Earrannaiche† WAT-CAI ND226418, 1873 *Loch an Earrannaiche* (*Loch Iarnach*) (OSnb 12:195), now Loch na Feur (OS²⁵). The water of Allt an Earrannaiche WAT-CAI is iron-free (OSnb 12:193).

⁵⁶ Located on a boundary are Baderonoch Hill TLD^{dtchd}+TOW-ABD, Cnoc an Eireannaich KDN+LAT-SUT+CAI (for which ScG n.m. **earrannaiche* was suggested in OSnb 5:63 CAI) and Creag an Eireannaich BLA+DUL-PER. Crossing a boundary is Larig Eirinach† BQR+KIL-PER. **Saxum Hiberniensium**† KGL+PTM-FIF+KNR is on a boundary, but is ethnonymic.

This ethnonym produces the largest number of probable and possible names, but they are concentrated in Dumfriesshire with none further north within Scotland. Variants of the ethnonym are *Iris*, *Irish*, *Ersch* and *Erse* (*DOST*, s.vv.); in addition to referring to the Irish, they could also be applied to the Scottish Gaels and their language and culture.⁵⁷ Though after the fifteenth century speakers of Scots Gaelic were in this way being associated with the Irish (Ó Baoill 2010, 13), there were limits to this identification: for instance, OSc *Irland* 'Ireland' was used attributively in reference to Hiberno-Irish, but was never so employed in respect of Scottish Gaels (*DOST*, s.v.).

SE Irish (+man)

gen. sg. *Irishman's*

nom. pl. *Irish*, *Irishmen*, ScS *Irishes*†

gen. pl. *Irishmen's*

adj. *Irish*

Irish was formerly applicable in Scots to Scots Gaelic, and as an alternative for SE *Irishman* (ScS plural *Irishes*). Of the eight SE *Irish*-names in the study area, two,⁵⁸ and possibly a third,⁵⁹ are translations from Scots Gaelic (or rather, mistranslations, being from ScG n.m. *eibhreannach* 'wedder goat').

Dataset Overview

Given the confusion with ScG n.m. *eibhreannach* in particular, it is not surprising that some translated names incorporate the ethnonym; however, only two mapped instances of this have been found.⁶⁰ SE *Irish* has been used to coin new names, though

⁵⁷ Barbour uses *erische* for ethnic Irish, and *erischry* apparently for Scots Gaelic speakers, c.1375 (*OED*, under *Erse*, citing *The Bruce* bk 18: *All the erischry ... of Argyle and the Ilis alsua*). OSc *Erse* is recorded from 1535 (*SND*, s.v.). *SND*, followed by *OED*, suggests that the change in the initial vowel from *I* may have been due to the influence of Gaelic, i.e. ScG *Èireannach*.

⁵⁸ **Irishman's Corrie**◊ DRM-INV, **Irishman's Rock** HAR-INV^{Heb}.

⁵⁹ **Irish Burn** GLV-KCD.

⁶⁰ **Irish Burn** GLV-KCD for ScG **Allt an Èireannaich*, **Irishman's Rock** HAR-INV^{Heb} for **Skernerinach**†. Also **Irishman's Corrie**◊ DRM-INV for **Coire an Èireannaich**◊.

again surprisingly few, and displaying no pattern.⁶¹ ScG *Èireannach* is similarly limited in number, with only three cases recorded in Gaelic, again with no pattern.⁶² A fourth is only recorded in Latin, **Saxum Hiberniensium**† KGL+PTM-FIF, but known to have originally been written c.1130 in *antiquo Scotorum idiomate* (Taylor 2007, 497), presumably for ScG **Clach (nan) Èireannach*, '(the) stone of Irish'. Less certain, however, is the ethnicity implied by this. Taylor (ibid., 510–1) argues for it referring to Hiberno-Norse on the basis of circumstantial evidence, despite the lack of a parallel from Irish sources.

If so, this use of ScG *Èireannach* is comparable to that presumed for ON *Íri*, found in **Ireby** WIGT-CMB, the northernmost representative of a group of six such names in England.⁶³ If those in Fife were indeed culturally Norse, named by Gaelic neighbours, those in Cumberland and further south were identified as being ethnically distinct (whether or not in language) from those associated with the language of coining, Old Norse. Higham (1995, 204–5) points to the relatively poor land quality of the Ireby-names as evidence of low-status incomers of Irish descent being used to break-in land on new Scandinavian estates – in the ninth century (Ekwall 1953, 167–8) – and this certainly counts against them marking survivals from earlier Irish incursions. It remains open, however, as to whether the naming was by the ethnic Norse, or whether it represented self-referential ethnicism by the inhabitants.

It is with OSc *Erish* that a significant pattern within the study area is discernable. With one possible exception,⁶⁴ this ethnonym is toponymically restricted to south-west Scotland, in particular Dumfriesshire, with outliers in Kirkcudbrightshire and possibly Wigtownshire.⁶⁵ Three of the probable names lie along the hilly eastern margin of Dumfriesshire: **Archbank** MOF-DMF in upper Annandale and **Airswod**‡ WES-DMF and **Earshaw**‡ LHM-DMF in upper Eskdale.⁶⁶ It is postulated in the study that the ethnonymic

⁶¹ **Irish Bridge** BELL-NTB, **Irish Corner**† EDI-MLO, **Irish Dales**† BELF-NTB, **Irish Law** DLR-AYR, **Irish Mount** WCA-MLO.

⁶² **Cladh nan Èireannach** JUR-ARG^{Heb}, **Eilean an Èireannaich** EDS-SUT, **Gleann Capall an Èireannaich** KDO-ARG^{Heb}.

⁶³ Cf. Irby E/CHE, Irby E/YOW, Irby in the Marsh E/LIN, Irby upon Humber E/LIN, Ireby E/LNC.

⁶⁴ **Earsland**† ALNW-NTB.

⁶⁵ **Ersgait**† TRO-KCB, **Irisbuttill**† BUL-KCB. Possible: **Erssock** GLN+WHT-WIG.

⁶⁶ Three possible *Erish*-names are also found in upper Eskdale, though only **Earshaig**‡ KPJ-DMF is a long-established settlement-name. The hill spur **Ear's Rig** KPJ-DMF may be associated with **Earshaig**‡ KPJ-DMF, perhaps as a shieling-site, whereas **Arresgill** LHM-DMF is essentially the name of a gully. The other Dumfriesshire possibilities are in mid Annandale; **Archwood** JOH-DMF and **Earsgill** HCR-DMF.

reference here is to remnant Gaelic-speaking communities, after OSc *Erisch* had come to be applied to that language from the end of the fifteenth century.

It is possible that this also applies to the **Erisgait**† TRO-KCB which led from Dumfries into Galloway, but it is at least as likely to refer to the route to the Irish ferry at Portpatrick PTP-WIG. The absence of similar names in Galloway to those of upland Dumfriesshire suggests that OSc *Erisch* was no longer toponymically productive during the later retreat of Scots Gaelic here. **Earsefald**† CUT-DMF (first recorded 1654 *Ersthfald*) diverges from the general Dumfriesshire pattern, being on the coastal low ground of lower Annandale, and containing an agricultural generic, OSc n. *fald* 'enclosure'. Whatever its exact location, it is close to a major east-west route through Dumfriesshire. It can be speculated that the enclosure was a droving stance, associated in particular with Irish cattle and drovers. A context for such specificity is not clear, however, as both Galloway and Ireland exported on the hoof to England: although technically an illegal trade, such was the traffic that a new drove road for the last stage to the Border, between Annan and Gretna, was created in 1619 (Haldane 1997, 161–2).

Earsmortoune† MRT-DMF in upper Nithsdale has a similar topography to that of the eastern Dumfriesshire names. But these are first recorded in 1493 for **Airswood**‡ WES-DMF, 1523 for **Archbank** MOF-DMF and 1612 for **Earshaw**‡ LHM-DMF, agreeing with the switch from OSc *Scottis* to OSc *Erisch* to refer to Scots Gaelic from the end of the fifteenth century. **Earsmortoune**† MRT-DMF, on the other hand, is recorded from 1329, earlier than even the first apparent literary use of *erischry* for Scots Gaelic speakers, c.1375. It is possible that in Dumfriesshire the shift in designation of Gaelic had taken place in Older Scots earlier than elsewhere further north. Otherwise a settlement associated with Ireland, in the centre of south-west Scotland, must be implied. The two outliers from the Galloway coast are first recorded much later, both in 1456, but still early for the accepted period of switch in Gaelic designation. **Irisbuttill**† BUL-KCB, now Orchardton, is the more secure interpretation of the two,⁶⁷ and, like **Earsmortoune**† MRT-DMF with Morton, contains its parish-name Buittle as if 'the *Erisch* part of the parish'. This differs in nature from the topographic generics of the previous Dumfriesshire names

⁶⁷ The possible *Erisch*-name is **Ersock** GLN+WHT-WIG.

discussed. A parallel might be drawn with over twenty Irishtown-names in Ireland, where Irishtown I/DWN J5167 in the Ards was recorded in Latin in 1305 as *Villæ Hibernicorum* (PNNI Down 2, 12–13). As its subsequent Gaelicisation to Ballygelagh demonstrated, Irish Gaelic was not in major retreat in the area. But something led to the settlement being characterised by the ethnicity, whether a peculiar legal status and/or a re-Gaelicisation quick and dramatic enough to warrant note for the community's distinctive character. Given the difficulty presented by the early use of OSc *Erisch* to label Scots Gaelic language or culture, though not insurmountable, it is perhaps better to invoke settlement by immigrants from Ireland as an adjunct to the normanisation process, whether orchestrated or coincidental. This may offer a context for the Gallowegian names explained by Ó Maolalaigh (1998, 30) as showing Irish Gaelic eclipsis /b/ → /m/⁶⁸ which does not contradict suggestions of links between Galloway and Argyll. Albeit a "cursory survey" by Ó Maolalaigh (ibid., 29), these names have a distribution from south-west Wigtownshire along highland Galloway towards north-east Dumfriesshire. This would be consistent with an Irish presence in **Earsmortoune**† MRT-DMF, but does not demonstrate such a possibility at **Irisbutill**† BUL-KCB on the Kirkcudbrightshire coast. The coastal locality of **Irisbutill**† BUL-KCB (and of possible Irish-name **Ersock** GLN+WHT-WIG), however, allows for direct immigration by sea.⁶⁹ It is possibly worth noting in relation to these names the active engagement of the lords of Galloway with the politics of the Irish Sea region in the early thirteenth century, including cooperation with King John of England, and with the construction of a stronghold at Colerain I/LON in 1214 (Brooke 1994, 130).

⁶⁸ Ó Maolalaigh (1998, 26–30) discusses eclipsis in Scots Gaelic toponymy in general, concluding that only in Galloway is /b/ → /m/ found (contra Watson 1926, 240–3). He considers it to be present in Barnamon (Hill) SOK-WIG NX077466, Drummuddioch DAY-KCB NX620860, Dunman KMN-WIG NX098335, Knockman (presumably both Knockman BMC-KCB NX677826 and Knockman MGF-KCB NX407695), Knocknamad PEH-WIG NX363580 and Lagnimawn OLU-WIG @NX199575. But not in coastal Auchnabony RER-KCB NX744488. But note that Cox (2010, 50) holds to the view of Watson (1926, 241) that /b/ → /m/ is to be found in ScG Meadarloch, a.k.a. SSE Benderloch AMN-ARG.

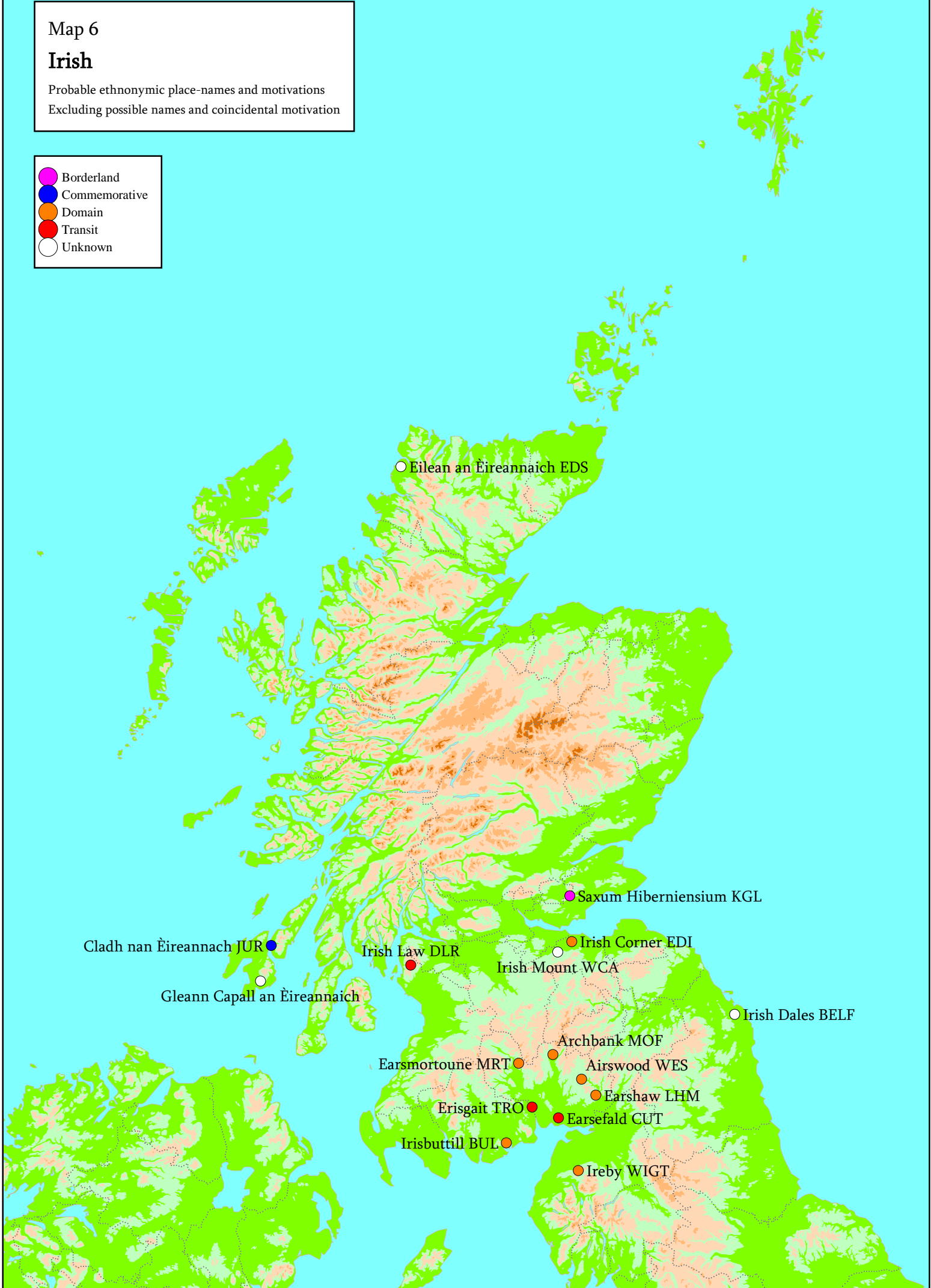
⁶⁹ It is tempting to see ethnonymic EG gen. pl. *Érann* in the former settlement of Graigherron, 1851 *Craigherron* (OS 6" 1st edn), NX821553 next to **Irisbutill**† BUL-KCB. However, this would need to also be argued for the topographic features Craigherron GRN-KCB NX534678 and the discrete Craigherron Island GRN-KCB NX604677. Maxwell (1930, 86) was essentially right in seeing both the Buittle and Girthon names as being 'rowan tree crag', though perhaps ScG n.f. *creag* 'crag' is followed by the genitive plural of ScG n.m. *caorann* 'rowan (tree)' to give **Creag Chaorann*. But if Early Gaelic, then an entirely different picture emerges.

Map 6

Irish

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding possible names and coincidental motivation

- Borderland
- Commemorative
- Domain
- Transit
- Unknown



8 Other ethnonyms related to Goidels

Probable identifications: 34 (see Map 7, p. 84)

Possible identifications: 7

Other Goidelic ethnicities and population groups encountered in place-names in the study area are as follows, showing region of origin, then language. The geographical distribution of probable names only is indicated:

Ireland	EG n.m. coll. <i>Ulaid</i> ¹	INV, FIF
	ScG n.m. <i>Ultach</i> ²	ARG, WIG
	SE n. <i>Paddy</i> ³	AYR, LAN
Isle of Man	SSE n. <i>Manxman</i> ⁴	KCB, WIG
Scotland	ScS n. <i>Hielandman</i> ⁵	LAN, STL
	SE n. <i>Highlander</i> ⁶	ABD, ARG ^{Heb} (INV), BNF, FIF, INV, ROX
	SSE n. <i>Highlandman</i> ⁷	ABD, ARG ^{Heb} , AYR, BNF, DMF, DNB, KCB, ORK, PER

¹ **Rathillet** KLM-FIF, **Rathliesbeag** KLE-INV.

² **Barnultoch** INH-WIG, **Dunultach** KCH-ARG.

³ **Paddy's Milestone**◊ DAI-AYR, **Paddysrickle**◊ CRW-LAN. Possible: **Paddy Row** ONM-ROX, **Paddy's Mount** ALNW-NTB, **Paddy's Plantation** KMN-WIG, **Paddy's Pool** DRZ-PEB, **Paddy's River** WCA-MLO, **Paddy's Stone** ABR-ABD. Discounted as containing ScS n. *paddy* 'frog' are Paddy Burn YAR-SLK NT340306, 1860 (OSnb 14:60); Paddy Burn YES-ELO NT501625, 1859 (OS 6" 1st edn); Paddy Cleugh CBP-BWK NT788686, 1625 *Paddockcleuch* (*Retours* no. 145); Paddy Slacks◊ TQR+YAR-PEB+SLK NT313286, 1934 *Paddy Slacks*, for part or all of the glen that passes through Paddock Slack (Bartholomew ½ Map).

⁴ **Manxman's Rock** BOR-KCB, **Manxman's Rock** KMN-WIG, **Manxman's Lake** KRB-KCB.

⁵ **Hielanman's Well**◊ LOI-STL, **Highlandman's Umbrella**◊ GLW-LAN.

⁶ **Highlander** ANR-FIF, **Highlander Buttress** SMI-ARG^{Heb}(INV), **Highlander's Burn**◊ KRM-BNF, **Highlanders' Ford**† TUF-ABD, **Highlanders' Knowe** CAV-ROX, **Highlanders Nose**† KLE-INV, **Highlanders Spring** KRM-BNF.

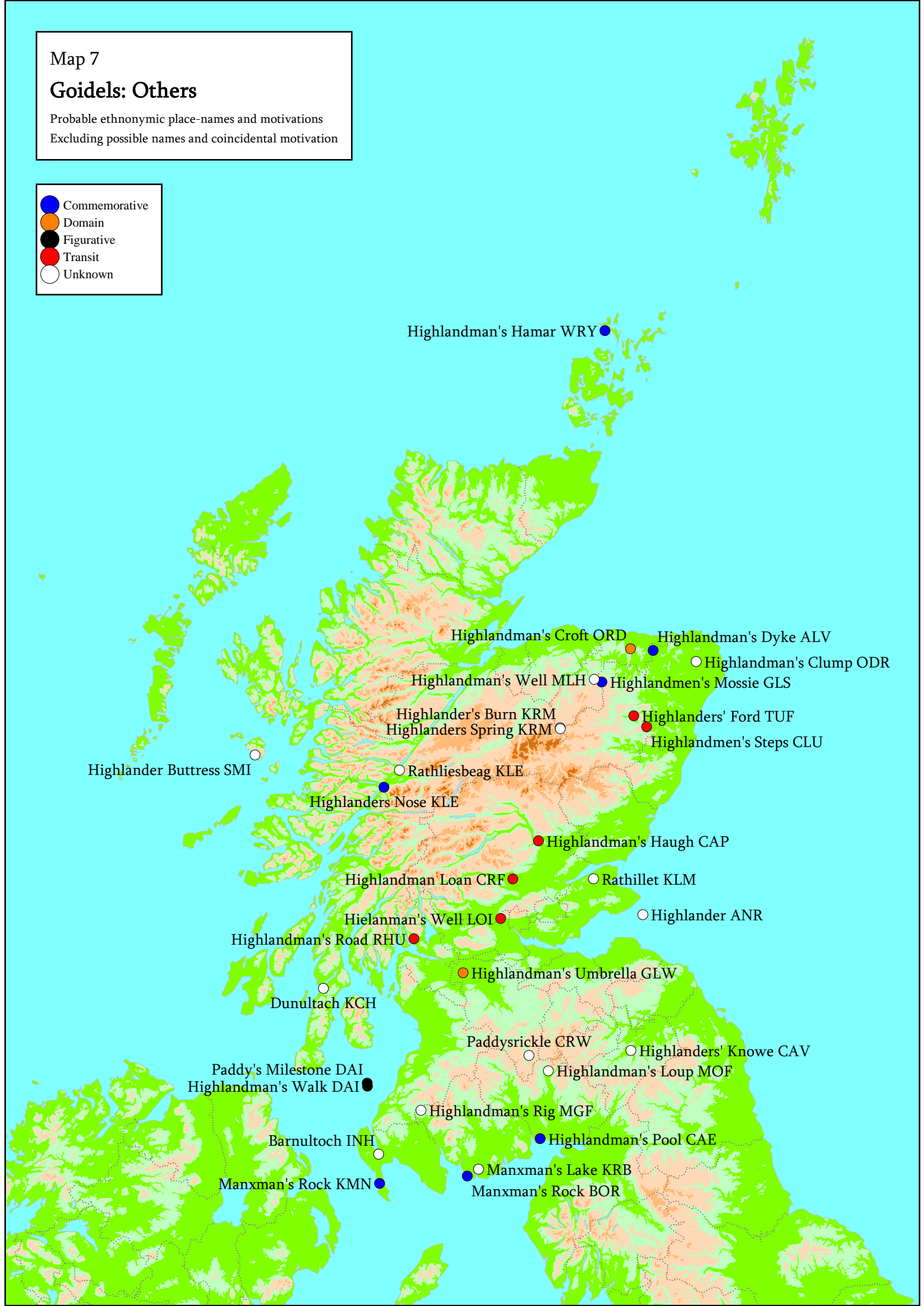
⁷ **Highlandman Loan** CRF-PER, **Highlandman's Clump** ODR-ABD, **Highlandman's Croft** ORD-BNF, **Highlandman's Dyke**† ALV+KED-BNF+ABD, **Highlandman's Hamar** WRY-ORK, **Highlandman's Haugh** CAP-PER, **Highlandman's Loup** MOF-DMF, **Highlandman's Pool** CAE-DMF, **Highlandman's Rig** MGF-KCB, **Highlandman's Road** RHU-DNB, **Highlandman's Rock**† LAP-ARG^{Heb}, **Highlandman's Walk** DAI-AYR, **Highlandman's Well** MLH-BNF, **Highlandman's Wood** RHU-DNB, **Highlandmen's Mossie** GLS-BNF^(ABD), **Highlandmen's Steps**† CLU-ABD.

Map 7

Goidels: Others

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding possible names and coincidental motivation

- Commemorative
- Domain
- Figurative
- Transit
- Unknown



Ethnonyms associated with

West Germanics

9 English: ethnonyms derived from OE plural *Engle*

Probable identifications: 53 (see Maps 8 and 9, pp. 97–8)

Possible identifications: 1

ON *Englis-maðr*,¹ *Enskr-maðr* (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Englis-manns, Enskr-manns*

nom. pl. *Englar, Englis-menn, Enskr-menn*

gen. pl. *Engla*

adj. *Englis, Enskr*

No name with this ethnonym has been found in the study area.

OE *Engel*, *Angel*² (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Engles*

nom. pl. *Engle, Englen*

gen. pl. *Engla*

adj. *Englisc*

After arrival in Romano-British England from the Continent by an unknown process (Fraser 2009, 151–3), distinction between the Angles and the Saxons was lost by the first half of the eighth century. The names of the two Germanic ethnicities became interchangeable (Levison 1946, 92, cited in *PNLei* 2, 135), before finally settling on OE *Engel*. Indeed, Halsall (forthcoming) suggests that the Angels were in fact a subset of the Saxons.

Excluded from the study are suggestions of Old English names north of the firths of Forth and Clyde. Also to be excluded is Ingle Stone TWY-KCB,³ with ScS n. *ingle* 'domestic or industrial fire'. Through reanalysis, the name of **Ingleston** TWY-KCB has

¹ With variant *Engils-maðr* (Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874, under *Englis-maðr*).

² Found in attributive use only.

³ NX659533, 1851 *Ingle Stone (Ingleston)* (OSnb 148:36), a block of granite.

been plundered to support interpretation of this block of stone as a druidic hearth, replacing an older tradition of the stone commemorating a king killed in a battle nearby. This early nineteenth-century development leans on an antiquarian application recorded for earlier OSc n. *ingill*, viz 'sacred fire, pyre'. A similar literary intervention might explain the field-name **Round Ingle**† LNGT-CMB.⁴

OSc Inglisman (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Inglismanis*

nom. pl. *Inglis(menis)*

gen. pl. *Inglismenis*

adj. *Inglis*

The forms with suffixed OSc n. *man* 'adult male human' are not found in the toponymicon, but there are a number with the core element *Inglis*. However, it is not possible to determine linguistically whether this is the nominative prefixed attributively, the genitive plural or the adjective.

Derived from the ethnonym is the surname *Inglis*. With only minor variants in spelling, this has maintained its form over the Older Scots and Scottish Standard English language periods, though it was commonly used with the definite article until the fourteenth century (Black 1946, 375). A by-form is *Angel* (loc. cit.). Marking of ownership is known to be behind OSc Inglestarvit† CER-FIF,⁵ SSE Inglisgreen Bleachfield† COT-MLO⁶ and SSE Inglisall† ADN-FIF,⁷ and association is likely to explain OSc Inglis Croft† MAD-PER,⁸ and SSE Inglis Banks DNR-SHE.⁹ The surname distribution of *Inglis* in 1881 shows greatest concentration in south-east Scotland, then next, along the east coast to

⁴ @NY446631, 1748 {Earl of Lonsdale MS, unspecified} (*PNCu* 1, 107). Though unidentified, Round Ingle† LNGT-CMB is known to have been in the parish of Scaleby, where there are two notably round features. The moat of Scaleby Castle cannot be a candidate, as the late thirteenth-century castle it encircles has had a continuous history (*PastScape*, 11646). In the adjoining field, however, was a post-medieval tree enclosure ring. If this is the referent, then the *ingle* is either an antiquarian fancy or an industrial fire site and leans on (Older) Scots.

⁵ NO368112, c.1315 *Ynglistarwet*, when John de Ynglis was granted a third of Tarvit mill (Fraser, *Wemyss* ii, 5).

⁶ NT218708, 1816 (Knox Map), owned in 1853 by John Inglis (OSnb 14:41).

⁷ NT205952, 1806 {sasine no. 7363} (*PNFi*, 106), owned by Mr Inglis, Selverton (1856 OSnb 10:37).

⁸ @NN950216, 1634 *Ingliscroft* (*Retours* no. 426).

⁹ HU431278, 1878 (OSnb 7:105).

include Fife, with middling concentrations in central Scotland and southern Lanarkshire; it is at its weakest in northern Scotland (*GBFNP*).¹⁰ This does not correlate with the distribution of medieval *Inglis*-toponyms.

A further anthroponym, male given name ON *Ingjaldr*, lies behind **Ingliston** KRL-MLO NT144727 (SS). Apparently coined in an Old English or Older Scots toponymic context, its earliest recorded form (1406 *Ingalstoun*) does not display a known variant of the Older Scots anthroponym. This form was retained with little variation until 1484, but by 1495 it had been adapted to *Inglistoun*. By 1540 it had been renamed as *Rattonraw*, only to have the previous name restored in 1631 by the latest possessor, James Inglis. It can only be conjectured that the coincidence of the older name with his surname had a bearing on his decision.

SE Englishman, *English* (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Englishman's*

nom. pl. *English(men)*

gen. pl. *Englishmen's*

adj. *English*

Though the spelling *Inglis* existed in Scots for a while (*SND*, under *English*), SE *English* became dominant, and it is this (along with the plural and adjective *English*) that is found in the toponymicon.

Dataset Overview

Apart from the name **England** ☀¹¹ applied to the territory of the ethnicity, reaching at least as far north as West Lothian in the early eighth century,¹² the only Old English name is that of the district of **Inglewood** ‡ PENR-CMB (along with its 1285

¹⁰ By 1998 there had been a spread west into Argyll, and even more so up the east coast into Angus, but also a dramatic emergence of a second stronghold of the name in the north Highlands, matching that of the south-west (*GBFNP*).

¹¹ Earlier, **Angelðeod** † ☀, **Angelcynn** † ☀.

¹² Abercorn ABC-WLO was considered by Bede to be in England: *Aebbercurnig, posito quidem in regione Anglorum* (*HEGA* bk 4 p. 26).

alternative, **Inglefeld**†). As with the national name, this may be emic. But, if a response to events, it would most likely date to one of the periods of Scottish royal control over Cumberland, considered by Norman Shead (*Atlas* 1996, 76–7) to be from 1018 to 1092 and from 1136 to 1157; the latter period covers the first mention of the name, in the records of the newly established abbey of Holm Cultram WIGT-CMB, founded in 1150 by Cistercian monks from Melrose (Duncan 1975, 148). But this suggests a further, perhaps stronger, possibility, that the name was introduced by the monks themselves. In which case, these late Old English speakers (after the notional start of Older Scots) were identifying a domain in which the distinguishing feature was location in contact with a different ethnicity.¹³

Borderland-names emerge long after the Anglo-Scottish border had become finally fixed in 1552. From 1612 comes exonymic **Inglissyde** CMB, perhaps more of a clerk's description than an established place-name, used in a fishing grant to refer to the English coast opposite Kirkcudbrightshire. Both **English Kershope** LNGT-CMB and **Englishtown** LNGT-CMB were first recorded in 1755, shown on Roy's map in close proximity to the Border and, in the former name, contrasting with **Scotch Kershope** CSL-ROX immediately on the Scottish side. Similarly, **English Craig**† LNGT-CMB and nearby **English Knowe**† BELL+LNGT-NTB+CMB, recorded 1860, contrast with **Scotch Craig** CSL-ROX and **Scotch Knowe** CSL-ROX. The seasonal fishing hut on the River Tweed of **English New Water Shiel** BET/BERW-NTB is possibly a product of the uniqueness and historical uncertainty of Berwick's identity, though it may have been suggested by a reinterpretation of its location, called Ings, plural of northern ESE n. *ing* 'river meadow'.

Conflict between England and Scotland, or incidents involving forces from both, have been commemorated in a number of minor names. **English Strother** GLEN-NTB lies behind the English battle lines for the Battle of Flodden 1513, and probably featured in some true or imagined incident, though no account has been found. Known events lie behind **Englishmen's Syke**◇ GAS-SLK, scene of the killing of English raiders in 1337, and the **Field of the English** CRD-INV, where Government soldiers killed at the Battle of Culloden in 1746 were buried. Recorded local traditions of skirmishes offer the only

¹³ Note Inglewood E/BRK SU365661, though presumably from an earlier period.

available explanations for **Englishmen's Den** FEC-KCD and **Englishfield**† CIE-ABD. It is, however, no more than speculation by the local minister in the *OSA*, encouraged by the contrasting **Scotchman's Ford** MEN-ANG, that there had been a skirmish in the seventeenth-century Bishops' Wars associated with **Englishman's Ford**† MEN-ANG. At the risk of falling into the same trap, it can be speculated that neighbouring **Englishman's Hillock** MEN-ANG is in fact the primary name, commemorating an unidentified occupant of the adjacent habitation-site. Individuals are probably commemorated in names, tradition for which has only been recovered for **Englishman's Loup** MGF-KCB and **Englishmen's Dub** KEL-KCB. Both commemorate fatal incidents, and, as with the latter, retrieval of bodies somehow known or surmised to be English from the water probably explains many.¹⁴ Reference to economic exploitation is rarely, if ever, found;¹⁵ there are more names bearing a seemingly folkloric allusion, though none other as stark as in **Englishman's Cut** EDA-ORK.¹⁶ Only in **English Mill** STF-BNF^(ABD) can a figurative reference be suggested, with contrast to **Scottsmill** PCR-ABD, postulated by the study to have been a smaller horizontal mill. This would follow Orcadian Scots, which uses *English mill* to describe a mill with a vertical over-shot wheel (*SNDS*, under *English*). However, such application is not evidenced elsewhere. **English Mill** STF-BNF^(ABD) is therefore better explained in a similar context to the Ingleston-names, below,¹⁷ with a relationship to the late twelfth-century motte of Castle Hill STF-BNF, c.500m from the present mill.

Though **Durdy Inglis**† KSP-PER contrasts its position on the Older Scots and Gaelic ethno-linguistic borderland of 1452 in contrast with **Durdy Scot**† KSP-PER, **Yngles Ardnel**† WKB-AYR (recorded once, 1315×21) has no such contrast. It is best viewed as including a locational generic, emphasising its situation on Farland Head. Here its small

¹⁴ **Englishman's Burn** KKK-KCB (with **Englishman's Bridge** KKK-KCB), **Englishman's Geo** FET-SHE, **Englishman's Skelly** CRA-FIF, **Englishman's Spout** KNO-MOR.

¹⁵ **Englishman's Dam**† LRB-STL may celebrate an English participant in the early development of the Carron Iron Works; **Englishwells**† DNS-BWK, a.k.a. Samsonswells†, may indicate the ethnicity of Samson.

¹⁶ An Englishmen inexplicably tried to cut through the island; a tale perhaps repeated with **English Hole** WRY-ORK. **Englishman's Stairs** DAL-AYR is topographically descriptive, but why "steps" should be associated with any ethnicity is not known. **Englishman's Neuks** BAD-KCD is secondary to **England** BAD-KCD.

¹⁷ Two regional patterns have emerged for the modern reflex of *Inglis* in place-names in the study area, Inglis- and Ingles-. The former has been used as the generic form in the literature on this class of name. But the latter has been favoured here, as Ingles- is the more common and the only one found in the most distinct cluster, that of south-west Scotland.

harbour of Portencross offers the first port of call for sea traffic in the Clyde estuary visiting the Older Scots speakers of the Cunninghame area of Ayrshire; it is where an indigenous West Highland rectangular stone hall, built on a motte, stood in the gateway to a different culture. **Inglisberrie Grange**† PTT-LAN, on the other hand, refers to a specific settlement, and is considered by the study to refer to a double-ditch oval earthwork.¹⁸ The name always carries an affix in the records, first with OSc n. *toun* 'settlement', then OSc n. *grange* 'associated farming establishment', giving today's name of Grangehall, just 65m from the earthwork.¹⁹

A correlation between Ingleston-names and fortified mottes was first noted by Mackenzie (1927, 29), who believed the names to represent "minor settlements" of the English ethnicity in a dependent relationship with the castle (as also, he implies, for Flemings at **Flemington**‡ PET-INV). He has been followed by Simpson (1949, 39), who sees this relationship as being one of protection in a "Celtic countryside", and Grant (1994, 78, cited in pers. comm. Dauvit Broun in 2007), who argues for a deliberate settlement of English peasants in a supporting role to the castle. Barrow (2003, 310–1), on the other hand, sees the name as describing what was seen as an English type of fortified settlement, and not the ethnicity of the community.

The table in Figure 4 shows those probable or possible names with OSc *Inglis* + OSc n. *toun*, along with any geographically related defensive features that have been identified. The names are presented in order of distance from these features (the original distance, if the name has migrated).

¹⁸ The possibility of a motte in the parish is acknowledged in *Canmore* (47680), but there is no evidence of this in the immediate vicinity. **Inglisberrie**† PTT-LAN is also recorded earlier (c.1203) than the Ingleston-names (for which the earliest recordings are 1260 to 1630), though this may be coincidental.

¹⁹ A possible instance of the ethnonym is **Inglisfield** BOL+YES-ELO, but the OSc surname *Inglis* is equally feasible.

Fig. 4 Ingleston-names and defensive features

Settlement	County	Metres	Defensive feature	Note
English Toun † SOR	WIG	60	motte	probably occupied from the 12th century
Ingleston TWY	KCB	200	motte	name has since migrated further away
Ingleston NAB	KCB	220	motte	occupied late 12th–13th century
Ingleston KTN	KCB	230	motte	occupied 12th century to 1235×50
Englishton KIH ²⁰	INV	310	castle-hill	11th–15th century; has since migrated
Ingleston KIG	KCB	360	hill-fort	fort named Ingleston Mote, i.e. <i>motte</i>
Ingleston ‡ GLC	DMF	425	motte	probably late 12th century; with bailey
Ingleston BOR	KCB	500	motte	
Ingleston KPJ	DMF	790	hill-fort	isolated upland farm
Inglitoun † TUR	ABD	?		local motte; also, castle and Castleton
Ingliston ENY	ANG	1000	moat	moat at Castleton; intervening bog
Inglitown ‡ KKL	ABD	1000	moat	upland settlement
Inglestone DDR	DMF	1950	moat	upland settlement
Ingliston ‡ KLS	ANG	2000	moat	across burn
Ingleston ‡ DPC	STL	–		
Ingleston ‡ GRK	RNF	–		
Ingliston ERS	RNF	–		
Ingleston † PAI	RNF	500	knoll	no evidence of use as a castle-hill

²⁰ A.k.a. ScG **Gallabhail**. MacKenzie's (1927, 29) linking of **Englishton** KIH-INV with a motte castle at Beaufort KCV-INV NH50634297, 10.1km distant, is untenable.

This table differs from the mapped data produced by Barrow (2003, 302) in some regards. Two locations are spurious: **Ingliston** KRL-MLO contains an anthroponym derived from ON *Ingjaldr* (above); and an additional and unwarranted site, the only one in Galloway for which an associated "motte or comparable earthwork" is not claimed, is shown in what appears to be Colvend and Southwick parish in Kirkcudbrightshire. On the other hand, Barrow's map does not show **Ingleston**‡ GRK-RNF or unidentified **Inglistoun**† TUR-ABD. The conflation of mottes and comparable earthworks has incorporated the hill-forts (though not the castle-hill near **Englishton** KIH-INV) and moated sites other than **Ingliston**‡ KLS-ANG; this is two kilometres distant from the site, but then **Inglestone** DDR-DMF has been included at just fifty metres less. The suggestion by Barrow that there may have been a lost motte at **Ingleston**† PAI-RNF cannot be refuted, but certainly evidence is lacking for use of the natural knoll here as a castle-hill. Similarly, **Ingliston** ERS-RNF is said to be near Castlehill†, now Whitemoss. But as well as being at 1.5km almost twice as distant as he thought (due to North Ingleston†²¹ being a renaming of Crosshill† at some point between the OS 1" second (1898) and third (1905) editions), Castlehill† appears to commemorate the remains of the Roman fort that once stood on the farm.²²

Some patterns can be discerned from the data collected for the study:

- All mottes with identified Inglestons are in south-west Scotland, four across south Kirkcudbrightshire with an outlier across Wigtown Bay in south-east Wigtownshire, and one in north-east Dumfriesshire, the only one far inland and the only one with a bailey. It is not known whether unidentified **Inglistoun**† TUR-ABD bore any relationship to the local motte-site.
- Six of the eight Inglestons within 500m of a relevant feature are associated with a motte, and in the south-west. The local exception is **Ingleston** KIG-KCB, which is associated with a hill-fort that has been popularly reinterpreted as a motte, hence the

²¹ Now Ingliston Equestrian Centre and Country Club (2011 OS²⁵).

²² Trace of the fort was eventually lost, with no indication of any castle site known in the area of Castlehill in 1856 (OS 6" 1st edn). This was perhaps part at least of the reason for the replacement of the original name. The fort was not rediscovered till spotted from the air in crop marks (*Canmore*, 43341).

name Ingleston Mote. The outlier, **Englishton** KIH-INV, has utilised a natural hill to perform the function of a motte.²³ At 750m, **Ingleston** KPJ-DMF is further from a feature than the other south-west names, but it is an isolated upland settlement, and so the distance might not have been considered so significant. However, the feature is a hill-fort, with no suggestion of interpretation as a motte.

- In the range of one to two kilometres from a possibly related medieval feature, all of them moated, are the identified Inglestons of North East Scotland and a sole instance in Dumfriesshire. **Ingliston** ENY-ANG was in the eighteenth century still separated by bogland from the moated site, presumed to be a castle, at Castleton. The very name of this other settlement, Castleton, strongly suggests that it, not **Ingliston** ENY-ANG, had the most direct association with the castle.²⁴ **Inglistown**† KKL-ABD is uphill from the moated site, and later castle, of Caskieben, with adjacent Home Farm showing the presence of potentially good agricultural land much closer to hand. Likewise **Inglestone** DDR-DMF, the south-west instance of this model, is set uphill from the moated site, probably a homestead. **Ingliston**† KLS-ANG is on the same gradient on the edge of haughland, but the burn of Kerbet Water isolates the moated homestead.
- The four central Scotland Inglestons, in Renfrewshire with an outlier in Stirlingshire, are all without associated features, the only ones that are.

Barrow's association of Ingleston-names with the class of castle, rather than of the ethnicity of the occupants (even if the two coincided), is certainly unconvincing outwith southern Scotland. None of the identified names here, apart from **Englishton** KIH-INV, are less than one kilometre from a castle-site, and none are known to relate to a real motte. The overly-generous one-kilometre distance from a motte or comparable earthwork used in Barrow's analysis hides a much closer relationship, up to 500m, for the southern Galloway instances. If the settlements themselves are generally not cheek by jowl with the motte, their farmland probably was.

²³ **Ingleston**† PAI-RNF is c.500m from a natural knoll which may likewise have served as a motte. However, there is no archaeological or other evidence to support this supposition.

²⁴ There is similarly a Castleton at the Castle of King Edward KED-ABD, a possible association for **Inglistoun**† TUR-ABD.

If like the mottes these settlements date from the twelfth century, they may well have performed the function of producing, and storing, food for the timber castle.²⁵ But whether or not any function gave rise to the name, at some point after the mottes came to be outmoded, Ingleston became a stock name for a settlement associated with a motte. There can be no other explanation for **Ingleston** KIG-KCB (1548 *Inglistoun*), next to a hill-fort later understood to have been a motte; there was probably a similar antiquarian motivation behind the naming of **Ingleston** KPJ-DMF, also by a hill-fort. Ingleston is in effect an equivalent for "Castleton", and it is perhaps significant that of the twenty-two extant Castleto(w)n-names in Scotland (OS²⁵), none are in Wigtownshire, Kirkcudbrightshire or Dumfriesshire, nor indeed in Carrick or Kyle in Ayrshire. Confirmation of rent from *Castelton de Borg* in Galloway in 1260 (*Lind. Cart.*, 138), identified by Oram (2000, 228–9) as associated with Roberton Moat near **Ingleston** BOR-KCB, shows that the name could and did appear in the region. But it is likely that this was also replaced by the ubiquitous stock name.²⁶ It is certainly possible, and indeed likely, that such substitution would also have been applied retrospectively. Comparison might be made with Shancastle GLC-DMF, ScG adj. *seann* + ScG n.m. *caisteal*, 'old castle'; a name clearly not contemporary with the early years of Maxwellton motte, nearby at c.270m.²⁷ The switch from *Castleton* to **Ingleston** BOR-KCB, if this is what it was, may not simply have been a change in specifics. If it is accepted that Ingleston in Galloway was a coining subsequent to the period of motte occupation, then the focus has shifted from a vibrant building atop an artificial mound, to the mound itself, denuded of its defences, but still a notable feature of the landscape and symbol of the past impact of a particular culture on it; the meaning is 'settlement at a motte', rather than 'at a castle'.

In the North East, association of Ingleston-names with mottes is shown to be absent, but for one dubious exception. On the other hand, the association of the names

²⁵ The name of **Inglisberrie Grange**† PTT-LAN, c.1203 *Ingelbristoun*, however, is not evidence for a husbandry function. It only has the *grange* affix from when it reappears in the records in 1473, when this essentially monastic term presumably refers to its possession by Dryburgh Abbey.

²⁶ Roberton BOR-KCB, marginally closer than **Ingleston** BOR-KCB to Roberton Moat but across a burn, is seen by Oram (2000, 228–30) as possibly commemorating one of the Roberts de Campania who held the motte. Even if contemporary with *Castleton*, **Ingleston** BOR may have had a different function, though it is also possible that it was Roberton, not **Ingleston** BOR-KCB, which was originally known as *Castleton*.

²⁷ For details of the motte at NX81738971, see *Canmore*, 65088. It is possible that the reference in Shancastle NX818899 is to Shancastle Doon NX815907, though the appearance of a hill-fort here is probably illusory (*Canmore*, 65313).

with other medieval defences is too frequent to be easily explained as coincidental. Only the outlier **Englishton** KIH-INV was (before the name migrated) close to the castle-hill. The other settlements of this group could not have been specified by the defences, but must have had something intrinsic that made an ethnonymic specific appropriate. They are apparently settlements attracted to the vicinity of small strongholds, but taking poor, perhaps unoccupied, land set back from the fort; home farms will have already been established. The use of OSc *Inglis* might come from these late immigration inhabitants, English peasants or minor officials, perhaps retainers from associated estates in England, proclaiming their ethnicity with confidence. But it is equally possible that the naming was by local Older Scots speakers, describing the ethnically different, if linguistically similar, incomers.

What is even less clear is whether the central-Scotland names, with their lack of associated defensive sites, follow this north-eastern pattern. The central-Scotland names stand apart from the main, distinct groups to the north and to the south. The south-western "Ingleston" group is composed of settlements located close to motte-hills, coined with a memory of an association with the ethnicity they once represented. In the north-eastern "Ingliston" group, the settlements are probably of English immigrants, following feudal lords residing in various forms of defensive sites within established agricultural infrastructures. Though more intensive urbanisation may have obliterated evidence in central Scotland, its complete absence suggests a third distinct group. Whether this group marks English immigration under a different impetus to that in the North East, or even instances of the anthroponym, is unknown.

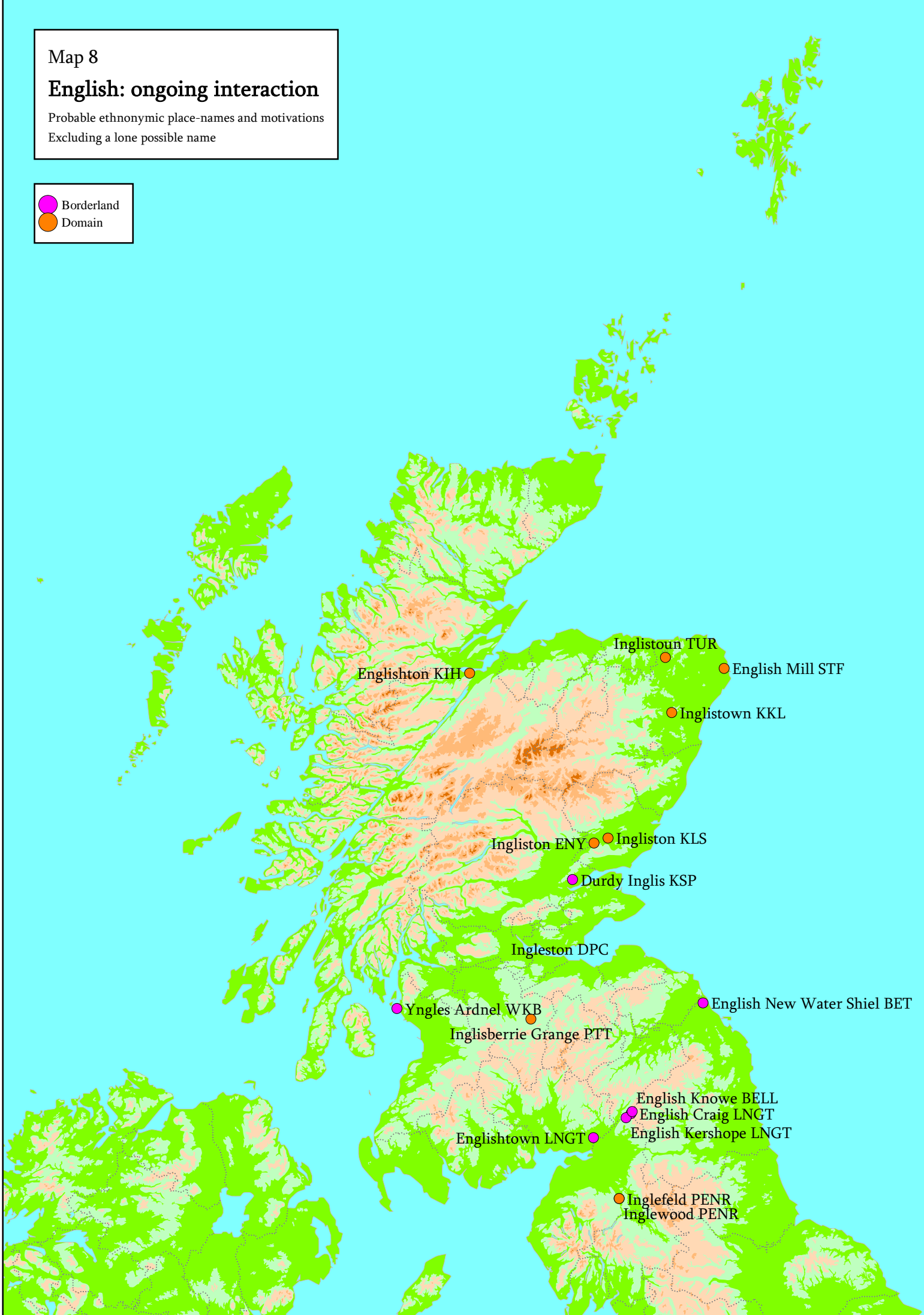
Map 8

English: ongoing interaction

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations

Excluding a lone possible name

- Borderland
- Domain

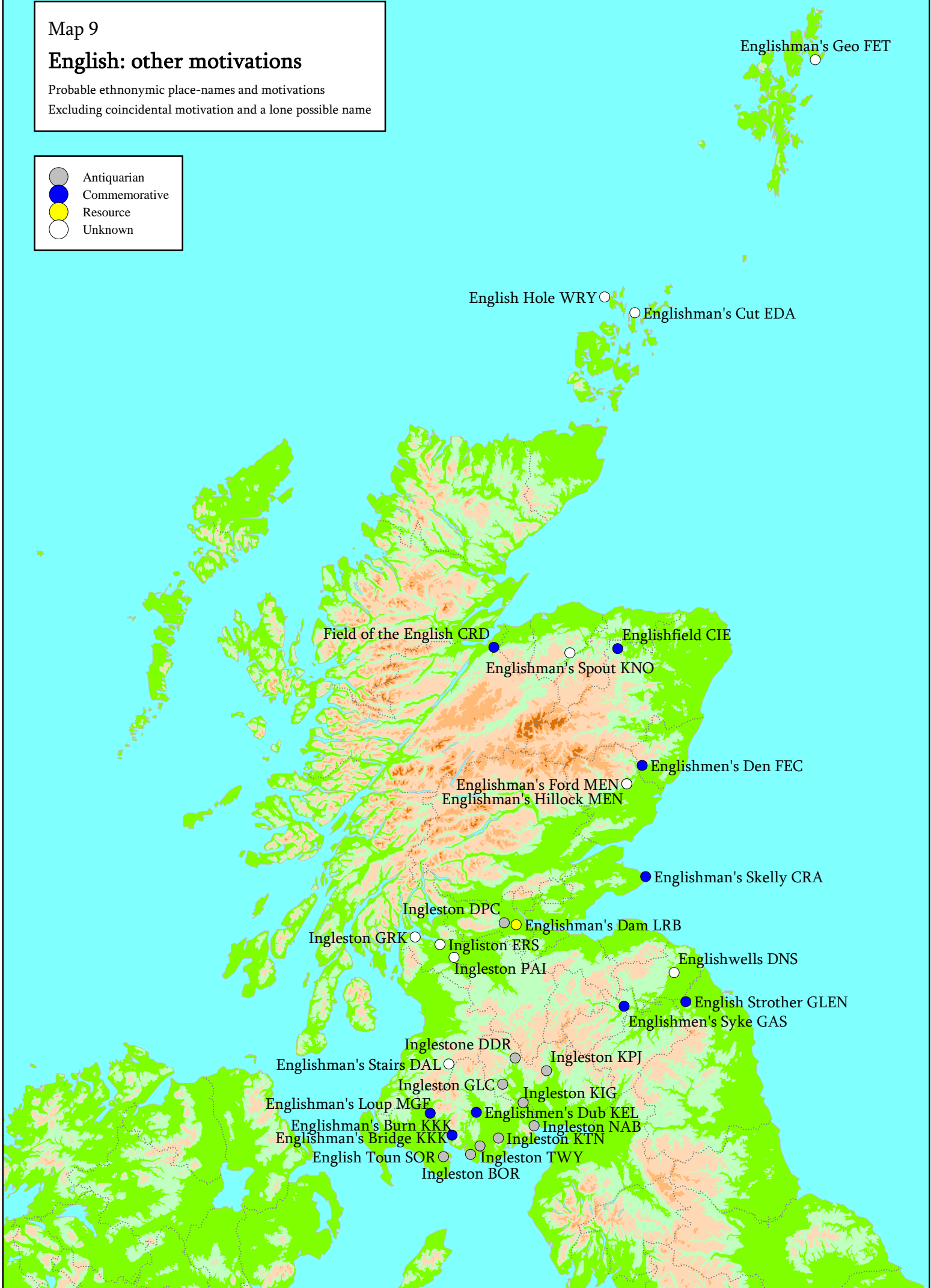


Map 9

English: other motivations

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding coincidental motivation and a lone possible name

- Antiquarian
- Commemorative
- Resource
- Unknown



10 Flemings: ethnonyms derived from Germanic root *Flam*

Probable identifications: 9 (see Map 15, p. 109)

Possible identifications: 9

ON Flæmingr (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Flæmings*

nom. pl. *Flæmingar*

gen. pl. *Flæminga*

adj. *Flæmskr*

No name with this ethnonym has been identified in the study area.

EG Flémendach (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Flémendaigh*

nom. pl. *Flémendaigh*

gen. pl. *Flémendach*

adj. **Flémendach*

No name with this ethnonym has been identified in the study area.

ScG Flanrasach (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Flanrasaich*

nom. pl. *Flanrasaich*

gen. pl. *Flanrasach*

adj. *Flanrasach*

This features in only one name, **Mòine Fhlanrasach** DRY+KPN+PMH-STL+PER, the Gaelic name of SSE Flanders Moss. Whereas the Older Scots and Standard English name contains the country-name and so is not included in the study, **Mòine Fhlanrasach** is constructed with the adjective: the tradition of incorporating a country-name to indicate association with an alien ethnicity is unknown in Gaelic. The motivation for the

Flemish reference in the two names is not known, with suggestions often centred round Flemish immigrants and/or drainage assistance, but the Gaelic name implies topographical comparison with the raised bogs of Flanders (perhaps as a result of having been encountered by soldiers during the European wars of the eighteenth century). However, if the Gaelic name is a translation of Flanders Moss, it may have been coined in ignorance of the original motivation.

OE Fleming, **Flem*¹ (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Fleminges*

nom. pl. *Fleminge*

gen. pl. *Fleminga*

adj. *Flemisc*

Despite arriving in the train of the Norman Conquest of England of 1066, the Flemings still had an impact on the Old English toponymy of the study area in **Flimby** COCK-CMB (1171 (1333) *Flemyngeby*, c.1174 *Flemingby*, 1201 *Flemingeby*). Though seemingly reanalysed with the Middle English reflex *Flemynge* used attributively,² it is likely to date to the late eleventh century, when the anthroponyms of colonists in Cumberland were likewise being attached to the generic ON n.m. *bý(r)* (*VEPN* 2000, 105).³ Excluded from the study are suggestions of Old English names north of the firths of Forth and Clyde.

¹ This short form of OE *Fleming* is postulated by Ekwall (1953, 153), on the "probable" evidence of variation in the toponymic record for Flempton E/SFK (1086 *Flemingtuna*, 1195 *Flameton*), and "possible" evidence of Flendish E/CAM (1086 *Flamingdice*, 1176 *Flameditch*).

² Though the medial vowel *-e-* of some early forms appears to show the *-a* of the Old Norse genitive plural, its presence is inconsistent and not securely recorded before 1201. A final *-e* is found in variant forms of the Older Scots, Middle English and English Standard English ethnonym.

³ Geographically less surprising than the early toponymic impact of the Flemings in the study area is that in Flempton E/SFK (1098 *Flemingtuna*), seen as being the 'settlement of the Flemings' by Addison (1978, 94) and, with less certainty, by Mills (1998, s.n.).

Osc Fleming, Flamyng (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Flemingis*

nom. pl. *Flemingis*

gen. pl. *Flemingis*

adj. *Flemis, Fleymes*

The tendency towards the attributive use of SE *Fleming* with the force of an adjective (*OED*, s.v.), is already apparent with OSc *Fleming*. It is noted in *DOST*, s.v., with *lauch* ('law', 1357), *schip* ('ship', 1544), *berge* ('barge', by 1568) and *wobster* ('weaver', 1600).

By c.1626,⁴ variation in the lexicon had raised the vowel of the first syllable to produce *Fleeming*. A similar development is found in *Flem*- place-names from 1653 till 1828,⁵ but it has not been retained in the orthography of any name. It was also found in the derived surname to form ScS *Fleemin* ['flimən] (*SNDS*, s.v.), the earliest recorded being the household fool of Udney, James Fleming or Fleeman (1713–78; Black 1946, 268). Clearly the quality of the vowel is no guide as to whether the anthroponym or ethnonym is present.

The anthroponym arose from the adoption of the ethnonymic label as a surname by families of immigrants, with several, perhaps unrelated, individuals appearing on record with the name in the second half of the twelfth century (Black 1946, 268). Hammond (2007, 39) has pointed out that there is only evidence for the surname developing in one noble family, that of the knight Berowald the Fleming (*alias* Berowald Fleming, *floruit* 1160 Moray; *PoMS*, person 333): there are no Fleming-toponyms in Moray. But the ethnic label for the knight Bartholomew Fleming (*floruit* 1235–64; *PoMS* person 4710) did continue in his line to at least Robert Fleming (*floruit* 1270–82; *PoMS* person 12826). Their residence of Warderis-Fleming† INC-ABD would seem to preserve

⁴ "Sir James Stewart ... sailing to Flanders, was by the Fleemings taken, and in Flanders died" (Garden & Laing 1878, 131).

⁵ *Flemyngraw*† KPF-DMF, 1653 *Fleemingraw* (*Retours* no. 211), with the anthroponym; **Flemington** AYT-BWK, 1690 *Fleemington*; **Flemington**‡ PET-INV, 1688 *Fleemingtone*; **Fleemington**† LWH-RNF, 1695 *Fleemingtone*; **Towart-Fleeming**† DKM-ARG, 1695 *Towart-Fleeming*; **Flemington** NLS-PEB, 1755 *Fleemington*; **Flemington**‡ CAG-LAN, 1795 *Fleemington*; **Flemyland** DLR-AYR, 1828 *Fleemiland*. Cf. **Flimby** COCK-CMB, 1571 *Flymbye*; *Flemington*† GLW-LAN, 1816 *Flimington* (Forrest Map); **Fleminghill** KMK-AYR, 1828 *Fliminghamill*.

this family-name as an affix,⁶ an affix which was retained even after the family-name of the owner changed. An Older Scots affix is also found in the village and parish-name Kirkpatrick-Fleming KPF-DMF,⁷ with which can be taken Flemyng-landis† KPF-DMF⁸ and Flemyngraw† KPF-DMF.⁹ These can be securely interpreted as containing the surname given their late appearance, supported by the strong local tradition of a family of the name Fleming having been the major landowner.¹⁰

SE Fleming¹¹ (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Fleming's*

nom. pl. *Flemings*

gen. pl. *Flemings'*

adj. *Flemish*

Fleming-names not recorded before the start of the Scottish Standard English period, c.1700, are generally assumed to be so named with the identical anthroponym.¹² In 1881, the surname *Fleming* was common across the study area but for Northumberland and the northern Highlands, with the greatest incidence in central Scotland and Lanarkshire (*GBFNP*).

⁶ NJ593288, e.C13 *Weredors* (*Lind. Cart.*, 65–6; Simpson 1935, 466–7), 1492 *Wardris Flemyng* (*ER x*, 767).

⁷ NY276700, 1187×89 *Kirkepatric* (*Glas. Reg.* i no. 72).

⁸ NY250753, 1462 *Kirreconveh* ['Kirkconnel'] a.k.a. *le Flemyng-landis*, owned by the Fleming family of Kirkconnel (*RMS* ii no. 85). Kirkconnel was at the centre of its own parish till 1609, when it was united with the neighbouring parish of Kirkpatrick-Fleming KPF-DMF (*Canmore*, 67053).

⁹ @NY264729, 1492 (*ER x*, 766).

¹⁰ Such a familial affix is found in such as Stoke Fleming E/DEV, named for a thirteenth-century family, *le Flemeng* (Cameron 1996, 110; Mills 1998, 328), and Burton Fleming E/YOE, named for the family *Fleming* (Mills 1998, 64).

¹¹ A seemingly late and chronologically limited variant is ESE *Flem*, only noted by *OED*, s.v., in citations from 1909 and 1925.

¹² Fleming◊ PENR-CMB @NY617325, 1950 (*PNCu* 1, 244); Fleming Hill† KTT-FIF @NO300064, 1836 {Fraser Map} (pers. comm. Simon Taylor in 2010); Fleming Strip MLR-ROX NT560382, 1988 (OS²⁵); Fleming's Wood CRT-MLO NT401661, 1988 (OS²⁵); Flemington AVO-LAN NS706449, 1816 (Forrest Map); and Flemington† GLW-LAN NS604674, 1816 *Flimington* (Forrest Map). Fleming Mill† KPF-DMF NY275697, 1858 (OS 6" 1st edn) was named from its location in Kirkpatrick-Fleming KPF-DMF. Flemington† TWL-SHE HU393546 is due to landowner-imposed renaming in the nineteenth century, of unknown motivation (Black 1857, 453): it may even have been the ESE anthroponym *Flemington* (*GBFNP*).

Dataset Overview

The indistinct shift from ethnic label to surname makes the dataset very hard to assess with any certainty. As name form is no guide (including the presence or not of the definite article, which in other medieval surnames is highly inconsistent), the surest guide would be to know that a name was coined during the period of the lifetime of the first immigrant. Even if this were available, it could not be a secure method, as the bearer of the label might be of a generation subsequent to migration from Flanders to England, before the family arrived in Scotland; it might have become a surname already. On the other hand, the ethnic identity of a family may have held true for more than one generation, to the extent that others might view their settlements as essentially foreign. Further, a Flemish settlement might not have any individual on record with the ethnonym as a byname, but be composed of people of that ethnicity nonetheless.

As noted, there is a tendency towards attributive use of the ethnonym with the force of an adjective, as possibly in **Flemyland** DLR-AYR. Land possession and/or settlement is also possibly marked by the genitive in **Flemingis-land**† KET-ANG¹³ and in **Fleminghill** KMK-AYR (1654 *Fleamingshill*).¹⁴ An adjective meaning 'Flemish', of course, would be much more precise. Apart from the geographical comparison in **Mòine Fhlanrasach** DRY+KPN+PMH-STL+PER, an adjective appears in reference to land possession only once, as *flemisse* (for OSc adj. *Flemis*). **Fleming-Beath**† BEA-FIF is a variable thirteenth- and fourteenth-century name at the start of numerous divisions of the lands of Beath with often familial affixes added to the existing name. As pointed out by Taylor (*PNFi* i, 312), it is found in its first few years as a recorded name with an affix preceding it, an affix following it, or with the OSc genitive ending *-is*. However, it also has the 1230×39 form *flemisse Beeth*, showing the name of the proprietor, former Dunfermline Abbey tenant William (the) Fleming, to be more than just a surname (contra loc. cit.). Possibly he had come to the Benedictine institution from a similar institution in Flanders.

¹³ When recorded in 1547, occupied by an Alexander Scot.

¹⁴ Cf. *Flemynghull*† E/LEI, 1331 (c.1430) (*PNLei* 2, 61), and *Fleming Field* E/DRH, 1382 *Flemyngfeld* (Mawer 1920, 87; Watts 2002, 45). For both, the authorities tentatively favour interpretation with the anthroponym.

The table in Figure 14 analyses those Fleming-names with a generic suggesting settlement:

Fig. 5 Fleming-names with generics suggesting settlement

Place-name	First record	Note
Flimby COCK-CMB	1171	22.5km from the Cistercian abbey of Holm Cultram NY177508, established in 1150 (<i>PastScape</i> , 9641). But Flemeby Parke † WIGT-CMB (recorded 1538), if correctly identified, is close by the abbey and Grange Farm near Flimby was a grange of Holm Cultram (c.1215).
Fleming-Beath † BEA-FIF	1220×35	A division of land by the Benedictine abbey of Dunfermline, in favour of one of its tenants. ¹⁵
Flemington AYT-BWK	1235	A deserted medieval village, now a farm, within 6.5km of the Benedictine priory of Coldingham.
Flemington ABL-ANG	1331×72	William Fleming (<i>PoMS</i> , person 1066) witnessed the gift of the church of Guthrie to Arbroath Abbey, 1196×99 (<i>PoMS</i> , factoid 4564).
Fleming Hall WHTV-CMB	1419	Just over 3km from the Cistercian abbey (originally Savigniac; <i>PastScape</i> , 8654) of Calder NY050063.
Flemington ‡ CAG-LAN	1421	A former cotton mill and village.
Flemington ‡ PET-INV	1456	—

¹⁵ William Fleming, but not the William Fleming (*PoMS*, person 1066) noted three times elsewhere in this table.

Flemington DAZ-LAN	1513	—
Towart-Fleeming† DKM-ARG	1513	—
Flemingtoun† (unidentified) ROX	1535	Associated with the Premonstratensian abbey of Dryburgh, by proximity and in payment of annual dues.
Fleemington† LWH-RNF	1544	William Fleming (<i>PoMS</i> , person 1066) witnessed a confirmation of the land of Moniabrock LWH-RNF NS352632 in 1195×99 (<i>PoMS</i> , factoid 4116).
Flemingis-land† KET-ANG	1547	Unidentified, but within 0.5 to 6km of the Cistercian abbey of Coupar Angus. ¹⁶
Flemington NLS-PEB	1583	—
Fleminghill KMK-AYR	1654	1.2km from a place called Monkland KMK-AYR NS468396.
Flemyland DLR-AYR	1755	Just over 2km from the Tironensian abbey of Kilwinning and marching with a place called Monkredding KWG-AYR NS323454.
Flemington AVO-LAN	1816	A small village, mainly occupied by weavers as of 1861. William Fleming (<i>PoMS</i> , person 1066) witnessed the gift of teinds of grain in Avondale AVO-LAN in 1229 (<i>PoMS</i> , factoid 44274).
Flemington† GLW-LAN	1816	—

¹⁶ Although an *apdaine* of Kettins is on record in the late thirteenth century, Cowan and Easson (1976, 54, cited in *Canmore*, 30584) state that there is no evidence of such an 'abbacy'.

The patterns that emerge are:

- Of the thirty-six individuals recorded as "(the) Fleming" from 1093 to 1286 (*PoMS*), remarkably only one shows any correlation with these locations, but this three times. However, William Fleming, *floruit* 1196–1229 (*PoMS*, person 1066), is only a witness in respect of transactions affecting places close to, but not including, **Flemington** ABL-ANG, **Fleemington**† LWH-RNF and Flemington AVO-LAN, all first recorded later, in 1331×72, 1544 and 1816 respectively. There is therefore no indication of settlements being named for immigrant Flemish colonisers.¹⁷
- A geographical association, and some known tenurial links, with religious houses are revealed in several instances. These houses belong to:
 - 1) the Benedictines in Dunfermline Abbey (**Fleming-Beath**† BEA-FIF, created from within abbey lands for one of its tenants) and Coldingham Priory (**Flemington** AYT-BWK, 6.5km);
 - 2) the Cistercians in Holm Cultram Abbey (**Flimby** COCK-CMB with its nearby abbey grange, and with its deer-park near the abbey), Calder Abbey (**Fleming Hall** WHTV-CMB, 3km) and Coupar Angus Abbey (**Flemingis-land**† KET-ANG, ½–6km);
 - 3) the Premonstratensians in Dryburgh Abbey (unidentified **Flemingtoun**† ROX, payment of annual dues); and
 - 4) the Tironensians in Kilwinning Abbey (**Flemyland** DLR-AYR, 2km).

Proximity in itself does not demonstrate tenurial or other association, but the case of **Flimby** COCK-CMB serves to remind that links may exist even when there is a separation of 22.5km. The most likely nature of this link is the medieval export of wool to the cloth industries of Flanders, identified by A.A.M. Duncan (*Atlas* 1996, 237) as having been undertaken, *inter alia*, by the Benedictines in Dunfermline and Coldingham and the Cistercians in Coupar Angus (Holm Cultram and Calder being outwith his survey area). Smith (2008; 2008b) has shown the tenurial association of upper Clydesdale Flemish landowners with Kelso Abbey, and speculates that they

¹⁷ Note that the lands held by four new twelfth-century Flemish landlords in Clydesdale, investigated in detail by Smith (2008 and 2008b), bear no relationship to the corpus of Fleming-names.

acted as "middlemen in the wool industry" for the monks, adding that this "will forever remain uncertain unless new (non-charter) evidence is uncovered." It is suggested that for all the monasteries listed above, and not just those identified by Duncan, the place-names give at least a hint of association in wool production.

- Two settlements in Lanarkshire, Flemington AVO-LAN and **Flemington**‡ CAG-LAN, have reported links to the weaving trade, with weaving forming the greatest employment in the former in 1843, and a cotton mill having been in the latter. There was settlement of foreign craftsmen including Flemish weavers in Scotland as a result of legislation to encourage such immigration in 1582, 1594 and 1600 (Donaldson 1976, 244), but this scarcely explains either. Flemington AVO-LAN is a small settlement of perhaps just three buildings, first recorded in 1816. It is far from secure to assume such continuity over more than 200 years, and Flemington AVO-LAN, like Flemington† GLW-LAN, is assumed to contain the anthroponym.¹⁸ **Flemington**‡ CAG-LAN, on the other hand, was first recorded well before the immigration acts (1440 confirming a charter of 1421 *Flemyngton*). Indeed, three settlement-names not in the proximity of a monastery are recorded before the sixteenth century.¹⁹ **Flemington** NLS-PEB is known to date from before 1583, when some houses were burnt down, and is on record as 1755 *Fleemington Mills*, by 1767 *Flemington Mill*, and 1858 *Flemington-mill*, though by 1858 there was no longer a mill in operation. But it is not known what kind of mill was here, a remote rural location. The immigration encouraged in 1582 may already have been under way, if not with the intensity deemed necessary for the economic aims of the Government, so it is not impossible that other Fleming-names from earlier in the sixteenth century referred to economic migrants.²⁰ But they too, and those first recorded later, lack any evidence of such an association.

¹⁸ It is not shown at all in 1773 (Ross Map).

¹⁹ **Flemington** ABL-ANG, 1331×72 *Flemyngtoun*; **Flemington**‡ CAG-LAN, 1421 *Flemyngton*; **Flemington**‡ PET-INV, 1456 *Flemyngtoun*.

²⁰ **Flemington** DAZ-LAN, 1513 *Flemyngtoun*; **Towart-Fleeming**† DKM-ARG, 1513 *Tollart Flemyng*; **Fleemington**‡ LWH-RNF, 1544 *Flemingstoun*.

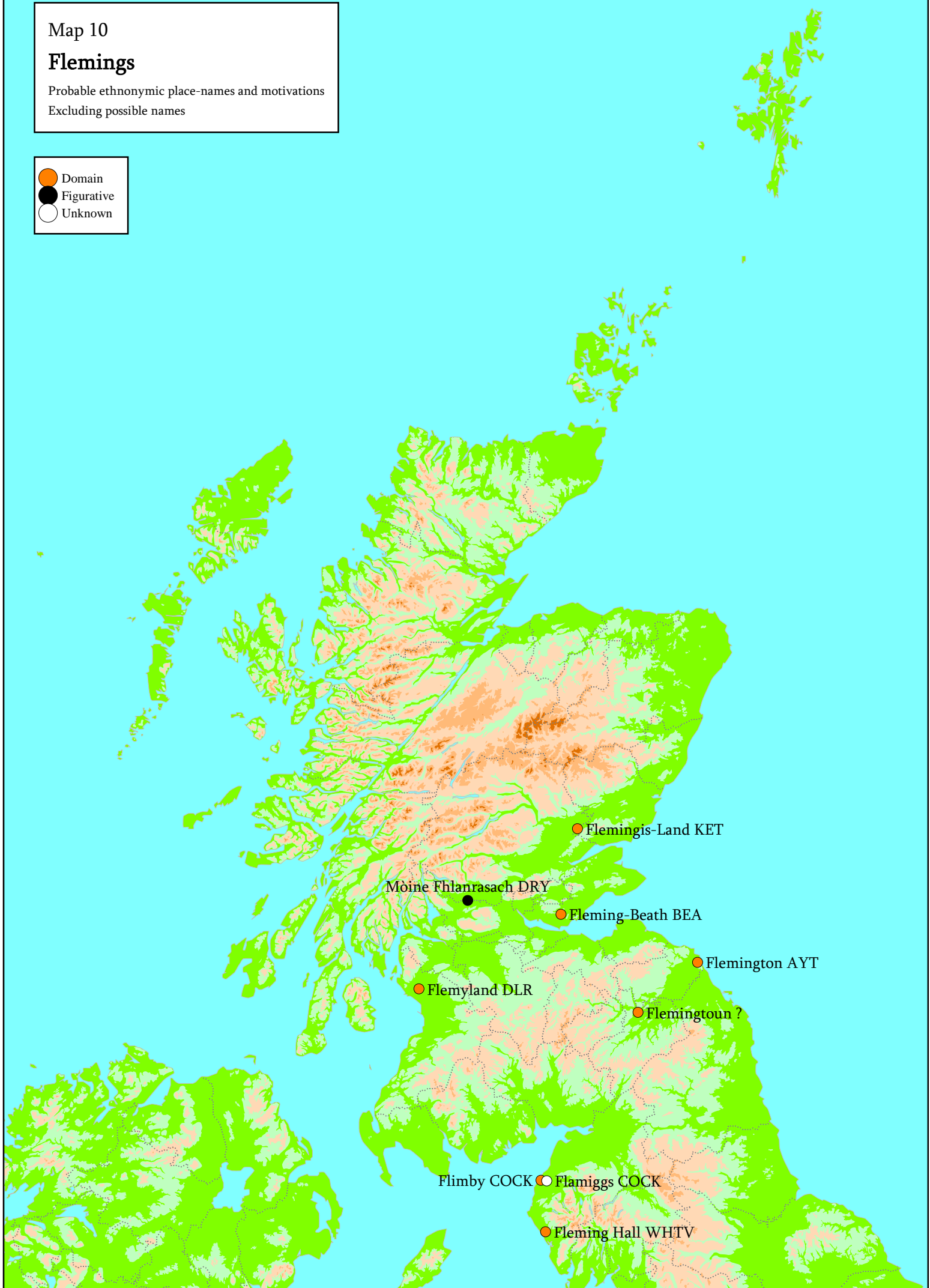
Apart from **Mòine Fhlanrasach** DRY+KPN+PMH- STL+PER, there are only two apparent Fleming-names with a topographic generic: **Fleming Halse**† CARL-CMB (c.1234) with OSc n. *hals* 'neck; narrow feature' and **Flamiggs**‡ COCK-CMB (1652 *Flemrigge*) with e.ESE n. *rig* 'ridge'. The early date of **Fleming Halse**† CARL-CMB may strengthen the possibility of it being associated with the ethnicity, but the Flemings were already in Cumberland in the late eleventh century, as shown by **Flimby** COCK-CMB, so a derivative family-name is also possible. The nature and location of the tidal inlet, with a long but narrow feeder stream near the end of the headland formed by Rockcliffe Marsh, suggests that this area was grazing land for the Fleming(s). **Flamiggs**‡ COCK-CMB, too, might qualify as grazing, if correctly identified by the study as applying to the upland area of Broughton Moor. It lies on the border of the parish named for **Flimby** COCK-CMB, so could otherwise (or also) mark the limit of the territory of that community. **Flamiggs**‡ COCK-CMB, therefore, probably belongs with the only set of Fleming-names likely to contain the ethnonym, those that might be associated with medieval religious houses that were involved in the wool industry.

Map 10

Flemings

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding possible names

- Domain
- Figurative
- Unknown



11 Saxons: ethnonyms derived from OE plural Saxe

Probable identifications: 45 (see Maps 10 and 11, pp. 121–2)

Possible identifications: 1

BrB *Sachs,¹ *Sax (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Sachs, *Sax

nom. pl. Sachson, Saxon

gen. pl. Sachson, Saxon

This ethnonym was BrB *Sejs, in southern Britain at least, by the sixth century (*BLITON*, s.v.). But there are divergent views on how the ethnonym developed in Cumbric, which emerged in southern Scotland from about 900. Jackson (1963, 79) reasoned that **Pennersaugh**s‡ MLB-DMF (1194×1214 *Penresax*) and **Glensaxon**‡ WES-DMF (1804 *Saxon Syke*, 1858 *Glensaxon Sike*)² showed that the development of BrB *Sejs in northern Britain occurred late, not long after, but logically no sooner than, the beginning of Anglian settlement in Dumfriesshire "in the later seventh century." However, this line of argument depends on his belief that the names are survivals from the time of the earliest Anglian arrivals, rather than being later references to a remnant Saxon presence, as contended below (*Dataset Overview*). *BLITON*, while not entering into this discussion directly, lends credence to the contention by pointing to "the strong possibility that [the ending of BrB *Sachs] was preserved, or restored as [ks], under the influence of English and of ecclesiastical Latin: if so, the form *Sax* may well be a late, Cumbric, usage."

¹ Thus in *BLITON*, s.v. Given by Jackson (1963, 79) as *Sechs*.

² To which Jackson could have added **Glensax** PLS^{dtchd}-SLK^(PEB), 1456 *Glensax*.

ON Saxr (nom. sg., masc.)

- gen. sg. *Saxs*
- nom. pl. *Saxar*
- gen. pl. *Saxa*
- adj. *Sax-lenzkr, Sax-neskr*

No name with this ethnonym has been found in the study area. It is said by Cleasby and Vigfusson (1874, under *Saxar* and *Sax-lenzkr*) to apply to the Continental Germans only.

EG Saxa (nom. sg., masc.), *Saxanach* (nom. sg., masc. & fem.)

- gen. sg. *Saxae, Saxanaigh*
- nom. pl. *Saxain, Saxanaigh*
- gen. pl. *Saxan, Saxanach*
- adj. *Saxach, Saxanach*

This etic ethnonym applied to both Saxons and Angles, with no distinction made (Watson 1926, 421–2). The orthographic *-x-* came to be rendered *-gs-* (*DIL*, under *Saxa*).

OE *Saxe (nom. sg., masc.)

- gen. sg. **Saxes*
- nom. pl. *Saxe, Saxan*
- gen. pl. *Saxna*

The forms given, confirmed only in the plural, assume an Anglian form with *-a-* in place of southern *-ea-*.³ By the first half of the eighth century, any emic distinction between the Saxons and the Angles was no longer evident. The only name with this ethnonym in the study area is **Saxland**† ☼, which lost out to **England** ☼ in competition for the name for the territory.

³ Cf. Anglian OE *Walh* and Saxon OE *Wealh* (Cameron 1980, 1). Such an assumption is also followed in *PNLei* 2 (p. 135).


ScG Sasannach⁴ (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Sasannaich*

nom. pl. *Sasannaich*

gen. pl. *Sasannach*, **Sasann*⁵

adj. *Sasannach*

ScG *Sasannach* is a development of EG *Saxa(nach)*, through loss by lenition of the [ks] in *-x-*, latterly written as *-gs-*, then *-ghs-* (*DIL*, under *Saxa*). Though ultimately derived from the Early Gaelic ethnonym, it is treated as an adjectival noun formed like most Gaelic nationality names (e.g. MacInnes 1989, 92), with the country-name **Sasainn**  'England' at its core.⁶ It is therefore argued by MacInnes (1989, 93) and McLeod (2004, 25) to have only ever knowingly applied to English or (MacInnes, loc. cit.) to those aping English speech or social pretensions. Nevertheless, the ScS loan-word n. *Sassenach* is defined by *SND*, s.v., as having "formerly also applied to the Lowlanders of Scotland",⁷ giving weight to what McLeod (loc. cit.) calls "a surprisingly resilient misconception."

Osc Saxon (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Saxonis*

nom. pl. *Saxonis*


gen. pl. *Saxonis*

adj. *Saxon*

No name with this ethnonym has been found.

⁴ Frequently found as *Sasunnach* until the orthographic reforms of *GOC* (1981, 8, 19).

⁵ As argued below.

⁶ **Sasainn**  is itself from the EG plural *Saxain* 'Saxons'.

⁷ This assertion by *SND* is made with the support of a citation from Smollett (1771, 252): "The Highlanders have no other name for the people of the Low Country, but Sassenagh, or Saxons." Other citations imply that the ethnonym has been understood to be specifically applied to the English, particularly the two oldest, viz from 1706: "We call them Sassanich, in Latin *Saxi* or *Saxoni*" (Mackenzie 1706, 6), and from 1737: "The English (or 'Sassanoch', that is, Saxons, as they call them in their language)" (MacKnight 1842, 113).

SE Saxon (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Saxon's*

nom. pl. *Saxons*

gen. pl. *Saxons'*

adj. *Saxon*

This ethnonym is found once, in **Saxon Howe** AUG-PER, an apparently fanciful antiquarian name applied to a hill-top cairn. It is not depicted on the OS 6" 1st edn in 1864, but is shown on current maps.

Dataset Overview

With the competing ethnonym OE *Engel* emerging victor for the developing national entity of **England** ☼, OE **Saxe* was inevitably going to lose out as determining the name within that entity for its associated territory; nevertheless, its alternative to **England** ☼, **Saxland** † ☼, did make it into the record. There was no such difficulty for the Celtic languages, in which there was only one applicable ethnonym, and the simplex plural **Sasainn** ◇ ☼ remains the Gaelic name for the country. In the ninth or tenth century, the plural was recorded referring to the territory of the time, with the plural in the island-name **Allasan** † DAI-AYR, which Clancy (2008, 43) suggests underlies the specific in its SSE name, Ailsa Craig. While this is explicable in the context of Galloway being part of the Anglian domain in the eighth and ninth centuries (loc. cit.), **Glen Sassunn** FTL-PER is harder to explain. With this can perhaps be taken **Aonach Shasuinn** KCV^{dtchd}-INV, now improbably written with the genitive of the country-name **Sasainn** ◇, but which may also have the plural of the ethnonym. What is common to both are folktales relating to purported incidents during the fourteenth-century campaigns of Edward I of England. If these tales can be given any credence (though the forms in which they are recorded are doubtful as true accounts),⁸ then it can be said that a reflex ScG **Sasann* of EG gen. pl. *Saxan* survived into at least the early fourteenth century.

⁸ The large hill of **Aonach Shasuinn** KCV-INV, amidst generally hilly terrain, is said to mark the furthest point north reached by the English forces, an unlikely motivation for naming. **Glen Sassunn** FTL-PER is improbably said to have been the route into Rannoch taken by English troops before the battle locally claimed to have been fought at Bunrannoch.

It is notable that the same kind of topographic feature as in **Glen Sassunn** FTL-PER, a valley, is labelled by two of the three British-derived names, **Glensax** PLS^{dtchd}-SLK^(PEB) (with genitive singular) and **Glensaxon**‡ WES-DMF (with genitive plural). Both names appear to have originally referred to long but isolated valleys,⁹ penetrating into high hill-ground.¹⁰ They are best perceived as land occupied by an ethnic English lord (with or without an Anglian peasantry) and an ethnic English community respectively, though whether this was in the van of a period of English expansion, or an ethnic remnant during the Strathclyde expansion of the tenth century, is unclear. The probability lies with remnant occupation (contra Jackson 1963, 79), given that the number of British names to have survived through English rule is considered to be "very small indeed" (O'Sullivan 1985, 27–8). This seems to be confirmed by the third British name, **Pennersaugh**‡ MLB-DMF, 'the end or top place of the Saxon', which refers to a settlement at the end of Brown Moor.¹¹ Not remote from the rest of Annandale, the key to survival of minority ethnic identity might be religious status, as this was the titular centre of a small medieval parish.

The rest of the Saxon corpus consists of thirty-seven names with ScG *Sasannach*. There is, however, little pattern to the distribution, generics or identified motivations:

Fig. 6 Saxon-names as field-names

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Field-name 2:	ScG n.m. <i>bad</i> 'grove' : (1)	PER
	ScG n.f. <i>dail</i> 'meadow' : (1) ¹²	ARG ^{Heb}

⁹ Whereas the valley of **Glensax** PLS^{dtchd}-SLK^(PEB) is still marked by Glensax Burn, the name **Glensaxon**‡ WES-DMF has retreated to a hill top and small tributary into Stennies Water, which is considered by the study to flow along the original **Glensaxon**‡ WES-DMF.

¹⁰ An Old English name of similar meaning, 'the valley of Saxons', is agreed by most authorities to be preserved in Saxondale E/NIT. For Reaney (1964, 103) this referred to Saxons in Anglian territory, though Gelling (Gelling & Cole 2000, 111) is careful to allow for ownership without occupation as a possibility. Ekwall (1953, 137) considers Saxondale, not a considerable distance from the Wash, as possibly belonging to an early settlement of Saxons from that area. Welsh 'valleys of Saxons', in Cwmsaeson W/CRD (Davies n.d., 13–14), Pant-y-Sais W/FLI (OS Welsh) and Pant-y-Sais‡ W/CRD, 1842 [tithe award] (AMR), could of course be later than the Saxon period and refer to English, though 'Saxon' is more likely in Cornish-derived Nansawsen E/CNW (Gelling 1978, 99; Padel 1985, 170–1, 210).

¹¹ Cf. Pensax E/WOR SO723689, though the earliest form is *Pensaxan*, prior to 1066 (Mills 1998, 270; Gelling & Cole 2000, 212). Scholars have differed over the significance of the name (Ekwall 1953, 138; Gelling 1978, 99; Gelling & Cole 2000, 212; Coates & Breeze 2000, 354).

¹² Dorward (2001, 43, 108) suggests **Dail Shasannaich* as a possibility for Dalhastnie EZL-ANG NO540785, 1511 *Dunhasny* (RMS ii, 3627). However, grammar would dictate **Dail Shasannach* with the genitive plural as the nearest feasible form.

Folklore suggests both are a commemoration, datable as 1653 for the killing of a Cromwellian soldier at **Bad an t-Sasannaich** AFE-PER. This is a more credible account than that of the murder of an Englishman at **Dail an t-Sasunnaich**† KKE-ARG^{Heb} by his jealous piping tutor.

Fig. 7 Saxon-names with generics for fresh water

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Fresh water 4:	ScG n.m. <i>allt</i> 'burn' : (1)	SUT
	ScG n.m. <i>caochan</i> 'rill' : (1)	PER
	ScG n.m. <i>eilean</i> 'island' : 1*	INV
	ScG n.f. <i>linne</i> 'pool' : (1)	ARG

The motivation for the two watercourses is probably location of borderland. Until 1864×89, most of the length of **Caochantassanich**† PER formed the boundary between a detached portion of Logierait parish and a portion shared by Blair Atholl, Fortingall and Logierait, and for a short length the boundary between Blair Atholl and Fortingall. **Allt an t-Sasannaich** DUS-SUT is not only an identified boundary, but is paired with **Allt an Albannaich** DUS-SUT. However, there is no indication as to why a *Sasannach* should be associated with either location. Motivation for **Linne an t-Sasannaich** KLE-ARG and for **Eilean nan Sasannach** KMV-INV is unknown, though commemoration of a drowning would be credible in the cataract of the former and in the river in which the latter lies. It is notable that the island, too small for habitation, has experienced variation in its name between genitive singular and plural.

Fig. 8 Saxon-names with generics for habitation

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Habitation 3:	ScG n.m. <i>baile</i> 'settlement' : (1)	FIF
	ScG n.m. <i>taigh</i> 'house' : (1)	PER
	ScG n.f. <i>tobhta</i> 'ruin' : 1	ARG ^{Heb}

Though the motivation for **Balsusney**‡ KDT-FIF is unknown, an indication of residence is most likely. **Tigh an t-Sasunnaich**† LOR-PER is applied to a seemingly medieval earthwork. **Tobhta nan Sasannach**◊ KKV-ARG^{Heb} (a.k.a. **Taigh nan Gall**) is

considered to have been used to house migrant workers c.1790 to quarry marble in an otherwise unoccupied corner of Iona.

Fig. 9 Saxon-names with generics for marine features

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Marine 7:	ScG n.m. <i>bodha</i> 'reef' : (1)	INV ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m. <i>geodha</i> 'creek' : (2)	ROS ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m. <i>port</i> 'landing-beach' : (2)	ARG, ARG ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m. <i>rubha</i> 'headland' : (2)	ARG, ARG ^{Heb}

As with **Tobhta nan Sasannach** ◊ KKV-ARG^{Heb} (above), **Rubha an t-Sasannaich** MRV-ARG was where quarry-workers were temporarily housed in a remote coastal spot, in this instance c.1830. The only other clear referent is for **Port an t-Sasannaich** NKN-ARG, named for an Englishman who was brought ashore and buried here, in a cairn-marked grave that was still evident in 1878. But similar tales of an Englishman wrecked and drowned at **Rubha Sasannaich** KBK-ARG^{Heb} and of an English sailor washed ashore in **Geodha an t-Sasannaich** ◊ UIG-ROS^{Heb} are also credible. Other commemorations of seaborne bodies can be postulated for **Geodha an t-Sasannaich** ‡ LCH-ROS^{Heb} and **Port an t-Sasannaich** TOY-ARG^{Heb}, and perhaps shipwreck for the reef **Bodha an t-Sasannaich** STH-INV^{Heb}, but there is no evidence available beyond the toponymic parallels.

Fig. 10 Saxon-names with generics for objects

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Object 7:	ScG n.pl. <i>bùtan</i> 'butts' : (1)	ABD
	ScG n.m. <i>càrn</i> 'cairn' : (1)	ABD
	ScG n.f. <i>clach</i> 'stone' : (1)	ARG
	ScG n.m. <i>cladh</i> 'burial-ground' : 2	PER, ROS
	ScG n.f. <i>creag</i> 'rock' : (1)	ARG ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m. <i>fuaran</i> 'spring' : (1)	INV

Burial clearly explains the two *cladh*-names, both with multiple individuals. Nothing has been recorded of the origins or use of **Cladh nan Sasannach** KNM-PER, and archaeological examination has failed to prove a link between **Cladh nan Sasannach** GAI-ROS and the nearby ironworks from the early seventeenth-century. But as there were at least two periods of English activity at the ironworks on behalf of Scottish gentry, in 1612

and 1628 (MacCoinnich 2006, 140), the twenty-three graves (or some at least) may date from the earlier venture.¹³ Tradition has it that the marine lochside boulder **Clach an t-Sasannaich** NKN-ARG was understood to be where stores were offloaded, though by whom or for whom or when is not reported. An engagement in the 1745 Jacobite campaign took place at the **Putan Sassenich**† CRB-ABD, but the apparent genitive singular, and the reference to *bùtan* (nominative plural of ScG n.? *bùta* 'butt'), suggest this to be unrelated to the name. Likewise, there are no indications as to whom the small cairn of **Càrn Sasannaich** GIL-ARG, the small rock of **Creag an t-Sasannaich** TIR-ARG^{Heb}, and the spring of **Fuaran an t-Sasannaich** KLE-INV refer to.

Fig. 11 Saxon-names with generics for relief features

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Relief 14:	ScG n.m. <i>cnoc</i> 'hillock' : 1(2)	ARG, ROS, SUT
	ScG n.m. <i>coire</i> 'corrie' : (1)	INV
	ScG n.f. <i>creag</i> 'crag' : 1(1)	ARG, PER
	ScG n.m. <i>creagan</i> 'outcrop' : (1)	ARG
	ScG n.m. <i>druim</i> 'ridge' : 1(1)	ARG ^{Heb} , PER
	ScG n.m/f. <i>lag</i> 'hollow' : 1	BTE
	ScG n.f. <i>leacann</i> 'broad slope' : (1)	ARG
	ScG n.m. <i>sgùrr</i> 'conical hill' : (1)	INV
	ScG n.m. <i>tom</i> 'hillock' : (2)	ABD, PER

Burial is also the probable explanation for at least two of this class of name. The evidence for **Coire an t-Sasannaich** AMT-INV is to be found on OS¹⁰, which shows Uaigh an t-Saighdeir, 'the grave of the soldier', to be in this small, shallow corrie. Neither name is shown on the OS 6" 1st edn, though this does not prove that the names were not already in existence. **Lag nan Sasannach** KBD-BTE is said to be the final resting place of some English killed in an engagement nearby before the Cromwellian period (Mackenzie 1914, 108). The only *Sasannach* from the whole corpus whose identity has been retrieved is one with the English surname Astley, who had an estate in Arisaig which included

¹³ Archaeology has shown that ironworking was practiced around Loch Maree from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth. But if there had been participation by English workers before the seventeenth century, this is not recorded.

Sgùrr an t-Sasannaich AMT-INV next to **Sgùrr an Albannaich** AMT-INV, 'the peak of the Albanian, i.e. Scot', on the boundary with the lands of MacDonald of Glenalladale. Mr Astley had died, leaving the estate in the hands of his trustees, by the time of OSnb 12:65 INV in 1873. The only other relief-name for which the motivation can be reasonably certain is **Toum Scalan n Sasnich**† CRB-ABD, which recalls a Sasannach's *sgàlan*, or 'temporary hut'. Here Government soldiers from the barracks of restored Braemar Castle probably had a watch-point on this hillside shelf affording excellent views from above the castle. In 1831 soldiers built a cairn on this shelf, marking the end of the garrison that had been introduced in 1748. Alarm-points might be considered for the rest of this class, though few provide an exclusive or even best view. Indeed, no motivation can be ascertained for the other ten.¹⁴

To summarise the *Sasannach*-names (excluding speculative suggestions):

Fig. 12 Characteristics of the *Sasannach*-names

Motivation	Generic + location	Date of coining	<i>Sasannach</i> reference
Borderland	Freshwater PER ¹⁵	–	–
Borderland	Freshwater SUT ¹⁶	–	Contrasting with ScG <i>Albannach</i>
Borderland	Relief INV ¹⁷	C19th	English landowner
Commemoration	Field-name ARG ^{Heb} ¹⁸	–	Stranded Englishman
Commemoration	Field-name PER ¹⁹	1653	Cromwellian soldier
Commemoration	Marine ARG ²⁰	Modern era	English seafarer
Commemoration	Marine ARG ^{Heb} ²¹	–	English seafarer
Commemoration	Marine ROS ^{Heb} ²²	–	English sailor

¹⁴ **Cnoc nan Sasannach** CON-SUT, **Cnoc an t-Sasannaich** ASY+LBR-SUT+ROS, **Cnoc an t-Sasannaich** KMR-ARG, **Creag nan Sasannach** GIL-ARG, **Creag an t-Sasannaich** KIL-PER, **Creagan an t-Sasannaich** GIL-ARG, **Druim an t-Sasannaich**◊ LAP-ARG^{Heb}, **Druim nan Sasannach** AFE-PER, **Leacann Sasannaich** KMG-ARG, **Tom an t-Sasannaich** DUL-PER.

¹⁵ **Caochantassanich**† BLA+FTL+LOR^{dtchd}-PER.

¹⁶ **Allt an t-Sasannaich** DUS-SUT.

¹⁷ **Sgùrr an t-Sasannaich** AMT-INV.

¹⁸ **Dail an t-Sasannaich**† KKE-ARG^{Heb}.

¹⁹ **Bad an t-Sasannaich** AFE-PER.

²⁰ **Port an t-Sasannaich** NKN-ARG.

²¹ **Rubha Sasannaich** KBK-ARG^{Heb}.

²² **Geodha an t-Sasannaich**◊ UIG-ROS^{Heb}.

Commemoration	Object PER ²³	–	–
Commemoration	Object ROS ²⁴	Pre-C17th	–
Commemoration	Relief BTE ²⁵	Pre-C17th	English combatants
Commemoration	Relief INV ²⁶	Modern era	–
Domain	Habitation FIF ²⁷	Early name	–
Resource	Habitation ARG ^{Heb28}	c.1790	Migrant quarry-workers
Resource	Marine ARG ²⁹	c.1830	Migrant quarry-worker(s)
Transit (alarm)	Relief ABD ³⁰	1748×1831	Government soldier(s)
Transit (travel)	Marine ARG ³¹	–	–

Of the few themes that emerge are:

- commemoration: there is a preponderance of commemoration-names among the names with an indication of possible motivation, though this might be as a result of folkloric explanations for names. Death is a constant aspect of these, usually of soldiers or sailors.
- grammatical number: only eight of the thirty-seven names contain the plural, and even then, one of these has shown variation with the singular.³² A single individual might not always be the intention, however, with a collective import to some names possible,³³ and reference to an English boat (and by implication crew) feasible, though not evidenced. Those names that have been consistently plural refer to burial-grounds,³⁴ a burial place following an engagement,³⁵ a prominent

²³ **Cladh nan Sasannach** KNM-PER.

²⁴ **Cladh nan Sasannach** GAI-ROS.

²⁵ **Lag nan Sasannach** KBD-BTE.

²⁶ **Coire an t-Sasannaich** AMT-INV.

²⁷ **Balsusney** † KDT-FIF.

²⁸ **Tobhta nan Sasannach** † KKV-ARG^{Heb}.

²⁹ **Rubha an t-Sasannaich** MRV-ARG.

³⁰ **Toum Scalán n Sasnich** † CRB-ABD.

³¹ **Clach an t-Sasannaich** NKN-ARG.

³² **Eilean nan Sasannach** KMV-INV.

³³ In particular **Rubha an t-Sasannaich** MRV-ARG, which has evidence for two houses. **Toum Scalán n Sasnich** † CRB-ABD was in all probability a posting for a series of soldiers from 1748 to 1831, but the hut to which it refers may only have housed one at a time.

³⁴ **Cladh nan Sasannach** GAI-ROS, **Cladh nan Sasannach** KNM-PER.

³⁵ **Lag nan Sasannach** KBD-BTE.

knoll,³⁶ a rock outcrop above a road,³⁷ a cliff-top shelf,³⁸ a riparian island³⁹ and industrial accommodation.⁴⁰

- nationality: there is no evidence to dispute the contention that ScG *Sasannach* refers exclusively to an 'English person'.

The conclusion must be that ScG *Sasannach* is applied to folk perceived to be English with whom the indigenous population have come into passing contact, more often than not through traumatic incidents, often fatal.

³⁶ **Cnoc nan Sasannach** CON-ROS.

³⁷ **Creag nan Sasannach** GIL-ARG.

³⁸ **Druim nan Sasannach** AFE-PER.

³⁹ **Eilean nan Sasannach** KMV-INV.

⁴⁰ **Tobhta nan Sasannach** ◊ KKV-ARG^{Heb}.

Map 11

Saxons: probable motivations

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding a lone possible name

- Antiquarian
- Borderland
- Commemorative
- Domain
- Resource
- Transit



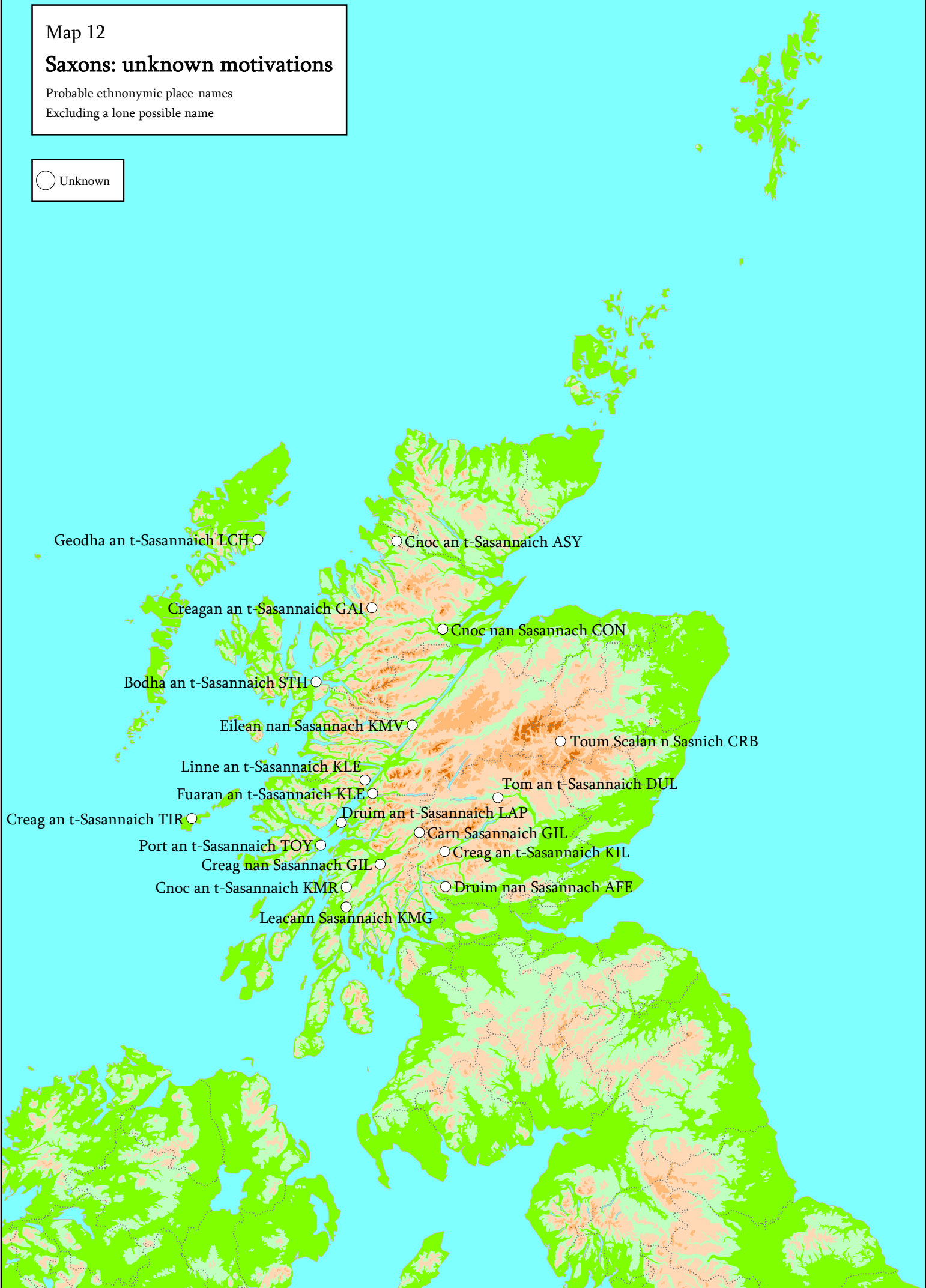
Map 12

Saxons: unknown motivations

Probable ethnonymic place-names

Excluding a lone possible name

○ Unknown



Geodha an t-Sasannaich LCH

Cnoc an t-Sasannaich ASY

Creagan an t-Sasannaich GAI

Cnoc nan Sasannach CON

Bodha an t-Sasannaich STH

Eilean nan Sasannach KMY

Toum Scalan n Sasnich CRB

Linne an t-Sasannaich KLE

Tom an t-Sasannaich DUL

Fuaran an t-Sasannaich KLE

Druim an t-Sasannaich LAP

Creag an t-Sasannaich TIR

Carn Sasannaich GIL

Port an t-Sasannaich TOY

Creag an t-Sasannaich KIL

Creag nan Sasannach GIL

Cnoc an t-Sasannaich KMR

Druim nan Sasannach AFE

Leacann Sasannaich KMG

12 Other ethnonyms related to West Germanics

Probable identifications: 22 (see Map 12, p. 124)

Possible identifications: 1

Other West Germanic ethnicities and population groups encountered in place-names in the study area are as follows, showing region of origin, then language. The geographical distribution of probable names only is indicated:

England	Osc n./adj. <i>Southern</i> ¹	—
Friesland	Ln n.m. <i>Frisius</i> ²	☼
Germany	e.ESE adj. <i>Duch</i> ³	CMB
	SE adj. <i>German</i> ⁴	INV, KCB, PEB
Netherlands	SE adj. <i>Dutch</i> ⁵	AYR, SHE, SUT
	SE n. <i>Dutchman</i> ⁶	ARG ^{Heb} , SHE, STL, WIG
	SSE n. <i>Hollander</i> ⁷	SHE
Switzerland	SE adj. <i>Swiss</i> ⁸	MOR, PEB

¹ Possible: **Sutherounflat**† ELO (unidentified). Discounted as containing Osc adj. *sutheron* 'south-lying' is Southeran Hills† ALNW-NTB, 1623 (Beckensall 2006, 89).

² **Mare Frisicum**† ☼.

³ **Duch Stank**† COCK-CMB.

⁴ **German Hill**† DRZ-PEB, **German Soldier**◊ DRM-INV, **Germanhill**† BUL-KCB.

⁵ **Dutch Cottage** GOL-SUT, **Dutch House** MPK-AYR, **Dutch Loch** WAS-SHE, **Dutch Mills**† AYP-AYR, **Dutch Pool**◊ DNR-SHE, **Dutch Ward** SST-SHE.

⁶ **Dutchman's Cap** KKE-ARG^{Heb}, **Dutchman's Leap** LWK-SHE, **Dutchmansland**† DPC-STL, **Dutchmanstern** PTP-WIG.

⁷ **Hollanders' Ayre** NMV-SHE, **Hollander's Geo** DNR-SHE, **Hollanders' Grave** NMV-SHE, **Hollanders' Knowe** LWK-SHE.

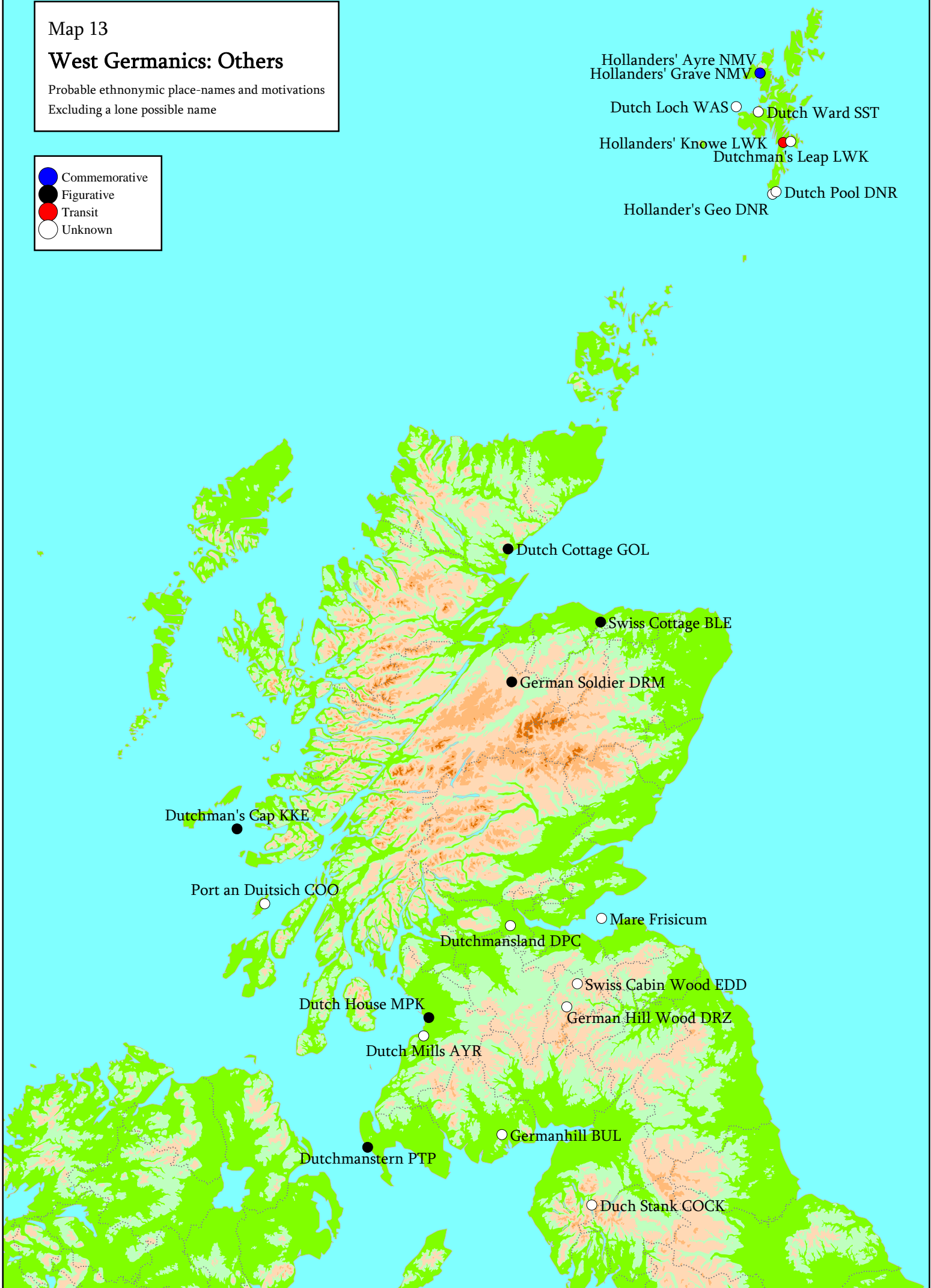
⁸ **Swiss Cabin Wood** EDD-PEB, **Swiss Cottage** BLE-MOR.

Map 13

West Germanics: Others

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding a lone possible name

- Commemorative
- Figurative
- Transit
- Unknown



Ethnonyms associated with

Nordics

13 Danes: ethnonyms derived from ON plural *Danir*

Probable identifications: 13 (see Map 13, p. 135)

Possible identifications: 6

ON *Danr (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. **Danar*

nom. pl. *Danir*

gen. pl. *Dana*

adj. *Danskr, Dønsk*

ON plural *Danir* (not recorded in the singular) has, like its reflexes in Old English and Early Gaelic, a wider semantic range than the modern Danish ethnicity. Whether or not it had this meaning to begin with, by the time it appears on record the application is to the Danish empire across Scandinavia (Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874, under *Danskr*). This is most notable with the title given to the Old Norse language, *Dønsk tunga* 'Danish tongue', which only became obsolete as a name in the thirteenth century as Danish hegemony receded (loc. cit.). The ethnonym has been found in the study area in **Danna**‡ NKN-ARG and **Denbie** DTN-DMF.

EG Danar, *Danmargach* (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Danair*

nom. pl. *Danair*

gen. pl. *Danar*

adj. *Danarda*,¹ *Danmargach*

A borrowing from ON plural *Danir* with a short life at the end of the tenth century before returning with vigour (Ó Murchadha 1993, 69), EG plural *Danair* (and by back formation EG *Danar* itself) has, like its related names in Old English and Old Norse,

¹ Pronounced "Danarra" (*DIL*, under *danardae*).

a wider implication than just association with the Danish ethnicity (*DIL*, under *danar*).² It was also applied to any barbaric or piratical foreigners or aliens in a territory, such as Vikings and the English (loc. cit.). The alternative, EG *Danmargach*, is derived from EG plural *Danmairg* 'Denmark' and also has the extended meaning of 'marauder' (loc. cit.). Notably, Early Gaelic never uses the plural of the ethnonym to refer to the national home in the case of the Danes (ibid., under *danar*). No name with EG *Danar* or EG *Danmargach* has been found in the study area.

ScG Dànach, *Danmhargach* (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Dànaich*, *Danmhargaich*

nom. pl. *Dànaich*, *Danmhargaich*

gen. pl. *Dànach*, *Danmhargach*

adj. *Dànach*, *Danmhargach*

Though in use in the present-day language, ScG *Dànach*³ has not been recorded in dictionaries. Dwelly, s.v., for instance, gives 'Dane' as one of the meanings for *Dubh-Ghall*, literally 'black *Gall*', and as the sole explanation of *oll-ghaireach*† (with archaic ScG adj. *oll* 'great, grand', but otherwise etymologically opaque). Under the English headword the term given is *Lochlannach*, with *Lochlann* for 'Denmark' (ibid., 1012), but *Lochla(i)nn* is also given by Dwelly and by Dieckhoff for 'Scandinavia' (ibid., 1026; Dieckhoff 1932, 182, 185). This confusion is probably due to Norway's regal union with Denmark until 1814, in which Denmark played the dominant role. *Lochla(i)nn* has been retained in the language with the current meaning of 'Scandinavia' (e.g. Thomson 1981, s.n., and 1994, s.n.; Robertson & MacDonald 2004, s.n., p. 305), and ScG *Lochlannach* is used for 'Viking' (Robertson & MacDonald 2004, s.v.) and 'Scandinavian' (loc. cit.; Thomson 1981, s.v., and 1994, s.v.).

² It can still have this core meaning, however, as apparently when the term first appears in the Irish chronicles s.a. 986 (Woolf 2007, 94, 217–8).

³ Formed from SSE *Dane*?

The alternative form *Danmhargach* appears to have been reintroduced (as *Danmhairceach*) in the influential 1981 dictionary by Thomson,⁴ which contains a number of neologisms. The motivation may be part antiquarian, but it follows the standard pattern of adding the adjectival suffix *-ach* to the place-name, *An Danmhairg* 'Denmark'.

The study has not uncovered any instances of ScG *Dànach* or ScG *Danmhargach*, but a variant may appear in the well-name **Tobar na Danich**† CIA-MOR. This contains ScG n.m. **Danaiche* with possible reference to some scattered standing stones. If this is the case, it probably relates to one of the developed meanings of EG *Danar*, viz 'alien'. This would parallel use of ScG n.m. *gall* for 'freestanding stone or rock' and ESE n. *sarsen* (that is, *Saracen* 'heathen') for a monolith. It is possible that the same element, prefixed with ScG adj. *fionn* 'white', is contained in **Sheaval Fiundan** LCH^{dtchd}-ROS^{Heb} (for *Sèabhal na Fionndanaich*; Cox 2002, 359), though a variant of ScG n.pl. *Fionntaidh* 'Fingalians' is also possible. Either name might have been inspired by Sìthean Sheaval (*Sithean Shèabhal*), 'knoll or fairy hill of Sheaval', on the top of the hill.

OE *Dene (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. **Denes*

nom. pl. *Dene*

gen. pl. *Dena, Deningea*

adj. *Denisc*

OE **Dene* has left no evidence of use in the singular, and was originally applied to any Scandinavian in Britain, irrespective of origin (*OED*, under *Dane*). No name with this ethnonym has been found in the study area.

⁴ Given as *Danmhairceach* by Thomson (1981, s.v.; 1994, s.v.) and Mark (2004, s.v.), and *Danmhairgeach* by Robertson and MacDonald (2004, s.vv.).

OSc *Dane*, *Dene* (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Danis*, *Denis*

nom. pl. *Danis*, *Denis*

gen. pl. *Danis*, *Denis*

adj. *Dens*⁵

Only tentative identifications have been made in the study area.⁶ A folk etymology explains Denmark INK-ANG with reference to Danish camps previously understood to be nearby.⁷ But rather, it is OSc n. *dene* 'small valley' and OSc n. *mark* '(boundary) mark', coincidentally replicating the country-name. Otherwise OSc *dene* 'small valley' in name-initial occurrences, noted exclusively in Fife, are not known to have led to folkloric or antiquarian confusion.⁸ Similarly with OSc n. *dene* 'administrative dean'.⁹ However, the variant OSc *dane* in Danestone OMR-ABD,¹⁰ applied to a settlement associated with the ecclesiastical dean of Aberdeen, experienced reinterpretation resulting in migration to a cairn, to which became attached a tale of it marking the burial of a defeated Danish leader. Excluded from the database are place-names with the letter string *-dane* in final position, with a working assumption that this represents OSc n. *dane* 'dean, den, valley' and given that grammar does not permit a phrase-final genitive for the ethnonym OSc or SE *Dane*.¹¹

⁵ The adjective can be encountered in the lexicon used as a noun (*DOST*, s.v.).

⁶ **Dainelandes**† WHTV-CMB, **Danepark** SYM-AYR, **Danyscottis**† LUP-ABD.

⁷ NO594465, 1583×96 (Pont Map 26).

⁸ **Danehill**† WMS-FIF; Denbrae SSL-FIF NO475154, 1597 *Danebry* (1598 *RMS* vi no. 696); Lie Denburne† WMS-FIF NT342968, 1428 *the Dene Burne* (Fraser, *Wemyss* ii, 55, 58); Denmylne ABE-FIF NO249175, 1501 *molendini de Dene* (*ER* xi, 292). Cf. e.ESE Daneley Medow† ALNW-NTB @NU2210, 1624 (Beckensall 2006, 110, 139).

⁹ Commemorating an ecclesiastical dean of Dunkeld in Dean's Burn DDA-PER NO040416, 1585 *The Danes-burne* (1587 *RMS* v no. 1293); possibly also found in **Danyscottis**† LUP-ABD.

¹⁰ NJ915101, 1543 *Deynstoun* (*RMS* iii no. 2973).

¹¹ Despite the difficulty of word order, folk etymology explains Routdane‡ DLR-AYR NS268558, 1755 *Routingburn* (Roy Map), as commemorating the rout of a Danish force (OSnb 20:23). However, this tale has contrived to alter the form of the name since its first recording, when it could be more clearly compared to a *routing-well*, "a well that makes a rumbling noise, predicting a storm" (Dixon 1947, 172), from OSc verbal n. *rowting* 'bellowing'.

SE Dane (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Dane's*

nom. pl. *Danes*

gen. pl. *Danes'*

adj. *Danish*

It is in Standard English that the Danes receive by far the greatest number of mentions in the toponymicon, with ten probable Standard English identifications. In addition, ScS n. *den* 'narrow ravine' was interpreted as the ethnonym in Denside† TAN-ANG,¹² under the influence of, and/or reinforcing, a tale of a battle with the Danes.¹³

Dataset Overview

Six Dane-names have been coined to fit local folklore, while eleven others have attracted a folk etymology influenced by such lore. A military connotation is present in all but one.¹⁴ Further Dane-names are associated with features which might also have (or have had) folkloric reference to the ethnicity. The relationship of Dane-names to place-name generics and distribution is analysed in Figure 12:

Fig. 13 Dane-names and place-name generics

Incidences [Possible]	Generic [Possible]	Geographical distribution
Battlefield 2[2]:	ScS n. <i>hill</i> 'hill' : 1 ¹⁵ [2] ¹⁶	AYR
	SSE n. <i>vale</i> 'valley' : 1 ¹⁷	KCB
Construction 3[3]:	ScS n. <i>dyke</i> 'wall' : 2 ¹⁸ [1] ¹⁹	BNF, FIF

¹² NO461607, 1744 *The Daneside*, where the Danes encamped beforehand (*GC* i, 286).

¹³ Cf. Danes Bottom E/OXF (Coates 2000, 203), a reinterpretation of ESE n. *dean*, cognate with ScS n. *den*.

¹⁴ **Danes Wark** SAD-FIF; said to have been named for a Dane who absconded after receiving an advance payment to construct a sea-defence embankment for St Andrews Cathedral (OSnb 102:29 FIF).

¹⁵ **Danes Hill**† MAY-AYR.

¹⁶ **Danehill**† WMS-FIF (with a castle), **Daneshill**† ALNW-NTB (neighbours Camp Hill, a name which implies a perceived feature).

¹⁷ **Danevale**† CMI-KCB.

¹⁸ **Danish Dyke**† ABU-BNF, **Danes Dike** CRA-FIF. Cf. Danes Dyke E/YOE, a wapentake meeting place on Flamborough Head (Addison 1978, 24), but seemingly a modern name (Ekwall 1953, 156).

¹⁹ **Danes Dyke** BFF-BNF (a medieval stone weir).

	ScS n. <i>wark</i> 'construction' : 1 ²⁰	FIF
	ESE n. <i>camp</i> : [1] ²¹	CMB
	SSE n. <i>pier</i> : [1] ²²	ORK
Grave marker 1:	SSE n. <i>mark</i> : 1 ²³	PER

Folk etymology of names not found to contain the ethnonym are similarly analysed (generics are as interpreted in the folk etymology, not as in the study):

Fig. 14 Dane-names and folk etymology

Incidences	Generic in folk etymology	Geographical distribution
Battlefield 2:	? " <i>croju</i> " 'slaughter' : 1 ²⁴	ABD
	SSE n. <i>side</i> 'riverside' : 1 ²⁵	ANG
Construction 2:	SSE n. <i>draught</i> 'beast-drawn vehicle' : 1 ²⁶	ABD
	SSE n. <i>mark</i> : 1 ²⁷	ANG
Grave marker 2:	ScS n. <i>den</i> 'narrow ravine' : 1 ²⁸	KCD
	SSE n. <i>stone</i> : 1 ²⁹	ABD
Martial incident 5:	SSE n. <i>arrow</i> : 1 ³⁰	BNF
	SSE n. <i>clear</i> (verb) : 1 ³¹	CAI
	SSE n. <i>halt</i> 'stop' : 1 ³²	FIF

²⁰ **Danes Wark** SAD-FIF, above.

²¹ **Danish Camp**◇ WHTV-CMB (the name suggests that a feature was perceived).

²² **Dane's Pier**◇ SSY-ORK (a natural bolder spit).

²³ **Denmark**‡ RED-PER (a monolith).

²⁴ Cruden‡ CRU-ABD NK092362, 1755 *Crawden Kirk·Crowden Bay/Skerrs* (Roy Map), obscure: a battle with Canute (*OSA* v, 431–3; *NSA* xii, 978).

²⁵ Denside‡ TAN-ANG NO461607, 1744 *The Daneside* (*GC* i, 286), ScS n. *den* 'narrow ravine': Danish encampment before a battle (loc. cit.).

²⁶ Ardendraught‡ CRU-ABD NK076354, 1636×52 *Ardendrett* (Gordon Map 35), obscure: 'the old Danish roads' (*OSA* v, 431 n.).

²⁷ Denmark INK-ANG NO594465, 1583×96 (Pont Map 26), OSc n. *dene* 'small valley': Danish camps (*OSA* iii, 285).

²⁸ Dannie's Den SCY-KCD NO715632, 1841 (*NSA* xi, 282), ScS anthro. *Danie*: grave of a Danish warrior (loc. cit.).

²⁹ Danestone OMR-ABD NJ915101, 1543 *Deynstoun* (*RMS* iii no. 2973), OSc n. *dene* 'administrative dean': cairn over a defeated Danish leader (OSnb 69:29).

³⁰ Ardanes◇ BOY-BNF NJ665646, 1791×99 *Arrdane* (*OSA* xx, 344 BFF-BNF), obscure: Danish archers (loc. cit.; *NSA* xiii, 224; OSnb 7:31).

³¹ Clardon THU-CAI ND149695, 1604 *Clareden* (*Retours* no. 5), obscure: cry of "clear the Dane" (Torfæus 1866, 168).

³² Dunshelt AMY-FIF NO249104, 1611 *Dwnscheill* (*RMS* vii no. 488), ScG n.m. *dùn* 'fort': where fleeing or raiding Danes came to a halt (OSnb 13:3; *OGS*, under *Daneshalt*; Taylor 1995b).

SSE n. *rout* : 1³³

AYR

SSE n. *sword* : 1³⁴

BNF

Names containing the ethnonym are restricted to linear features³⁵ and supposed battlefields, while folk etymology is often not just false, but fanciful. Spatial distribution for both is wide, but temporal distribution is restricted to the period of Scots and Scottish Standard English, nominally post-1700. The earliest recording of a name with the ethnonym is 1710, for **Danes Dike** CRA-FIF.

This does not assist in determining whether **Danepark** SYM-AYR is an old field-name or a modern house-name, but the timeframe does suggest that the field-name **Dainelandes**† WHTV-CMB, recorded in 1578, is not due to folk etymology, and may possibly mark association with the ethnicity. Again, antiquarianism is unlikely for **Danyscottis**† LUP-ABD (recorded 1543), the generic of which refers to 'huts'; unfortunately the exact location and the nature of the huts are unknown. An unrecorded appellative 'Danish hut' is not feasible, as the various forms of the Older Scots adjective all have the vowel *-e-* (*DOST*, under *Dens*). But the genitive singular, 'dean's huts' with OSc n. *dane*, or the genitive of an unrecorded Older Scots anthroponym, are possibilities.³⁶

There are only two pre-1700 Dane-names that are classified in the study as probably containing the ethnonym, **Denbie** DTN-DMF (genitive plural of ON **Danr* + ON n.m. *býr*) and **Danna**‡ NKN-ARG (genitive plural of ON **Danr* + ON n.f. *ey*), 'settlement and island (respectively) associated with the Danes'.

The evidence for **Denbie** DTN-DMF is not consistent, and an argument can also be made from the early forms for the cognate, OE **Dene*,³⁷ with the suggestion that the

³³ Routdane‡ DLR-AYR (above): 'rout of Danes' (OSnb 20:23).

³⁴ Swordanes◊ BFF-BNF NJ669644, 1791×99 *Swordane* (*OSA* xx, 344), obscure: Danish swordsmen (*OSA* xx, 344; *NSA* xiii, 224; *OSnb* 7:31).

³⁵ A large linear earthwork is found in Dane's Cast I/DWN (*PNNI* Down 1, 109–11). Though the earthwork is tentatively dated to the fifth century (*PNNI* Down 4, 53–4), the name is not attested before the nineteenth century.

³⁶ Cf. the "etymologically obscure" Danes Moor E/NTP, 1467 *Danysmore* (Ekwall 1953, 156).

³⁷ In favour of ON gen. pl. *Dana* are: 1302×04 *Daneby*, 1455 *Danby*, 1561 *Daneby*, 1607 and 1611 *Danbie*, 1612 *Danabeis*, 1613 *Dambie*-*Danebie*, 1618 *Danbie*, 1625 *Danbeis*, 1641 *Dambies*. In favour of OE gen. pl. *Dena* are: 1460 *Daynby*, 1464 *Dainby*, 1507 and 1508 *Deneby*, 1510 *Denby*, 1518 *Denbe*, 1523 *Denbye*, 1542 *Denvy*, 1625 *Denbie*-*Dainbie*.

name may have been coined with northern OE n.? *bȳ*, a loan-word from ON n.m. *býr* or OD n.m. *bȳ* 'settlement' (*OED*, 1888 edn, under *by*; Bosworth & Toller 1898, s.v.; *VEPN* 2000, 104), adopted by analogy from the local toponymy.³⁸ The inconsistency continued up to OSnb 8:64 DMF in 1858, when *Danbie* was favoured by three local informants. Against them were set the local postmaster and the estate factor, supported by written evidence including a grave slab from the family of the estate owner, Carruthers:³⁹ it was the Establishment's favoured form, *Denbie*, which made it on to the map. It is argued by Fellows-Jensen (1985b), cited approvingly in *VEPN* (2000, 105), that most *bý(r)*-names in Cumberland and Dumfriesshire experienced replacement of their specific with the personal names of late eleventh-century Norman colonists, and a similar renaming is possible. But if the resilience of the *Danbie* form can be taken as confirmation of a Scandinavian derivation, then **Denbie** DTN-DMF can be seen as having retained its original name, albeit with vowel change, perhaps under the influence of the Older Scots reflex *Dane*. Nicolaisen (2001, 145) sees the Danby-names as reflecting a "sporadic" Danish, that is East Scandinavian, element in a settlement otherwise West Scandinavian in origin, arriving in Dumfriesshire from the south and south-east rather than by sea. He argues for West Scandinavian on the basis of indicative "test-words" in the toponymy. Fellows-Jensen (1985b, cited in *VEPN* 2000, 105), on the other hand, believes from the distribution pattern in England that the original *bý(r)*-names themselves indicate Danish influence. The individual settlement pattern of **Denbie** DTN-DMF, however, supports Nicolaisen's view (*loc. cit.*). Either way, **Denbie** DTN-DMF is to be viewed as comparable to three Danby-names in North Yorkshire, derived from ON **Danr* (Ekwall 1953, 157; Mills 1998, 109; *VEPN* 2000, 107),⁴⁰ rather than to Denby in Derbyshire and in West Yorkshire,⁴¹ from OE **Dene* (Mills 1998, 111; *VEPN* 2000, 105, 107; Ekwall 1953, 156–7, with less certainty).

³⁸ **Denbie** DTN-DMF is in the midst of a cluster of *thwaite*-names, a generic ultimately from ON n.f. *þveit* 'clearing; meadow, paddock', but which in some names at least have been coined with a loan-word borrowed into Old English or Older Scots (Nicolaisen 2001, 133–8; in Iceland, *þveit* is seen by Cleasby and Vigfusson (1874, s.v.) as originally denoting an 'outlying cottage with its paddock'). There is, of course, no certainty that these names were coined contemporaneously with **Denbie** DTN-DMF, and they could be seen as being subsequent to, and influenced by, a Scandinavian settlement here.

³⁹ The other written evidence was Johnston's county-map and the valuation roll (OSnb 8:64 DMF).

⁴⁰ Danby SE159871, Danby NZ707085, Danby Wiske SE338983, all 1086 *Danebi* (Ekwall 1953, 157).

⁴¹ Both 1086 *Denebi*. Also Denaby E/YOW, 1086 *Denegbi*, with OE gen. pl. *Denigea* (Ekwall 1953, 156).

Danna‡ NKN-ARG is a small inhabited island,⁴² but is attached to the mainland by a tiny bridge, and so has not been considered in the study to be in the Hebrides. The adjacent promontory, itself almost an island, similarly has an Old Norse-derived name, Ulva ('wolf island'), and it is argued in the study that the name **Scotnish** NKN-ARG, ON 'headland of promontories', applies to the whole of the peninsula. When EG *Danar* was first recorded, in relation to a fleet of the *Danair* in the Hebrides in 986–988 (*AU*), it apparently referred to Danes, and Danes who had arrived round the north of Scotland (Woolf 2007, 217–8), showing that this route was possible. It may even have been in this context that **Danna**‡ NKN-ARG gained its name, as a shore-base with ready access to the Ulster coast, or home to a Dane or Danes who stayed behind when the fleet headed south.

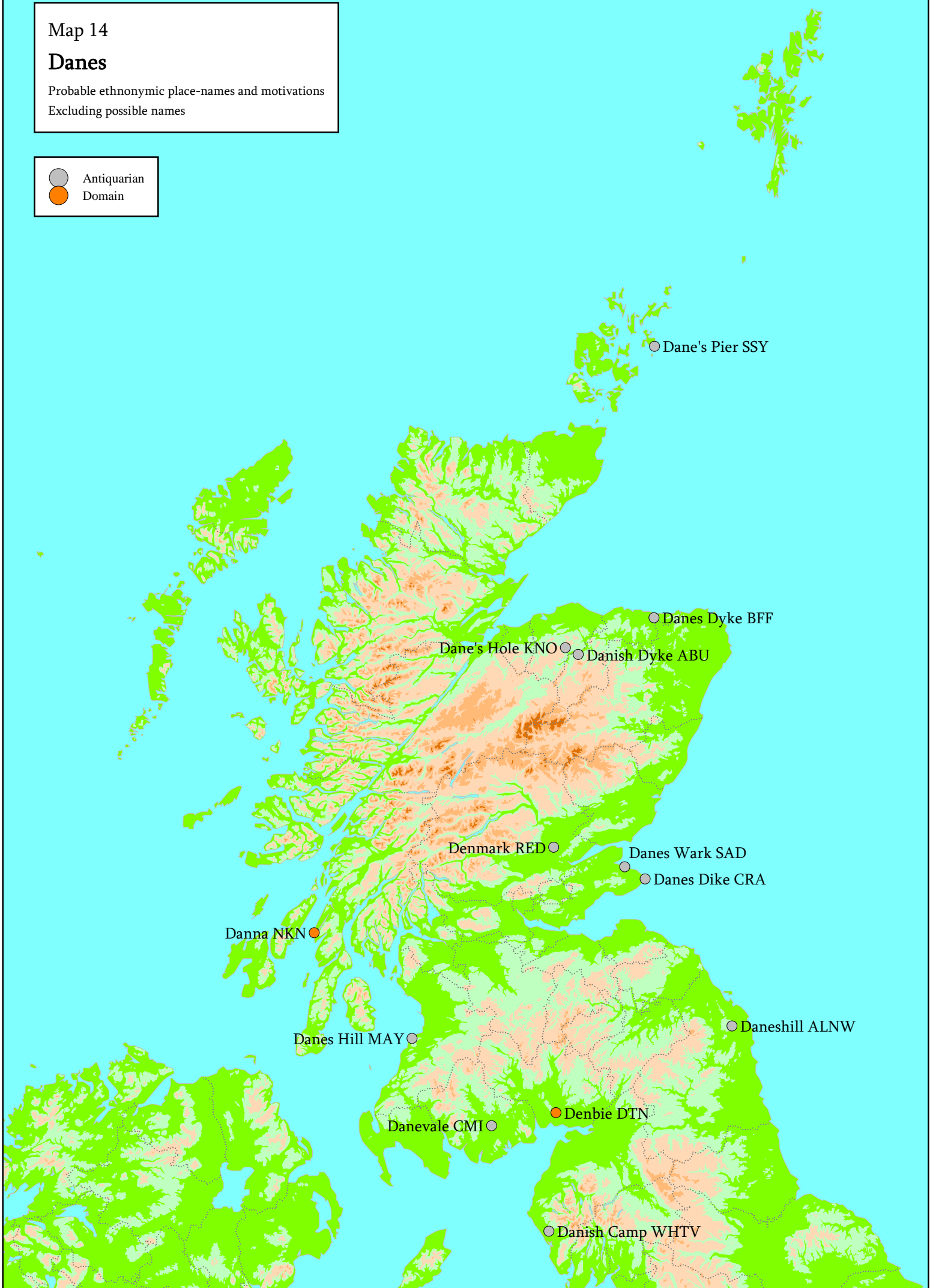
⁴² Cf. Dengie E/ESX (c.707 *Deningei*), seen as being 'Danes' island' by Addison (1978, 24, 91), though Mills (1998) considers that it probably contains OE anthro. *Dene*; and Denny E/CAM, 1160×71 *Deneia insula*, 'Danes' island' (Ekwall 1953, 156; Gelling & Cole 2000, 42).

Map 14

Danes

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding possible names

- Antiquarian
- Domain



14 Other ethnonyms related to Nordics

Probable identifications: 12 (see Map 14, p. 137)

Possible identifications: 17

Other Nordic ethnicities and population groups encountered in place-names in the study area are as follows, showing region of origin, then language.¹ The geographical distribution of probable names only is indicated:

Finland	ON n.m. <i>Finnr</i> ²	SHE
Iceland	SE n. <i>Icelander</i> ³	SHE
Scandinavia	ScG n.m. <i>Lochlannach</i> ⁴	INV ^{Heb}
	OE n.m. <i>Norðmann</i> ⁵	—
	Osc n./adj. <i>Norman</i> ⁶	FIF
	e.ESE n./adj. <i>Norman</i> ⁷	—
	SE n. n./adj. <i>Norman</i> ⁸	ABD, FIF
	SE n. <i>Norseman</i> ⁹	—
	SE n. <i>*Swedishman</i> ¹⁰	SUT

¹ Osc n. *Norn* developed with reference to the Norse communities of the Northern Isles and their Norse language, derived from ON adj. *norræn* 'northern, Norse, Norwegian' (Cleasby & Vigfusson 1874, under *norrænn*; *DOST*, s.v.; *OED*, s.v.). The claim by Watson (1926, 522) that *Nornecaldar*† HAL-CAI ND110615, 1538 *Norne Caldour* (*ER* xvii, 754) *Norne-caldar* (*RMS* iii no. 1798), formed a contrasting pair with **Scotsaldar** HAL-CAI, and equated with ScG **Caladal nan Gall**◊ HAL-CAI, implying that *Norn* also applied to the Norse culture in Caithness, has not been sustained. Also deriving from Osc adj. *northin* 'northern' is Myrelandhorn WIK-CAI ND275580, 1538 *Myreland-Norne* (*RMS* iii no. 1798): notably, 1623 *Myrellandnorthin* (*RMS* viii no. 481).

² **Finnister** NES-SHE, **Funzie Girt** FET-SHE. Names with the letter string *fin* have been ignored, with a working assumption that this represents ScG adj. *fionn* 'white'. Exceptions to this are those names in a Norse linguistic context, which gives possible **Finnibek** YEL-SHE, **Finnies Haven** CAY-CAI, **Finnigarth** WAS-SHE, **Finsteg**† FET-SHE and **Geo of Newfinnamie** UNS-SHE.

³ **Icelander** UNS-SHE.

⁴ **Eileanan Lochlannach**◊ SUS-INV^{Heb}, **Sgeir an Lochlannaich** DSH-INV^{Heb}.

⁵ Possible: **Ormathwaite** COCK-CMB.

⁶ **Norman's Law** ABE^{dtchd}-FIF. Possible: **Norman Knowes**† LBN-MLO, **Normangill** CRW-LAN, **Normanneskoende**† COCK-CMB. Discounted as containing the derivative anthroponym (Alexander 1952, 110) is Rothienorman FYV-ABD NJ721357, 1257 *villa Normanni* (*Abdn Reg.* i, 25). Normanville is a "false" Scottish place-name, though a territorial designation for families in medieval records. The reference is to outwith the study area, probably to Normanton E/RUT SK934062 (*CDS* i nos. 339, 385, 1314).

⁷ Possible: **Norman** WIGT-CMB, **Norman Crag** PENR¹-CMB.

⁸ **Norman Faughs**† PCR-ABD, **Normandykes** PCR-ABD, **Norman's Well** PCR-ABD, **Norrie's Law** LAR-FIF. Possible: **Norman Close**† COCK-CMB, **Norman Crag** PENR²-CMB, **Norman's Castle** DRZ-PEB, **Norriesknow**† CER-FIF, **Norrieswell**† CER-FIF.

⁹ Possible: **Norsmerchant**◊ SAD-FIF.

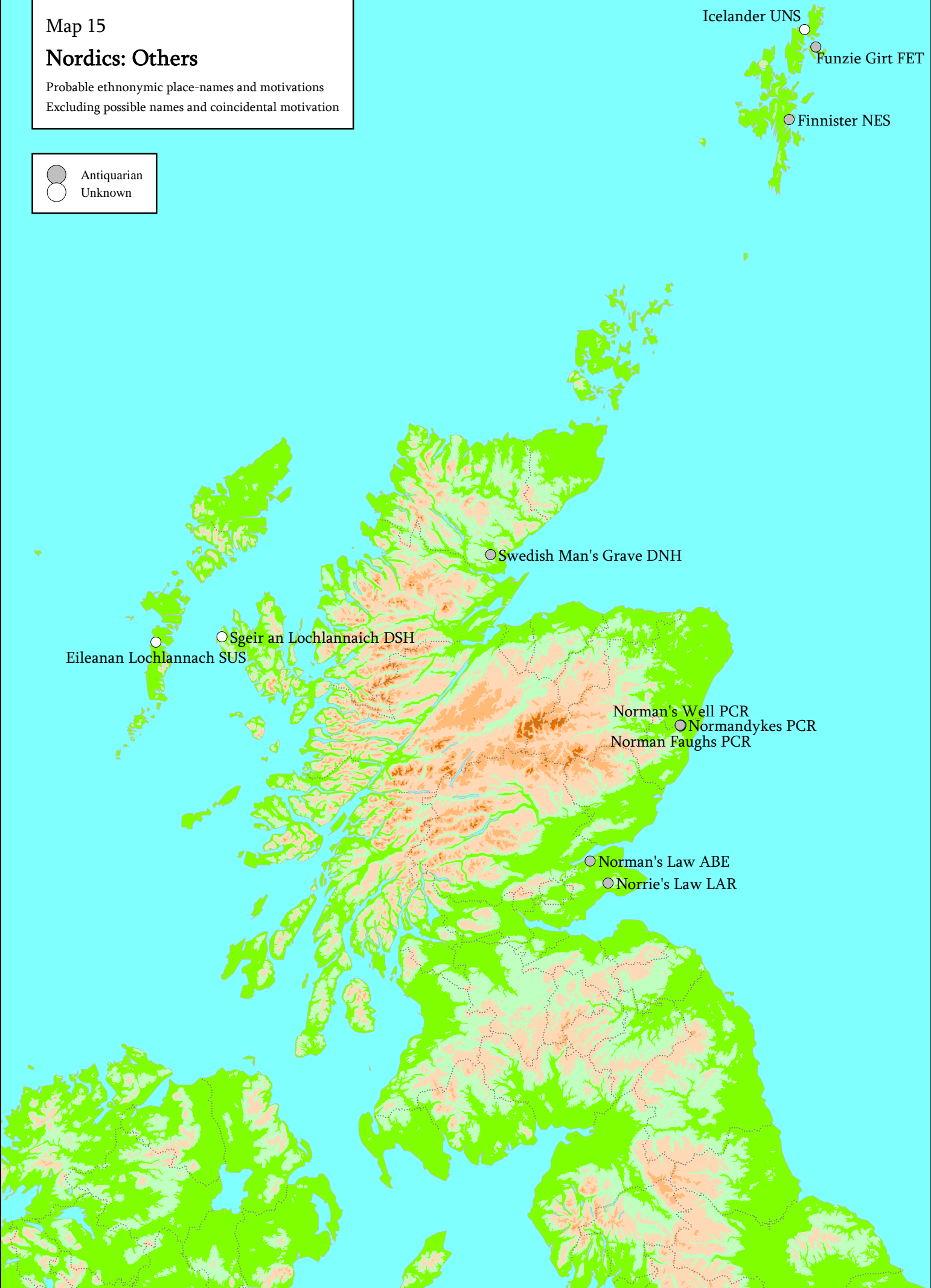
¹⁰ **Swedish Man's Grave**† DNH-SUT.

Map 15

Nordics: Others

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding possible names and coincidental motivation

● Antiquarian
○ Unknown



Ethnonyms associated with
normanised incomers

15 French: ethnonyms derived from OFr adjective *Franceis*

Probable identifications: 18 (see Map 16, p. 148)

Possible identifications: 13

OFr *Franceis*, *François* (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Franceis*

nom. pl. *Franceis*

gen. pl. *Franceis*

adj. *Franceis, François*

The OFr adjective *Franceis* may be compounded with ME n. *how* 'hill' in **Frauncishowes**† WHTV-CMB, recorded in 1338, at the close of the Old French period. This assumes pronunciation of the *-c-* with [s] rather than [k]; however, if the Old French influence is in fact solely orthographic and [k] is intended, then the adjective will be OSc **Frankis*.

BrB **Franc*¹ (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. **Franc*

nom. pl. *Frainc, Freinc*

gen. pl. *Frainc, Freinc*

The one name identified is **Strawfrank**‡ CST-LAN. The suggestion of a vegetation appellative W. n.m. **ffranc*, below, offers a potential alternative, but a conspicuous conical hillock near the present settlement suggests a motte or castle-hill.

¹ Recorded as MW n.m. *Ffranc*, plural *Ffrainc, Ffreinc*, in the thirteenth century (*GPC*, s.v.).

ON Frakki (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Frakka*

nom. pl. *Frakkar*

gen. pl. *Frakka*

No name with this ethnonym has been securely identified in the study area. The only place-name in the study area to potentially contain this ethnonym is **Frakkafeld** TWL-SHE. However, there is no feature to identify with the ethnicity, and the name may contain the male ON given name *Frakki*, considered by Cleasby and Vigfusson (1874, under *frakka*) to be present in the Icelandic farm-name Frakkanes.

EG Frangc, Frangcach (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Fraingc, Frangcaigh*

nom. pl. *Fraingc*

gen. pl. *Frangc, Frangcach*

adj. *Frangcach*

Seemingly restricted to literary use before the twelfth century (*DIL*, under *franc*), no name containing EG *Frangc(ach)* has been found in the study area. It is postulated by the study that apparent instances in fact contain ScG n.? **fraing* 'cross-leaved heath *Erica tetralix*'.

EG n.m. *frangán*, with a stem *frangc* + diminutive suffix, was applied to a genus of flowering plants in the daisy family (*DIL*, s.v.).² This is clearly unrelated to the Scots Gaelic use of the ethnonymic adjective in a number of plant-names as a translation from the English or scientific name. But it is proposed that a Scots Gaelic reflex of the stem EG n.m. **frangc* is likely for native species. ScG **fraing* is found as a prefix in *frangalus* (Dwelly, s.v.) and as a feminine genitive in *lus-na-Fraing* (ibid., s.v.), both for 'tansy *Chrysanthemum vulgare*'; also in a genitive form **frangach* applied to a number of native plant species.³ Welsh, too, might have had this element with reference to vegetation.

² Glossed as *Athanasia* and *Herba sanctæ Mariæ*.

³ *Fraoch Frangach* 'cross-leaved heath *Erica tetralix*' (Garvie 1999, 21), *seileach Frangach* 'goat willow *Salix caprea* (also French willow *Salix aquatica*)' (loc. cit.), *seileachan Frangach* 'rosebay *Chamænerion angustifolium*' (ibid., 18) and *ucas Frangach* 'dwarf mallow *Malva neglecta*' (ibid., 14).

Morgan (1998, 55) makes a plea for an investigation of W. n.m. *ffranc* in place-names, sometimes interpreted as 'mercenary', as it is found compounded with tree-names and with W. *rhiw* 'slope'. A vegetation reference is surely a plausible answer at least to this dilemma, and such an element may have been common to the Celtic languages. It is possibly found in **Strawfrank**‡ CST-LAN, though the ethnonym is preferred by the study.

MacBain (1922, 249–50) says that peaty and well-vegetated Cnoc Fraing ALE-INV is named for ScG n.m. *fraoch frangach* [*sic*] 'cross-leaved heath',⁴ though tansy might also be a candidate; a parallel is to be found in the 328m Tansy Hill LHM-DMF.⁵ Either plant might explain Loch Fraing KKV-ARG^{Heb}.⁶ Similarly, Port na Fraing KKV¹-ARG^{Heb} on Iona is normally interpreted as having some obscure association with France or (despite the grammatical gender) a Frenchman.⁷ However, a second, unmapped Port na Fraing◊ KKV²-ARG^{Heb} on Mull suggests a more prosaic etymology than some unique incident or association.⁸

ScG *Frangach* (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Frangaich*

nom. pl. *Frangaich*

gen. pl. *Frangach*

adj. *Frangach*

Whereas EG *Frangc* and *Frangcach* were probably largely restricted to literary use, the Scots Gaelic reflex is an established part of the lexicon. It appears in the toponymicon from the end of the fifteenth century in **Auchenfranco**‡ LRT-KCB (1489×90 *Auchinfrankauch*), though it is suggested below to date from 1250×1350.

⁴ NH806143, 1583×96 *Knockfranck* (Pont Map 8). A Badenoch term for a heather scouring-brush was ScG n.f. *fraings*, though there is disagreement on the constituent plant: Dwelly, under *fraings*' (implicitly for **fraingse*), says it was made of cross-leaved heath, and Barron (1950, 19) of bell-heather (which is his definition for *fraoch frangach* [*sic*]). Though Dwelly, s.v., refers to an alternative term for the plant, ScG *fraoch an ruinnse*, literally 'heather of the scourge', it would appear to be based on ScG n.? **fraing*.

⁵ NY319843, 1858 (OS 6" 1st edn). Named for the flower, according to Johnson-Ferguson (1935, 87).

⁶ NM544225, 1878 (OSnb 38:16; 74:135).

⁷ NM290252, 1857 *Port na Frang* (Reeves Map).

⁸ NM411186 (Maclean 1997, 133).

Among elements which may be confused with ScG *Frangach* is a genitive form, **frangach*, of ScG n.? **fraing* for various native plant species (see EG *Frangc*, above). MacBain (1922, 250) says that Cnoc Frangach† DRS-INV is named for ScG n.m. *fraoch* *Frangach* 'cross-leaved heath',⁹ while Watson (1904, 72) speculates that tansy might be the qualifying feature in *Srath-na-Frangach* (1570 *Strath of Aldnafrankyth*), now represented by Coire nam Frangach RSK-ROS;¹⁰ this may offer an alternative to the ethnonym in **Allt an Fhrangaich** LCA-ROS. Development of the final syllable might explain the final syllable in the meadow-name Delfrankie◇ GLB-ABD.¹¹ Either plant might be the referent in the upland sites of Glen Franka‡ CRW-LAN¹² and Imire Fhrangach† RHU-DNB.¹³

It is possible that a seemingly obsolescent fish-name, ScG n.m. *freangach* 'spurdog *Squalus acanthias*', is the referent in **Creagan nam Frangach** KKV-ARG^{Heb} and **Sloc nam Frangach**◇ BRR-INV^{Heb}. Though the coastal locations offer opportunity for contact with the ethnicity, through such as smuggling or maritime accident, the difference in pronunciation between *Frangach* and *freangach* can be restricted to the quality of the *-r-*. ScG n.m. *freangach* is given by Forbes (1905, 42) as 'pin-fish'; however, SE n. *pinfish* only applies to American freshwater or coastal species (*OED*, s.v.). It is postulated that the fish referred to is the spurdog, the only spiny dogfish that is common round the coasts of Britain (Dipper & Powell 1984, 202). IrG n.m. *freangach* is given by Robinson (1990, 44, 79, 86, 108) for the 'spotted dogfish', which features in the genitive plural in minor coastal names in his study area of Connemara I/DON.¹⁴ But the term *pin* is more applicable to the related spurdog, with its slender spine, or spur, in front of each dorsal fin being a distinctive feature of which fisherman must be wary (Dipper & Powell 1984, 202).¹⁵

⁹ @NH638401, 1641×54 *Knakfranga* (*GC* iii, 555).

¹⁰ NH625786, 1570 *Strath of Aldnafrankyth* (MacGill 1909 no. 25).

¹¹ NJ405148, 1871 (OSnb 38:58).

¹² NS895137, 1861 *Glen Franka Burn/Rig* (OSnb 18:160).

¹³ ?NS263900, nineteenth century (Newton 1999, 198–9).

¹⁴ Aill na bhFreangach, 'the cliff of the spotted dogfish' (Robinson 1990, 86), Dóilín Freangach, 'dogfish creek' (ibid., 79), and Fó na bhFreangach, 'the cove of the dogfish' (ibid., 44). Loch na bhFreangach, 'lake of the spotted dogfish', is freshwater, which Robinson (ibid., 108) can only explain by the improbable supposition of fish having being carried here by seagulls. The term is not in the *Focal* database.

¹⁵ There is confusion in the literature over the Gaelic terminology for dogfish, with *biorach* and *gobag* given for both the lesser-spotted dogfish *Scyliorhinus canicula* and the spurdog. The literal meaning of both is the 'pointed one', and though the shape of the two fish could be so described, the notable feature of the spurdog makes this the most likely referent. Another term, ScG n.f. *dallag*, literally 'blind one', suits the lesser-spotted dogfish; though not blind, it hunts by smell rather than sight (Dipper & Powell 1984, 202). A Gaelic saying cited by Forbes (1905, 358) emphasises its reputation for poor sight:

OE Franca, *Fronca* (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Franca*

nom. pl. *Franca*

gen. pl. *Franca(e)na*

adj. *Franca, Francisc*

This ethnonym did not establish a significant presence in Britain until the Norman invasion of England in 1066. No instances have been identified in the study. (Excluded from the study are suggestions of Old English names north of the firths of Forth and Clyde.)

Osc Franchman, *French, Frenchman* (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Franchmanis*

nom. pl. *Franchmanis*

gen. pl. *Franchmanis*

adj. *Frank, *Frankis,¹⁶ Franc(h)e, Frenche*

The variation in the quality of the vowel in the stem is due to either late, separate development of *Fran-*, or alteration under the influence of the country-name France (*OED*, under *French*).

SE Frenchman (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Frenchman's*

nom. pl. *Frenchmen*

gen. pl. *Frenchmen's*

adj. *French, e.ESE Frank†*

Cho dall ri dallag, 'as blind as a dogfish'. (Heard unprompted, in Nova-Scotian Gaelic in 2011 from Seumas Watson, as *cho dall ri gobag*.) The Scots name for the spurdog, *piky dog* (*SND*, under *pike*), also refers to the spine.

¹⁶ OSc n. *Frankman* and OSc adj. *Frankis* are found in historical reference to Gaul (*DOST*, under *Frankis*), though note the OSc surnames *Frankman*, *Franckysman* and *Frankissheman*, said by Black (1946, 278) to have originally meant a 'Frenchman, a native of France'. *Frankis* is also evidenced in Middle English (*OED*, under *French*).

The ethnonym is found as the adjective in **Frenchlaw**† WHI-BWK and **Frenchmill**† CPS-STL. The ethnonym is also possible in the relatively late-recorded names **French Flatt**◇ CARL-CMB, **Frenchland**† LWH-RNF, **French Park**† LRB-STL and **Frenchton** FOW-PER, though the Standard English surname *French* is at least as possible.

Dataset Overview

A small number of French-names have been motivated by discernible events or associations. **Frenchmill**† CPS-STL is said to have imported superior quality French millstones, though a competing tradition is of reconstruction by French Huguenot refugees. Though such refugees may possibly have been the figment of folk etymology, it is known that **Frenchmen's Row** CAST-NTB, originally built as accommodation for mineworkers, was used to house thirty-eight French royalist clergy refugees from 1796–1802. A low point of land, **Rubha nam Frangaich** INA-ARG, was remembered as being a trading-point for French merchants exchanging wine for Loch Fyne herring, in the days before a pier was built at nearby Inveraray. **Leac an Fhrangaich**◇ TIR-ARG^{Heb} seems to apply to a grave, presumably of a drowned French mariner or traveller washed ashore, but in **Frenchman's Rock** BOR-KCB and **Frenchman's Rocks** KCN-ARG^{Heb} the reference is to a wrecked vessel, in the former a pirate ship lost after a shore raid. Inland, tradition relates that a Frenchman is buried on the top of the knoll incorrectly renamed **Cnoc Fraing** MDL-INV (1873 *Cnoc an Fhrangaich*).¹⁷ Located by the main route through the Central Highlands, the burial of a French (or perceived French) traveller, civilian or involved in one of a number of military episodes, is certainly feasible (though note the similarity with 'French hill', below). The link to the ethnicity motivating the seemingly recent name **Frenchman's Neuk** AGK-PER is unknown.

Of more fundamental significance, however, is **Auchenfranco**‡ LRT-KCB (1489×90 *Auchinfrankauch*), 'the field of the French'. The use of the plural may refer to a settlement community collectively viewed as "French", or acting as the representatives of

¹⁷ The first edition of the OS 6" applied *Cnoc an Fhrangaich* to both Cnoc Fraing ALE-INV NH806143, 1583×96 *Knockfranck* (Pont Map 8), and **Cnoc Fraing** MDL-INV. In a book not organised by parish, the philologist Alexander MacBain amended the 6" entry to *Cnoc Fraing*, and though this mistake led to correction of Cnoc Fraing ALE-INV, as intended by MacBain (1922, 249), the confusion also led to the renaming of *Cnoc an Fhrangaich* MDL-INV.

that ethnicity. They occupied a site with a moated structure (*Canmore*, 65032), on level ground at the end of Lochrutton Loch. In the loch at NX89837299 is a crannog from the early Iron Age, but with evidence of occupation in the fourteenth century (*Canmore*, 65031), atypical for crannogs in the region (Henderson 1998, 230).¹⁸ The moated site gives no indication of having had fortification, which is in keeping with the non-military role ascribed to such sites by Peter Corser (*Atlas* 1996, 431). Corser says that such moated sites in Scotland are associated with the area of Anglo-Norman penetration, and on the basis of English evidence were at a peak between about 1250 and 1350. It would seem that we have a settlement of Anglo-Norman feudal inferiors, of seigniorial status (*loc. cit.*), operating an estate centre during a period of Gaelic linguistic dominance locally and contemporary with, and perhaps incorporating, occupation of the crannog.

It is notable that **Frenchland** MOF-DMF is identified on the map by Corser as a moated site of the same class. The late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century tower (*Canmore*, 49725) within the moated area is considered by *Canmore* (282514) to be unusually positioned in relation to the moat, and seemingly without reference to Corser, raises the possibility that the tower is secondary. This is of course in line with Corser's classification, and matches well the acquisition c.1245 of two oxgangs in Moffat DMF by Roger *Francis*, i.e. 'the Frenchman' (*PoMS*, person 8245). The place-name could derive from Roger himself or from members of the ethnicity brought in by him, or could be said to be from a surname developed from the ethnonym: Roger's father, William, was also known as Francis (*PoMS*, person 5226), and by the sixteenth century the family-name of the possessors of the tower was *Franche*. Of a different nature is the only French-name of British derivation, **Strawfrank**‡ CST-LAN, 'broad valley (portion) associated with a Frenchman'. There is no indication of a moated site, but there is a conical hillock here described as "conspicuous" by *Canmore* (71570). Unfortunately the hillock has not had the benefit of archaeological investigation to reveal whether it might be a motte or castle-hill.

Franksshelande‡ MLO has not been identified, and no medieval moated site has been recorded at **Frenchfield**‡ PENR-CMB, unless the cropmark of a single-ditched

¹⁸ Henderson (1998, 237) categorises Lochrutton crannog as being of an "historic type" (medieval or later occupation of larger islet sites, though not excluding the possibility of earlier occupation), but others in the region as being of a "South Western type" (timber mounds predominantly of later prehistoric occupation; *ibid.*, 236, 239).

enclosure at NY537299 (*PastScape*, 12079) was misinterpreted when classified in 1975 as Romano-British. An adjective is also probable in **Frankisbrige**† PENR-CMB, to judge from use with the definite article, though the meaning is obscure. It may have a parallel in Frank's Bridge, Welsh Pont-ffranc W/RAD, SO117560, though Morgan (1998, 55) points out that the original language is not known, and he considers 'bridge associated with a person called Frank' the most likely interpretation; but, if ME adj. *frank*, he says possibly 'bridge without tolls' (presumably with developed genitive ending by folk etymology). Morgan himself points out that many bridges did not have tolls before the late eighteenth century, making this uncertain. Perhaps the unifying feature is the design or construction of the bridge, after a French manner, though this is speculative.

Four obsolete names with various versions of the adjective are applied to hills:¹⁹ **Frauncishowes**† WHTV-CMB recorded 1338, **Frankhisshow**† COCK-CMB 1570 and 1664, **Frankhill**† WIGT-CMB 1553 and **Frenchlaw**† WHI-BWK 1797–1858. To these might tentatively be added the extant names **Frankie Hill** MGF-KCB 1851 and **Frango Hill** KCM-WIG 1849. The three names in Cumberland have not been identified other than by parish, but **Frenchlaw**† WHI-BWK was still a working farm at the time of OS 6" 1st edn. Reference is presumably to Doons Law NT86845155, a natural knoll with a possible barrow on top (*Canmore*, 59740). (**Frankie Hill** MGF-KCB is described as a small arable hill, climbing 43m from its base to 73m, and though **Frango Hill** KCM-WIG is bigger, it still only climbs 57m to 67m.) There is no indication that any of these are mottes, or that there are mottes in their parishes. One name is plural and presumably applied to closely associated hillocks. Indeed, the only known archaeological feature identified is the possible hilltop barrow, which does not readily relate to the French ethnicity. If there is a common derivation, the plural in **Frauncishowes**† WHTV-CMB rules out reference to use as castle-hills for Anglo-Norman forts. It is of course possible that, in the case of the three

¹⁹ Though SE n. *how* later developed the meaning 'artificial mound, tumulus, barrow', the earliest example given by *OED*, s.v., is in 1669, whereas the meaning 'hill, hillock' is evidenced from before 1340. That said, the etymology is ON n.m. *haugr* 'mound, cairn', so the size of hill implied was presumably always limited.

Cumberland minor names,²⁰ a motte has been levelled or been otherwise rendered obscure to archaeological knowledge, but the reality is that no solution readily presents itself.²¹

²⁰ All three are classified as "field"-names in *PNCu*.

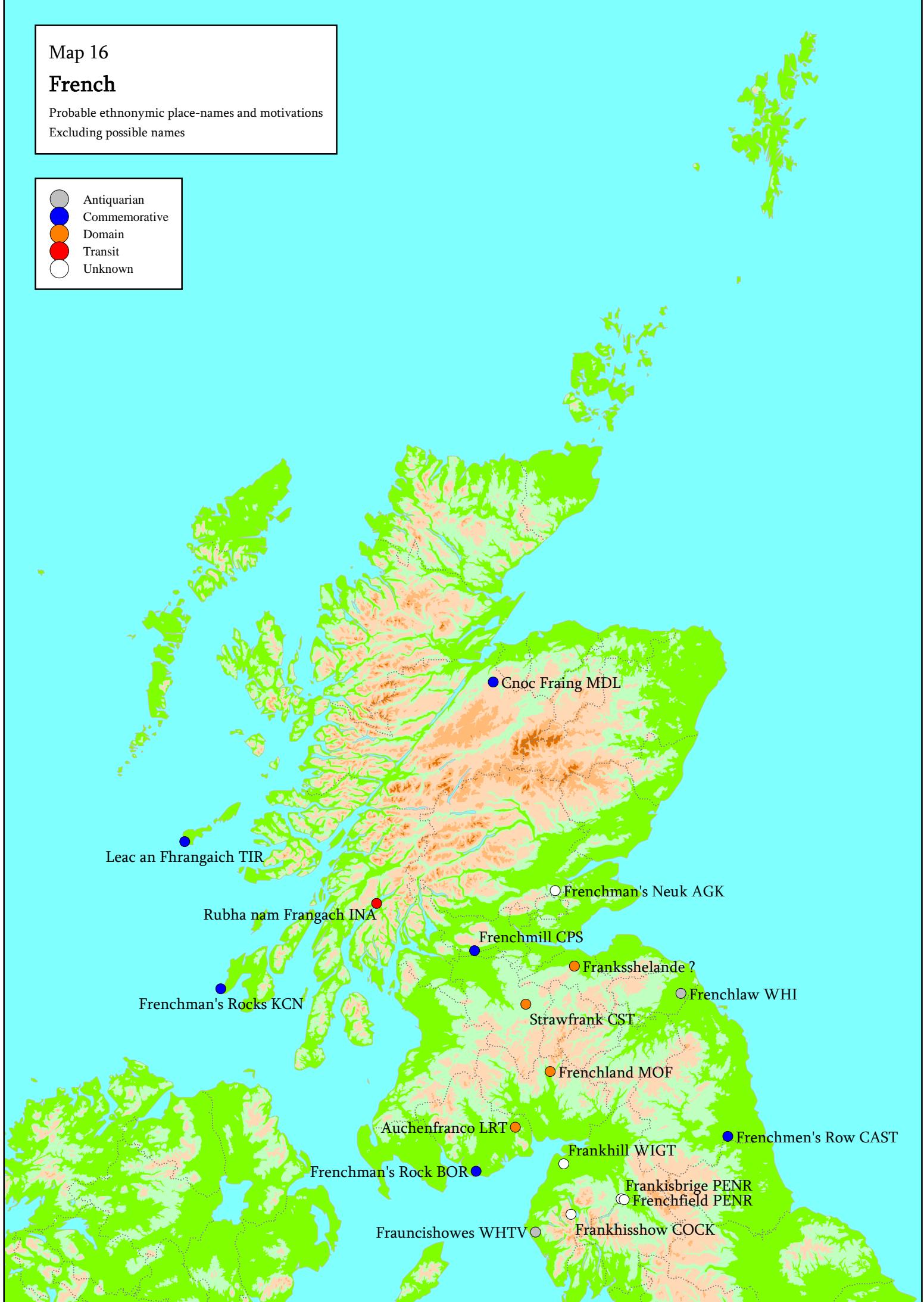
²¹ One possibility that would accommodate both singular and conceivably plural names is that of rabbit warren "pillow mounds". Rabbits were introduced by the Normans for economic purposes, and were supported as late as the twentieth century by artificial mounds. However, though evidence for such a mound dating to at least the fourteenth century comes from Brynseygrfan in Dyfed, Wales, these are mostly a feature of the post-medieval period. See Muir 2004, 277–81.

Map 16

French

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding possible names

- Antiquarian
- Commemorative
- Domain
- Transit
- Unknown



16 Welsh: ethnonyms derived from OE singular *Walh*

Probable identifications: 4 (see Map 17, p. 160)

Possible identifications: 8

OE *Walh* (nom. sg., masc.)¹

gen. sg. *Wales*

nom. pl. *Walas*

gen. pl. *Wala*

adj. *Welisc, Wælisc*

OE *Walh* (West Saxon OE *Wealh*) originally applied to someone from a Romanised society,² and in the context of the British Isles after Anglo-Saxon settlement, it is found associated with Romano- and other British.³ As anglicisation of southern Britain progressed, its plural produced the English names for the increasingly distinct areas of Wales and Cornwall,⁴ and whereas at the end of the ninth century *W(e)alas* could be used of any Britons in English territory, this ceased to be the case by the eleventh century.

OE *Walh* has been the most systematically addressed ethnonym in toponymics in the British Isles.⁵ It has been shown to have a wide distribution across most of England, the most notable exception being the far north, including Cumberland and Northumberland (Cameron 1980, 28). Scotland, partly perhaps because of this apparent

¹ Note also OE n.f. *Wāle, Wēala*, defined by Clark-Hall (1916, s.v.) as 'Welshwoman, female slave'.

² The range of application is made clear by the example of *walnut* (*OED*, s.v.), recorded as OE n.f. *walhhnutu* (OE n.m. *walh* + OE n.f. *hnutu* 'nut') c.1050 and in other Germanic languages subsequently, and contrasting the walnut of Gaul and Italy with their native hazelnut; notably, unqualified Romance reflexes of Latin *nux* 'nut' designates the walnut. (*OED* says, under *walnut*, that the ethnonym applies to a 'Celtic or Roman foreigner', but this falsely equates Britons with Celts and should read "Romanised Celtic or Roman foreigner".)

³ A suggestion that the term was sometimes applied to settlers and traders of various European nationalities has been rebuffed by Hough (2007, 114, critically citing Pelteret 1995, 320), arguing that specifics tend to comprise low-level hyponyms rather than superordinate terms (but cf. ScG *Gall* 'alien' as a frequent specific.)

⁴ Wales from OE plural *Walas* '(the) Welsh' (Reaney 1964, 83; Cameron 1996, 26, 44–9; Mills 1998, 362); Cornwall from OE *Corn-Walas*, 'Welsh associated with the Cornovii ('promontory-folk')' (Cameron 1996, 53; Mills 1998, 97). A simplex existing name rules out the related ethnonym being behind Cornish Hill STT-AYR NX404942, 1654 *Raing of Kornish* (Blaeu Map), with Cornish Loch STT-AYR NX409940, 1654 *L<och> [Etta.k.a.rn]* (Blaeu Map).

⁵ In particular by Faull (1976; 1981), Gelling (1978; 1988) and Cameron (1980; 1996). Initially sceptical of the frequency of OE *Walh* in place-names, Gelling had already fallen in line with Faull and Cameron by 1980 (Cameron 1980, 7; Gelling 1988, 251).

northern limit, has not received the attention of English-based toponymists in respect of this element. The core survey, by Cameron (1980), focused on those names with linguistic evidence of the genitive plural (OE *Wala*, with Middle English reflex *Wale-*), so avoiding the major pitfalls of misinterpretation and dispute (ibid., 8).⁶ Cameron (ibid., 28–33) drew together a thirteen-point conclusion on the English evidence of OE *Walh* in place-names.⁷ Those points that are potentially of significance to the data in the study area being considered here can be summarised (with the original numbering given by Cameron) as indicating that:

- "Hardly any" names derive from common Old English words for 'slaves', whereas a number derive from ethnonyms (2), and that the coining of *Walh*-names was before the appellative developed any derogatory overtones (3). This is of importance because of the secondary, but arguably marginal, development of OE n.m. *walh* in the lexicon as 'slave' (Cameron 1980, 3–6, citing Faull 1975, 35), which Cameron therefore rejects as being a likely toponymic interpretation.
- Most *Walh*-names denote small settlements, ethnically distinct and distinctive in the locality (6).
- There is very often a relationship with a relatively important local Anglo-Saxon settlement or estate, with the *Walh*-names seemingly as "outliers", suggesting an intimate connection between the inhabitants (7).
- The *Walh*-names are on marginal soil or in minor side valleys, on the fringes of Anglo-Saxon settlement (8).
- In some areas, *Walh*-names occur in pairs (9).

⁶ OE n.m. *wald* 'wood' was one of the major identification issues for the survey of the English corpus, but it has not been encountered in the study; similarly Mercian OE n.? *wælle* 'spring'.

⁷ Those with little or no relevance to the study area are as follows (with original numbering): (1) A wide distribution, though with gaps such as "the extreme north, both north-west and north-east, of the country", i.e. England. (4) Four uninflected compounds with OE n.nt. *fær* 'passage', n.m. *ford* 'ford', n.nt. *geat* 'gate' and n.m. *weg* 'way' suggest an earlier Old English period and that they were compound appellatives, not *ad hoc* place-name formations; but these have not been found in the study area. (5) Simplex names for presumably isolated communities of Welsh on or close to major boundaries of the time. (11) Often in association with Roman(o-British) archaeological remains south of County Durham and North Yorkshire.

- Some *Walh*-names are located very close to a place with a name of Celtic origin (for which read, P-Celtic) (10).
- A small but significant number of place-names derive from the related OE anthroponym *W(e)alh*,⁸ denoting both small settlements and important estates and some clearly coined early in local settlement by Anglo-Saxons (12).
- Though some *Walh*-names belong to an early stratum of Old English names, others such as the Walcot-names and possibly Walton-names are later (late seventh or eighth century; *ibid.*, 34), and might reflect pockets of ethnically distinct *Walh* individuals or groups (13).

Excluded from the current study are suggestions of Old English names north of the firths of Forth and Clyde. Also excluded are place-names with the letter strings *-wal(l)* or *-walloch* in final position, given that grammar does not permit a phrase-final genitive for the ethnonym OE *Walh*. Name-initial OSc n. *wall* 'wall' (representing earlier OE n.m. *wall*?) occurs in Walton BRMP-CMB⁹ and Waldore† BRMP-CMB,¹⁰ with reference to Hadrian's Wall, and the reflex SSE n. *wall* appears to be in Wall Sike CSL-ROX (which flows for most of its length through a walled enclosure).¹¹ Name-initial OSc n. *well* 'spring, well' is found as the variant *wall* in reference to a long spring-fed boggy hollow;¹² to an area of woodland,¹³ and to a stream in an early recording of the 'spring-burn' type.¹⁴ There

⁸ Wallingford E/BRK, Wallstone E/DRB, Wallsworth E/GLO, Walsall E/STF, Walsham E/NFK E/SFK, Walshford E/YOW, Wealas Hube† E/SUR, Wellsworth E/HMP (Cameron 1980, 46). OE *Walh* is found both as a simplex anthroponym (recorded from the late seventh century) and as a first or second element in dithematic names, and probably in the hypocoristic form *Wal(a)ca* (*ibid.*, 5). The only possibility in the study is OE **hundwalh*, probably in Hundles Hope MAN-PEB NT230364, 1259 *Hundewulchopp- Hundwaluchishope* {APS i, 98} (Black 1946, 370), though it is more economic to view this as the job description of 'kennel-man' (recorded as West Saxon OE n.m. *hundwealh*; Clark Hall 1916), rather than invoke an unrecorded anthroponym. The SSE surname *Waugh* (in Waugh's Wood DDR-DMF NS884027, 1858 (OSnb 14:180) and Waughslea HFM-DMF NY329749, 1755 *Waxlee* (Roy Map)), is apparently a reduced form of the family-name *Wauchope* (with whom the Waughs share a coat of arms), itself from the place-name **Wauchope**† LHM-DMF (Black 1946, 804–5). This secondary development, rather than being direct from the similar-sounding OE *Walh*, explains how such a surname has developed in Scotland.

⁹ NY522644, 1169 {C18 Lanercost cartulary MS, unspecified} (PNCu 1, 114).

¹⁰ @NY522644, 1485 {*Cal. Inq.*} (PNCu 1, 115).

¹¹ NY603993, 1860 (OSnb 5:123).

¹² Walden GBA-ELO NT559675, 1545 *Waldene* (RSS iii no. 1063).

¹³ Wellwood† MUK-AYR NS667259, 1595 *Walwod* (RMS vi no. 224).

¹⁴ Wallbekk† COCK-CMB @NY123306, 1578 {TCWAAS 23} (PNCu 2, 363).

are several instances in the area surveyed combined with OSc n. *toun* 'settlement'.¹⁵ The reflex ScS n. *wall* is not found within the limitations set. A related term, OSc participial adj. *welland* 'surging', is found once with the same lowered vowel.¹⁶

As there remains a large number of potential, but improbable, instances of OE *Walh* to the south of this line, such names have further been restricted by excluding those with little or no semantic parallel displayed by the corpus of English names considered in the literature to potentially contain OE *Walh* (unless with a form suggesting [walx], or if the ethnonym has been suggested for a particular name in the literature). The parallels are Walburn ('burn, stream'),¹⁷ Walcot ('cottage'),¹⁸ Walden ('dean'),¹⁹ Walford ('ford'),²⁰ Walham ('enclosure'),²¹ Walmer ('loch'),²² Walmore ('moor'),²³ Walshaw ('copse')²⁴ and Walton ('settlement').²⁵

OSc *Welscheman*, *Walisman* (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Welschemenis, Walismenis*

nom. pl. *Welsche(menis), Walismenis*

gen. pl. *Welschemenis, Walismenis*

adj. *Welsche*

No name with the noun OSc *Welscheman* has been found in the study area, though the term does appear in the lexicon (*DOST*, s.v.). The potential ethnonymic names

¹⁵ Walton in BCN-WLO NT026793, 1336 *Wilton* {*CDS*} (MacDonald 1941, 33); in CAS-DNB NS359772, 1536 *Weltoun* (*RMS* iii no. 1588); in DPH-LAN NT092490, 1511 *Weltoun* (*RMS* ii no. 3635); in FAK-STL NS791772, 1450 *Weltoune* (*RMS* ii no. 353); in FTY-STL ‡ @NS657864, 1465 *Weltoune* (*RMS* ii no. 832); and in MEA-RNF NS486547, 1542 E/W. *Weltoun*-E. *Veltoun* (*RSS* ii no. 4978). Walston contains the plural in KMK-AYR NS468408, 1488 *Welston* (*ER* x, 45) Nr/O. *Wilstoun* (*RMS* ii no. 1760), and in WAL-LAN NT057456, 1296 *Wallestone?* (*CDS* ii p. 212), with Walston Well NT068457.

¹⁶ Wallin Burn DRZ-PEB NT127290, 1858 (OSnb 8:6).

¹⁷ Walbrook E/BRK, E/DEV, E/MDX (possibly E/HRT, E/YOW), Walburn E/YON.

¹⁸ Walcot(t)(e) E/LEI, E/LIN, E/NFK, E/NTP, E/OXF, E/SHR, E/WAR, E/WML, E/WOR (possibly E/SSX), Wawcott E/BRK. Possible: Walcotes E/GLO, Wallcote E/DOR.

¹⁹ Walden E/ESX, E/HRT, E/YON. Possible: Waledene E/OXF.

²⁰ Walford E/DEV, E/HRE, E/SOM, Walter (OE n.f. *faru* 'way' applied to a ford) E/ESX.

²¹ Walham E/GLO, Wallon E/WAR.

²² Walmer E/KNT, E/WOR.

²³ Walmire E/YON, Walmore E/GLO.

²⁴ Walshaw E/YOW.

²⁵ Walton E/BRK, E/CHE, E/DRB, E/ESX, E/KNT, E/LEI, E/LIN, E/LNC, E/SFK, E/SHR, E/SSX, E/STF, E/SUR, E/WML, E/YOW (possibly E/GLO, E/NFK), Walsworth (*Waltonesforde*) E/HRT.

identified contain the adjective, or the first element of OSc *Walisman* used attributively. However, independent use of this element has not been recorded by *DOST*, and evidence for names with the adjective is not strong.²⁶ No instance of the Old English adjective as an ethnonymic toponym is proffered by Cameron, despite Middle English examples²⁷ (though Cox is of the view that OE gen. sg. *Wales* "would make more satisfying sense"; *PNLei* 2, 76, with reference to Walchemoresedes† E/LEI). OSc *Welsche* is derived from Anglian OE adj. *Welisc*, but OSc **Walis* must be derived from OFr adj. *Waleis* 'foreign'. Black (1946, 799) believed that it referred to a 'Strathclyde Briton', as is ultimately the SSE anthroponym *Wallace*, according to *OED*, s.v., though Alex Woolf (pers. comm. in 2011) has suggested that it may in fact refer to Romance-speakers.

Rejected as candidates for the ethnonym are *Wallace*-names only recorded with the genitive ending -'s, with a working assumption that this represents the related OSc anthroponym *Walleis* or its reflex SSE *Wallace*.²⁸ Only one of the Older Scots names for which the eponym can be positively or potentially identified is extant.²⁹ Each uses the form *Wallace* almost exclusively, name-final if an affix to an existing name. Such affixes had seemingly been dropped by 1654,³⁰ with change of ownership being one apparent motivation for this.³¹ In most cases, however, the etymology has had to be allocated to the anthroponym on the basis of probability.³² In at least one further name, Cambuswallace†

²⁶ **Walston** TRB-AYR, **Walstone**† PCK-MLO (with **Welschewod**† PCK-MLO), **Wellshouses**† MAN-PEB, **Welsh Mires** GLEN-NTB, **Welshie Law** YAR-SLK.

²⁷ E.g. Walschewardyn† E/SHR, 1454×55, 'Welsh enclosure' (*PNSa* 3, 186); Walsden E/YOW, 1235 *Walseden*, 'valley of the British' (Faull 1981, 175); Walchemoresedes† E/LEI, C13 *Walsemoresedis*, 'Welsh moor enclosure' (*PNLei* 2, 76).

²⁸ King, *Wallace* (224–5) lists and maps eighty-three place-names considered to feature the anthroponym.

²⁹ Aikheid-Wallace† DLP-AYR NS375479, 1580 (1587 *RMS* v no. 1353); Auchinbothy Wallace† LWH-RNF NS397564, 1490 (*RMS* ii no. 2010), 1398 Wallaces of Elderlie {Fowlers Paisley directory} (OSnb 16:157); Bonnalay-Wallace† COT-MLO NT213683, 1609 *Bonaylawallace* (*Retours* no. 281), from owner (Dixon 1947, 147); Drumley-Wallace† TRB-AYR NS404250, 1627 (*RMS* viii no. 1177); Johnstoun-Wallace† KBA-RNF NS411624, 1490 (*RMS* ii no. 2010); Wallaceland† KR-D-PER (unidentified), 1563 *Thornehill* a.k.a. *Wallaceland* (1565 *RMS* iv no. 1640); Wallacelands† CML-AYR NX111836, 1529 *Glentig* a.k.a. *Wallace-land* (*RSS* ii no. 354) *Wallace-landis*† → ½ *Glentig* (*RSS* ii no. 479); Wallacerigg† GRM-STL NS912771, 1583×96 (Pont Map 32), said that troops of William Wallace were posted here in 1298 (Nimmo 1880 iii, 168–9).

³⁰ Aikheid-Wallace† DLP-AYR is recorded *Akittwallace* a.k.a. *Nethir Aikheid* in 1653 (*Retours* no. 454), but *N<ether> Akett* in 1654 (Blaeu Map).

³¹ Auchinbothy Wallace† LWH-RNF is so named in 1490 (*RMS* ii no. 2010), 1514 (*ER* xiv, 550) and 1539 (*ER* xvii, 765), but the family and the affix had gone by the next recording, in 1572 (*RMS* iv no. 2069).

³² Lie Thornie-Wallace† PAI-RNF @NS482612, 1574 (*RMS* iv no. 2179); Wallace Craigie† DDE-ANG NO411309, 1539 *Vallace-cragy* (*RMS* iii no. 1982), with The Wallace Burn† DDE-ANG @NO4231 (Dorward 1998, 142) and Wallacetown† DDE-ANG @NO409312, 1861 (OSnb 30:29); Wallace-cruikis† ECC-BWK NT812408, 1588 (1613) *lie Wallacecruik* (*RMS* vii no. 947); Wallace Farm KBE-AYR NS319564, 1755 *Wallace* (Roy Map), 1775 *Willis Ruding* (Armstrong Map), cf. Williamridden† DAY-AYR NS308457, 1828 (Thomson Map); Wallacelands† CHM-BWK @NT903659, 1621 (*Retours* no. 122); Wallacelands† LEW-LAN @NS773433, 1595 *Wallace-landis* (*RMS* vi no. 288); Wallace's Mill† IWK-ELO NT683729,

KMA-PER NN710032 (1491 *Cambusvallance*), OSc anthroponym *Vallance* has been reinterpreted as *Walleis* (first recorded in 1510 *Campiswallace*), and tales of the national hero William Wallace attached to it.³³ Such tales are attached to some genuine anthroponymic names,³⁴ but also to a couple of false ones,³⁵ making it unsafe as evidence.³⁶ Wallacerigg† GRM-STL may have been named from a genuine association and Wallacestone GRM-STL nearby certainly was, though even this has attracted folkloric embellishment.³⁷ The two instances of name-final SSE *Wallace* have identified eponyms: but as they are recorded, and become obsolescent, at the beginning of the Scottish Standard English period, they belong more with the Older Scots names, and may even be antiquarian (re)constructions.³⁸ Five name-initial instances in Scottish Standard English have likely candidates for the eponyms available,³⁹ and two others are applied to small twentieth-century developments.⁴⁰

1650 *Wallace-milne* (*Retours* no. 224); Wallacetoun AUK-AYR NS602215, 1636×52 *Wallacetoun* (Gordon Map 60); Wallacetoun CAS-DNB NS356777, 1444 *Walastoune* (*RMS* ii no. 273); Wallacetoun DFS-DMF NX998762, 1858 (OS 6" 1st edn), Wallacetown DAI-AYR NS277030, 1654 *Wallakestou*<*n*> (Blaeu Map); Wallacetown DUB-PER NO154190, 1465 *Walacetoun* (*ER* vii, 671) *Walastoune* (*RMS* ii no. 831); Wallacetown‡ MLB-DMF NY207748, 1638 Nr.*Straithe* a.k.a. *Walleleton* (*vel* *Wallaldtoun*) (*Retours* no. 165); Walliswairdwork† (unidentified) AYR (1666 *Retours* no. 548). Of the same period are e.ESE Wallace Field CARL-CMB NY504491, 1662 *Wallasfield* {Dean & Chapter of Carlisle MS, unspecified} (*PNCu* 1, 165), and e.ESE Walles Land† PENR-CMB @NY646325, 1570 {remembrancer} (*PNCu* 2, 266).

³³ *Cambuswallace* Lodge BIG-LAN NT047385, 1843 *Cambus Wallace* (Findlay 1843, 28), is probably a transferred name from *Cambuswallace*‡ KMA-PER, below, influenced by the involvement of William Wallace in the battle of Biggar Moss 1297. The name replaced *Whinbush*† c.1835 (OSnb 3:34).

³⁴ *Cambuswallace*‡ KMA-PER NN710032, 1261 *Cambuswethe*? {*RRS* ii no. 519} *Cambuswathe*? {*CDS* i no. 447} (McNiven 2011, 24, 304) *Cambuswelhe*? (Fraser, *Menteith* ii, 214), 1491 *Cambusvallance* (*RMS* ii no. 2008); Wallace Spa DFL-FIF NT087872, 1856 *Wallace Spa* (*Well of Spa*) (OSnb 121:49,69); Wallace Tower† AIH-STL NS900868 (*Canmore*, 48067); Wallace Tower AYP-AYR NS338218, 1855 (OS Town, Ayr sheet 8); Wallacebank‡ DPC-STL NS848848, 1723 *Wallace tree* (*GC* i, 333); Wallacetoun GLC-DMF NX846873, 1755 *Walliston* (Roy Map), with Wallacehall GLC-DMF NX849874, 1858 (OSnb 21:222:229).

³⁵ Wallace Gill LOU-AYR and Wallace Moor STT-AYR, below.

³⁶ Wallace Craigie† DDE-ANG NO411309, 1539 *Vallace-cragy* (*RMS* iii no. 1982); Wallacecroft† MAD-PER (unidentified), 1667 *Wallacecroft* (*Retours* no. 769); Wallace-keirne† SAN-DMF ?NS767068, 1558 *Wallace-keirne* a.k.a. *M'Cawis-keirne* (*RMS* iv no. 1317); Wallacetown DUB-PER NO154190, 1465 *Walacetoun* (*ER* vii, 671) *Walastoune* (*RMS* ii no. 831).

³⁷ The stone that gave its name to the colliery village was said to have been carried there by Wallace (OSnb 22:6).

³⁸ Cragie-Wallace† CRE-AYR NS408316, a.1767 (*GC* ii, 589); Sheualtoun Wallace† DDN-AYR NS350368, 1723 (*GC* i, 413).

³⁹ Wallace Hall† CLO-DMF NX901924, 1799 *Wallacehall* (*OSA* xiii, 235); Wallace Stone† UPH-WLO NT080695 (MacDonald 1941, 157); Wallacestone GRM-STL NS919770, 1817 *Sir William Wallaces Stone* (Grassom Map); Wallacetown AYP-AYR NS342221, 1855 (OS Town, Ayr sheet 7), 1776 owner Wallace (Taylor & Skinner Map); Wallacetown SST-SHE HU305524 (Stewart 1987, 167, 277).

⁴⁰ Wallace Cottages SOE-ARG NR687082, 1987 (OS²⁵) and Wallace Park AGK-FIF NO135101, 2010 (OS²⁵). Earlier names of unknown reference are Wallace Bridge DTR-KCD NO880822, 1851 (OSnb 6:83); Wallacefield† DDN-AYR NS332315, 1828 (Thomson Map); Wallace Geo SHA-SHE HY511158, 1878 *Wallace Geo* (*Wallace Goe*) (OSnb 18:121); Wallacehall‡ MLB-DMF NY285771, 1858 *Wallacehall* (*Wallace Hall*) (OSnb 37:132, 163); Wallace Hole KMN-WIG NX112317, 1849 (OSnb 87:34); Wallacenick KEO-ROX NT722327, 1770 *Wallacesnick* (Stobie Map); Wallace Road AGK-PER NO123136, 1864 (OSnb 25:13); Wallace Tower AUH-ANG NO331372, 1861 (OS 6" 1st edn; Jervise 1861, 342); Wallace Tower DUM-DNB

Also rejected are names with *-walles* or *-wallis* in an Older Scots context, in final position or as a simplex, with a working assumption that these strings represent the plural of OSc n. *wall* 'wall' or of OSc n. *well* 'spring, well'. It is probable that the OSc *well* variant plural, OSc *wallis*, on occasion developed a fricative [ʃ]. This is found in early name-initial forms for **Walston** TRB-AYR, **Walstone**‡ PCK-MLO, **Wellshouses**‡ MAN-PEB and possibly **Welshie Law** YAR-SLK; though the ethnonym is feasible in all of these. A compound of OSc n. *well* and OSc n. *e* 'eye; small depression', OSc n. *well-ey* 'spring', appears from the study to be found with the variant *wall*, mainly in Ayrshire (though this may have been influenced by reinterpretation as the anthroponym). It is used in the plural⁴¹ or attributively.⁴²

SE Welshman (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Welshman's*

nom. pl. *Welsh(men)*

gen. pl. *Welshmen's*

adj. *Welsh*

Limited direct contact between the study area and Wales probably explains why only one place-name in the study area, **Welshman's Rock** SMI-ARG^{Heb(INV)}, has been found to contain this ethnonym. The related surname, SSE *Welsh*, seemingly derived from the OE ethnonymic adjective *Welisc*, but has a parallel form *Walsh* due to confusion with the nominative, OE *Walh* (Black 1946, 800).⁴³ The names in which it has been identified are recorded in the nineteenth century at the earliest.⁴⁴ The first element in

NS399747, 1860 *Wallace's Tower* (OSnb 8:38); Wallace Wood BOR-KCB NX635488, 1987 (OS²⁵); Wallace Wood DBG-FIF NO311189, 1976 (OS²⁵).

⁴¹ Walesley AVO-LAN NS549401, 1654 *Wellacegill* (Blaeu Map); Wallace Moor STT-AYR NS426072, 1857 (OSnb 60:47); Wallish Walls HEXH-NTB NZ060502, C17 *Twoe Walliges* (Watson 1970, 26).

⁴² Wallacebank‡ TRB-AYR NS439242 a.k.a. Wellflat Bank?, 1478 *Wallacebank* (1543 *RMS* iii no. 2956); Wallacefauld‡ DLR-AYR NS321472, 1755 (Roy Map).

⁴³ It is worth noting English evidence of palatalisation of the genitive ending to produce *walsh*: Walshcroft Wapentake E/LIN, 1086 *Walescros*, from ON anthro. *Valr* (or insular ON anthro. *Váli*) (*PNL* 3, 1) or possibly OE anthro. *Walh* (*ibid.*, 172); and Walshford E/YOW from OE anthro. *Walh* (Gelling 1978, 95; Cameron 1980, 46; but Gelling & Cole 2000, 75, makes it the ethnonym). Note also the surname *Walsh* as an affix in Shelsley Walsh E/DEV (Cameron 1996, 110).

⁴⁴ Welsh's Bridge◊ INB-INV NH672457, 2007 (sign), cf. Mr Welchs House NH676459, 1832 (Reform Map 36); Welsh's Well CLG-ROX NT665266, 1860 (OSnb 9:15), from construction by Mr Welsh (*loc. cit.*), with Welsh's Clump CLG-ROX

Wallish Walls HEXH-NTB, 'insipid springs', is early SE adj. *walsh* 'insipid, unpalatable'; cf. OSc adj. *welch*, *welsche* (*DOST*, s.v.).

Dataset Overview

The only definite ethnonym is late. **Welshman's Rock** SMI-ARG^{Heb(INV)} refers to a Welsh miner, Williams, who was brought in by the estate on Rùm, in 1848–49, to use his expertise in the quarrying of a path and tunnel on the dangerous coastal slope of An t-Sròn. This must have first engendered a byname, at least among the upper echelons of estate management, which led to it replacing the indigenous name on OS mapping in 1906.⁴⁵

Of the early names, three are probably from OE *Walh*: **Wauchope**‡ HOB-ROX (1165×1214 *Waleuhope*), **Wauchope**‡ LHM-DMF (1285 *Waluchop*)⁴⁶ and **Waighton** PRK-ELO.⁴⁷ To apply the relevant parts of the OE *Walh*-paradigm:

- *Small settlement*: None developed into urban units.
- *Subsidiary relationship with a local Anglian centre*: The parish of Hobkirk ROX NT587109⁴⁸ has a name which probably dates back to Old English. But Black (1946, 804) comments that the family named for **Wauchope**‡ HOB-ROX "are never found as tenants-in-chief (*in capite*) of the Crown, but always as holding the subordinate although honourable position of a vassal or tenant of a baron, and yet had tenants and

NT661267, 2003 (OS¹⁰). Welsh's Hill WON-ROX NT486161, 1860 on the farm of Heap (OSnb 41:55), lacks earlier evidence and is assumed to be anthroponymic (though note Robert Walgh' de Hepe in 1296; Black 1946, 805).

⁴⁵ Also in Standard English are **Welsh Mires** GLEN-NTB and **Welshie Law** YAR-SLK, despite being mapped in the 1860s and with no obvious referent. **Wallace's Hill** YAR^{dtchd}-SLK, 1486 *Wallacehil*, potentially with OSc **Walis*, can perhaps be compared with the latter, though its position in the corner of the county and parish gives it more significance.

⁴⁶ It is feasible that the Hobkirk ROX **Wauchope**-name is transferred from Langholm DMF. Black (1946, 804) states that the family named for **Wauchope**‡ HOB-ROX appears to have been settled in Roxburghshire; he presumably had in mind the territorial designation of the family here. But he may have been unaware of the Roxburghshire place-name, and so of the likelihood of an independent development of the surname. Indeed, **Wauchope**‡ HOB-ROX is first recorded before **Wauchope**‡ LHM-DMF.

⁴⁷ There is no indication of a settlement having been at Craigaughton‡ DAL-AYR NS503026. The sole Walcot-name in the study, **Walcot Burn** TEM-MLO, must be considered with extreme caution, as a secondary name not recorded before the twentieth century (no name is ascribed to the stream on the OS 6" 1st edn).

⁴⁸ 1220 *hopechirke* (*Glas. Reg.* i, 98), 'church in an enclosed valley' (Williamson 1942, 52). **Wauchope**‡ HOB-ROX was within the medieval parish of Hobkirk (*OPS* i, 351).

vassals of their own." This middling social status maintained an estate that was productive enough to see at an unknown date the construction of Wauchope Tower (*Canmore*, 55141). The parish-name Langholm DMF NY363846⁴⁹ may be younger, and anyway **Wauchope**‡ LHM-DMF was the eponymous centre of an independent parish till this was annexed with Staplegordon to form Langholm c.1701 (*GC i*, 387–8). Furthermore, it had a motte and bailey at NY3547483989, which developed into a castle (*Canmore*, 67651), showing it to be a local secular as well as religious centre in the period of Norman influence and later. The parish of Prestonkirk ELO NT592778 was previously called Linton or Haugh (MacKinlay 1904, 128, 280).⁵⁰ There is no earlier evidence of medieval power near **Waughton** PRK-ELO or elsewhere in Prestonkirk before Hailes Castle, begun in the thirteenth century (*Canmore*, 56207), though by 1395 **Waughton** PRK-ELO had its own hall (*Laing Chrs* no. 82).

- *Marginal soil or minor side valley*: **Wauchope** Tower HOB-ROX NT580084 was sited at 190m at the head of the eponymous OE n.nt. **hop* (as indicated by the secondary names Wauchope Common NT569065, Wauchope Head† NT563046 and Wauchope Rig NT572056). OE **hop* itself means a 'remote enclosed place', and **Wauchope**‡ HOB-ROX is indeed a small side valley at the upper end of the valley of Rule Water, in which lies Hobkirk. Similarly, **Wauchope** Castle LHM-DMF was at 90m at the head of Wauchopdale, a side valley to Eskdale. **Waughton** PRK-ELO is at 20m, in generally flat (and probably once boggy and marginal) terrain.
- *Pairing of Walh-names (sometimes)*: There is no pairing, though the possible Briton-name **Glenbertle**‡ WES-DMF NY315885 of similar meaning is not far up Eskdale, also on the west side.
- *Very close to a P-Celtic name (sometimes)*: There is nothing obvious for the Wauchopes, unless Bloch Farm LHM-DMF NY328813 represents BrB adj. *bluχ* 'bare, bald' (for which see Coates in Coates & Breeze 2000, 347; *BLITON*, under **bluch*) with

⁴⁹ 1532 *Langholme* {*RMS iii*}, 'long holm' (Williamson 1942, 306).

⁵⁰ Despite the superficial similarity of East Linton NT592771 to Linton LTN-ROX (with BrB n.nt/m. *linn* 'pool, loch'; Williamson 1942, 23), it is likely to contain OSc n. *linn* 'waterfall, cataract', with reference to a probable waterfall NT593771 before alteration to rapids for fish access (pers. comm. William Patterson in 2011).

a lost specific, perhaps for the ridge from Bloch Hill LHM-DMF NY344820 to Stubholm Hill LHM-DMF NY355827 above Wauchopdale. There are names of British derivation in Prestonkirk,⁵¹ but **Waughton** PRK-ELO stands isolated from them.

Both **Wauchope**‡ HOB-ROX and **Wauchope**‡ LHM-DMF are therefore consistent with the English paradigm in so far as being small settlements located in minor side valleys, and **Waughton** PRK-ELO likewise as a small settlement in marginal terrain. But there is no clear pairing of names, nor a significant P-Celtic name in close proximity. Their relationship with the surrounding elite would not appear to be as subservient as that described for *Walh*-names in England by Higham (1995, 204), as a "very low social status in an 'English' context." Such an inferior status is certainly not demonstrable by the time they appear on record. Instead, there seems to have been an accommodation with the power structures.

The English data on *Walh*-names looks back to the Early Middle Ages and the eighth century, and it is to a similar period of Bernician expansion north and west that the three probable Scottish names belong if coined by incoming speakers of Old English, referring to the indigenous culture. In this scenario, the indigenous British retained a standing that allowed them to compete within the middle ranks of the new society, with greater success in marginal locations. It also presumes a different process of integration to that which pertained further south, or perhaps south and east, with the Bernicians more social competitors than social conquerors. This accords with the observation made by Fraser (2009, 231–2) that seventh-century North Britons outwith East Lothian, Tweeddale and Northumberland were less likely than those of these eastern areas to become ethnic Bernicians after conquest.

There is no requirement, however, to assume that the Scottish names belong to the same period, and it may be that they emerge in the normanising milieu at the very end of the Old English period: the namers are not the incomers, but those witnessing the change from within the old order, by now speakers of Old English. The reference may

⁵¹ Cairndinnis NT570748 (location as on the OS 6" 1st edn) (Watson 1926, 372); Duppelder† a.k.a. Traprain Law NT581746 (Watson 1926, 345); Peffer Burn NT620825, rising in Prestonkirk (Watson 1926, 452; Nicolaisen 2001, 211); Pencraig (Wood) NT572766; Traprain NT591757 (Watson 1926, 352, 363; Nicolaisen 2001, 213).

well be to Romance-speaking incomers taking possession of side valleys and marginal land, from which they projected their influence within the feudal system.

Map 17

Welsh

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding possible names

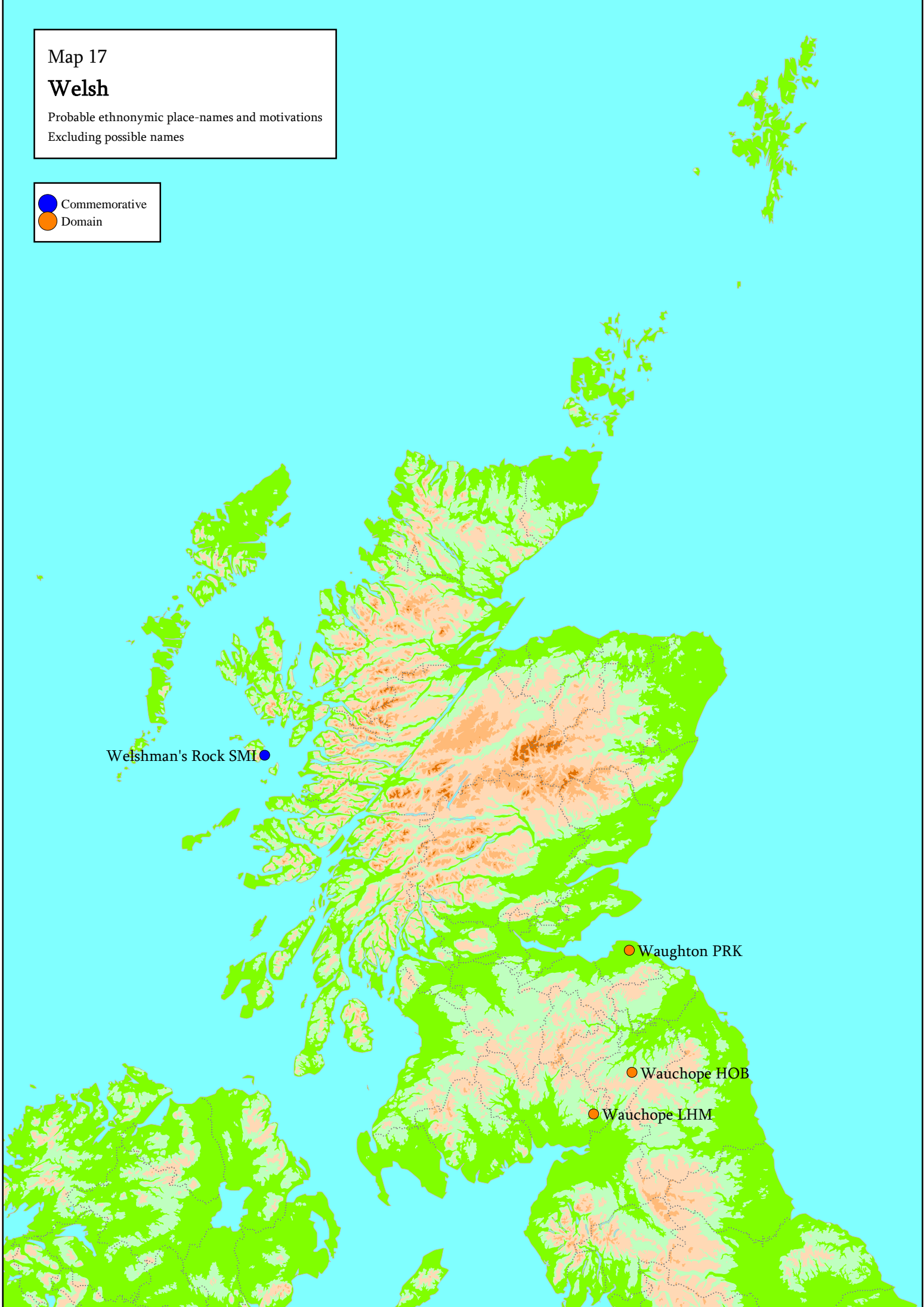
- Commemorative
- Domain

Welshman's Rock SMI ●

● Waughton PRK

● Wauchope HOB

● Wauchope LHM



17 Other ethnonyms related to Romance speakers

Probable identifications: 27 (see Map 18, p. 162)

Possible identifications: 1

Other Latin ethnicities and population groups encountered in place-names in the study area are as follows, showing region of origin, then language. The geographical distribution of probable names only is indicated:

Southern Europe	ScG n.m. <i>Spàinnteach</i> ¹	ARG, INV ^{Heb} , ROS
	SE n./adj. <i>Roman</i> ²	ABD, ANG, ARG, AYR, CMB, DMF, MOR, NTB, PEB, PER, ROX, STL, WLO

¹ **Bealach nan Spàinnteach** GLL-ROS, **Coirein nan Spàinnteach** GLL-ROS, **Port nan Spàinnteach** ARD-ARG, **Rubha nan Spàinnteach** BRR-INV^{Heb}, **Sgùrr nan Spàinnteach** GLL-ROS, **Uaighean nan Spàinnteach** BRR-INV^{Heb}.

² **Clach an Roman** ARD-ARG, **Craig Roman** BGE-PER, **Roman** TOW-ABD, **Roman Bridge** LDK-PER, **Roman Camp** UPH-WLO, **Roman Camp Park** FAK-STL, **Roman Camp Wood** CLD-PER, **Roman Camp Wood** TQR-PEB, **Roman Cottage** ARH-PER, **Roman Hill** MON-ANG, **Roman Park** FGK-PER, **Roman Park** MLR-ROX, **Roman Stone** COM-PER, **Roman Wall** CMB+NTB, **Roman Well** BCN-WLO, **Roman Well** DUF-MOR, **Roman Wood** JED-ROX, **Romancamp Gate** BLE-MOR, **Romans' Cave** CRB-ABD, **Romans' Dyke** NCU+SAN-AYR+DMF, **Romanway** PENR-CMB. Possible: **Rommante Well** SLO-FIF.

Map 18

Romance speakers: Others

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding coincidental motivation and a lone possible name

- Antiquarian
- Commemorative
- Figurative
- Transit
- Unknown



Ethnonyms associated with

Scotians

18 Albanians: ethnonyms derived from EG singular *Albanach*

Probable identifications: 17 (see Map 19, p. 172)

Possible identifications: 0

EG *Albanach* (nom. sg., masc. & fem.)

gen. sg. **Albanaig*

nom. pl. *Albanaig, Albain*

gen. pl. **Albanach, *Alban*

adj. **Albanach*

Latin *Scotigena* is glossed with EG *Albanach* (*Irish Glosses* no. 306), apparently specifying a *Scot* of *Albu*. This is a noun formed from the adjective EG *Albanach* 'dwelling in *Albu*'.¹ In the middle of the twelfth century, at the close of the Early Gaelic period, the plural appears in the *Book of Leinster* as an encompassing term for all inhabitants of *Albu*.² In the Early Gaelic period, n.f. *Albu* first denoted the British landmass, then that part of it in the western Highlands occupied by the Gael, before being adopted for the name of the emergent eastern-based Scoto-Pictish polity, *Alba* (Watson 1926, 11). It continues to be attached to the polity of Scotland as a whole in its modern boundaries as the Gaelic name for the country, but its cognate OSc *Albany* was felt to be weighted to the old polity of Scotia, north of the Forth (Shaw 2006, 22).

In addition to *Albanaig*, Watson (1926, 12) points to an alternative plural, *Albain*. *DIL*, under *Albanach*, suggests that the sole Middle Irish³ instance it gives of such a plural (from Stokes 1877, 118) might be in error,⁴ but as Watson (1926, 12 n. 2) cites two different instances from discrete sources,⁵ credence has to be given to this form as a

¹ Formed from the adjectival suffix *-ach*, which when added to words descriptive of place denotes residence or situation (Thurneysen 1949 §347).

² *LL* ln. 29a: *Albanaig .i. Saxain ⁊ Bretnaig ⁊ Cruithnig*, 'Albanians, i.e. Saxons & Britons & Cruithnians'. Watson (1926, 11) argues that the inclusion of the Gael was taken for granted by the writer.

³ It is important to note that Middle Irish refers to the language of literature and not to the spoken language, for which evidence is lacking before the sixteenth century in Ireland, Scotland and Man (Ó Murchú 1985, 54).

⁴ [*Ljuid forcuairt a procepta foalbain [sic] ⁊ bretnu ⁊ saxanchu* (Stokes 1877, 118), showing accusative plural.

⁵ Bod. Library MS Rawl. B. 502, 81, b46: *co nAlbain ⁊ Bretnu ⁊ Saxanu*, 'with Albanians & Britons & Saxons' (showing accusative plural). NLS Adv. 52, 34a: *Albain gan chaomh re chéile*, 'Albanians with no love for each other' (showing nominative plural).

collective noun comparable to the EG plurals *Bretain* 'British', **Cruithin* 'Cruithnians' and *Érainn* 'Irish'. This he tentatively suggests may lie behind Drumalbin CAL-LAN,⁶ but he does not extend this suggestion to the other likely candidates for the element, the districts of Breadalbane,⁷ Drumalbin†⁸ and Glen Albyn INV⁹ which he takes to contain EG gen. *Alban* 'of *Albu*'. He was presumably unhappy with the prospect of Drumalbin CAL-LAN also referring to *Albu*, but the suggestion here is that this is the case, with **Druim Alban* applied to the spine of Britain as a whole and retained as ScG **Druim Alba(i)nn*. In the case of other names, the possibility is that they contain ScG *Alba*, but refer to the boundaries of the polity of *Alba*.

ScG Albanach, Albanach (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Albanaigh, Albannaich*

nom. pl. *Albanaigh, Albannaich*

gen. pl. *Albanach, Albannach*

adj. *Albanach, Albannach*

EG *Albanach* continued into the Scots Gaelic period (Watson 1926, 12, gives *Allt an Albanaigh* for **Alton Albany** BAR-AYR).¹⁰ Development of the double *n* is incomplete and perhaps more orthographic than radical,¹¹ presumably influenced by the doubling of the final *-n* of EG gen. *Alban* 'of *Albu*' to produce ScG gen. *(na h-)Albann* 'of *Alba*',¹² and by analogy with similar Gaelic ethnonyms formed from the adjectival suffix *-ach*, e.g.

⁶ NS904383, 1492 *Drumalbane* (RMS ii no. 2102).

⁷ NN4836, 1608×61 *Braid Allaban* (GC ii, 358), 'upper *Alba*'.

⁸ C9 *Britanniæ Dorsum* {VSC ii, 47} (Watson 1926, 74), 'ridge associated with *Alba*'.

⁹ 1857 *the Glenmore-nan-albin*, 'great Glen of Caledonia' (Wilson 1857 i, vii, ix–xii) *Glenmore-nan'Albin* *Great Glen of Scotland* (Wilson 1857 i, 808), 'the glen associated with *Alba*'.

¹⁰ Watson (1926, 12) says this is Middle Gaelic, by which he probably had in mind the period that such as MacBain (1911, v) had meant by Middle Irish, i.e. 1200 to 1550.

¹¹ Dieckhoff (1932, xxi) in describing the Gaelic of Glengarry and district uses *Albanach* [*sic*] (but *Albannach* with the same pronunciation on page five) as the sole example for a back *n* "resembling that in run, except that it is stronger, and is articulated farther back." He describes the contact area of the tongue as being smaller than for the "very sonorous nasal back n" he shows elsewhere in *Breatunnach* (1932, 181; for *Breatannach*). Ó Murchú (1989, 279), in describing the Gaelic of East Perthshire, gives /aʎˠˠbənəx/, with the same /n/ as in *Sasunnach* /sasnəx/ (ibid., 395; for *Sasannach*). Thomson (1981; 1994) in his English-to-Gaelic dictionary opts to spell the noun *Albanach*, under *Scot(swoman)*, counter to general practice, but the adjective *Albannach*, under *Scottish*. Irish Gaelic has retained *Albanach*. Against this, Wentworth (2003, under *Scotsman* and *Scottish*), in describing the Gaelic of Wester Ross, gives [nʲ] for the /n/ of *Albannach*.

¹² Also *(na h-)Albainn* (e.g. MacBain 1911, 393; Dieckhoff 1932, under *Alba*) and commonly *(na h-)Alba*. Strengthening of /n/ in unstressed final position is in line with expected developments in Gaelic (MacBain 1911, xviii).

Breatannach from *Breata(i)nn* 'Britain', *Èireannach* from *Èirinn* 'Ireland', *Lochlannach* from *Lochla(i)nn* 'Scandinavia', *Manannach* from *Mana(i)nn* 'Man', *Sasannach* from *Sasa(i)nn* 'England'. Essentially, there has been no break in use of the ethnonym from Early Gaelic to modern Gaelic. However, the reference has varied widely, as the bounds understood by EG n.f. *Albu* and ScG n.f. *Alba* have varied.

There is little room for error in interpreting *Albannach*-names, though in one unusual instance *Albannach* has no direct reference to ethnicity, but is a Gaelic translation of the name of *The Scotsman* newspaper. **Uaigh an Albannaich**† DSH-INV^{Heb},¹³ 'the grave of *The Scotsman*', apparently dates from the Highland land agitation of the 1880s, when an effigy and copies of the paper were solemnly buried in protest at the newspaper's pro-landowner stance. Irish Gaelic similarly has two secondary uses of the ethnonym. IrG n.m. *Albanach* 'Presbyterian' is still in use in Donegal (Muhr 1999, 7):¹⁴ the presence of Presbyterianism in Ireland was originally associated with settlers from Scotland in the seventeenth century (Blaney 1996, 12). Given the nature and the late age of the derivation, this meaning is unlikely to have passed into Scots Gaelic. IrG n.m. *Albanach* 'Atlantic puffin, common puffin *Fratercula arctica*' is attested from Rathlin (Holmer 1942, 158), in close proximity to Argyll and its islands. However, there is no evidence of its use in Scots Gaelic, and it may well be a figurative extension of the meaning 'Presbyterian', with frivolous reference to the bird's solemn-looking (if colourful) face.

Dataset Overview

Due to the lack of homophonic alternatives, it is possible to be confident that the noun *Alban(n)ach* is ethnonymic, with the exception of **Uaigh an Albannaich**† DSH-INV^{Heb} (above). The corpus divides, however, between those names with the ethnonymic specific in the genitive singular and those in the genitive plural.¹⁵

¹³ NG242465, 1923 *Uaigh an Albannaich* (Forbes 1923, 427) *Uamh an t-Albannach* a.k.a. *Uaigh an t-Albannach* (ibid., 437).

¹⁴ Ó Dónaill (1977, s.v.) also gives the more generic meaning 'Protestant', but as 'Presbyterian' better suits the increasingly dominant form of Scottish Protestantism from the late seventeenth century on, any generic application beyond this is likely to be secondary and by analogy.

¹⁵ In dividing the corpus in this way between genitive singular and genitive plural, it has to be borne in mind that there is the possibility of reinterpretation, as apparently seen in **Tòrr an Albannaich** GLE-INV and conceivable in **Camas an**

Three of the singular names refer to mountain features. **Sgùrr an Albannaich** AMT-INV is part of a contrasting pair on the march between a Scottish-owned estate and what would appear to be an English-owned one, judging from the surnames of the landowners in the mid-nineteenth century. **Allt an Albannaich** DUS-SUT is also part of a contrasting pair, which again suggests an estate boundary between Scottish and English ownership. **Coire an Albannaich** AMN-ARG is below the parish boundary, so could also refer to ownership, though there is no known contrasting name. If **Beinn an Albannaich** ARD-ARG lies on a boundary, it could be associated with **Scotstown** ARD-ARG to the east of it, though **Scotstown** ARD-ARG would appear to be relatively late (post 1733) and would require the renaming of a significant topographic feature. A further singular name is **Loch Albanich**† KMG-ARG, recorded only on Roy's map (1755), which appears to be a dammed pool (still extant) feeding an upland mill.

The remaining three singular names are all coastal sites. **Camas an Albannaich** KBK-ARG^{Heb} is a small inlet, **Geodha an Albanaich**† LCH-ROS^{Heb} is an indent in the coastline, and **Alt an Albannaich** KDO-ARG^{Heb} is a cliff-girt backshore in a remote location. None is a good landing-place for intercommunication: the boulder-strewn shore of **Geodha an Albanaich**† LCH-ROS^{Heb}, the enclosing cliff of **Alt an Albannaich** KDO-ARG^{Heb}, and the availability of appropriate alternatives in the general area of each, all count against intercommunication. The boulders across **Geodha an Albanaich**† LCH-ROS^{Heb} also exclude the possibility of a fishing station. In all three cases, reinforced by the use of the singular, the supposition is that they commemorate an individual or vessel in extremis. It is possible that **Coire an Albannaich** AMN-ARG and **Beinn an Albannaich** ARD-ARG also commemorate an individual in extremis.

Folklore has it that one of the nine plural names, **Allt nan Albannach**◇ LOE-ROS, the Gaelic for **Scots Burn** LOE-ROS, is also commemorative. It is said to commemorate a battle in which a force of Scots (correlated with the Albanians) defeated a force of Danes (Wilson 1857, cited in OSnb 25:24 ROS), a battle traditionally associated with some large

Albannaich KBK-ARG^{Heb}, **Coire an Albannaich** AMN-ARG and **Geodha an Albanaich**† LCH-ROS, or by analogy as suggested in respect of **Alton Albany** BAR-AYR.

cairns (OSnb 25:24 ROS)¹⁶ and place-names in the vicinity,¹⁷ though by the time of the OSnb the cairns were recognised to be prehistoric in origin, and there is no archaeological evidence to support the tale of a battle. It is best to view the explanation for names and cairns as folk etymology, subsequent to the coining of **Allt nan Albannach**◊ LOE-ROS, and to view the name in parallel with the similar names **Allt nan Albannach** EDS-SUT and **Alton Albany** BAR-AYR. **Alton Albany** BAR-AYR, for ScG **Allt nan Albannach*, can be taken in conjunction with **Achnyalbenach**† BAR-AYR. If this is not a transmission error, then it either demonstrates generic variation (with ScG n.m. *allt* for ScG n.m. *achadh* 'field' or possibly ScG n.m. *àth* 'ford') or specific element sharing between a pair of names. The fifteenth-century recording of **Achnyalbenach**† BAR-AYR suggests *achadh* to be a settlement-name, as would be plausible for this period (Nicolaisen 2001, 180–2), and so to have been motivated by domain. However, confusion between the letters *-c-* and *-t-* often leads to both scribal and editorial error, so it could represent *àth* in reference to a ford in Albany Burn, with transit motivation (or it could even be a highly corrupted transmission of the name **Alton Albany** BAR-AYR).

The two northern instances of *Allt nan Albannach* are unique in their distribution, being the only Albanian plural names to fall in or beyond the north of the early-medieval polity of *Alba*. They need not necessarily date, however, from this Early Gaelic period if it is allowed that ScG *Alba* shared with OSc *Albany* a weighted association with the original *Alba* polity north of the Forth, but also south of some perceived northern boundary (perhaps the Great Glen and Moray Firth) and possibly east of the Drumalbin† ☼ watershed. Perhaps Glen Albyn INV, the alias of the Great Glen, and Breadalbane ☼ (with Lòcha Albannach KIL-PER)¹⁸ should be viewed in this context.

It is possible that all three river-names are delimitative. **Allt nan Albannach** EDS-SUT, though a small stream, is stated in an account pre-dating 1767 to be on the boundary between modern East and West Sutherland (*GC* iii, 97). **Allt nan Albannach**◊ LOE-ROS is

¹⁶ Centred on NH726766 (*Canmore*, 14577). It is not clear, though probable, that this group includes Cairn-namarrow (ScG **Càrn nam Marbh*), a.k.a. OSc Deidmaniscairne, which with **Allt nan Albannach**◊ LOE-ROS formed part of the bounds of Logie in 1607 (1610 *RMS* vii no. 329). Watson (1926, 12) latterly made this assumption.

¹⁷ Lochan a' Chlaidheimh NH736778, 'sword loch', in Beàrn<as> a' Chlaidheimh, 'sword cleft' (Watson 1904, 60).

¹⁸ NN579334, c.1600 *Lochy Water* (*Pont Text*, 116), 1926 *Lòchá Albannach· Lòchaidh Albannach* (Watson 1926, 12, 50, 541), ScG hydro. *Lòcha* + ScG adj. *Albannach*, 'Lòcha associated with *Alba*'.

also small, and indeed had practically dried up by 1904 (Watson 1904, 60), yet "gives name to a small district lying to the west of it" (OSnb 25:22 ROS),¹⁹ for which it apparently acted as a boundary. **Alton Albany** BAR-AYR differs in being a "rapid stream" (OSnb 11:45 AYR): but its role as a boundary between some kind of land units is at least feasible.

Another set of three names is formed by **Sròn nan Albannach** JUR-ARG^{Heb}, **Sròn Albannach** KCH-ARG and **Stronnynalbynich**† KMG-ARG (now reduced and anglicised to Strone). This set differs from the *allt*-names in that it is geographically more restricted, with the three names forming a triangle 53 × 28½ × 51km (33 × 17½ × 32 miles) from Mid Argyll to North Kintyre to Jura. It is suggested that all three names may originally have contained the article, and thus represent *Sròn nan Albannach*. Two are hill features, raising the possibility of the third, the settlement-name **Stronnynalbynich**† KMG-ARG more than fifty kilometres from the other points of the triangle, being a name transferred from one of the others. This is unlikely, however, as all three names are minor features, and it is probable that **Stronnynalbynich**† KMG-ARG has migrated from a hill feature in the immediate vicinity.

Analogous combination of ScG n.f. *sròn* with a plural specific referring to humans is very limited, with two themes predominating.²⁰ These are *Sròn na Fèinne*, 'the *sròn* of the Fenians',²¹ and *Sròn nam Forsair*, 'the *sròn* of the foresters'.²² The first of these two themes refers to the mythical group of nomadic warriors,²³ for whom domain motivation would be inappropriate: an antiquarian motivation is the most obvious probability. The second refers to wardens of a deer-forest. The thin ridges with steep high slopes of the

¹⁹ In 1876 the district of **Scotsburn** LOE-ROS consisted of a large farmstead and a few small crofts (OSnb 25:39 ROS).

²⁰ But cf. **Sròn a' Ghoill** KMV-INV; **Highlanders Nose**† KLE-INV is probably for 'the knolls associated with Highlander(s)', though the quantity of the specific is unclear.

²¹ The relief features *Sròn na Fèinne* KKT-ARG NM855146 and *Sròn nam Fiann* KRM-BNF NJ158109, and possibly the settlements *Stronafian* KMD-ARG NS021815, *Stronafyne* AAR-DNB NN300053 and *Stronfine* AMN-ARG NM933325, from the collective ScG n.f. *Fèinn*.

²² The only exceptions to *Fèinn*, *forsair* and *Albannach* as human plural specifics are **Sròn nan Gall** KMV-INV and *Sròn Dhà Mhurchaidh* KNM-PER NN608390, '*sròn* of two males with ScG given name *Murchadh*'. This latter is a sole plural example among hill *sròn*-names combined with a given name: *Sròn Aonghais* CRB-ABD NJ303117, *Cnoc Sròn a Mhartuinn* TNG-SUT NC557649 and *Sronphadruig Lodge* BLA-PER NN716782 (*Sròn Uilleim* GAI-ROS NG808925 is a small headland). This suggests that these are delimitative, given the likelihood that *Murchadh* is a name shared by proprietors on either side of a march, rather than equal weight being given to joint occupants such as a father and son.

²³ It is theoretically possible, but unlikely, that they could refer to EG n.f. *fián* 'warrior-band (generic)'.

three *sròn*-names with ScG n.m. *forsair* (one with the genitive singular)²⁴ would point to either a commemorative or borderland-motivation; as none extend from a plateau, use of the ridges as deer-traps is unlikely. It is also unlikely that three discrete events occurred uniquely involving this ethnicity in relation to ridge-ends, unless a legendary incident related to such a feature has been transferred to appropriate local sites (Meek 1998, 153–8, for discussion of this in relation to long spurs named from a derivative of EG n.m. *gulban* 'beak, sting'), so delimitation of a boundary is the most plausible explanation. Such an explanation can therefore be extended, albeit tentatively, to the *Sròn nan Albannach* parallels.

Sròn nan Albannach JUR-ARG^{Heb} is the name given to the lower end of a small narrow ridge at the base of a hillside. **Sròn Albannach** KCH-ARG is larger and more prominent, being the end of a sizeable ridged hill, otherwise unnamed.

Stronnynalbynich† KMG-ARG is probably named for the small ridge-end on which it sits, round which Auchgoyle Burn flows. Again, the insignificance of the features counts against them being parts of major boundaries relating to the polity of *Alba*, which would anyway be unexpected here in the heart of Argyll. It is much more likely that boundaries of local domains are indicated.

The two remaining plural names are **Penalbanach** KKE-ARG^{Heb} and **Tòrr an Albannaich** GLE-INV (argued to be for ScG **Tòrr nan Albannach*). The former, with ScG n.f. *peighinn* 'pennyland', and once-attested **Achnyalbenach**† BAR-AYR, above, are the only plural *Albannach*-names to have a reference to land units. Semantically, **Penalbanach** KKE-ARG^{Heb} has a domain association. **Tòrr an Albannaich** GLE-INV, on the other hand, is a tiny island at the entrance to the narrow Tarbet Bay. With the portage here to Loch Morar and the former Tarbet Inn (OS 6" 1st edn in 1876), it could be a landmark for a landing-place, but that in itself would scarcely justify the name. **Sgeir a' Ghoill** GLE-INV is in line of sight along Loch Nevis, but at a distance of 7.23km (4.5 miles) they hardly form a contrastive pair.

²⁴ With a plural specific (both forms of the genitive plural being grammatically correct), *Sròn nam Forsair* GIL-ARG NN246490 and *Sròn nam Forsairean* KIL-PER NN437249. With the specific in the singular, *Sròn an Fhorsair* AMN-ARG NN177517.

Consideration should also be given to two settlement-names in Ireland at the southern end of the band of *Albannach*-names, singular and plural, which stretches from Lewis and North Sutherland south down through the north and west of Scotland, with a cluster in the southern Hebrides and medieval Argyll,²⁵ south across the Firth of Clyde into Carrick. It is tempting to see the two occurrences of Carnalbanagh (IrG *Carn Albanach*), in Antrim²⁶ and County Down,²⁷ as an extension of this pattern across from Kintyre and Carrick into Ulster. However, there are contrasts with the rest of the Albanian corpus which question this. Both the Irish instances are significantly more inland than any in Scotland, they are recorded without a medial article,²⁸ and they share the generic IrG n.m. *carn* 'cairn', whereas no such artificial features are elements in the Scottish corpus. An inland location counts against sea-borne intercommunications, the lack of medial article suggests early names,²⁹ and an artificial relief feature as the generic points to the motivations being commemorative. If so, they refer to specific events or episodes in contrast to the continuous associations suggested by the Scottish names.³⁰

²⁵ Defined by the diocese of Argyll (*Atlas* 1996, 337).

²⁶ Carnalbanagh, grid 32004000, 1780 *Carnalbanagh*, 'cairn of the Scotsmen'; the remains of a cairn are extant (McKay 2007, 34). The name is probably too early for the alternative dialect meaning of *Albanach*, 'Presbyterian' (Muhr 1999, 7).

²⁷ East/West Carnalbanagh, grid 31453600, 1609 *Cornalbanagh*, 'cairn of (the) Scotsmen' (*PNNI* Down 4, 284–5).

²⁸ Except *Carrnenasbanagh* (*recte Carrnenalbanagh*) in 1624 for Carnalbanagh I/DWN, probably an errant development by analogy. It adds weight to the assumption that *Albanach* here is the noun, not the adjective. **Sròn Albannach** KCH-ARG also lacks the medial article.

²⁹ Use of the article is now the norm in Gaelic place-names, though to judge from Irish evidence, this was not always the case (see Toner 1999).

³⁰ Muhr (*PNNI* Down 4, 284–5) doubts the accuracy of folklore claiming Carnalbanagh I/DWN to be the burial place of the Scottish nobility slain at Magh Rath 637; she allows for the possibility of Scottish settlers, but favours association with medieval gallowglass mercenaries. Antrim and to a lesser extent Co. Down were subject to Scottish settlement in the second half of the sixteenth century prior to the Jacobean Plantation (Duffy 1997, 59, 61, 63). Carnalbanagh I/ANT could be associated with the 1315 campaign of Edward Bruce during which his Scottish and allied forces routed the earl of Ulster at Connor I/ANT 31003900 (*Atlas* 1996, 100; McNamee 1997, 174), only 5.6km (3.5 miles) away, though separated by Slemish Mountain. Carnalbanagh I/DWN could also be associated with Bruce, who may have passed through the district three times in 1315 and once in 1316, though without major battle (Duffy 1997, 43; but see *Atlas* 1996, 101, for an alternative interpretation of the routes taken).

Map 19

Albanians

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations

- Borderland
- Commemorative
- Domain
- Resource
- Unknown



19 Scots: ethnonyms derived from obscure *Scot

Probable identifications: 67 (see Maps 20 and 21, pp. 200–1)

Possible identifications: 18

ON *Skotr* (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Skots*

nom. pl. *Skotar*

gen. pl. *Skota*

adj. *Skozkr*

This was originally applied to people with an association with Ireland, but **Skotland** ☀ is applied to an area of north Britain by the thirteenth century, when a secondary name, *Skotlandsfirðir*, seemingly associates it with the Firth of Lorne ARG and associated inlets. It is postulated by Woolf (2010, 233–4) that this Scottish application of ON *Skotr* is a loan from Old English use established by the end of the ninth century, applied to Argyll.¹

Potential confusion is to be found with Old Norse elements relating to projecting land. ON n.nt. *skot* 'promontory' is in the name of two large coastal features,² and just possibly in an inland feature defined by river on three sides.³ ON n.m. *skúti* 'cave formed by jutting rocks' is found in Scottie Geo THU-CAI,⁴ a narrow creek with a cave at its end. It is seemingly found in Orkney and Shetland with an extended application to protruding coastal rock features in general,⁵ also with possible inland application.⁶ ON n.nt. *skutill*

¹ The assertion by Walsh (1922, 11 n. 5), followed by Ó Murchadha (1993, 66), that the plural compound ON *Vikinga-Skotar* was applied "in Norse sources" to the inhabitants of Galloway has not been substantiated.

² Hattarskot† GAI-ROS NG741919, 1230 *Hattarskot* {*Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, 166} (Gammeltoft MS, 5), for the landmark Rubha Réidh peninsula; Scotnish NKN-ARG NR754879, 1654 *Scotnes* (Blaeu Map), with secondary name Airidhcheoduis† KMR-ARG NR827972, 1296 *Ardescothyn* {*Rot. Scot.* i, 32} (*OPS* ii, 92).

³ Scot Hall WHTV-CMB NY085023, 1597 *Scott hooll* {parish register} (*PNCu* 2, 396).

⁴ ND083712, 1873 *Scottie Goe* (OSnb 11:28).

⁵ Scottie‡ CBS-ORK HY744438, 1992 *Scottie* (Lamb 1992, 26, 112); Scottie Should‡ WRY-ORK HY501384, 2009 *Scottie Should* (Westray db); Scottigar CBS-ORK HY780553, 1783 *Scottiger* {court record} (Marwick 1923, 31); Scotto WRY-ORK HY498428, 1878 (OSnb 26:264).

⁶ Knowes of Scottie‡ BIH-ORK HY274276, 1961 (Marwick 1970, 36), and possibly Skotti Barns‡ WAS-SHE @HT959391 (Stewart 1970, 316).

'thing shot forth' is in the name of the small island of Scottle Holm LWK-SHE,⁷ attached to the shore at low tide by a small strip of rocks.

EG Scot (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Scuit*

nom. pl. *Scuit*

gen. pl. *Scot*

The significant conclusion on this ethnonym is that it does not feature in the toponymicon. The term is etic in origin, having being coined by the Romano-British for raiders from Ireland (Woolf 2002, 12). It came to be applied to all those of the ethnicity, irrespective of whether in Ireland or Scotland; there was no single tribe specified by the name (*DIL*, under *Scot*; Woolf 2002, 12).

OE Sceott, Scott (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Sceottes, Scottes*

nom. pl. *Sceottas, Scottas*

gen. pl. *Sceotta, Scotta*

adj. *Scyttisc*

This was originally applied to people with an association with Ireland, and it has been suggested by Leahy (2004, 464) that place-names in England apparently referring to *Scottas* in fact indicate settlement by such people. By 920, the people of the polity of *Alba* are clearly identified as *Scottas* (*ASC*, recension A, in Woolf 2007, 146; Woolf 2010, 227). In 934 (*ASC*), OE **Scotland** ☀ first appears on record applied to an area in north Britain (Woolf 2007, 161). The southern limit of the area designated in Latin as *Scotia* is the Forth, though what was perceived as the northern boundary is less clear.

OE *Sceott* is pronounced with an initial fricative [ʃ], rendered in Older Scots derivative names as *S(c)h-*. However, influence of Old Norse led to the development of a

⁷ HU472448, 1878 (OSnb 1:69). Shown as *Scotland* on the Keulen Map c.1730, but probably in cartographic error for Point of Scattland LWK-SHE HU470435.

voiceless velar plosive [k]. The norm in Old English literature is *Scott*, with a first appearance on record in 937 (*ASC*), as reported by Ekwall (1953, 168).

Excluded from the study are place-names with the letter strings *-scot*, *-schot* or *-scott* as a simplex or in a final position, with a working assumption that this represents OSc n. *sc(h)ot* 'division of land, (possibly) smallholding' in eastern Scotland south of the Forth (*DOST*, under *S(c)hot*) or the genitive ending *-s* plus OSc or ScS n. *cot* 'cottage'.⁸ Grammar does not permit a phrase-final genitive for the ethnonyms OE, OSc and ScS *Scot*. Two other Old English elements produce *S(c)hot*-.⁹ OE n.m. *scēat* 'projecting land' may well feature in Shothaugh ALNW-NTB,¹⁰ with the farm in a peninsula formed by a loop in the River Coquet.¹¹ More frequently encountered, however, is OE n.? **scēot* 'slope top'. The definition usually given (following *DEPN*, under *Shottle*), is that of a 'steep slope'. But whereas a slope is indeed closely associated with each of the names, steepness is not a consistent factor.¹² What is common when combined with OE n.m. *tūn* 'settlement' is a position on, or just below, the lip of a slope.¹³ (There is no evidence to show that OE n.f. *dūn* 'hill' lies behind Shotton-names other than Shotton GLEN-NTB, but it must be a possibility.) There is a suggestion of projection in the names in the study

⁸ OSc n. *schot* 'water-rush' offers the best interpretation for the initial element in Shotlinn HAM-LAN NS710486, 1816 (Forrest Map), and Shott Burn LGS-AYR NS227637, 1857 (OSnb 42:61); and the OSc past participle **schoten* 'shot' (found in Middle English) in Stottencleugh OHS-ELO NT728704, 1682 *Schottencleugh* (Adair Map 10), referring to a waterfall.

⁹ OE n.nt. (*ge*)*scot* 'building, hut' has been proposed for some names in England, but is comprehensively rejected by Ekwall (1953, 169 n. 11): it is only evidenced with a primal meaning of 'chancel'.

¹⁰ NU165000, 1585 *Shothaughe Foard* (Beckensall 2006, 88).

¹¹ This meaning is also apparent in Shotley E/SFK TM233350, which is at the point of the fork in the confluence of the rivers Stour and Orwell. The precise location of Shothaugh† HEXH-NTB @NY935641, 1479 *Schothalghbankys* (Beckensall 2006, 153), is unknown.

¹² Acceptable as 'steep' is Shotton GLEN-NTB NT842303, c.1040 *Scotadun* {*HSC* 2000, 3} (pers. comm. Alex Woolf in 2005) *Scocadūn* (*HSC* 1868, 139); also Shotover E/OXF SP582065 (Addison 1978, 78; Ekwall 1953, 169), Shotton (Easington) E/DRH NZ413393 (Mawer 1920, 179–80; *PNDu* 1, 185). But a shallow slope is associated with Shotton CAST-NTB NZ224779, 1196 *Sothune* (Beckensall 1992, 43; Beckensall 2006, 69; *DEPN*, s.n.); also with Shotton (Sedgefield) E/DRH NZ369253 (*PNDu* 1, 185), Shotton (Staindrop) E/DRH NZ104232 (Mawer 1920, 179–80; *PNDu* 1, 185), Shotton E/SHR SJ494217 (*PNSa* 4, 132–3), Shotton W/FLI SJ307685 (Owen & Morgan 2007, 440). Shotley‡ HEXH-NTB NZ059534, 1242×43 *Schotley* (*Fees* ii, 1113), would qualify for either, with both kinds of slope present; likewise Shottle E/DRB SK312493 (Cameron 1996b, 180; Mills 1998, 312; *PNSa* 4, 132). On the parallel of *shot*-names, Scottinflat† TPH-WLO NS954723, c.1540 *Stottinflat* {rent roll} (MacDonald 1941, 104), 1556 *Scottistoun flat* (*Laing Chrs*, 658), may contain an *ex nomine* Shotton that might be identified with Torphichen NS968725, on the lip of a reasonably steep slope. Shotton's Dean RTHB-NTB NU005127, 1982 (OS²⁵), is a modern name, probably with the ESE surname *Shotton*.

¹³ Shotton W/FLI has migrated downhill from Higher Shotton (Owen & Morgan 2007, 440). Shotley‡ HEXH-NTB is probably for pasture at the top of the slope, if Shotleyfield is accepted as representing the original focus. Shotley E/NTP SP924972 is in a recess at the foot of a steep slope, thus arguably suiting OE n.m. *scēat*, but the name may have migrated down the slope from the pasture on the spur above.

area and some others,¹⁴ suggesting a relationship with OE n.m. *scēat*. But as this suggestion is not evident in all names, simple confusion due to phonetic and semantic similitude is likely. There is only one probable case of the OE anthroponym *Scot(t)* (recorded as *Scott* c.1130; Feilitzen 1937, 356) in the toponymicon of the study area,¹⁵ though considered to be in a number in southern England.¹⁶ It is used as a byname, and as a male given name is presumed to be identical with the ethnonym (ibid., 356). Common as a first name (Black 1946, 714, 786), it is first recorded in Scotland between 1114×24 (*PoMS*, person 1710).¹⁷

OSc Scot (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Scottis*

nom. pl. *Scottis*

gen. pl. *Scottis*

adj. *Scottis, Scotch*

It was only gradually during the period of Older Scots, notionally 1100–1700, that the boundary of Scotland came to be established beyond question in its modern form. In the late twelfth century the south-eastern border of the polity of Scotia could still be designated in *De Situ Albanie* as the Forth river and firth (*Chron. Picts-Scots*, 136; Anderson 1973, 242).¹⁸ Internal consolidation of the kingdom had a long way to go: as Woolf (2007, 350) has put it, the development of the fundamental structure of statehood had "barely begun" in the mid-eleventh century.

On the other hand, Scottish regal power for a while extended beyond its present boundaries to the south, with influence extending over Cumberland and north

¹⁴ Shotley E/NTP, Shotover E/OXF, Shottle E/DRB, Shotton (Easington) E/DRH.

¹⁵ Shoreston‡ BELF-NTB NU204326, 1176 *Schoteston* {pipe roll} (Mawer 1920, 179).

¹⁶ A boundary marker for Ducklington E/OXF is 958 *Scottes healh* (Ekwall 1953, 168); Shotesham E/NFK, 1044–47 *Shotesham*, 1086 *Scotesham* (Mills 1998, 311); Shotteswell E/WAR, c.1140 *Soteswell* [*sic*] (Ekwall 1953, 168; Mills 1998, 312); Shottisham E/SFK, 1086 *Scotesham* (Mills 1998, 312). The topography of Shotteswell in particular might be seen as suiting OE n.? **scēot*, with the church at the top of a notable slope, while agreeing with Mills that the generic is OE n.? *wella* 'spring; stream'; both meanings would fit the topography, but below the slope.

¹⁷ A late homophone comes from the company Shotts, which built, and gave name to, Shottstown† PCK-MLO NT235605 in 1875 (Dixon 1947, 273).

¹⁸ Extant in a fourteenth-century copy, the original is dated by Skene to 1165 (*Chron. Picts-Scots*, 135), later by Broun (2000, 26–7) as 1202×14; however, Broun has subsequently revised his opinion to 1165×84 (pers. comm. Dauvit Broun, cited in McNiven 2011, 19 n. 4).

Westmorland 1018–92 and 1136–57, and Northumberland and County Durham 1139–57 (*Atlas* 1996, 76–7, 79). The border of the kingdom was largely defined from this point on, though not in detail till 1552 (*PNCu* 3, xxxvii). In 1266 the Hebrides were ceded by Norway to Scotland (Duncan 1975, 581–3), but it was only in 1468 and 1469 respectively that Orkney and Shetland were acquired (Nicholson 1974, 415–6). In both the Western and Northern Isles, however, the period of scotticisation had commenced in advance of these dates (e.g. *ibid.*, 414).

Osc *Scot*, and *Scott*,¹⁹ is found as an anthroponym.²⁰ The origins are OE *Scott*, above, no doubt reinforced by fresh Older Scots adoptions of the ethnonym as a family-name. It is considered in the study to be used to form place-names with generics referring to agricultural land (Osc n. *croft* 'smallholding',²¹ Osc n. *land* 'land; cultivation strip',²² Osc n. *quarter* 'fourth part'),²³ to habitation (*ex nomine*,²⁴ Osc n. *hill* 'hill(ock)',²⁵ Osc n. *toun* 'settlement'),²⁶ and to single cases of a bridge,²⁷ wood²⁸ and well.²⁹ Only three of these have a recorded link to the anthroponym, all commemorating possession.³⁰ There are no identified instances to the north of Angus or Perthshire, but the southern spread includes Cumberland and Northumberland.

¹⁹ Also, a probable hypocoristic derivative **Scottack* in Scottacksfoord† AUS-ABD @NJ713415, 1696 {parish register} (Alexander 1952, 368).

²⁰ For a detailed discussion of *Scot* as a medieval byname, see Hammond 2007.

²¹ Scotscroft† LAU-BWK @NT517491, 1617 *Scottiscroft* (*RMS* vii no. 1692). Also, e.ESE Scotts Croft† WHTV-CMB @NY124040, 1578 {Cockermouth MS, unspecified} (*PNCu* 2, 442). Cf. the garden of Scotgarth E/LIN c.1296, previously held by Galfridus Scot (Cameron 1985, 36).

²² Scotislandis† CHM-BWK @NT903659, 1623 (*RMS* viii no. 1132); Scotisland† DFS-DMF @NX9776, 1607 (*RMS* vi no. 1910); Scottis-landis† ILN-PEB @NT329365, 1550 (1581 *RMS* v no. 311).

²³ Scottisquarter† CRF-PER @NN889187, 1540 *Scottis quartar* (*ER* xvii, 465).

²⁴ Ardlethame-scot† ELL-ABD NJ921303, 1657 (*Retours* no. 335); Scotstarvit† CER-FIF NO368112, 1612 *Scottistarvett* (*RMS* vii no. 747).

²⁵ Scottshill† FER-ANG @NO479608, 1588 *Scottishill* (*RMS* v no. 1579). Cf. Scot's House E/DRH NZ326609, tenanted 1382 by Galfridus Scot (coincidentally the same name as associated earlier with Scotgarth E/LIN) (Watts 2002, 109; with less conviction, Mawer 1920, 172); Scotshouse I/MHN.

²⁶ Wattiscottistoun† LNK-LAN NS843453, 1512 W. *Limflare* a.k.a. *Wat-Scottistoun* (*RMS* ii no. 3713).

²⁷ Scottis-wiffis-brigt† MML-FIF NO319142, 1540 (*RMS* iii no. 2136).

²⁸ Scotswood NEWT-NTB NZ198639, 1864 (OS 6th 1st edn).

²⁹ Scottis-wall† SNI-STL @NS788938, 1579 (*RMS* iv no. 2890).

³⁰ Scottisquarter† CRF-PER, a quarter of Dalpatrick, held and seemingly occupied by the family Scot of Monzie (*passim* from 1540, *ER* xvii, 465); Scotstarvit† CER-FIF, Inglesstarvit renamed by the new owner of 1611, Sir John Scott (*PNF* ii, 102); Scotswood NEWT-NTB, enclosed by Richard son of John Scot in 1367 (Mawer 1920, 172; Watson 1970, 148).

Minor *scot*-names in Scotland can be assumed not to contain either the national name or the ethnonym, but rather OSc n. *scot* 'tax, levy'.³¹ With minor Scotland-names in England,³² on the other hand, there is a recognised difficulty in distinguishing between 'land associated with tax' and the national name used as a nickname of remoteness (Field 1993, 152, cited in *PNSa* 5, 43). In Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, OSc n. *scotland* 'taxland', a compound of OSc n. *land* with Old Norse-derived OSc n. *scat* 'tax, levy', can also appear as *Scotland* (with variation between the two forms).³³

SE Scot (nom. sg.)

gen. sg. *Scot's*

nom. pl. *Scots*

gen. pl. *Scots'*

adj. *Scottish, Scotch*†, ScS *Scots*

Since 1700 the ethnonym has been reasonably secure, with the main challenge coming from absorption into a British state and empire through the Act of Union with England in 1707. However, promotion and widespread adoption of a British identity to varying degrees at varying times has not succeeded in displacing a parallel or competitive Scottish one, with the ethnonym remaining vibrant today.

³¹ Scotland Bridge CRE+TRB-AYR NS437304, 1857 (OSnb 18:26; 62:4); Scotland Croft† FOW-PER @NN937133, 1636 {testaments document} (Watson db). A diminutive form, influenced by Gaelic orthography, may be in Scottag WAT-CAI ND255570, 1873 (OSnb 12:80).

³² In the study area is Little Scotland† ALNW-NTB @NU246061, 1585 (Beckensall 2006, 148) and Scotland† HEXH-NTB NY889621, 1769 (Armstrong Map).

³³ Point of Scattland LWK-SHE HU470435, c.1730 *Scotland?* (Keulen Map), 1878 *Point of Scotland* (OSnb 1:71); Scotland's Haven CAY-CAI ND317744, 1603 *lie Skaitlandheavin* (*RMS* vi no. 1467).

The anthroponym SSE *Scott* is also encountered as *Scot*.³⁴ It is considered in the study to be the most probable explanation of *scot* in a Scottish Standard English context, in the absence of any indication to the contrary. Given this presumption, SSE *Scott* is found in a large number of place-names, with generics referring to agricultural land (genitival simplex,³⁵ ScS n. *croft* 'smallholding',³⁶ ScS n. *quoy* 'enclosure',³⁷ SSE n. *field*,³⁸ ScS n. *garth* 'enclosure',³⁹ ScS n. *ley* 'fallow ground',⁴⁰ ScG n.m. *ruighe* 'hill slope; shieling'),⁴¹ to facilities (SSE n. *pier*,⁴² ScS n. *wall* 'well',⁴³ SSE n. *well*),⁴⁴ to habitation (*ex nomine*,⁴⁵ SSE n. *hall*, often used ironically,⁴⁶ SSE locational suffix *-ton*,⁴⁷ ScS n. *toun* 'settlement',⁴⁸ SSE n.

³⁴ The hypocoristic *Scottie* remains virtually unchanged in toponymic orthography, 1771 on (with the unique exceptions of 1860 *Scotty's Brae* (Stewart 1987, 60), for *Scottiesbrae* DNR-SHE HU391177, and *Scotti* in *Scottis Dellin* WAS-SHE @HT959391 (Stewart 1970, 316), atypical for even Shetland). There appears, however, to be a delay from the end of OSC *Scot* before SSE anthro. *Scott* becomes common, and then a reversal of this pattern. Though a first appearance with *-tt* is in 1775, it remains unstable before OS mapping (Scotts Walls ABO-FIF NT166877: 1755 *Scotswells* (Roy Map), 1775 *Scotts wells* (Ainslie Map), 1828 *Scotswalls* (Sharp *et al.* Map), 1827 *Scottswells* (Thomson Map), 1837 *Scotswalls* {Aberdour Map} (PNF i, 82), 1856 *Scotts Walls* (*Scotswalls*) (OSnb 131:44). The *-tt* is otherwise introduced by a number of names in first series OS mapping: 1861 *Scotts Dod* CRW-LAN NT024229 (OSnb 18:146), 1870 *Scott's Chapel* ABU+MLH-BNF NJ304429 (OSnb 23:25) and *Scott's Well* MLH-BNF NJ304427 (OSnb 23:25), 1878 *Scottsfield* (OSnb 1:191), now *Scottfield* TWL-SHE HU401395; not always securely, however, as in *Scottsfield* KPF-DMF NY236695: *Scottsfield* in 1804 (Crawford Map), 1821 (Ainslie Map) and 1828 (Thomson Map), then *Scottsfield* 1858 (OSnb 33:92), *Scottsfield* 1892 (Shennan 1892, 338), *Scottsfield* 1897 (OS 1" 2nd edn) and finally *Scottsfield* in 1904 (OS 1" 3rd edn). It is the most common of the two forms in names subsequently recorded for the first time. Another recent pattern is hinted at in the change of *Scottsfield* to *Scottfield* TWL-SHE; likewise in *Scott's Hall* FOR-ABD NJ613447, 1986 (OS²⁵), in which the genitive ending is often lost even in official use.

³⁵ *Scott's* ERL-ORK HY402222 (Sandnes 2010, 242); *Scott's* STO-MLO @NT443436, a.1981 (SPNS MS).

³⁶ *Scotscroft* DFL-FIF NT074924, 1755 *Scots Croft* (Roy Map).

³⁷ *Quoyscottie* BIH-ORK HY300226, 1878 (OSnb 1:198).

³⁸ *Scottsfield* ANY-PER NO157173, 1779 (Stobie Map); *Scottsfield* HFM-DMF NY321734, 1858 (OSnb 23:48); *Scottsfield* KPF-DMF NY236695, 1804 (Crawford Map); *Scottfield* TWL-SHE, n. 34 above.

³⁹ *Scotties Garths* FET-SHE HU611902, 1878 (OSnb 12:43).

⁴⁰ *Scottiesley Wood* ELL-ABD NJ924298, 1871 (OSnb 29:97).

⁴¹ *Reanscottich* LDK-PER NN905425, 1850 *Reniscottich Inn* (Knox Map), with ScG n.m. **Sgotach* 'member of the family Scott'. A loan of SSE *Scott*, embedded in the Gaelic format for a noun marking association with a kin-group. See n. 60, below.

⁴² *Scott's Pier* PHD-ABD NK137461, 2002 (OS¹⁰).

⁴³ *Scotts Walls* ABO-FIF NT166877, 1755 *Scotswells* (Roy Map).

⁴⁴ *Scots Well* LLE-ANG NO445813, 1861 (OSnb 63:58); *Scott's Well* MLH-BNF NJ304427, 1870 (OSnb 23:25).

⁴⁵ *Bandscotsdrum* SLN-FIF NT003923, 1828 *Band Scots Drum* (Sharp *et al.* Map); *Scots Skiddoway* KDT-FIF NT263979, 1775 *Scotscadoway* (Ainslie Map); *Scottis Dellin* WAS-SHE @HT959391 (Stewart 1970, 316).

⁴⁶ *Scotsha* CBS-ORK HY764535, 1878 (OSnb 13:37); *Scotshall* CBE-FIF NO532053, 1856 (OSnb 24:36); *Scotshall* KCQ-FIF @NO459038, 1787 {sasine no. 1711} (PNF iii, 285); *Scott's Hall* FOR-ABD NJ613447, 1986 (OS²⁵); *Scotshall* ERL-ORK HY385200, 1878 (OSnb 15:19).

⁴⁷ *Scotston* GLW-LAN NS615639, 1858 (OS Town, Glasgow sheet VI.16.6); *Scotston* KMG-ARG NR920902, 1878 (OSnb 17:47), but probably as a transferred name; *Scotston* LDK-PER NN905425, 1907 (OS 1" 3rd edn).

⁴⁸ *Scotties Toon* DNR-SHE HU391177 a.k.a. *Scottiesbrae*, a.1860 (Stewart 1987, 281).

town),⁴⁹ to stones (SSE n. *chapel*, used ironically,⁵⁰ SSE n. *rock*,⁵¹ ScS n. *stane* 'stone'),⁵² to terrain (ScS n. *brae* 'hillside',⁵³ ScS n. *cleuch* 'narrow gorge',⁵⁴ ScS n. *dod* 'bare rounded hill',⁵⁵ SSE n. *level*),⁵⁶ to vegetation (SSE n. *plantation*,⁵⁷ SSE n. *wood*),⁵⁸ and one instance of ScS n. *ventur* 'venture'.⁵⁹ Only eight of these have a recorded link to the anthroponym, five commemorating occupation or ownership,⁶⁰ two an associated dignitary,⁶¹ and one an associated incident.⁶² The geographical distribution is from Shetland to Berwickshire on the east, with some western spread; there is no indication of occurrence in Cumberland or Northumberland.⁶³ The surname distribution of *Scott* in 1881 shows greatest concentration on the east coast from Angus to Northumberland, with high concentrations in Caithness and Orkney, the Central Highlands, the south-west and Cumberland (*GBFNP*).⁶⁴ Apart from the absence of place-name coinings in Northumberland, this correlates well with the toponymicon.

⁴⁹ Scotstown BFF-BNF NJ682646, 1866 (OS Town, Banff).

⁵⁰ Scott's Chapel† ABU+MLH-BNF NJ304429, 1870 (OSnb 23:25).

⁵¹ Scott's Rock CHM-BWK NT921673, 2004 (OS¹⁰).

⁵² Scottiestone MMR-ABD NJ660096, 1871 *Scottiestone* (*Scotties-stone*·*Scottieston*) (OSnb 62:58).

⁵³ Scotsbrae MQR-ABD NJ783484, 1871 (OSnb 63:37); Scottie's Brae† DFL-FIF @NT065845, 1771 {estate map} (*PNF* i, 354); Scottiesbrae DNR-SHE HU391177, 1860 *Scotty's Brae* (Stewart 1987, 60).

⁵⁴ Scott's Cleuch Plantation ROB-SLK NT406132, 2006 (OS¹⁰).

⁵⁵ Scotts Dod CRW-LAN NT024229, 1861 (OSnb 18:146).

⁵⁶ Scott's Level† HAW-ROX @NT514166, 1947 (Robson 1947, 62).

⁵⁷ Scot's Plantation EAR-BWK NT630412, 1858 (OSnb 16:11); Scotts Plantation HOB-ROX NT576105, 2010 (OS¹⁰).

⁵⁸ Scot's Wood AUG-PER NO064347, 1985 (OS²⁵).

⁵⁹ Scotsventure CRA-FIF NO553092, 1856 (OSnb 83:16).

⁶⁰ Scotsfield† HFM-DMF, 1858, James Scott one of two tenants, the only tenant consulted by the OS (OSnb 23:48); Scotshall CBE-FIF, 1775 *Thrumfield* (Ainslie Map), 1856 *Scotshall*, the property of Mr Scott (OSnb 24:36); Scotston LDK-PER, 1897 *Reanscottich* (OS 1" 2nd edn), 1907 *Scotston* (OS 1" 3rd edn), a loose translation (n. 41 above); Scottfield‡ TWL-SHE (n. 34 above); Scott's Level† HAW-ROX, 1947, from the estate owner (Robson 1947, 62).

⁶¹ Scotstown BFF-BNF, named for Provost William Scott, elected 1849 (Cramond 1891 i, 368); Scott's Hall FOR-ABD, a parish hall gifted in 1884 by Walter Scott (Canmore, 158177).

⁶² Scot's Plantation EAR-BWK, c.1820s the scene of a murder by someone of the name Scott and of his suicide or execution (OSnb 16:11).

⁶³ Probable examples, however, are found in Westmorland: Scot Bridge, Troutbeck (*PNWe* 1, 191); Scott Hill and Scot Sike, Warcop (*PNWe* 2, 86); Scot Rake, Ravenstonedale (*PNWe* 2, 37).

⁶⁴ By 1998 there had been a spread of the greatest level of *Scott* concentration into the south-west and into Caithness and Orkney, but a relative retreat from Fife (*GBFNP*).

Dataset Overview

The adjective *Scotch* is said by *OED*, s.v., to be a contraction, first recorded 1570, of southern English *Scottish*;⁶⁵ *Scotch* subsequently spread into Scots by the end of the eighteenth century. Indeed, *DOST* records it as a variant of OSc *Scottis* with several seventeenth-century instances from 1619 onwards. But since the mid-nineteenth century, says *OED*, s.v., the variant has gradually been discarded in Scotland. It is best viewed as a late loan-word into Older Scots which formed part of the early Scottish Standard English vocabulary, and in the Standard English of Cumberland and Northumberland over a longer period.⁶⁶ Prejudice against the term is already apparent in the OSnb,⁶⁷ and may have led to it being expunged without trace in some names in favour of ScS *Scots*.⁶⁸ These names, and those in the study area that retained *Scotch*,⁶⁹ can be no older than the sixteenth century.

Both OSc and ScS *Scot* present a peculiar difficulty in interpretation in that the genitive singulars and plurals, and related adjectives, of each are homophonic and generally rendered in an identical fashion as OSc *Scottis* and ScS *Scots* (other than where Scots punctuation marks are employed). Reinterpretation can readily take place in such circumstances.⁷⁰ However, semantic impact of confusion between the genitive plural and the adjective is in most cases minimal (which in itself facilitates reinterpretation of the

⁶⁵ SSE adj. *Scottish* is not productive in the toponymicon of the study area, though the spelling does arise as a variant of OSc *Scottis* in **Scotsraig** FPC-FIF, 1642 *Scottishraig*.

⁶⁶ *Scotch* is also found in Irish names, such as Scotch Town I/TYR and Scotchtown I/ANT, referring to the ethnicity of the founders (*PNNI* Derry 1, 208; McKay & Muhr 2007, 111).

⁶⁷ **Scotstown** ARD-ARG, 1801 *Scotchtown*; **Scots Hill** BOH-BNF, 1830 *Scotch Hill*, and retained across the county boundary as **Scotch Hill** BLE-MOR; **Scotsblair**† KTL-DNB, 1860 *Scot(t)sblair*, *Scotchblair*; **Scott's Bank** KHP-SLK, 1773, 1824, 1851 *Scotch Bank*, but 1821 *Scotsbank*.

⁶⁸ However, the opposite trend is also possible, with *Scotch* replacing earlier OSc *Scottis* or ScS *Scots*. **Scotston** FON-BNF, 1453 *Scottistoun*, is *Scotchtoune* in 1653, and by 1663 *Scotstoun*. *Godsbridge* had become *Scotsbridge* by 1723, and by 1755 *Scotch Brig*, by 1804 *Scots rig*, for later **Scotsbrig** MLB-DMF. **Scots' Dike** CAN+LNGT-DMF+CMB was in 1603 *the Scottyshe Dyke*, 1609 *Scottis dyke*, 1654 *March-Dyik*, 1740 *the Scotch Dike*, but in 1755 *Scots Dyke*. *Kershope* on the Scottish side of the Border was in 1755 *Scots Kersop*, then cartographically with no specific until 1925×86, becoming **Scotch Kershope** CSL-ROX. The two latter names, by the Border, are perhaps due to the influence of English Standard English: note the former railway stop Scotch Dyke Station† LNGT-CMB, just south of **Scots' Dike** CAN+LNGT.

⁶⁹ **Scotchman's Ford** MEN-ANG recorded from 1791×99, **Scotch Shields**† LNGT-CMB in 1748, **Scotch-haugh Burn** FRD-KCD in 1865, **Scotch Craig** CSL-ROX in 1860, **Scotch Knowe** CSL-ROX in 1860.

⁷⁰ For instance, **Scots' Dike** CAN+LNGT-DMF+CMB first appears with an adjective (1603 *the Scottyshe Dyke*, 1609 *Scottis dyke*, 1740 *the Scotch Dike*), then from 1755 variously with *Scots* and *Scots'*. With the genitive singular this has been understood as the anthroponym, as in **Scott's Pool** PHD+STF-ABD+BNF^(ABD) (1495 *Scottispule*) and **Scott's Bank** KHP-SLK (1773 *Scotch Bank*); but probably not in **Scott's Gap** BELL-NTB (1827 *the Scotch Gap*).

grammar). The variation extends to preposed attributive use of the noun,⁷¹ found also in Old English and in Old Norse. This has the same import as the genitive plural.⁷² In fact, few names with a clear genitive singular have been found,⁷³ and it is possible, perhaps preferable, to interpret all of these as using the grammatical singular with collective implication. In considering the implications of the generics, therefore, such grammatical detail is not considered of significance.

The generics are:⁷⁴

Fig. 15 Scot-names with generics for area

<u>Area</u>	Incidences	Generic	Geographical distribution
Probable 2:		ON n.nt. <i>land</i> 'land' : 1	Skotland ☀
		OE n.nt. <i>land</i> 'land' : 1	Scotland ☀

Applied to the territory associated with the ethnicity.

Fig. 16 Scot-names with generics for features

<u>Feature</u>	Incidences	Generic	Geographical distribution
Probable 9:		OSc n. <i>dyke</i> 'dyke' : 1 ⁷⁵	CMB+DMF
		OSc n. <i>hole</i> 'hiding place' : 1 ⁷⁶	BWK
		ScS n. <i>brig</i> 'bridge' : 1 ⁷⁷	DMF
		ScS n. <i>craig</i> 'rock' : 1 ⁷⁸	ROX
		ScS n. <i>dyke</i> 'dyke' : 1 ⁷⁹	NTB+ROX

⁷¹ There is one name-final example, **Durdy Scot**† KSP-PER. This is considered by the study to contain the ethnonym, given the contrastive pairing with **Durdy Inglis**† KSP-PER.

⁷² Variation between attributive and genitive plural is found in Old English forms of Shottery E/WAR, displaying both *Scotta rið*, 'Scots' stream', and *Scot rið*, 'Scot-stream' (Ekwall 1953, 169–70).

⁷³ The grammatical quantity is clarified by use of the derivative OSc *Scottisman* (**Scottismannis Mylne**† ALY-PER, **Scottismanisrisk**† RED-PER) or ScS *Scotsman* (**Scotsmansford**† KCO-ABD, and the pairing **Scotsman's Cairn** RTHB-NTB and **Scotsman's Knowe** RTHB-NTB). That **Scottismannis Mylne**† ALY-PER probably sits semantically with the parallel *Scottismiln*-names reinforces the impression of collective use of the singular, though mistranslation from a Latin text is possible, if unlikely.

⁷⁴ The significance of **Scotchcoulterd** HALT-NTB is unknown, and **Scot's View**† COCK-CMB is considered a frivolous name. Neither is included in the following data.

⁷⁵ **Scots' Dike** CAN+LNGT-DMF+CMB.

⁷⁶ **Scots Hole**† MER-BWK.

⁷⁷ **Scotsbrig** MLB-DMF.

⁷⁸ **Scotch Craig** CSL-ROX.

⁷⁹ **Scots Dyke**† BELL+CSL-NTB+ROX.

	ScS n. <i>knowe</i> 'hillock' : 2 ⁸⁰	NTB, ROX
	ESE n. <i>cairn</i> 'cairn' : 1 ⁸¹	NTB
	ESE n. <i>gap</i> 'breach' : 1 ⁸²	NTB
Possible [2]:	Osc n. <i>*birren</i> 'entrenched camp' : [1] ⁸³	ANG
	ScS n. <i>knowe</i> 'hillock' : [1] ⁸⁴	SHE

This is a varied group, with a clear distribution in the area of the Anglo-Scottish border. Most are along the Border itself,⁸⁵ a couple in a contrasting pairing with a similar feature on the English side.⁸⁶ One dates from, and as a feature was erected to delineate, the agreement of the disputed border line in 1552,⁸⁷ but the others are not recorded before the nineteenth century. Two of those located away from the Border itself are also first recorded in the nineteenth century, but refer to earlier events of unknown date or authenticity;⁸⁸ the third is a renaming that according to the recorded forms took place 1694×1723.⁸⁹

Fig. 17 Scot-names with generics for ground

Ground

Incidences	Generic	Geographical distribution
Probable 6:	Osc n. <i>but</i> 'separated ground' : 1 ⁹⁰	PER
	Osc n. <i>halch</i> 'meadow' : 1 ⁹¹	KCD
	Osc n. <i>reisk</i> 'moor' : 1 ⁹²	PER

⁸⁰ **Scotch Knowe** CSL-ROX, **Scotsman's Knowe** RTHB-NTB.

⁸¹ **Scotsman's Cairn** RTHB-NTB.

⁸² **Scot's Gap** BELL-NTB.

⁸³ **Scottisbiryn**† MON-ANG.

⁸⁴ **Scot Knowe** SST-SHE.

⁸⁵ Not along the Border are **Scot's Gap** BELL-NTB, **Scots Hole**† MER-BWK, **Scotsbrig** MLB-DMF: **Scots' Dike** CAN+LNGT-DMF+CMB was erected to delineate part of the Border, and probably influenced application of **Scots Dyke**† BELL+CSL-NTB+ROX to a more easterly part of the Border.

⁸⁶ **Scotch Craig** CSL-ROX with **English Craig**† LNGT-CMB, and nearby **Scotch Knowe** CSL-ROX with **English Knowe**† BELL+LNGT-NTB+CMB.

⁸⁷ **Scots Dyke**† BELL+CSL-NTB+ROX.

⁸⁸ **Scot's Gap** BELL-NTB, said to be associated with a moss-trooper raid, and **Scots Hole**† MER-BWK with a successful ambush by Scottish forces in an unspecified Anglo-Scottish war.

⁸⁹ **Scotsbrig** MLB-DMF from *Godsbridge*, possibly to avoid perceived profanity.

⁹⁰ **Scotsmen's Butts**† ALY-PER.

⁹¹ **Scotch-haugh Burn** FRD-KCD.

⁹² **Scottismanisrisk**† RED-PER.

	ScS n. <i>shiel</i> 'bothy' : 1 ⁹³	CMB
	SSE n. <i>bank</i> : 1 ⁹⁴	SLK
	ESE n. <i>meadow</i> : 1 ⁹⁵	NTB
Possible [3]:	ESE n. <i>croft</i> 'small enclosure' : [1] ⁹⁶	CMB
	OSc n. <i>blair</i> 'moss' : [1] ⁹⁷	DNB
	OSc n. <i>flat</i> 'level ground' : [1] ⁹⁸	STL

Again a varied group, but this time with little geographical unity. The only semantic pairing is of 'meadow'. Both meadow-names have the specific *Scotch*, though it is argued by internal evidence that the one in Kincardineshire must be a reflex of an Older Scots form (but no earlier than the sixteenth century). The topography differs, however, with **Scotchmeadows** HEXH-NTB an upland hillside meadow, as opposed to the valley-floor haugh of **Scotch-haugh Burn** FRD-KCD. More probable is reference in both to vegetation marked in English Standard English as *Scotch*, for instance *Scotch heath* and *Scotch heather* (*OED*, under *Scotch*). This is probably also true for **Scott's Bank** KHP-SLK, which applies to some natural woodland in an area where hardly any remains (*OSA* vii, 507; *NSA* iii, 42–3: Kirkhope SLK was disjoined from Yarrow SLK in 1852). Despite its present reflex, the name contains SSE *Scotch* (1773 *Scotch*, 1821 *Scots*, 1824 and 1851 *Scotch*). The relevant vegetation may be SSE n. *Scotch fir* (*OED*, under *Scotch*)⁹⁹ or a general reference to indigenous growth.

Scotch-haugh Burn FRD-KCD, on the other hand, sits better with **Scottismanisrisk**† RED-PER. This latter name, recorded 1596, could refer to those for whom the moor was probably a source of scrub and/or peat for fuel. The **Scotch-haugh* in Fordoun KCD must lie in or by the peatbog indicated by the settlement-name Whitemyre NO716760, suggesting peat extraction may be an activity identified as traditionally Scottish. It remains a possibility, though, that both names refer to a relationship to some

⁹³ **Scotch Shields**† LNGT-CMB.

⁹⁴ **Scott's Bank** KHP-SLK (a slope of natural wood).

⁹⁵ **Scotchmeadows** HEXH-NTB.

⁹⁶ **Scots-Croft**† BOOT-CMB.

⁹⁷ **Scotsblair**† KTL-DNB.

⁹⁸ **Scots Flat**† GRM-STL.

⁹⁹ However, the "Scots firs" at Hangingshaw YAR-SLK NT398302 are from Highland seed (*NSA* iii, 43).

linguistic, tenorial and/or ownership boundary at the time of coining not now obvious. This would appear to be the case with **Scotsmen's Butts**† ALY-PER (recorded 1565), identified in the study with a strip of Alyth burgh land, represented by the modern settlement-name Westfield, wedged between the Alyth Burn and land owned by the Bishop of Dunkeld. The naming motivation is most likely one of borderland, '(by the land of) the Scotsmen'.¹⁰⁰

Fig. 18 Scot-names with generics for hills

Hill

Incidences	Generic	Geographical distribution
Probable 4:	ON n.m. <i>múli</i> 'projecting hill' : 1 ¹⁰¹	ARG
	OSc n. <i>crag</i> 'rock' : 1 ¹⁰²	FIF
	ScS n. <i>hill</i> 'hill' : 1 ¹⁰³	BNF+MOR
	ScS n. <i>law</i> 'hill' : 1 ¹⁰⁴	AYR

The small hillside knoll of **Scotlaw** LGS-AYR is probably a relatively late self-deprecating contrast to **Irish Law** DLR-AYR, by which it is dwarfed. A large hill, however, is the referent of a name displayed on the map in two forms, **Scotch Hill** BLE-MOR and **Scots Hill** BOH-BNF. A cultural border is possible: Boharm BNF had a large monolingual Gaelic population in the 1650s (Withers 1984, 32). But SSE *Scotch* in the earliest recording (1830) suggests it may be a reference to SSE n. *Scotch fir*, with which the hill was wholly planted. Much older evidence is available for **Scotsraig** FPC-FIF, but the inference is again not clear. If ethnic, at the first date of recording (1480, for 1452) it could preserve application of OSc n. *Scottis* 'Scots Gaelic', or it could be an early application to 'Older Scots' itself. Either could be motivated by the owner, the Bishop of St Andrews: if the former, then referring to an adjacent Gaelic language boundary; if the latter, then referring to the occupants or owners. Both imply a cultural interface.

¹⁰⁰ The town of Dunkeld was still half Gaelic-speaking in 1705 (Withers 1984, 57), if reference was to users of Gaelic. However, there was no indigenous Gaelic left in the vicinity of Blacklunans NO151605 in the north of the parish of Alyth PER by 1682 (ibid., 38, 57).

¹⁰¹ **Scotmill** KCH-ARG.

¹⁰² **Scotsraig** FPC-FIF.

¹⁰³ **Scotch Hill** BLE-MOR a.k.a. **Scots Hill** BOH-BNF.

¹⁰⁴ **Scotlaw** LGS-AYR.

Such an interface is also implied by **Scotmill** KCH-ARG. Despite its modern form, it only lost a medial vowel 1824×78 and is recorded from a time when an Older Scots name is unlikely in Kintyre (1481 *Scottomyl*). If indeed the genitive plural of ON *Skotr* + ON n.m. *múli*, then reference could be a remnant, or incoming, Gaelic community in the northern hill spine of the peninsula, either locally or originally applied to all of the massif. It is even conceivable that it preserves an Old Norse name for the whole of Kintyre.¹⁰⁵

Fig. 19 Scot-names with generics for industry

Industry

Incidences	Generic	Geographical distribution
Probable 7:	Osc n. <i>miln</i> 'mill' : 6 ¹⁰⁶	ABD, ANG, BNF, MOR, PER
	Osc n. <i>pat</i> 'coal-pit' : 1 ¹⁰⁷	MLO
Possible [3]:	Osc n. <i>miln</i> 'mill' : [3] ¹⁰⁸	ABD, FIF, PEB

With the possible names below, and one rejected instance,¹⁰⁹ there are nine recorded Scottismiln-names, of which five are extant. This compares with only one other extant *mill*-name type (Hooker 1991) with a specific which is potentially the genitive of an anthroponym, and this with only two instances.¹¹⁰ With a widespread distribution over the wider North East, and dating back to at least the thirteenth century in both Angus and Moray,¹¹¹ even an extended *Scot* family of millers could not account for this numerical imbalance.

It is therefore judged to be an Older Scots description of the type of watermill. In this, it can be compared and contrasted with two Scots terms recorded in the Northern

¹⁰⁵ Otherwise *Satíri*, in the thirteenth century (*Njáls Saga*, 213).

¹⁰⁶ **Scottie Molendinum**† KSS-MOR (assuming for Older Scots), **Scottsmill** PHD-ABD, **Scottismyll**† LIN-ANG, **Scottismannis Mylne**† ALY-PER, **Scotsmill** BOY-BNF, **Scotsmill** TUF-ABD.

¹⁰⁷ **Scotispatis-croft**† EDI-MLO.

¹⁰⁸ Although there is no absolute evidence for any Scottismiln-name, the anthroponym is a distinct possibility in **Scots Mill**† IKG-FIF and **Scotsmill** KNL-ABD; also **Scotsmill** TQR^{dtechd}-PEB, though outwith the geographical distribution identified.

¹⁰⁹ **Scots Mill**† IKG-FIF, probably with the surname SSE *Scott*.

¹¹⁰ Mackie's Mill MAI-FIF NT305978 and Mackiesmill PAI-RNF NS444615. Macks Mill GOR-BWK NT659447 is an unlikely third instance. This is not to say that obsolete mill-names with an anthroponym did not exist – they did – but provides a controlled comparison with the five Scottishmiln-name examples in Hooker (1991).

¹¹¹ **Scottie Molendinum**† KSS-MOR, c.1226 *Scoticum molendinum*, C13 *Scottie molendinum*; **Scottismyll**† LIN-ANG, 1256 *molendini scoticani* (genitive).

Isles. In Orkney, ScS n. *English mill* was said in 1909 to have previously applied to modern mills (*OSM* ii, 3:130, cited in *SNDS*, under *English*), more specifically "a mill with a vertical over-shot wheel" (*ibid.*, under *English*). That the vertical mill was remembered in Shetland in 1969 as ScS n. *Scots mill* (*SND*, under *Scots*) is not contradictory, in that both refer to introduced technology; it is rather an interesting comment on a relative perspective of ethnicity in Orkney and Shetland. The older Northern Isles mill had a horizontal wheel housed over the lade. Such mills were also commonly found in Caithness and Lewis ROS^{Heb} (MacLeòid 2009, 16), with reference to one c.1775 in Kintyre ARG (Grant 1961, 116 n. 3).¹¹² Elsewhere in Scotland it was the vertical mill that was common, and which came to be being built even in Skye and Harris INV^{Heb} by the eighteenth century (*ibid.*, 116–7). But the horizontal mill is far from unique to Norse culture, and plentiful evidence of virtually identical mills is found from Iberia, via the Mediterranean and Middle East to China, with the earliest in Ireland is dated to 630×930; one has been identified in England at Tamworth E/STF, dating to c.855 (MacLeòid 2009, 16). A hint of wider medieval use in Scotland comes from the site of an apparent mill-dam at a monastic site at Portmahomack TBT-ROS NH914840 (Carver 2008, 62–4, 64 n. 5).¹¹³ It is postulated in the study that OSc n. **Scottismiln* refers to such horizontal mills. The contrastive pairing of **Scottsmill** PHD-ABD with **English Mill** STF-BNF^(ABD) is notable, though possibly coincidental.

Scotispatis-croft† EDI-MLO appears from the initial definite article in its sole recording, 1502, to refer to a croft associated with a 'Scottish coal-pit(s)'. If this, too, implies an older, traditional, industrial process, then it could be speculated that this is open-pit mining, rather than more complex subterranean diggings.

¹¹² Various known as a ScS n. *kli(c)k-*, *click-*, *clack-mill* (*SND*, under *klick-mill*), SSE n. *Norse mill* (MacLeòid 2009, 19), ScG n.m/f. *muileann b(h)eag* 'small mill' (MacLeòid 2009 *passim*).

¹¹³ Carver considers it to be a demolished horizontal mill of the seventh (2008, 64 n. 5) or eighth century (in MacLeòid 2009, 19–20).

<u>Route</u>	Incidences	Generic	Geographical distribution
Probable 9:		OE n.nt. <i>wæð</i> 'ford' : 1 ¹¹⁴	PER+STL
		OSc n. <i>gate</i> 'routeway' : 4 ¹¹⁵	ANG, INV, MOR, PER
		OSc n. <i>*wath</i> 'ford' : 1 ¹¹⁶	DMF+CMB
		SSE n. <i>ford</i> : 2 ¹¹⁷	ABD, ANG
		ESE n. <i>ford</i> : 1 ¹¹⁸	NTB

The location of **Scotwad**† G GK+PMH-PER+STL has been convincingly identified by Breeze (1992) with the Fords of Frew, a major strategic bottleneck for land communication passing north and south of the Forth. This, the lowest ford in the river, was important enough to enter the geographical and toponymic understanding of the English elite, and it is from their perspective, and in their records, that the name appears from 1072 to the late twelfth century. The Forth, river as well as firth, was an ethnic frontier at the time of coining. A similar fording of an ethnic boundary is made with the same term in a later reflex: **Scotiswath**† ANN+DOR+WIGT-DMF+CMB crossed the Solway Firth, probably at what is now the Bowness Wath, between what had become the identifiable national entities of England and Scotland by its first recording before 1384. This time, however, the name comes from Scottish sources.

Fords are surprisingly resilient, or rather they make a late reappearance, with three in Standard English. In English Standard English, **Scotchman's Ford** RTHB-NTB is similarly associated with the national frontier, but crosses a small hillside stream just below the Border. Rather, it is the track that uses the ford that is the international route (though too small and steep to have been a main thoroughfare or a drove route). **Scotchman's Ford** MEN-ANG is also a very small affair, in a contrasting pairing with **Englishman's Ford**† MEN-ANG. The tradition here of a battle is of Picts and

¹¹⁴ **Scotwad**† G GK+PMH-PER+STL.

¹¹⁵ **Scotisgait**† GLA+AIR+KGM-ANG.

¹¹⁶ **Scotiswath**† ANN+DOR+WIGT-DMF+CMB.

¹¹⁷ **Scot's Road** DLS+KNO-MOR, **Scotisgait**† GLA+AIR+KGM-ANG, **Scotisgat**† INB-INV, **Scottis-mennis-gait**† DDA-PER.

¹¹⁸ **Scotchman's Ford** RTHB-NTB.

Scandinavians (*OSA* v, 153), but the contrast of the fords is likely to be more mundane, perhaps sparked by a postulated English resident at **Englishman's Hillock** MEN-ANG.¹¹⁹ The third name, **Scotsmansford**† KCO-ABD on the former Deeside road,¹²⁰ crosses a stream so small that it is labelled as a drain on OS¹⁰. The common factor to the three Standard English fords is that they are very small; it might be speculated that this is a semantic link, in the lexicon as SSE n. **Scotchman's-ford*. But the relationship with the national border must be a stronger candidate for **Scotchman's Ford** RTHB, leaving the evidence very sparse.

There is more evidence, however, for an appellative behind the four instances of OSc n. *gate*. Each seems to support Barrow's contention (1992, 208) that *via scoticana*, 'Scottish way', indicates a lower grade routeway than *communis via*, 'common way'. He discusses this in respect of a contrastive pairing of *communis via* with **Scotisgait**† GLA+AIR+KGM-ANG (1458 *the Scotisgait*). As part of the study, an attempt has been made to plot this *via scoticana* and also **Scot's Road** DLS+KNO-MOR (1756 *Scotsgate*), **Scotisgat**† INB-INV (1361 *Scatisgat*, 1365 *Scotisgat*) and **Scottis-mennis-gait**† DDA-PER (1584). All four are on what could fairly be described as subsidiary routes, the (reinterpreted) **Scot's Road** DLS+KNO-MOR being described in OSnb 3:89 MOR as an old drove road. There does not appear to be any ethnic boundaries related to the various routes.

Fig. 21 Scot-names with generics for settlements (not Scotston)

Settlement (other than Scotston-names)

Incidences	Generic	Geographical distribution
Probable 8:	ON n.m. <i>býr</i> 'settlement' : 1 ¹²¹	CMB
	Osc existing name : 3 ¹²²	CAI, MLO, PER
	Osc n. <i>hall</i> 'large house' : 1 ¹²³	CMB

¹¹⁹ Menmuir ANG had no indigenous Gaelic in 1708 (Withers 1984, 58). **Englishman's Ford**† MEN-ANG is mentioned in *OSA* v (p. 153), but was otherwise only known to one elderly individual when the OS was first surveying. He was the sole source for **Englishman's Hillock** MEN-ANG.

¹²⁰ Kincardine O'Neil ABD did not have indigenous Gaelic in 1774 (Withers 1984, 130).

¹²¹ **Scotby** CARL-CMB.

¹²² **Durdy Scot**† KSP-PER, **Karramund Scottorum**† CRM-MLO, **Scotscalders** HAL-CAI.

¹²³ **Scotch Hall**† HEXH-NTB.

	Osc n. <i>raw</i> 'street' : 1 ¹²⁴	PER
	SSE n. <i>town</i> : 1 ¹²⁵	ARG
	ESE existing name : 1 ¹²⁶	ROX
Possible [2]:	EG n.f. <i>pett</i> 'estate' : [1] ¹²⁷	FIF
	Osc n. <i>raw</i> 'street' : [1] ¹²⁸	DMF

The only early primary name here is **Scotby** CARL-CMB, first recorded c.1130, that is before David I acquired land in Cumberland, including **Scotby** CARL-CMB, from king Stephen of England in 1136 (*RPW*, 41 n. 9).¹²⁹ But though the editor of *RPW*, Prescott, therefore correctly rejected the assertion that this particular royal connection was commemorated in the name (loc. cit.), it is postulated that the association with **Scotby** CARL-CMB dated from the earlier period of Scottish regal influence in Cumberland from 1018 to 1092 (*Atlas* 1996, 76). It is argued (*VEPN* 2000, 105) that most *bý(r)*-names in Cumberland and Dumfriesshire experienced replacement of their specific with the personal names of late eleventh-century Norman colonists; others of this period are new, with an Older Scots reflex *-by/bie* (loc. cit.). This is likely to provide the context for **Scotby** CARL-CMB, though in relation to Scottish influence expanding southwards amid more general normanisation.

Scotby CARL-CMB is, then, best viewed as a modified name, the motivation for which is similar to that which attaches an ethnonymic affix to an existing name, as with **Karramund Scottorum**† CRM-MLO. This is recorded only in Latin, but probably from an Older Scots vernacular environment. Also existing names with affixes are **Durdy Scot**† KSP-PER and **Scotscald** HAL-CAI. The latter three are all on Church land, but caution has to be exercised in assuming a link because of the contrastive pairing of **Durdy Scot**† KSP-PER with **Durdy Inglis**† KSP-PER within the same estate. Whereas control by the Bishop of Dunkeld is probably the motivation for **Karramund Scottorum**† CRM-MLO,

¹²⁴ **Scottis-raw**† DDA-PER.

¹²⁵ **Scotstown** ARD-ARG.

¹²⁶ **Scotch Kershope** CSL-ROX.

¹²⁷ **Pitscottie** CER-FIF.

¹²⁸ **Scotteraw**† (unidentified) DMF.

¹²⁹ Further, in a charter by David I c.1139, the payment of teinds from **Scotby** CARL-CMB to the Priory of Wetherhal are said to be *sicut ab antiquo data eis fuit*, 'as it was of old' (*ESC* no. 123).

Durdy Scot† KSP-PER and **Scotscald** HAL-CAI are better seen as marking their position on an

ethnic borderland. **Durdy Scot**† KSP-PER (first recorded 1452, towards the end of the period of OSc n. *Scottis* applying to Gaelic) will have referred to association with Gaelic speakers (in contrast to association of OSc *Inglis* with **Durdy Inglis**† KSP-PER).

Scotscald HAL-CAI (1538), on the other hand, is more likely to contain the ethnonym because of its association with Older Scots speakers, as is clear from its Gaelic name, **Caladal nan Gall**◊ HAL-CAI.¹³⁰ **Scotch Kershope** CSL-ROX certainly relates to a border position, being part of a contrastive pairing with **English Kershope** LNGT-CMB just across the national boundary.¹³¹

Like the affix in **Scotch Kershope** CSL-ROX, the specific in **Scotch Hall**‡ HEXH-NTB, **Scottis-raw**† DDA-PER and **Scotstown** ARD-ARG is adjectival. **Scotch Hall**‡ HEXH-NTB is possibly a variant of OSc n. *Scotch house* 'seventeenth-century laird's dwelling superseding the tower house' (*SND*, under *Scottis*). **Scottis-raw**† DDA-PER, too, may relate to some lost appellative referring to the kind of street (cf. unidentified **Scotteraw**† DMF, below). **Scotstown** ARD-ARG, on the other hand, is a probable etic name coined by immigrant mine workers for the indigenous settlement neighbouring their own.

Fig. 22 Scotston-names

Settlement (Scotston-names)

Incidences	Generic	Geographical distribution
Probable 13:	OSc n. <i>toun</i> 'settlement' : 13 ¹³²	ABD, ANG, BNF ^(ABD) , KCD, MOR, RNF, WLO
Possible [8]:	OSc n. <i>toun</i> 'settlement' : [8] ¹³³	ABD, ANG, BWK, CMB, PEB, RNF

¹³⁰ An ethnonymic interpretation of **Nornecald**† HAL-CAI is rejected (rather, OSc adj. *northin*), and *ipso facto* so too is the contrastive pairing with **Scotscald** HAL-CAI proposed by Watson (1926, 522).

¹³¹ 1755 *Scots Kersop* (Roy Map) implies that a tradition of contrasting names may have long existed, but was ignored on mapping till into the twentieth century, when it reappeared in English Standard English.

¹³² **Scotston** AUH-ANG, FON-BNF, INC-ABD, LAK-KCD, STF-BNF^(ABD), **Scotston of Kirkside** SCY-KCD, **Scotston of Usan** CRG-ANG, **Scotstonhill** SAB-MOR, **Scotstoun**‡ DMN-WLO, **Scotstown**† ABC-WLO, OMR-ABD, RAT-BNF, **Scottistoun**† PAI-RNF.

¹³³ **Scotston** ELL-ABD, FAR-ANG, LGT-BWK, MET-ABD, **Scotstoun** NLS-PEB, REN-RNF, **Scotstown** ECH-ABD, LNGT-CMB.

The Scotston-names form an important group of their own, not least because of their number.¹³⁴ This frequency is magnified in the North East by a geographical concentration greater than that of the overall distribution; but it has not always been so. Using the earliest recordings as a guide to the pattern over time (rough only, given that first recording can come long after coining), the distribution is:

Fig. 23 Scotston-names over time and space

<i>Century</i>	<i>North East</i>	<i>Central Belt</i>	<i>South</i>
C13	KCD	WLO	–
C14	–	WLO	–
C15	ABD, BNF	–	–
C16	ABD, ANG ×2, BNF ^(ABD) , KCD, MOR	RNF ×2	PEB
C17	BNF	–	CMB
C18	–	–	BWK
C19	ABD ×2, ANG	–	–
C20	ABD	–	–
Total	14	4	3

If the north-eastern names were to infer an associated language as was claimed by Alexander (1952, 112–3),¹³⁵ then all else being equal that definition would have to have changed from Gaelic to Older Scots at some point moving down the table (up through time), while the first three could only refer to Gaelic.¹³⁶ Similarly, an interpretation on the basis of language could only refer to Gaelic in the two West Lothian names.¹³⁷ A geographical interpretation referring to a distinctive association with Scotia is also

¹³⁴ Of place-names with a potential anthroponym + *-s-* + *-ton/toun/town* on the late twentieth century OS²⁵ (Hooker 1991), the seventeen instances of *Scots-* is only less than that for the twenty of *Charl(e)s-*; the personal name Charles, from which the surname is derived, rarely occurred as a name in Scotland before the reign of Charles I, 1625–49 (Black 1946, 147). The next most frequent only occur nine times: *James*, with a long heritage as a personal name (Black 1946, 382), and intriguingly *Ingles/Ingliš*. It should be noted that all the data are retained in the lists for comparative purposes, and so include both the probably ethnonymic **Scotstown** ARD-ARG and discounted Scotston‡ KMG-ARG NR920902 and Scotstown BFF-BNF NJ682646.

¹³⁵ Alexander (1952, 112–3) surmised that they indicated 'a place where Gaelic was the household speech', describing the common explanation of them as containing the surname Scott as being inadequate because of the number of Scotston and other Scot-names across Scotland. He ruled out "the nebulous distinction between Picts and Scots, being definitely post-Gaelic."

¹³⁶ **Scotston** LAK-KCD (first recorded 1242), **Scotstown** OMR-ABD (1446), **Scotston** FON-BNF (1453).

¹³⁷ **Scotstoun**‡ DMN-WLO (first recorded 1228), **Scotstown**† ABC-WLO (1375).

possible for those names outwith that region. This could therefore only apply to those names in the Central Belt or south, not those of the North East. The possibility of a common church link can be ruled out, thanks to the evidence of the sale of **Scotstoun**† DMN-WLO to Dunfermline Abbey by an apparently secular owner in 1228, after coining. The adjective *Scot(t)is* in Scotston-names is not considered in the literature, but as seen with other Scot-names, the adjective is a theoretical possibility with some figurative application; that is, with some perceived resemblance to a stereotypical characteristic of the ethnicity. It is difficult to see, however, what a 'traditional settlement' might apply to before the agricultural revolution of the early nineteenth century.

None of these possibilities provides a single satisfactory solution. But no one answer need be applicable across the dataset. The late-recorded names are most safely ascribed to the anthroponym; the probability of the surname is earlier in the south, where the early recordings of the surname are concentrated (Black 1946, 714–5). For the purposes of further discussion, therefore, these are discounted.¹³⁸ Among the remaining names, the two thirteenth-century recordings span the geographical groupings. This requires, if there is a common interpretation, that it must either be a reference to the anthroponym or to Gaelic speakers. None of the names are located where a Gaelic linguistic community could be predicted at the time of first recording. So the language could indeed be the distinguishing feature in isolated pockets. In the case of **Scotston** AUH-ANG (1510)¹³⁹ and **Scotston** INC-ABD (1596), this might be residual settlements resisting language shift around them, but unless coined much earlier than recorded, the other names would more likely represent incomers; it is highly unlikely that a single settlement could resist for a long period a language shift affecting the general community. In the Central Belt, the names could refer to links to the geographic entity of Scotia rather than (or as well as) to any linguistic distinction. Of the two Renfrewshire instances, possibly ethnonymic **Scotstoun** REN-RNF might have been motivated by a borderland location, as if 'the settlement by the Scots', given that it is in a small isolated part of Renfrewshire on the north shore of the River Clyde. On the other hand, it might simply

¹³⁸ **Scotstoun** NLS-PEB (first recorded 1508; Wat Scott of Morthinyston had overlordship in 1434 of at least neighbouring Ladyurd KUD-PEB), **Scotstown** LNGT-CMB (1696), **Scotston** LGT-BWK (1797), **Scotston** MET-ABD (1858), **Scotston** FAR-ANG (1861), **Scotstown** ECH-ABD (1871), **Scotston** ELL-ABD (1910).

¹³⁹ Cf. **Durdy Scot**† KSP-PER, also in the Sidlaws.

be a transferred name from probably ethnonymic **Scottistoun**† PAI-RNF, similarly in the hands of the Montgomeries, and disappearing from the record twelve years before *Scottistoun* (1566) first appears in Renfrew parish.

Fig. 24 Scot-names with generics for water

Water

Incidences	Generic	Geographical distribution
Probable 6:	OSc n. <i>burn</i> 'burn' : 3 ¹⁴⁰	LAN, MOR, ROS
	OSc n. <i>pule</i> 'pool' : 1 ¹⁴¹	ABD
	OSc n. <i>se</i> 'sea' : 1 ¹⁴²	☀
	OSc n. <i>watir</i> 'water' : 1 ¹⁴³	☀

Two of these generics relate to the Forth, but are not identical in focus or date of recorded use. 1154×59 *Scotwat<er>* and 1165×84 **Scottewatre**† ☀ (in a fourteenth-century copy) refers to the river in particular. The firth was probably always distinguished from the river, as shown by the contemporary Latin *mare Scoticum* (1175), presumably for OSc *the Scottis se* (first recorded 1375). By its last recording (1682), **Scots Sea**† ☀ had expanded to include the adjacent coastline of the open sea, at least south to Berwickshire and presumably north to Fife too. It is probable that there was a semantic shift over time. The first Scottish use collected was in 1375, those previously being English or Welsh. Like **Scotwad**† G GK+PMH-PER+STL, the early use may have been etic, but in this case the name was adopted, perhaps with reinterpretation of the **Scots Sea**† as being central to an Edinburgh view of the kingdom as it had by then developed. Though **Scottewatre**† is apparently an Old French loan-word, it mirrors an indigenous form, *Scotwater*, recorded 1154×59. The evidence may be due to the fate of survival. However, if anything can be made of it, in the early period the names from a southern perspective refer to passage – by ford or by sea – whereas the name looking south bears the name of the people and marks the limit of their associated area. This is not a regal demarcation, but, at a time of Scottish southern territorial expansion, is an internal one between Scotia and Lothian. It may be

¹⁴⁰ **Scotsburn** KSS+RAF-MOR, **Scots Burn** LEW-LAN, **Scots Burn** LOE-ROS.

¹⁴¹ **Scott's Pool** PHD+STF-BNF^(ABD).

¹⁴² **Scots Sea**† ☀.

¹⁴³ **Scottewatre**† ☀.

safer to view it as a boundary of identity, rather than imagine static uniformity of language and/or culture to the north.

The other water-names belong to far smaller bodies of water. None are near the Forth, with three much further north in Aberdeenshire, Moray and Ross and Cromarty, and one some distance south in Lanarkshire. Three share the name *Scots Burn*, each of these applying to a small, short stream, whose only claim to significance is local demarcation. The ethnic nature of **Scots Burn** LOE-ROS is shown by the early form *Scottismenisburne* and its Gaelic name **Allt nan Albannach**ϕ, 'the burn of the Albanians'. A very short burn but entering the Balnagown River at a narrow part of the valley on that bank, it serves to divide the small district called Scotsburn from land to the east around the pre-Reformation church of Logie Easter.¹⁴⁴ Though **Scotsburn** KSS+RAF-MOR is not so clearly a natural boundary, it falls across the intervening land between the Cistercian abbey of Kinloss on one side, and Kilbuiack Castle and Burgie Castle on the other. Both castles were in the possession of families of Dunbar, a surname originating from the lands of Dunbar in East Lothian (Black 1946, 227). The only one of the three with a proven boundary function, though, is **Scots Burn** LEW-LAN (first recorded 1583×96), which is described in 1860 as dividing property along the whole of its length. It is possible that the burn originally marked the limit of the abbey lands which extended up the River Nethan from Lesmahagow, with its 1144 Tironensian Priory (a dependency of Kelso Abbey), but this is speculative.

Scott's Pool PHD+STF-ABD+BNF^(ABD) also lies on a boundary, as a deep pool with fishing cruives in the River Ugie between two parishes, though the cruives are associated in 1495 with St Fergus, a detached parish of Banffshire. This may indicate a coining emanating from St Fergus, but with little certainty.

¹⁴⁴ However, on the west side of the burn is Dalnaclairach LOE-ROS NH725754, 'the haugh of the clerics', from ScG *Dail nan Clèireach* (Watson 1904, 67).

General Patterns

These names can be drawn together into three general groupings, marking the following states:

a) Outlying

Those names indicating association with places outwith the general linguistic or regional area appear to be limited, perhaps not surprisingly, to settlements. These include all the probable ethnonymic Scotston-names,¹⁴⁵ joined only by a couple of affixed names. They date in recording from 1130 in Cumberland,¹⁴⁶ in reference to encroaching influence from Scotia, to the early thirteenth century in Lothian with the same inference.¹⁴⁷ Later instances, with the possible exception of the two Renfrewshire names and probably **Scotston** LAK-KCD, refer to speakers of Gaelic.

b) Bordering

A diverse group of names, which subdivides into features forming boundaries (burns, dyke, river, sea), fords serving as routeways across boundaries, and features in areas characterised by a nearby boundary (cairn, district, hill, hillocks, ploughed ground, pool, rock, settlements). State delineation does not occur until 1552, with **Scots' Dike** CAN+LNGT-DMF+CMB coined eticly, but adopted by the Scots by 1609. Earlier delineation is within the kingdom, marking where Scotia ended along the Forth river and firth;¹⁴⁸ in Older Scots and Old French, this presumably gives a twelfth-century Lothian perspective. From outwith the Scottish polity, this same boundary was perhaps always less important than the ford and nautical passage across it.¹⁴⁹ This was maybe also true of the crossing of the Solway Firth.¹⁵⁰ From a distant southern perspective these were barriers to be crossed with a focus on particular crossing points, whereas from the Scottish viewpoint the significant aspect was the linear ethnic boundary. At the other extreme of scale, three burns are all first recorded

¹⁴⁵ The possible exception being **Scotstoun** REN-RNF.

¹⁴⁶ **Scotby** CARL-CMB.

¹⁴⁷ **Karramund Scottorum**† CRM-MLO, followed by 1228 **Scotstoun**‡ DMN-WLO and 1375 **Scotstown**† ABC-WLO.

¹⁴⁸ **Scottewatre**† ☼, **Scots Sea**† ☼.

¹⁴⁹ **Scotwad**† G GK+PMH-PER+STL in English records from 1072 to the late twelfth century.

¹⁵⁰ **Scotiswath**† ANN+DOR+WIGT-DMF+CMB in Scottish records by 1384.

around the end of the sixteenth century,¹⁵¹ but do not display any clear pattern. Features named in relation to (but in only one case being on)¹⁵² a boundary are easy to determine for fixed borders of jurisdiction, such as the national border, and can be very small and otherwise insignificant. But for often transitory ethnic divisions, they may themselves be the only indicator of such demarcation, emicly designating Older Scots speakers in west Caithness before 1538,¹⁵³ and eticly designating Gaelic speakers in Norse-period Kintyre,¹⁵⁴ in the Sidlaws 1164×1452,¹⁵⁵ possibly in Buchan before 1495,¹⁵⁶ in east Perthshire before 1565,¹⁵⁷ and in Sunart (by English migrant workers) 1755×1801.¹⁵⁸ Also feasible are an emic designation of an Older Scots boundary in Moray,¹⁵⁹ and an etic designation of a Gaelic boundary in north Fife before 1452.¹⁶⁰

c) Traditional

Some possible appellatives emerge, implying older techniques or technology. The most frequent is OSc n. **Scottismiln* 'Scottish mill' (with a variant with OSc gen. sg. *Scottismannis*), with six probable and three possible instances, postulated in the study to be a horizontal watermill, as opposed to the more complex, geared vertical mill. A probable OSc n. **Scottispat* 'Scottish pit' may refer to surface coalmining rather than subterranean. For routeways, there are four probable instances of OSc n. **Scottisgate* 'Scottish road' (with a variant with OSc gen. pl. *Scottismennis*). Barrow (1992, 208) explains *via Scoticana* c.1531×40, the **Scotisgait**† GLA+AIR+KGM-ANG, as a traditional road in contrast to a superior, Norman-style 'common way', *communis via*. Contrast is rather in 1458 (*Arb. Lib.* ii no. 122) with OSc *the greyn rod*,¹⁶¹ 'the green routeway', and if this is the *communis via*, then the distinction is not quite so clear cut. **Scot's Road** DLS+KNO-MOR (1756 *Scotsgate*) was described in 1870 as a

¹⁵¹ **Scotsburn** KSS+RAF-MOR in 1571; **Scots Burn** LEW-LAN 1583×96; **Scots Burn** LOE-ROS 1607.

¹⁵² **Scott's Pool** PHD+STF-ABD+BNF^(ABD).

¹⁵³ **Scotscaldier** HAL-CAI.

¹⁵⁴ **Scotmill** KCH-ARG.

¹⁵⁵ **Durdy Scot**† KSP-PER.

¹⁵⁶ **Scott's Pool** PHD+STF-ABD+BNF^(ABD). Note also **Scotston** STF-BNF^(ABD).

¹⁵⁷ **Scotsmen's Butts**† ALY-PER.

¹⁵⁸ **Scotstown** ARD-ARG.

¹⁵⁹ **Scotch Hill** BLE-MOR and **Scots Hill** BOH-BNF for the same hill.

¹⁶⁰ **Scotsraig** FPC-FIF.

¹⁶¹ Cited in *DOST*, under *grene*, for 'covered with grass or verdure'; with OSc n. *rod* 'routeway'. Another *Greyne Rod* (with the definite article) is also in *Arb. Lib.* (ii, 73), as part of the marches of Dumbarrow DNN^{dtchd}-ANG NO549470.

former drove road. But if it is surmised that the green routeway can be taken to imply a wide, grassy, droving *raik* (Haldane 1997, 31; *DOST*, s.v.), then the **Scottisgate* might be a traditional, unmarked route. Similarly, but much later, three minor fords are named with SE gen. sg. *Scotsman's* or *Scotchman's ford*, 'Scot's ford', for some kind of small crossing.

Not an appellative, but expressing a common semantic concept, are two probable and one possible instances of 'Scottish ground', each of which may have provided at best scrub or peat for fuel, or even have been considered totally unproductive. A probable 'Scottish slope' may refer to the locally unusual natural woodland on it, but a 'Scottish hill', if not a boundary-name, is possibly due to its complete planting with Scots fir as part of (ultimately unsuccessful) economic development. Also against the general trend, OSc n. *Scotch-house* is known in the lexicon (*SND*, under *Scottis*) to apply to social development, as a 'seventeenth-century laird's dwelling superseding the tower house', which may lie behind the probable instance of 'Scottish large house', though in Northumberland.¹⁶² It is another matter, however, as to whether the one probable and one possible instances of **Scot(tis)raw*, 'Scottish street of houses', carried this same import of progress.¹⁶³

It would appear that the "Scottish cringe" of twentieth-century political discourse has a long pedigree, to at least the mid-thirteenth century, associating the term with the traditional in most cases. There is the hint that this ethnicist view was not always negative, but it does imply a low esteem of Scots. However, in at least the case of OSc n. **Scottismiln* and OSc n. **Scottisgate* this, like the language named OSc n. *Scottis*, may have been associated till the late fifteenth century with speakers of Gaelic, and so not have been emic. These date back in recording to c.1226 and 1361 respectively,¹⁶⁴ with the possible instance with OSc n. *raw* in 1355.¹⁶⁵ Others are more likely to be emic, dating from the sixteenth century on.¹⁶⁶ The only association with

¹⁶² **Scotch Hall**‡ HEXH-NTB.

¹⁶³ **Scotteraw**‡ (unidentified) DMF, **Scottis-raw**‡ DDA-PER.

¹⁶⁴ **Scottie Molendinum**‡ KSS-MOR, **Scottisgat**‡ INB-INV.

¹⁶⁵ **Scotteraw**‡ (unidentified) DMF.

¹⁶⁶ 1502 OSc n. **Scottispat* in **Scottispatis-croft**‡ EDI-MLO, 1596 'Scottish ground' in **Scottismanisrisk**‡ RED-PER. The slim evidence for ScS n. **Scotchman's-ford* is late, but by the late eighteenth century.

progress comes from the seventeenth-century appellative OSc n. *Scotch-house*, with just one possible toponymic parallel, notably across the Border.¹⁶⁷

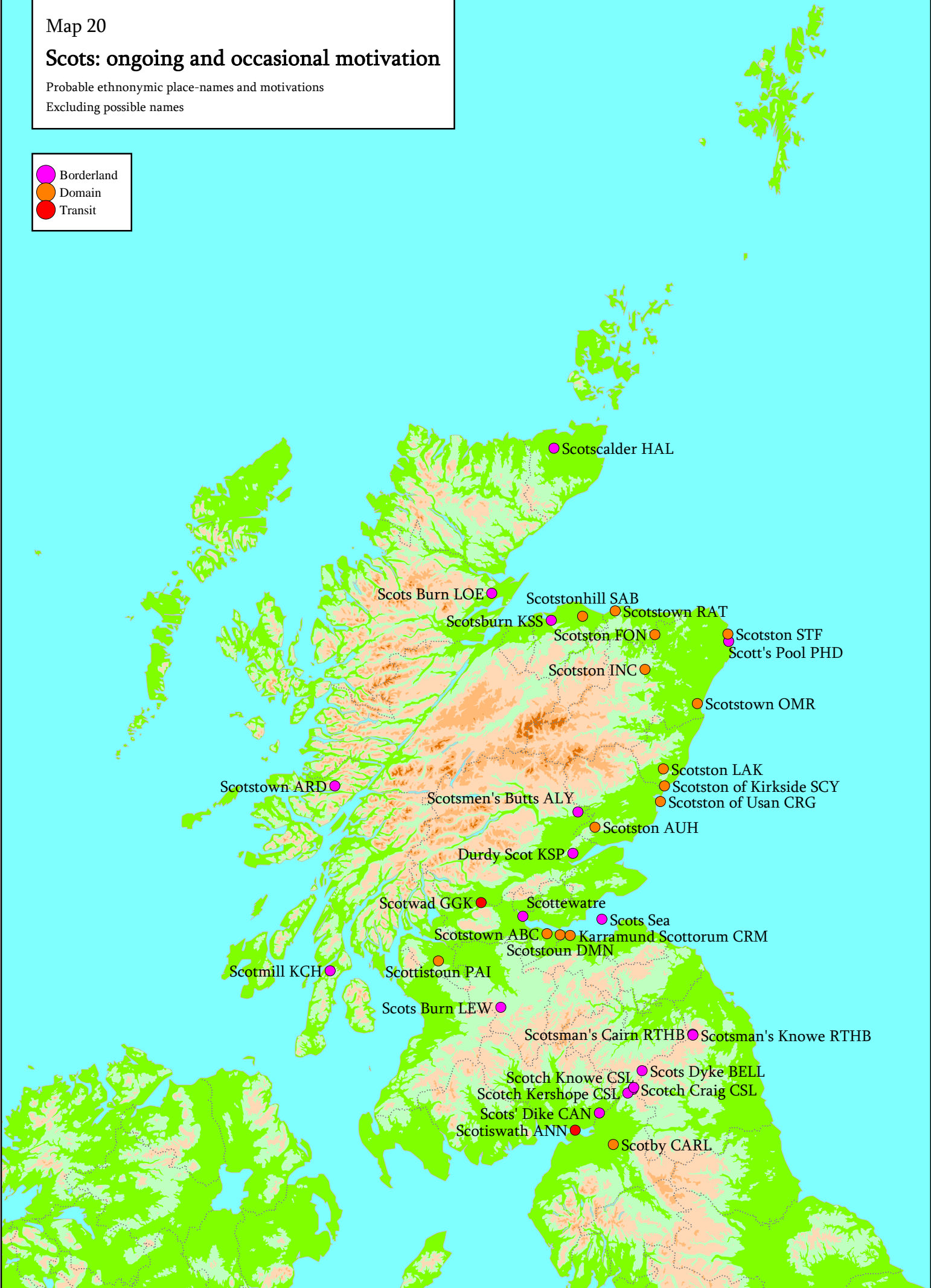
¹⁶⁷ **Scotch Hall**‡ HEXH-NTB. Even if **Scotch Hill** BLE-MOR is indeed named from extensive afforestation, this is only coincidentally ethnonymic, commemorating rather the "Scotch firs" planted.

Map 20

Scots: ongoing and occasional motivation

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding possible names

- Borderland
- Domain
- Transit

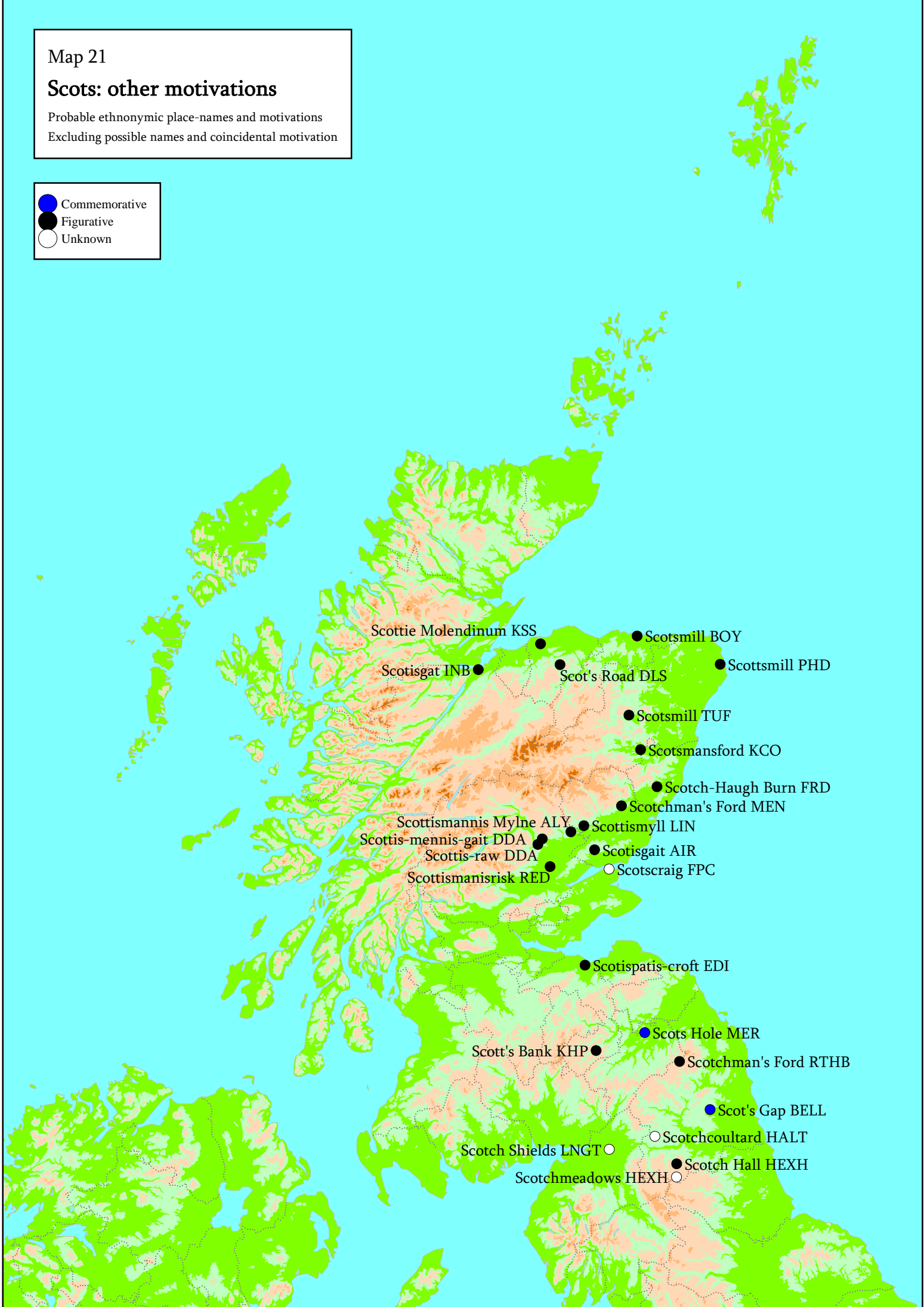


Map 21

Scots: other motivations

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding possible names and coincidental motivation

- Commemorative
- Figurative
- Unknown



Ethnonyms associated with

others

20 **Goill: names derived from the EG singular Gall**

Probable identifications: 178 (see Maps 22 to 26, pp. 258–62)

Possible identifications: 21

EG Gall (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Gaill*

nom. pl. *Gaill*

gen. pl. *Gall*

adj. *Galda*

As with ScG *Gall*, EG *Gall* is frequently translated in modern works as 'foreigner'. Woolf (2007, 100 n. 24) argues that this is an imperfect gloss, as Picts, Britons and Saxons are never designated *Gaill* in Early Gaelic scripts. *DIL*, under *Gall*, gives the oldest meaning as being a 'Gaul',¹ with developed meanings of 'Scandinavian invader' and then 'Anglo-Norman',² Irishman of Norman descent, Englishman'. A fourth meaning 'foreigner' is offered, though it is far from certain that ethnically specific implications did not pertain to the instances cited (which may be post-Early Gaelic). Examples are also given in *DIL*, s.v., of EG (and later) *Gall* used attributively in compounds and, although some are said to relate to particular ethnicities,³ the basic meaning could indeed be said to be 'foreign'.⁴ However, perhaps a more accurate definition of EG *Gall*, beyond its original meaning, is 'alien', applied to the incomer to the Gaelic cosmos or an incoming culture, rather than to the outsider *per se* or his/her culture located elsewhere. The existence of ethnicities

¹ As a loan from Latin *Gallus*, with this meaning (Woolf 2007, 100 n. 24).

² From 1171 (Ó Murchadha 1993, 65–6).

³ *gall-asa* 'Gaulish sandal'; *-biail* 'Scandinavian axe'; *-cerd* 'Scandinavian tossing of children on spears'; *-cét* 'Scandinavian long hundred'; *-cochal* 'Norse hood'; *-écosc* 'Gaulish garb'; *-ga* 'English javelin'; *-gruitne* 'Norse curds'; *-óclach* 'Scottish mercenary (later, any gallowglass)'; *-óg* 'English soldier'; *-ogam* 'Viking ogham'; *-sax* 'English person'; *sen-* 'old English, i.e. Anglo-Norman' (under *sen*); *-Tór* 'Viking anthro. *Tór*'. The interpretations of ethnicity in *DIL* may be anachronistic, with for instance *Gallóclach* perhaps having referred to the Scoto-Nordic culture of western Scotland.

⁴ *gall-at* 'helmet'; *-bádach* '?partiality'; *-baile* 'stead'; *-béltre* 'speech'; *-blach* '?salt meat'; *-brat* 'booty'; *-bróc* 'shoe'; *-cliar* '(Reformed) clergy'; *-cloch* 'castles' [*sic*]; *-cú* anthroponym ['foreign dog']; *-cúirt* 'palace'; *-dirna* 'weight'; *-écoscda* 'appearance'; *-esporc* 'bishop'; *-focal* 'word'; *-fothannán* 'thistle' i.e. *branca ursina* (under *fothannán*); *-fuil* 'blood'; *-gabul* 'fork'; *-glas* 'lock'; *-góidel* 'Gael'; *-gruaim* 'ill-humour'; *-iall* 'thong'; *-iasc* 'fish' i.e. pike; *-íath* 'territory'; *-merge* 'standard'; *-mias* 'slab' i.e. ?quoit; *-mil* 'soldier'; *-ráith* 'fort'; *-sail* 'willow'; *-salann* 'salt'; *-semind* '?'; *-sét* 'treasure'; *-sgiam* 'beauty'; *-sciath* 'shield'; *-sochraite* 'auxiliary'; *-tech* 'palace'; *-trumpa* 'trumpet'; *-urad* ['?clothes'].

beyond the political and cultural links of the Gael was known to them, but it is only when an ethnicity impinges directly on that known world that its alienness comes into focus.

Crawford (1987, 2) contrasts with the definition of 'foreigner' the broader use of EG *Gall* and its subdivisions (EG *Dubgall*, EG *Findgall* and EG *Gall-Goídel*) for the Scandinavian invader of Ireland and Scotland with other terms emphasising their religion (until the mid-ninth century),⁵ i.e. EG pl. *genti*, or geographic origins; she also contrasts these Early Gaelic definitions with reference to the Viking lifestyle by which they became known in other languages. As significant contact in the context of the British Isles was initially restricted to Viking raids, from c.790 until probably the establishment of political control over the Northern Isles in the later ninth century (Owen 1999, 13–15), then it would appear that EG *Gall* was adopted to fill the ethnonymic gap. In this it drew on an indigenous term which had lost its original ethnonymic relevance with the collapse of Roman Gaul, but was still in circulation.⁶ It is therefore probable that EG *Gall* had been retained at least as a literary term with a meaning akin to 'alien' in the intervening centuries; its subsequent history in ScG *Gall* (below) strongly suggests it never lost this semantic breadth, and did not become uniquely associated with a single ethnicity.

EG Dubgall (nom. sg., masc.)

EG Findgall (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Dubgaill, Findgaill*

nom. pl. *Dubgaill, Findgaill*

gen. pl. *Dubgall, Findgall*

Once associated with Scandinavians in the British Isles, EG *Gall* came to be divided by contrasting prefixes of EG adj. *dub* 'black, swarthy' and EG adj. *finn* 'white, fair'. The same prefixes could also be attached to EG pl. *genti* 'heathen Norse' (*LL* Inn. 39449–50; *FFÉ*, 155) and *Lochlannach* (*FFÉ*, 155), though the evidence may only suggest later development following the model for *Gall*. Explanations seeking specific meanings

⁵ Thus Crawford. However, use did continue much later in literature (*DIL*, under *genti*).

⁶ There is no evidence or likelihood of the provenance of the raiders having been mistaken for former Gaul.

may be futile,⁷ if Woolf (2007, 107 n. 36) is correct that the prefixes are mere distinguishers. This view is supported by the parallel of river-names with contrasting 'black' and 'white' affixes, including descendants of EG *dub* and *finn* in Deveron, ScG *Dubh-Éireann* NJ031645, and Findhorn, ScG (*Fionn-*)*Éireann* NJ694639 (Nicolaisen 2001, 237). Whether or not a clear demarcation was made from the outset, by the entry in *AU* for 921, the terms had settled down to what appears to have been a geographic distinction between Anglo-Danish on the one hand (*dub*), and Hiberno-Norse on the other (*finn*) (Woolf 2007, 107 n., 148).⁸

Dubgall had already developed a role as a given name by the early ninth century in Ireland (*AU* s.a. 925), and is recorded as such in Scotland c.1128 (*St A. Lib.*, 117–8), spelt *Dufgall*; it was adopted into Old Norse, also spelt *Dufgall* (Feilitzen 1937, 226). *Findgall* similarly became a given name, recorded in Scotland from 1235 (Black 1946, 264): it appears in five place-names, not an exceptional tally for a Gaelic given name.⁹ Both terms did occasionally resurface as ethnonyms in the Scots Gaelic period. However, the reference is considered to have changed, with ScG *Dubhghall* having widened to apply to an English or other foreigner (Coira 2008, 156–7), and ScG *Fionnghall* to have shifted focus by the sixteenth century to apply poetically to the Scottish Gaels (and by

⁷ For instance, Henderson (1910, 55) reports *Dubgall* to be apparently from their "dark shining coats of mail." *Finn* is itself tentatively interpreted in *DIL*, s.v., as 'a Gael, an Irishman'.

⁸ Watson (1926, 179) argues that the nickname *Fingaul*, for certain families in coastal Wigtownshire mentioned by Trotter (1877, 3–4), refers to *Fine Gall* rather than *Finn-gall*, due to the reported stress on the second syllable. The *Fine Gall* ('foreign tribe', EG plural *Fini Gall* 'settlers'; *DIL*, under *fine*) occupied and gave name to the district of *Fine Gall*, being County Dublin north of the River Liffey (Watson 1926, 179). Even if *Fingaul* represents a genuine survival, no place-names have been found with this ethnonym.

⁹ Carraig Fhionghail† KBK-ARG^{Heb} NM739177, 1878 (OSnb 9:8); Druim Fhionnghail KKE-ARG^{Heb} NM406534, 1878 *Druim Fhionnghail* (*Druim Fionnghail*) (OSnb 34:94); Fingiltoun† NEI-RNF @NS500563, 1431 *Fyngaltoun* (*RMS* ii no. 181); Geodha Fionnaghal NUS-INV^{Heb} NF721744, 1878 *Geo Fionnaghal* (OS 6" 1st edn); Sloc Fhionnaghal◊ BRR-INV^{Heb} NL678971 (Stahl 1999, 270). Two names with ScG adj. *fionn* 'white' + ScG n.f. *dail* 'meadow' have been reanalysed as *Fionnghal*: Bealach Fhionnghaill AMN+LAP-ARG NN130524, 1878 *Bealach Fhionnghaill* (*Bealach Fhionghail*· *Bealach Inisgill*) (OSnb 49:51 AMN-ARG), and Fionnaghail‡ KMV-INV NN350800, 1873 *Allt/Coire Fhionn-dhail*· *Allt/Coire Fhionn-dhalach* (*Allt/Coire Fhionn Dail*) (OSnb 34:23) *Allt/Drochaid Fhionnaghail* (OS 6" 1st edn). It is possible that Drummy Fingallie† FOW-PER NN931235, 1454 *Drummy* (Inchaff. Chrs Map), 1488 *Drummefingall* (*ER* x, 643), preserves a lost appellative formed from ScG adj. *fionn* 'white' + ScG n.f. *gaille* 'stone'. Such an application of ScG adj. *fionn* might be the equivalent of OSc adj. *hare* 'hoary'. This is formally used to designate grey or greyish ground, rocks or stones (*DOST*, s.v.), though Higham (1999, 2 n. 7) points out that it is usually applied to a boundary feature. There is a small monolith nearby, but no boundary has been identified.

extension to their territory), certainly in the Hebrides (*ibid.*, 143) and perhaps also to those on the mainland under the rule of the MacDonalds (McLeod 2002, 17).¹⁰

The anthroponym *Dùghall* (which gave rise to OSc *Dugal* and SSE *Dougal*) is common in the topographic record, with fifty-three instances identified, combined with a range of generics. Analysis of other common Gaelic given names as place-name specifics on OS²⁵ demonstrates that the frequency of given names and the range of generics are not notable. What is notable, however, is the relatively high number of unaffixed¹¹ *Dùghall*-names associated with ScG n.m/f. *loch* or n.m. *lochan*,¹² double that of the next two most common unaffixed Gaelic given names.¹³ Though this could be taken to imply the presence of the ethnonym in some of these names, this is considered unlikely given that only one of them applies to a sea loch,¹⁴ the others being freshwater lochs of widely varying size and volume. Rather, it is possible that there is a relevant appellative or adjective underlying some names that has been reinterpreted as the anthroponym.

¹⁰ McLeod (2002, 19) suspects anachronistic use, divorced from a full appreciation of the meaning; indeed, reinterpretation as **Fionn-Ghàidheal*, with ScG *Gàidheal* 'Gael', is evidenced in the eighteenth century.

¹¹ In this context, in transparent orthography without a patronym, matronym, surname or byname attached.

¹² Six: Loch Dhùghaill SLT-INV^{Heb} NG614081, 1878 (OSnb 11:172); Loch Dubh Dùghaill GAI-ROS NG855740, 1876 (OS 6" 1st edn; no diacritic); Loch Dùghaill APC-ROS NG827514, 1876 *Loch Dhùghaill* (OS 6" 1st edn); Loch Dùghaill EDS-SUT NC193520, 1755 *Loch Doul* (Roy Map); Loch Dùghaill LCA-ROS NG996471, 1583×96 *L<och> Dowll· ylen L<och> Doull* (Pont Map 4) *Loch Dowill* (*Pont Text*, 123v); Lochan Dùghaill SKN-ARG NR806807, 1878 *Lochan Dubhghall* (*Lochan Dughall*) (OSnb 57:165). Falling outwith the comparative data are Loch Duail DUS-SUT NC429639, 1874 *Loch na Duille* (OS 6" 1st edn), not shown in transparent orthography on OS²⁵; Lochan Dhughail† KCH-ARG NR790586, 1878 (OS 6" 1st edn), a drained loch not marked on the modern OS²⁵; Lochan Nighean Dùghaill SMI-INV^{Heb} NM451856, 1878 (OS 6" 1st edn; no diacritic), which is patronymic. Cf. Linne Dhùghaill KLE-ARG^(INV) NM933795, 1878 (OSnb 68:56). Watson (1906, 238) claims that Loch Dola LAI-SUT NC606080 was rendered as *Loch Dùghaill* by the OS, but no edition has been found with this form.

¹³ ScG given name *Murchadh* in Loch Mhurchaidh in UIG-ROS^{Heb} NB235330, UIG-ROS^{Heb} NB217270, KKM-ARG^{Heb} NR397758; ScG given name *Ruairidh* in Loch Ruairidh in UIG-ROS^{Heb} NB128220, HAR-INV^{Heb} NB173110, BAF-INV NH530213.

¹⁴ Loch Dùghaill EDS-SUT. There are only two other marine relief features with *Dùghall*, viz Àird Dhùghaill KKV-ARG^{Heb} NM344172, 1878 *Àrd Dhughail* (OS 6" 1st edn), and Eilean Dùghaill APC-ROS NG794546, 1876 (OS 6" 1st edn).

ScG Gall (nom. sg., masc.)

ScG *Gallabhach¹⁵ (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg. *Goill*, **Gallabhaich*

nom. pl. *Goill*,¹⁶ **Gallabhaich*

gen. pl. *Gall*,¹⁷ **Gallabhach*

adj. *Gallta*¹⁸

Ethnonyms of geographic origin won out over the more generic 'alien' meaning as *Gall* passed into Scots Gaelic, perhaps as a result of the emergence of larger, more stable polities and developing nationalities. The distinguishing of the Scandinavian ethnicities had already begun with EG *Dubgall* and EG *Findgall*, but neither survived substantially, other than as anthroponyms; rather they gave way to ScG n.m. *Dànach*, ScG n.m. *Suaineach* 'Swede', and modern ScG n.m. *Nirribheach* 'Norwegian', ScG n.m. *Fàrach* 'Faroese' and ScG n.m. *Tìleach* 'Icelander'. The last three, however, have no early history, and prior to independence at least were formally covered by ScG n.m. *Dànach* or ScG n.m. *Lochlannach*.

¹⁵ Evidenced only in **Sloc a' Ghallabhaich** SMI-ARG^{Heb}(INV). It can be confused with ScG n.m. *Gallach* 'Caithnessian', but if **Gallaibh**∅ CAI was indeed applied to any area without Gaelic as a traditional language, as reported by Moss (1979, 225–6), then *Gallach* is to be viewed as a modern survivor of formerly wider potential reference. It could be argued that ScG n.m. **Gallabhach* is therefore not ethnonymic, even in the loose sense attributed to ScG *Gall*, but territorial; however, until restricted application of **Gallaibh**∅ for Caithness became formalised in Gaelic, it did not describe fixed administrative units but was a cultural label for a dynamic speech community. Nevertheless, for the purposes of the study, apparent reference with *Gallach* to Caithness and its population has been treated as territorial: Càrn a' Ghallaich DUS-SUT NC478507, 1874 (OSnb 12:38); Coire a' Ghallaich DUS-SUT NC482504, 1874 *Coir' a' Ghallaich* (OSnb 13:32); An t-Òrd Gallach∅ KDN+LAT-SUT+CAI ND058178 (Grant MS).

¹⁶ Dwelly, under *Gall*, and other dictionaries, reinforced by *GOC* (2005, 2, 26; 2009, 3, 28). Ó Murchú (1989, 349) gives the twentieth-century eastern Perthshire form as *Galldaich* (for *Galltaich*).

¹⁷ Modern Gaelic grammar would dictate lenition of the indefinite genitive plural; ScG *Gall* is included in the examples of masculine -o-stems given by Calder (1923, 81 §76), the paradigm for which confirms application of this rule. However, this is only evidenced for four of the eleven such probable names in the study, none recorded before 1794: **Àird Ghall**† SUS-INV^{Heb}, **Dail Ghall** JUR-ARG^{Heb}, **Innisgall**‡ HAR-INV^{Heb} (1890 *Dun Innis-ghall*) and **Rubha Ghall** GIL-ARG. (**Innse Gall**∅ ☉ is given with lenition in 1920, but this is probably a case of hypercorrection and has been rejected in the current language; *GOC* 1981, 18; 2005, 26; 2009, 25). It is possible that lenition was resisted by ScG *Gall* until late, which is supported by Irish examples: Dungall I/ANT a.k.a. IrG Dún Gall (*Logainm*; Flanagan 1994, 77; *PNNI* Antrim 1, 230–1); the district of Fine Gall I/DUB (*Logainm*; Watson 1926, 179); Lisgall, Clones, I/MHN a.k.a. IrG Lios Gall (*Logainm*; Toner 2000, 27); Moneygall I/OFF a.k.a. IrG Muine Gall (*Logainm*; Flanagan 1994, 124). Two of the nine possible indefinite genitive plural *Goill*-names, **Drumwall** GRN-KCB and **Munwhall** GRN-KCB, would require lenition for this interpretation. This either takes lenition back to the medieval period, or counts against the interpretation.

¹⁸ *GOC* (2005, 25; 2009, 28). Previously *Gallda*.

ScG *Gall* returned to its basic meaning of 'alien'. But whereas EG *Gall* had applied specifically to the incomer to the Gaelic cosmos, ScG *Gall* eventually attached itself to a new concept brought about by the development of a stable kingdom and encompassing nationality for all of Scotland. That is, a compatriot of assured association of identity, but with contrasting, if not conflicting, cultural and linguistic markers. Whether this implies two ethnicities in a single nationality, or two cultural groups within a single ethnicity, depends on whether the argument followed on the nature of ethnicities is that of Smith or that of Barth respectively (see Chapter 1 §d). MacInnes (1989, 93) describes ScG *Gall* as having a range of applications, to Norsemen, Anglo-Normans and English and more besides (unspecified), but goes on to limit this in modern spoken Gaelic to Lowland Scots, to the specific exclusion of English¹⁹ and generic 'foreigners'. As an adjective, MacInnes says *Gallta* privatively means 'non-Gael', but can be used without ethnonymic weight as *gallta* '(item or concept) originating in, or filtered through, the Lowlands' (more precisely, through non-Gaelic Scottish culture).

MacBain (1922, 4), followed by dictionaries such as the highly influential Dwelly, s.v., have approved of the interpretation by Shaw (1780, s.v.) putting 'stranger' alongside 'foreigner'.²⁰ MacBain (1911, s.v.) subsequently dropped 'foreigner', favouring a 'Lowlander, stranger' combination.²¹ The term "stranger" is devoid of the inference of 'exotic' carried by 'foreigner'. Later dictionaries varied in their treatment, with that by Dieckhoff (1932, s.v.) giving only 'Lowlander'; whereas MacLennan (1925, 174) gives only 'stranger' as a possible contemporary meaning. The dialect surveys of Borgstrøm 1941 (cited in Wentworth 2003, under *lowlander*) and Ó Murchú 1989 (p. 348) follow Dieckhoff in interpreting as 'Lowlander', whereas Wentworth (2003, s.vv.) gives both

¹⁹ Lowland emulators of English social and speech norms were similarly labelled with ScG *Sasannach*, as if "Lowlanders in English disguise" (MacInnes 1989, 93).

²⁰ However, Shaw's full definition in the same dictionary entry added, "an Englishman, or Low Country Scotchman". In discussing *Gallaibh* CAI, Shaw (1882 i, 273) refers not to the ethnonym, but to an apparently spurious ScG adj./n.? *gaul* 'low; plain'.

²¹ The contrasting of ScG *Gall* and ScG *Sasannach* is typified by the description by MacDhòmhnaill (1938, 46) of the large crowd at Lochmaddy fairs as being *às gach ceàrn: h-Earraich is Leodhasaich, Muilich is Collaich, Sgitheanaich, is Tirisdich, Goill is Sasannaich*. Visitors from various Hebridean islands are named, along with a pairing of ScG *Gall* and ScG *Sasannach*. Mainland Gaels, who it can be assumed were also represented, are intriguingly ignored in this list. However, it is unclear whether this is due to a social and cultural environment in which there is less awareness of the mainland Highlands than of the cities, or whether ScG *Gall* is intended from a Hebridean perspective to include mainlanders irrespective of tongue.

'stranger' and 'incomer' for a single recording of *Gall*.²² None explicitly exclude Gaelic-speaking strangers, though this may have been assumed on the part of the writers.

Recent analysis from a literary perspective by Coira (2008) has demonstrated the separate routes taken by ScG *Gall* and IrG *Gall*, though contemporary motifs and modern historical understanding of the word in Scotland have been strongly influenced by the Irish experience. The arrival of the Anglo-Normans in Scotland by invitation rather than invasion did not warrant the same specific conflictual implications of the term in Irish Gaelic (ibid., 149), and McLeod (2004, 26) has argued that the mass of the population under their control in what became known as the Lowlands initially remained culturally similar to those in the Highlands. The emphasis placed on the subsequent ethnic shift found in Ireland is rare in medieval Scots Gaelic panegyric, and *Gall* has a stock role to refer to an unspecified 'enemy' in praise of the martial attributes of a leader or ruler (Coira 2008, 142–6, 149, 158). The break from this pattern comes in 1513, when in one poem the *Goill* can be clearly identified with the English, posing a specific military challenge (ibid., 154).²³ On the other hand, negative application to Scottish Lowlanders is not evidenced before the seventeenth century (ibid., 149). When this change did arrive, in that century, the usage in Gaelic poetry is said by McLeod (2004, 25) to become "ubiquitous, often communicating considerable bitterness and distaste."

Excluded from the study are place-names with:

- the letter string *gal-* in element-initial position, where it is transparent or apparent that it represents *gallow*-names, with variants such as *galla-*, for OSc n. *galla*, OSc n. *gallows* and ScS n. *gallow* (attributive) 'gallows' in combination with Older Scots or Scots elements,
- the Older Scots and Standard English letter string *-ghall-* in element-medial position or across element boundaries, with a working assumption that it does not represent the ethnonyms EG and ScG *Gall*, e.g. Boghall and variants, for OSc n. *bog* + OSc n. *hole*,

²² [P]hòs i fear dhe na Goill a bh' a's an àite, fear Brown. Wentworth (2003, s.v.) however gives 'lowland' for *gallda*.

²³ *Ar sliocht Gaodhal ó ghort Gréag* by Gilleasbuig Caimbéal, preserved in the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*. Coira rejects on the basis of literary analysis the alternative view that the poem dates from c.1523, with the *Goill* being Lowland Scots.

'boggy hollow'; Craighall and variants, for OSc n. *craig* + OSc n. *hall*, 'mansion by a rock outcrop'; and Milrighall BWD-ROX NT537271, for SSE n. *mill* + ScS n. *rig* + SSE n. *hall* or possibly ScS n. *haugh*, 'house (or meadow) at the mill ridge'.

- the letter string *Mhic()Dhùghaill*, with variants such as *MhicDhubhghaill*, for the genitive singular of the ScG patronymic *mac Dhùghaill*, 'son of *Dùghall* (origin of SSE anthroponym *Dougal*)', or ScG surname *MacDhùghaill* 'MacDougal'.

Though not shown orthographically, initial Scots Gaelic [k] can dialectally be mutated to the homorganic voiced [g] after the proposition (*ann*) *an* 'in' and after the genitive plural article *nan* (Ó Maolalaigh 1998, 23). Such eclipsis is found in the study affecting the genitive plural of ScG n.f. *ceall* 'cell, ecclesiastical building' in three cases, with the resulting "*gCeall*" producing various anglicised forms as if final ScG *Gall*.²⁴ It has been suggested that the variant *call* of ScG n.m. *coll* 'hazel' (now *calltainn*) lies behind **Cragingalt**† SOL-MLO, now Calton Hill (Dixon 1947, 139) and probably a genuine *Goill*-name, but it is found in the toponymicon after the ScG article *nan* without eclipsis.²⁵

There are many elements for which ScG *Gall* may be confused. In Gaelic, these include ScG n.f. *galla* 'bitch'. Of the six names collected, two are probably genuine references to female dogs,²⁶ but the others are most probably figurative. Two are coastal features, perhaps with reference to the sound produced by the sea on them,²⁷ and two are apparently hydronyms.²⁸ There are several instances of ScG n.m/f. *gabhail* 'lease', or possibly 'reserved for grazing; appropriated' (*DIL*, under *gabál*), some exhibiting an

²⁴ Camas nan Geall ARD-ARG NM557616, 1541 *Cammusnynggald* (*ER* xvii, 623) *Cambusnynggald* (*ibid.*, 643); Loch na Keal KKE+TOY-ARG^{Heb} NM499382, 1794 *Loch na Gaul* a.k.a. *Scafford* (Huddart Map Sth); Loch Nagaul† AMT-INV NM642860, 1794 (Huddart Map Nth). Mutation may also be present in an unidentified name in Kilmuir Easter ROS, 1609 *Tobbernagalladen* (1694 MacGill 1909 no. 77), 1664 *Tobernacallader* (*ibid.*, 923).

²⁵ Cnoc nan Call Àrd DSH-INV^{Heb} NG346523, Eas nan Call INA-ARG NN043006, Tom nan Call LGK-ARG NS187963. ScG n.m. *call* does, however, appear to be in Gallchoille NKN-ARG NR767903, 1755 *Callichyle* (*Callychyle*) (Roy Map), recorded 1894×1926 as "a' Chall(a)chaidh" {MS 371, 114×5} (Robertson MSS).

²⁶ Bad na Gallaig† FRR-SUT NC629426, 1874 *Cnoc Bad na Gallaig* (OSnb 21:15); Sgor Galla Iain◇ BRR-INV^{Heb} NL642979 (Stahl 1999, 262).

²⁷ Sgeir na Galla UIG-ROS^{Heb} NB111416, 1848 (1852 OSnb 41:475); Uamh nan Galla JUR-ARG^{Heb} NM721035, 1878 (OSnb 66:61).

²⁸ Galla Beaga GIL-ARG NN192277, 1878 *Galla Bheag* (*Galla Beag· Galla Beaga*) (OSnb 6:42); Inchgalla† ABC-WLO NT080762 (1773 Armstrong Map).

intrusive *-l-* in anglicised form.²⁹ ScG n.m. *gobhal* 'fork' is usually anglicised with *go-*, but occasionally appears on record as *gal(l)*,³⁰ *gawl*,³¹ *goil(l)*³² or *gyle*.³³ In most cases the fork is identifiable as being formed by water courses.³⁴ The fork is not necessarily a conjoining of river branches, but rather refers to a narrow strip between two "prongs" which run almost parallel into a body of water.³⁵ ScG n.f. *goil* 'boiling' occasionally appears in anglicised form with a double letter *-ll*. The element is found applied figuratively to either bubbling springs³⁶ or agitated water.³⁷ Compare ScS n. *moss-boil* 'a bubbling spring or fountain in marshy ground; the source of a river' (*SND*, under *moss*). Though it has not been identified in the study, it is worth bearing in mind that Dwelly, under *gall*, gives as obsolete meanings 'cock; swan', both of which could easily have toponymic application. They are unknown in the modern language, but note IrG n.m. *gall* 'kittiwake', still understood in twentieth-century Rathlin Island I/ANT (Holmer 1942, 199).

²⁹ Achagyle† DKM-ARG @NS118678, 1499 *Auchingile* (*ER* xi, 463); Auchengool RER-KCB NX737495, 1305 *Aghengoile* (*CDS* ii no. 1702); Auchengyle HFM-DMF NY297751, 1573 *Auchingavil* {Annandale MS, unspecified} (Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 52); Auchingyle BUC-STL NS429907, 1612 (*RMS* vii no. 735); Galvel† CRF-PER NN865213, 1445 *Galvane More-Gallvale Beg* (*ER* v, 204); Gauld Well BOH-BNF NJ306450, 1476 *Galv(a)il* (*RMS* ii no. 1236); Gavell KSY-STL NS693775, 1634 *Galvalhill* (*Retours* no. 147); Geàrraidh Gadhail BRR-INV^{Heb} NL674982, 1990 *Garrygall* (*OS*²⁵); Geàrraidh Gall NUS-INV^{Heb} NF706725, 1865 *Garagall* a.k.a. *Black Pt of Tighary* (Admiralty 2805); Gilmore† TRG-PER NN919177, 1468 *Gailmore* (*RMS* ii no. 947); Gyle Burn BUC-STL ?NS425901 (Johnston 1904, 44).

³⁰ Eddragoul FTL-PER NN761438, 1451 *Eddyrgolly* (*ER* v, 483), 1574 *Eddergall- Eddergole- Eddergoll* (*RMS* iv no. 2200); Goval NMR-ABD NJ885151, 1390×1406 *Mekilgoill* (1554×79 *RMS* i App. 2 no. 1927a) *Meiklegall* (1798 *RMS* i App. 2 no. 1927b).

³¹ Golloch† ORW-KNR NO118090, 1580 *Gowlokmure* (*RMS* iv no. 3001), 1584 *Gawlokure* (Watson 1995, 76).

³² Achagoil KMG-ARG NR977963, 1794 *Aghagyle* (Huddart Map Sth); Allt a' Ghoill KTE-ROS NH560619, 1876 *Allt a' Ghàill* (*Allt a' Ghàill- Allt an Gabhail* → *Allt a' Ghall* → *Allt a' Ghàill*) (*OSnb* 1:95, 103).

³³ Stragyle† SOE-ARG ?NR659079, n.d. [rent roll] (Colville & Martin 2009, 33); Strathgyle DUR-KCD NO797928, 1583×96 *Stragoil hill* a.k.a. *Pap Stra-kaill* (Pont Map 11); also Stragael† KMY-BTE NR992239, 1637 *Stragall* {rent roll} (Fraser 1999, 93).

³⁴ The apparent exception is Regoilachy GAI-ROS NG987680, 1876 *Regoilachy* (*Rigolachy*) (*OSnb* 41:34). Cf. Galmoy I/KLK '*gabhal-má*' (Ó Maolfabhail 2005, 79) with IrG n.f. *má* 'plain'. River fork is a referent for IrG n.m. *gabhal* in Addergoole I/GAL, 'within the fork (of the river)' (Robinson 1990, 26), and in Edergole I/FMN, '(place) between a fork' (*PNNI* Fermanagh 1, 101). But its significance in Lisnagole I/FMN, 'fort of two forks', is obscure (*ibid.*, 142–3).

³⁵ Achagoil KMG-ARG, Eddragoul FTL-PER.

³⁶ Fuaran Ghoile◊ AKE-INV @NH991149, 1900 (Forsyth 1900, 44); Fuaran Seachd-goil† ALN-ROS (unidentified), 1904 (Watson 1904, 278); Tobar na Goil† PET-INV (unidentified), 1841 *Tobar na gul* (*NSA* xiv, 380).

³⁷ Allt na Guile BRL-INV^{Heb} NG408313, 1878 *Allt na Coille* (*Allt na Goile- Leathad Allt na Guaille*) (*OSnb* 1:20; *OSnb* 2:43, 46); Corgyle† KNO-MOR NJ241437, 1583×96 *Korygyl* (Pont Map 6:1); Dellagyle† KNO-MOR NJ246429, 1870 *Haugh of Dellagyle* (*OSnb* 16:98 MOR) *Dellagyle Pool* (*Dalagyle Pool- Dalaguile Pool*) (*OSnb* 1:21 BAN-BNF); Drumnagoil BEA+DFL-FIF NT101936, 1820×25 *Drumoguile* [NAS MS RHP1318] (*PNF* i, 169); A' Ghoil DUS-SUT NC348717, 1874 (*OSnb* 16:14); Goil† LGK-ARG NS216930, 1430 *L.goyle* [Argyll charter, unspecified] (*OPS* ii, 79); Goile Chròic BVS-ROS^{Heb} NB340510, 1852 (*OSnb* 14:40, 77); Goil-réis† KMV-INV NN188833, 1873 (*OSnb* 35:77); A' Ghoil-sgeir DUS-SUT NC432670, 1874 (*OSnb* 10:21); Gyle† BUC+CLD-STL+PER NN381134, 1321 *Gall<e>* (*RRS* v no. 5194); Polnagyle† DLS-MOR NJ192553, 1870 *How of Polnagyle* (*OSnb* 7:6).

More problematic is that despite the contrastive pairing of the ethnonyms ScG *Gall* and ScG *Gàidheal*, many dialects produce little verbal distinction between them, with the former typically pronounced /gau̯/ across dialects,³⁸ and the latter /ga:ɫ/ in many parts of the mainland and in Hebridean Argyll. This confusion has led to **Corrie Gaul†** KCV-INV being reinterpreted in the nineteenth century as **Coire a' Ghàidheil**, in which form it was adopted by the OS. **Fleenas-na-gael** ACL-NAI is first found on the OS 6" 1st edn, but it was still pronounced in local Gaelic in 1920 as [fli:naʃ nan gau̯] (Diack MS Nairn, 4). **Eilean nan Gàidheal†** TNG-SUT was also initially adopted by the OS, before it eventually switched to **Eilean nan Gall†** TNG²-SUT, but it is suggested in the study that this is in fact a return to an unrecorded original.³⁹

This is not the only difficulty generated by the ethnonym itself, as ScG *Gall* has developed a secondary meaning, ScG n.m. *gall* 'freestanding stone or rock'.⁴⁰ Though now largely unknown to Scottish toponymists, this is well recognised in Ireland as IrG n.m. *gall* 'big rock; pillar stone, standing stone; stone house or castle'⁴¹ and in reference to stone cattle enclosures.⁴² In Scotland it encompasses rock columns,⁴³ boulders,⁴⁴ standing

³⁸ Other than south of mid Argyll or east of mid Perthshire, where /ga̯/ might be expected (Robertson 1906–08 iii, 225–6), e.g. /ga:ɫ/ in East Perthshire (Ó Murchú 1989, 348). It is given as *gauL*: in Glengarry by Dieckhoff (1932, s.v., for [ḡauL]), and [ḡ̊(au)ɫ] in Wester Ross by Wentworth (2003, under *foreign, incomer, lowlander, stranger*, for [ḡ̊auL]).

³⁹ In its entry for Auchengallie MOM-WIG NX339485, 1549 *Achingallie* (RMS iv no. 350), OSnb 73:5 WIG proposes interpretation with ScG *Gàidheal*, whereas ScG *Gall* would fit the evidence just as well. In the event, the study has rejected both in favour of ScG n.f. *gaille*.

⁴⁰ As the original derivation is no longer recognised, it is possible to differentiate from the primal meaning by use of a lower case *g*-.

⁴¹ Gallarus I/KER, Gallross I/TIP, Gallughes I/WAT, Gallys† (Lismore diocese), Galrus I/OFF (and possibly Galloragh I/ANT, though no early forms are available) (Ó Máille 1990, 133). Also Galgorm I/ANT, 'blue-black rock/castle' (*PNNI* Antrim 1, 179; McKay 2007, 71). However, the Irish toponymist Dónall Mac Giolla Easpaig has recently expressed unease over interpretation of IrG *gall* as 'stone house or castle' (ex info. Dónall Mac Giolla Easpaig, Irish Government Place-Names Branch, in 2009).

⁴² E.g. Galbally I/TYR, 'stone cattle enclosure' (McKay 2007, 71); Gallbhuaile I/ANT Rathlin, 'stone cattle enclosure' (Mac Giolla Easpaig 1990, 45); Stranagalwilly I/TYR, 'river holm of the stone cattle enclosure' (McKay 2007, 137).

⁴³ Allt nan Gall◊ STY-ROSH^{eb} NB496328 a.k.a. Allt Diobadail (*PNP*), sea stacks; the former peat refinery here was largely managed and operated by locals (Whiteford n.d.); Biod a' Ghoill DSH-INV^{Heb} NG282590, 1878 (OSnb 6:15), detached cliff buttress; Càrn a' Ghoill SMI-ARG^{Heb(INV)} NG263064, 1878 (OSnb 63:8) a.k.a. Sgor Goul†, 1863 (Admiralty 2507), sea stack; Creag a' Ghoill KKV-ARG^{Heb} NM441321, 1878 (OSnb 77:9), steep round hill; Creag a' Ghoill LAT-CAI ND162287, 1873 *Cnocgoil* (OSnb 5:304), detached cliff buttress; Dunagoil KNG-BTE NS084530, 1440 *Dunvilze* (*ER* v, 79), rock eminence; Eilean a' Ghoill AMT-INV NM626825, 1830 *Illan na Guile* (Thomson Map), island with rock block; Fiargall KMG-ARG NR955950, 1878 (OSnb 56:91), rocky eminence; Goill† KDO-ARG^{Heb} NR413450, 1878 (OSnb 36:174–5), skerries.

⁴⁴ Bad a' Ghoill LBR-ROS NC069112, 1755 Loch Patiguil (Roy Map), Clach M[h]òr; at NC071111 (OS¹⁰); Corriegills† KBD-BTE NS036348, 1400 *Corriegills* {Bute MSS inventory, unspecified} (*OPS* ii, 2:249), The Corriegills Boulder on the shore (*OGS*, under *Corriegills*; MacNair 1914, 129–30); Minnigall† KEL-KCB NX526834, 1851 *Minnigall Lane* (*Minnigall Lane*) (OSnb 32:7) (*Minnigall Lane Burn*) (OSnb 35:4), rocking stone (1797 Ainslie Map, 1821 Thomson Map, 1851 OS 6" 1st edn);

stones⁴⁵ and cross slabs,⁴⁶ always prominent. A collective form is ScG n.? **gallach(an)* 'boulder-place'.⁴⁷ No notable boulders are today associated with any of these names,⁴⁸ but some evidence of boulders or stones is available in most cases.⁴⁹ Most telling is the instance of Gattaway ANY-PER,⁵⁰ which is reported to have had large boulders, possibly used as way markers for pilgrims, which have been removed by blasting. There are parallels for such figurative use. In Gaelic itself, *fear-brèige*, literally 'false man', can mean a 'cairn' (Dwelly, s.v.), and the plural *fir-bhrèige*, a 'stone circle' (*Dwelly App.*, under *fear-brèige*).⁵¹ Another Lewis term for a standing stone is ScG n.m. *tursa*, a loan from ON n.m. *purs* 'giant, troll' (Cox 2002, 206–7). In English, ESE n. *sarsen*, *sarsen-stone*, *sarsen boulder*, applied to 'one of the numerous large boulders or blocks of sandstone found

Montgoldrum ABT-KCD NO812772, 1506 *Mongowdrum* (Watt 1914, 373), former hilltop boulder NO816772 (*Canmore*, 36818). Possible: Galdnahowin† AKE-INV @NJ0218, 1661 (*Retours* no. 111).

⁴⁵ Achingoul HAL-CAI ND101546, 1873 (OS 6" 1st edn) *Achingale* (OSnb 4:141), formerly four stones ND099543 (*Canmore*, 7751); Achmagoul LAT-CAI ND166324, 1671 *Achingaw* (*Retours* no. 28), stone ND160325 and recumbent stone ND160325 (*Canmore*, 8146); Calgow MGF-KCB NX430651, 1654 *Koulgaw* (Blau Map), stone NX427653 (*Canmore*, 63435); Dargall† MGF-KCB NX401703 (1684 *PLWM*, 43), depleted stone circle NX399709 (*Canmore*, 63017); Dargill MUT-PER NN862194, 1443 *Dergale* (*RMS* ii no. 270), stone, formerly three NN859200 (Coles 1910, 74; *Canmore*, 254439); Dargall† KKK-KCB NX512582, 1543 *Dargawell* (1545 *RMS* iii no. 3106), various stones and stone circles (*Canmore*, 63666, 63669, 63672, 63688); Gaul Cross◇ FRC-BNF NJ535639, 1870 (OSnb 12:56), remnant stone of a former circle (*Canmore*, 17978); Glashie Wood MMK-ABD NJ686139, 1871 *Galatia Wood* (OS 6" 1st edn), stone NJ679142 (*Canmore*, 18064); Gollachy RAT-BNF NJ403642, 1583×96 (Pont Map 9:1), former stone circle NJ414635 (OS 6" 1st edn; cf. Cairnfield NJ414624); Longall LAT-CAI ND127261, 1873 *Longal* (OSnb 6:114), stone ND127267, formerly two ND128263 (OS 6" 1st edn); Tiraghoil KKV-ARG^{Heb} NM354221, 1588 *Teirgill. Teirkill* (*RMS* v no. 1491), stone NM353224, said to be a pilgrims' waymark (MacLauchlan 1863, 48–50). Possible: Coulaghailtro KCH-ARG NR713656, 1511 *Coulgalgreif* (*RMS* ii no. 3622) *Coulgaltreif* (*OPS* i, 38), on Allt Achadh nan Clach NR712655, and Càrn Fionn was a large cairn NR709657 (*Canmore*, 38971); Dargall Lane MGF-KCB NX461787 (OSnb 47:10); Galquhorne† (unidentified) PER, 1566 *Galquhorne* (*ER* xix, 549); Glashie† OMR-ABD NJ929116, 1871 *Gallashie How. Gallashie-end* (OSnb 69:37). If reinterpreted, Sgeir nan Gàidheal LAP-ARG^{Heb} NM779349, 1852 *Ghadheil R<oc>k* (Admiralty 2155), formerly a stone NM779351 (*Canmore*, 22659).

⁴⁶ Pennyghael KKV-ARG^{Heb} NM516258, 1509 *Penyegile* (*ER* xiii, 214), reinterpreted, with a cross slab formerly at NM516259 (OS 6" 1st edn; *Canmore*, 114056). Possible: Elgol STH-INV^{Heb} NG522142, 1863 (Admiralty 2507), with a cross slab NG527144 (*Canmore*, 11444) and ScG n.? *eala* 'stone marking an ancient tomb'.

⁴⁷ For the locational suffix *-ach(an)*, see Watson 1904, xxxviii.

⁴⁸ True also for Gallagh I/ANT, 'place of stones or standing stones' (*PNNI* Antrim 1, 107; McKay & Muhr 2007, 124).

⁴⁹ Ardgalie† GLS-ABD NJ401349, 1826 *Argallie* (Thomson Map), low circle of stones on a knoll (MacDonald 1900, 22) and Stonieley† NJ409354 (OS 6" 1st edn); Galdach Croft† LAT-CAI @ND1733, 1676 (*Retours* no. 31), two ruined brochs centred on ND178338; Gallachan KNG-BTE NS071577, 1450 *dalachane* (or *Galachane*) {*Rot. Comp.* iii, 481, 495} (*OPS* ii, 212), boulders on the shore of Gallachan Bay NS069570 (OS¹⁰); Gattaway ANY-PER, below. Possibly containing the element are Bargaly MGF-KCB NX462663, 1527 *Bargalie* (*RMS* iii no. 501); Coire Gallachan KKB-ARG NM827248, 1878 (OSnb 19:101); and Garvegaloch† KMV-INV @NN4080, 1641×54 (*GC* ii, 597). Carn Bingally KCV^{dthcd}-INV NH338290, 1873 (OSnb 51:46) would appear to be a good candidate. Robertson (MS 399, 18–19; MS 357, 36, 37) reports that the Gaelic for the hill is Binneallaidh†, with Càrn Bhinneallaidh† being the name of a particular rock on it, but this pronunciation rules out **gallach*.

⁵⁰ NO193161, c.1212 *Galthauin* [published in error as *Galthanin*] (*Arb. Lib.* i no. 214). The site of large boulders now blasted, probably used as a guide for pilgrims to the Brendi Well, 'Brendan's well' {Butler 1897} (*Canmore*, 28001).

⁵¹ Given as *fir brèige*.

scattered on the surface of the chalk downs, especially in Wiltshire', is apparently derived from SE n. *Saracen* 'Arab' (*OED*, under *sarsen*).

A possible variant of ScG n.m. *gall* is ScG n.f. *gaille* 'rock, stone'. If correctly identified as the unique generic in Gaeilavore Island KLR-INV^{Heb},⁵² then this noun was apparently lost to the general Gaelic lexicon by the latter nineteenth century.⁵³ Unrecorded are the genitive forms postulated here, **gailleach* and **gaillich*, alongside *gaille*. Though an extant stone or rock is not evidenced in all instances,⁵⁴ others are associated with monoliths and/or a cairn or cairnfield,⁵⁵ a flat rock acting as a parish boundary marker (OSnb 4:49, 17:53)⁵⁶ or jutting into the sea,⁵⁷ or a source of stone.⁵⁸

An extant development of ScG n.m. *gall* is ScG n.m. *gallan* 'big stone; erect plant', based on its diminutive but having replaced the original in the lexicon. It can be applied to a cairn (or an original stone construction from which a cairn or accumulation of stone

⁵² NG365798, 1878 (OSnb 5:5).

⁵³ It is possible that ScG n.f. *gaille* is an element in ScG *gailbhinn* 'great rough hill' (so spelt by MacBain 1911, s.v., but citing *gaillebhein* from earlier dictionaries; it is given by Dwelly, s.v., as n.f. *gail-bheinn* 'great or rocky hill', implying ScG n.f. *beinn* as the second element).

⁵⁴ Àird na Gailich STU-AYR NN128079, 1878 *Ard na Gailich* (OS 6" 1st edn), which being a lochside coastal feature near the parish boundary is, however, a candidate for marking with a stone; Auchengallie MOM-WIG NX339485, 1549 *Achingallie* (*RMS* iv no. 350), a candidate for stone extraction; Drumgelloch NMO-LAN NS776656, 1755 *Drumgalloch* (Roy Map); Knocknagillan AUL-NAI NH890544, 1563 *Knoknagulye* (*ER* xix, 511); Knockningailliach† ALE-INV @NH854087, 1691 (*Retours* no. 112); Masengaloch† DNY-STL NS7683, 1680 {saside no. 6, 204v} (Reid 2009, 74).

⁵⁵ Arnguilshie† KCW-WIG ?NX382481, 1504 *Arnegvly* (*ER* xii, 715), standing stone NX382481 (*Canmore*, 62686); Badgallach RSS-ROS NH646598, 1876 (OS 6" 1st edn), small cairns @NH648595 (*Canmore*, 13567); Balgavies† ABL-ANG NO539516, 1546 *Balgay* (*RSS* iii no. 1474), standing stone NO536521 (*Canmore*, 34906); Balgay INT-PER NO269272, 1214×49 *balgall* (Scone Liber no. 92), standing stone or boulder NO261275 (*Canmore*, 30416); Ballygally† KCN-ARG^{Heb} ?NR191557, 1541 *Ballegawle· Ballegowle* (*ER* xvii, 618, 639), standing stone or boulder NR190556 (*Canmore*, 37248); Cnoc Gaills MZS-PER NN871277, 1466 *Craggilye?* (*ER* vii, 671), cairns NN889264, NN880274 and NN881275 and four cup-marked stones (*Canmore*); Craigengale INH-WIG NX150662, 1849 (OSnb 21:33), large stone-built structure beneath the peat (*Canmore*, 61438); Drummy Fingallie† FOW-PER NN931235, 1454 *Drummy* (Inchaff. Chrs Map), monolith in a cairn mound NN927232 (Coles 1910, 84; *Canmore*, 26181); Killgallioch KCW-WIG NX228728, 1493 *Kilgalye* (*ER* x, 743), remnant stones of a probable circle NX222717 (*Canmore*, 62495) and cairns; Kingillie House KIH-INV NH559451, 1496 *Kyngieile* (*RMS* ii no. 2320), probably formed a davoch with Achnagairn NH553449 'field of the cairns' (Taylor 2002); Knockengalie DDR-DMF NS842065, 1858 *Knockengeilie Hill· Knockengalie Hill* (OSnb 44:385 [cancelled]), Cairn Hill NS852070 was formerly topped by a cairn (*Canmore*, 46300); Knockin Gallstone† DIR-ELO @NT544806, boundary marker (Maxwell 1894, 70); Rashnagalloch CML-AYR NX216879, 1855 *Rashnagalloch (Rashmagalloch)* (1857 OSnb 16:106), site of Docherniel Cairn NX217878 with an extant standing stone (*Canmore*, 62513).

⁵⁶ Knockingalloch BFN+KPN-STL NS587909, 1595×1600 *Blairknockingiloch* {*ER*, 426} (*ER* xxiii, 527 index only).

⁵⁷ Slewulie KMN-WIG NX088340, 1794 *Sleguil* (Huddart Map Sth).

⁵⁸ Carsgailloch† NCU-AYR NS549147, 1654 *Korsgelloch* (Blaeu Map), four whinstone quarries (OS 6" 1st edn); Craigangail Well† KMN-WIG NX116326, 1849 (OSnb 87:29), quarry NX117325 (OS 6" 1st edn); Craigangal BAL-AYR NX053773, 1857 *Craigangals* (OSnb 8:18, 42), whinstone quarry on hill top (OS 6" 1st edn); Craigangells CML-AYR NX218833, 1857 *Craigangells (Craigangals)* (OSnb 14:34, 45), whinstone quarry NX217832 (OS 6" 1st edn); Meall Gail KMG-ARG NR976955, 1476 *Cragmurgile· Cragmulgile* (*RMS* ii no. 1219), whinstone quarry and former quern quarry (*Brainport*).

has developed),⁵⁹ a prominent rock⁶⁰ (including sea rocks),⁶¹ a monolith,⁶² or one of the plants termed *gallan* (probably the butterbur (sweet coltsfoot) species or willow-like trees).⁶³ ScG n.m. *gallan* is described by MacEchern (1906, 327) as "a rhubarb-like plant which grows all along the marshy side of a ditch-like burn" and (as *galan*) by MacDonald (1972, 135) as "a strong large-leaved weed like rhubarb in leaf" and "[c]oltsfoot, large and course." Common association with ScG n.m. *buadh(gh)hallan* 'ragwort' is by false analysis as *buadh/ghallan*, but it is clear from *DIL*, under *búathfallán*, that it is *buaghall/an*, a plant-name with diminutive suffix. ScG n.m. *gallan* is said by Forbes to be a 'graceful or straight young tree' (1923, 26) or 'branchy tree' (*ibid.*, 194), seemingly drawing on the interpretation by MacGregor (1886, 8) of *gallanach* as a place abounding in branches.

⁵⁹ Auchengallon KMY-BTE NR894346, 1440 *Achagalan* (*ER* v, 82), cairn NR89283470, 1856 (OSnb 2:30); Cairn Gollan DDY-INV NH647332, 1873 (OS 6" 1st edn), cairn close to the parish boundary (*Canmore*, 13293); Dùn a' Ghallain NUS-INV^{Heb} NF747759, 1878 (OSnb 6:52) on Eilean a' Ghallain^o NUS-INV^{Heb} {Beveridge 1911, 197} (*Canmore*, 10059), ruined fort forming a "mass of rubbish" (OSnb 6:52); Kingennie House MON-ANG NO477353, 1264 *Kingaltenin* (*ER* i, 6), stone from vitrified fort and possible broch NO491348 on Laws Hill (*Canmore*, 33450); Ranlagallan† KLR+SNZ-INV^{Heb} NG392639, p.1549 (*GC* iii, 281) a.k.a. River Rha?, large cairn NG395639 (*Canmore*, 11198), possibly ScG **Ràth an Leth-ghallan*, 'artificial mound of the half-cairn', being built on a slope; Slughallan Burn ARK-ABD NJ492245, 1871 (OSnb 6:72), cairnfield centred on NJ497243 (OS 6" 1st edn). Also Aghagallon I/ANT, given as 'field of (standing) stones' (from earlier 'marsh or moor of (standing) stones', but with reference to a large cairn extant when the area was mapped by the OS in 1835 (McKay 2007, 1; McKay & Muhr 2007, 47).

⁶⁰ Alltan Cailleach-Galain SSS-ARG NR772385, 1878 (OSnb 25:63), possible figurative application of ScG n.f. *cailleach* to the pointed peak of Sròn na Sean-Mhathaire NR782380 (itself possibly with ScG n.f. *seanmhair* 'grandmother'); Creag a' Ghallain LAL-ROS NG987349, 1876 (OSnb 48:108), columnar aspect from Glen Ling; Dùn Gallain COO-ARG NR349931, p.1856 *Dun Gallan* (Admiralty 2515), high promontory fort; Dùn Ghallain ARD-ARG NM647600, 1755 *Dungallon* (Roy Map), erect rock outcrop (pers. observ. 2006); Galdings CAM-ARG NR624197, 1878 (OSnb 78:31), with Eudan nan Gallan CAM-ARG NR626203, 1878 *Eudan (Iunan) nan Gallan* (OSnb 78:31), notable boulders; Glacgallon KKE-ARG^{Heb} NM382411, 1683 *Glackbunigallan* (*Retours* no. 83), low stack of Dùn Bàn NM384416 with late medieval remains (*Canmore*, 21812); Port nan Gallan† KDO-ARG^{Heb} NR282412, 1878 (OSnb 35:222), erect rocks and/or three high narrow ridges presenting a columnar aspect; Sloc nan Gallan^o BRR-INV^{Heb} ?NF665048 (Stahl 1999, 274), small rock pillars in beach (pers. observ. 2009).

⁶¹ Gallan‡ UIG-ROS^{Heb} NB048398 (Sgeir a' Ghallain), c.1600 *Galdon head* (Hayes-McCoy 1964, 34); Gallan Beag UIG-ROS^{Heb} NB036382, 1852 (OSnb 40:40, 89); Leac Gallain LAT-CAI ND242342, 1839 *Leac nan Guillain* (Young 1998, 49).

⁶² Achanich-galdan† KNM^{dtchd}-PER NN414325, 1700 (*Pont Text*, 116r), arc of boulders (*Canmore*, 289381); Achiegullan REA-CAI NC988647, 1873 (OS 6" 1st edn), two fallen monoliths NC983647 (*Canmore*, 7390); Dùn nan Gallan SUS-INV^{Heb} NF738335, 1914 (1928 *Canmore*, 9900; no diacritic), standing stone of Crois Chnoca Breaca NF734336 (*Canmore*, 9899); Rinn nan Gallan^o LCH^{dtchd}-ROS^{Heb} NB206428 (Cox 2002, 116, 353), with Allt nan Gallan^o LCH^{dtchd} NB204426, 1852 (OSnb 28:53), three monoliths, two fallen (*Canmore*, 4212; Cox 2002, 2). Possibly the knoll of Cnoc a' Ghallain KKM-ARG^{Heb} NR406700, 1878 (OSnb 39:103); and Tonagalyn† PEN-DMF ?NX859945, 1476 (1494 *RMS* ii no. 2215), formerly The Grey Stane and three or four recumbents near NX859932 (*NSA* iv, 467). Drummiegallon† WHT-WIG (unidentified) (Maxwell 1930, 122) might refer to monoliths or a cairnfield. Gortnagallon I/ANT is also given by McKay and Muhr (2007, 22) as 'field of the pillars or standing stones', and Killygullan I/FMN by McKay (2004, 128) as 'wood of (the) standing stone', but with no evidence available of appropriate features for either.

⁶³ Possible: Achadh nan Gallan† (unidentified) Skye INV^{Heb} (Forbes 1923, 26); Arinangallan SUS-INV^{Heb} NF795180, 1823 *Arrienagallan* (Johnson Map); Glac nan Gallan KKV-ARG^{Heb} NM464280, 1791×99 *Glacknangallan* (*OSA* xiv, 144), with Creag nan Gallan KKV-ARG^{Heb} NM466280, 1878 (OSnb 77:91); Glac nan Gollan‡ BRL-INV^{Heb} NG401430, 2008 *Allt Glac nan Gollan* (OS¹⁰), with Cnoc nan Gollan‡ BRL-INV^{Heb}, 1878 (OSnb 9:89); Port nan Gallan LAP-ARG^{Heb} NM821403, 1878 (OSnb 22:115); Port nan Gallan NKN-ARG NR693797, 1878 *Port nan Gallan (Port na Gallain)* (OSnb 57:115).

Dwelly, s.v., gives a similar definition for the adjective *gallanach*, but says (*Dwelly App.*, under *buluisg*) that as a noun it is applied in "Beauly and elsewhere" to what he calls "the wild willow". MacBain (1911, s.v.) just gives *gallan* 'branch', figuratively a 'youth'. As its original import has become semantically obscure, 'boy, young hero' has been a popular interpretation, supported by etymologising tales, for *gallan* in place-names. ScG n.m/f. *gallanach*, with a locational suffix, incorporates most of the toponymic meanings of ScG n.m. *gallan*, though interpretation is in many cases more a matter of probability than certainty.⁶⁴ The meanings are: a number of cairns,⁶⁵ prominent rocks on land⁶⁶ and growth of *gallan*-plants.⁶⁷ It also appears as an adjective.⁶⁸ There is no evidence of these names applying to sea rocks or to monoliths.

Dataset Overview

There are 178 probable ScG *Gall* identifications in the study area, with a further twenty-one tentative instances. It is notable that the genitive plural of ScG *Gall* appears much more often than with other specifics referring to humans. As this appears to be the case across the corpus, it is likely to demonstrate a linguistic resistance to the frequent practice in Gaelic place-names of using a singular noun for people, flora and fauna with collective inference, often found in Gaelic place-names. Of the probable identifications,

⁶⁴ A similar difficulty is experienced in Ireland, e.g. with Gallanagh I/ANT, seen by McKay (1995, 151–2) as being probably 'a place of standing-stones or possibly of branches, butterburs or coltsfoot'.

⁶⁵ Galdenoch NLU-WIG NX174618, 1547 *Galdonoch* (*RSS* iii no. 2311), several cairns, and a stone fort NX179621 (*Canmore*, 61644); Galdenoch‡ SOK-WIG NX098556, 1543 *Gallanauchy* (*RSS* iii no. 301), in the original parish of Stoneykirk, 1549 (*ER* xviii, 481, etc.), ON 'field of stones'; Gallanach KKB-ARG NM827260, 1750 *Galanich* (Dorret Map), three *dùns* (*Canmore*, 22942, 22948, 22954). Possible: Drimgalany† (unidentified) PER, 1500 (*RSS* i no. 454); Galdenoch LWT-WIG NW983635, 1539 *Galloneche* (*RSS* ii no. 3152).

⁶⁶ Galanaich† EDT-ROS NH664840, 1808 *Galanich Croft* (MacRae MS, 8), perched block (Watson 1904, 24).

⁶⁷ Allt na Galanaich COM-PER NN686240, 1864 *Allt na Gallanaich* (OS 6" 1st edn); Allt na Gallanaich BQR+COM-PER NN587243, 1864 (OS 6" 1st edn); Coille na Gallanaich∅ LAP-ARG^{Heb} NM805387, 2004 (*CELM* 2004); Gallanach COL-ARG^{Heb} NM213608, 1528 *Galdanach* (*RMS* iii no. 712), see MacEchern 1906, 333; A' Ghallanach† DSH-INV^{Heb} NG188483, 1878 *Allt na Gallanaich* (OSnb 4:73); Gallanach KMG¹-ARG NR923906, 1541 *Gallannache* (*RMS* iii no. 2306), with probably transferred Gallanach KMG² NR975994, 1878 (OSnb 81:78); Gallanach KMR-ARG NR790963, 1856 *Gallanach Bay* (Admiralty 2326); An Gallanach SMI-ARG^{Heb (INV)} NM408799, 1878 (OSnb 63:109).

⁶⁸ Allt na Buaille Gallanaich STY-ROS^{Heb} NB535491, 1852 *Allt na Buaille Gallanaich* (*Allt na Buale Gal(a)nich*) (OSnb 22:51, 144), probably referring to plants; Creag Ghallanach KMD-ARG NS001881, 1878 *Creag Ghallanach* (*Creag na Gallanaiche*) (OSnb 18:21), probably referring to rocks.

thirty-five (19.7%) refer grammatically to ScG *Gall* in the singular, but these appear to carry collective weight in most cases.

A more productive division of the corpus is by the nature of the generic:

Fig. 25 *Goill*-names with generics for agricultural units

Agricultural Unit

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. ⁶⁹ (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Probable 9:	ScG n.m. <i>achadh</i> 'field' : 8 ⁷⁰	BNF, CAI, ELO, INV, MOR, ROS, STL
	ScG n.m. <i>ochdamh</i> 'eighthland' : 1 ⁷¹	ABD
Possible [4]:	ScG n.m. <i>achadh</i> 'field' : [(2)] ⁷²	ARG
	ScG n.f. <i>cuithe</i> 'cattle-fold' : [1] ⁷³	ARG ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m. <i>gart</i> 'enclosure' : [1] ⁷⁴	ARG ^{Heb}

Four probables are located on peripheries: **Aikengall** IWK-ELO in a former detached part of Renfrewshire held by the Stewarts in an area otherwise Older Scots speaking when the name was first recorded, in 1422; **Achnagall**† TAI-ROS and **Auchoyle**† KME-ROS marching with separate detached parts of Cromartyshire,⁷⁵ in an area where Scots Gaelic was the community language when the latter was first recorded in 1351;⁷⁶ and **Auchingaw**◇ LRB-STL at a known boundary point.

All the ScG *Gall*-sites here appear to be on borderland and without nearby religious or administrative centres, apart from **Auchingalls**† CLN-BNF, a lost name within the territory of the royal burgh of Cullen. Cullen possessed a church from 1236 (*Canmore*, 17965), which was by c.1300 at least (if not originally) an appropriated parish church in the diocese of Aberdeen (*Atlas* 1996, 354), and a medieval motte, Castle Hill NJ50876702 (*Canmore*, 17943), which acted as a royal strongpoint from 1286 to 1315

⁶⁹ Including attributive use of the ethnonym.

⁷⁰ **Achingale** WAT-CAI, **Achnagall**† TAI-ROS, **Aikengall** IWK-ELO, **Auchingalls**† CLN-BNF, **Auchingaw**◇ LRB-STL, **Achnagall** MDL-INV, **Achnagallin**‡ CIA-MOR, **Achnagaul** ALN-ROS.

⁷¹ **Auchtygall** PHD-ABD.

⁷² **Auchgoyle** KFN-ARG, **Auchoyle**† KFN-ARG.

⁷³ **Cuinagaul**† KKE-ARG^{Heb}.

⁷⁴ **Gartnagaul**† (unidentified) Islay ARG^{Heb}.

⁷⁵ Cf. **Balgoil**‡ ULW-ROS and **Balnagall** TAI-ROS, below.

⁷⁶ The sheriffdom of Cromartyshire was established 1264×66, possibly being an elevated thanage (*Atlas* 1996, 194).

(*Atlas* 1996, 432). Gaelic had probably ceased to be the language of the immediate area by 1400 (*Atlas* 1996, 427), which suggests a *terminus ante quem* for coining. Any religious and/or royal reference might therefore be dated to c.1300.

However, reference to human classifications (function or origin) is otherwise rare in *achadh*-names, despite their frequency.⁷⁷ In the study there are only two other probable ethnonymic identifications, with the plural of ScG *Albannach* and ScG *Frangach*,⁷⁸ and no tentative possibilities. The few others identified are with the plural of ScG n.m. *clèireach* 'cleric' (three instances)⁷⁹ and ScG n.m. *iasgair* 'fisherman',⁸⁰ and singular of ScG n.m. *easbaig* 'bishop' and ScG n.m. *sagart* 'priest'.⁸¹ It is striking that apart from the late *iasgair*-name, these refer to ecclesiastics. Achadh na Glérec† was a twelfth-century property of the church of Deer (*Deer Bk* §2), and Achnaclerach CON-ROS is beside a site supposed by strong tradition to be that of a chapel NH400656 (*Canmore*, 12486), but the religious association of Achadh an Easbaig CLD-PER NN599091 and Auchentaggart SAN-DMF NS814089 is not obvious; ownership rather than physical presence may be the implication. A similar religious reference is therefore to be preferred for **Auchingalls†** CLN-BNF.

Fig. 26 *Goill*-names with generics for defensive structures

Defensive Structure

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Probable 10:	ScG n.m. <i>dùn</i> 'fort' : 6 ⁸² (3) ⁸³	ARG, ARG ^{Heb} , KCB, ROS, STL
	ScG n.m. <i>caisteal</i> 'castle' : 1 ⁸⁴	ARG

⁷⁷ A similar observation on the nature of *achadh*-names was made in Fraser's (1998, 116–7) regional study in the North East: "...description of a particular piece of land, rather than to the ownership of the land – this seems to be a characteristic of ach- names."

⁷⁸ **Achnyalbenach†** BAR-AYR, **Auchenfranco†** LRT-KCB.

⁷⁹ 'The field of the clerics': Achnaclerach CON-ROS NH400656, ?1479 *Auchinaglerach* (Watson 1904, 163), with Cnoc Achadh nan Clèireach NH405649 and Allt Cnoc nan Clèireach NH402640; Auchenclery CML-AYR NX161851; Achadh na Glérec† (unidentified) ABD (*Deer*, 2).

⁸⁰ ScG Achadh nan Iasgairean POR-INV^{Heb} (OS¹⁰, with ScG n.m. *iasgair* 'fisherman'), a.k.a. SSE Fisherfield, NG478430, is *Seafield* in 1857 (Admiralty 2498) and 1878 (OS 6" 1st edn) and not shown in 1824 (Thomson Map).

⁸¹ Achadh an Easbaig (for *Easbaig*) CLD-PER NN599091, 'the field of the bishop', and Auchentaggart SAN-DMF NS814089 for ScG Achadh an t-Sagairt, 'the field of the priest'. This list should be considered indicative only.

⁸² **Dounagal†** MRV-ARG, **Dùn nan Gall** TIR-ARG^{Heb}, **Dùn nan Gall** KKE¹-ARG^{Heb}, **Dùn nan Gall** KKE²-ARG^{Heb}, **Dùn nan Gall** KDO-ARG^{Heb}, **Dungald†** LOE-ROS.

⁸³ **Dùn a' Ghoill** JUR-ARG^{Heb}, **Dungoil** FTY-STL, **Dunguile†** KTN-KCB.

⁸⁴ **Caisteal nan Gall**∅ ARD-ARG.

The five instances of *Dùn nan Gall*, with the genitive plural article, are in Hebridean Argyll and the adjacent coast, and are applied to prehistoric features. Four of these are on coastal positions: three forts and one broch. The fifth is a hill-fort on a knoll set back from the shore. All are small stone-built structures. The geographic concentration and variety of archaeological features of presumably varying date suggest a single naming tradition. Though it is feasible that the sites were reused about the same time by sea-borne incomers, it is more likely that an antiquarian motivation has sought to describe these structures with a common reference to *Goill*. ScG **Caisteal nan Gall**◊ ARD-ARG, for SSE Mingary Castle, falls into the same category (despite having been a stronghold of the MacDonalds).

Two of the three instances with the genitive singular, however, differ in distribution, location and nature. Distant from Argyll, they refer to large hills, **Dungoil** FTY-STL of dramatic profile but with no known archaeology, and **Dunguile**‡ KTN-KCB with a large defensive earthwork possibly enclosing settlement. The former may also have been named under antiquarian motivation, on the assumption of the former presence of a fort, or figuratively due to the nature, or feasibly unfortified use, of the hill. The name of the latter might be antiquarian or refer to the occupants or their leader, resident or otherwise, contemporary with coining or recounted from an earlier period. **Dùn a' Ghoill** JUR-ARG^{Heb} goes with the genitive plural names in location, in Hebridean Argyll, and in being a coastal knoll; however, it too would seem to be antiquarian or figurative, with no evidence of defensive works. The only instance with the genitive plural, in which the presence of the article is not certain, is lost, but is probably the unfinished hill-top fort on Cnoc an Dùin, guarding the entrance to Logie Easter in Ross-shire. The motivation could be either antiquarian or as a transit alarm-point.

Other reference to human classifications is uncommon in *dùn*-names, despite their frequency. In the study there are only four other probable ethnonymic identifications, with plurals of ScG *Breatan* and ScG *Ultach*.⁸⁵ Eight others have been identified, with the plural of ScG n.f. *bean* 'woman, wife', ScG n.m. *Muileach* 'person

⁸⁵ **Dumbarton** DUM-DNB, **Dumbretton** ANN-DMF, **Dumbryden**‡ COT-MLO, **Dunultach** KCH-ARG.

associated with Mull' and ScG n.f. *nighean* 'girl',⁸⁶ and singular of ScG n.f. *nighean*, ScG n.f. **ban-òg* 'young female', ScG n.f. *òigh* 'virgin', ScG n.m. *famhair* 'giant' and ScG n.m. *iarla* 'earl'.⁸⁷ All but one are in Argyll; four apparently belong to the maiden castle antiquarian naming-tradition,⁸⁸ but all of the other three are probable misnomers, with no fort evidenced.

The overall implication is that the naming of defensive structures (real or imagined) was probably antiquarian in motivation. Likewise, Caherendoonangall† I/MYO (1159 *Dùn na nGall* in the *Annals of the Four Masters*) is an unlikely location for reference to Vikings, yet predates the 1169 arrival of Anglo-Normans in Ireland (Mac Giolla Easpaig 1995, 162 n.); it may therefore indicate an antiquarian or otherwise non-ethnic application of IrG n.m. *Gall*.

Fig. 27 *Goill*-names with generics for fresh water

Fresh water

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Probable 15:	ScG n.m. <i>allt</i> 'burn' : 3 ⁸⁹ (2) ⁹⁰	ARG, INV, SUT
	ScG n.m. <i>caochan</i> 'rill' : (1) ⁹¹	NAI
	ScG n.m. <i>eas</i> 'cataract' : (1) ⁹²	ARG
	ScG n.f. <i>fèith</i> 'bog channel' : 1 ⁹³	ABD
	ScG n.f. <i>gil</i> 'rill' : 1 ⁹⁴	ROS ^{Heb}

⁸⁶ Dunman KMN-WIG NX098335 **Dùn na mBan*, 'the fort of the women' (coastal fort) (Maxwell 1930, 130; Ó Maolalaigh 1998, 30); Dùn nam Muileach KFN-ARG NR992639, 'the fort of the Mull people' (three natural hillocks, traditionally the site of a battle between Mull men and followers of Lamont {OSnb 12:111 WIG}); Dùn nan Nighean KCN-ARG^{Heb} NR21086911, 'the fort of the girls' (coastal fort). Feature descriptions from *Canmore*, 60438, 39848, 37381 respectively. Maxwell's suggestion that Dunman might refer to the hill for drying laundry, rather than to the fort, is rejected.

⁸⁷ Dùn na Nighinn KMR-ARG NM84910282 (hill-fort); Dùn na Ban-Òige KMR-ARG NM837049 (large hill-fort); Dùn na h-Oighe (for *h-Òighe*) SOE-ARG NR741090 (possible coastal fort); Dùn an Fhamhair KKC-ARG NR68044026 (rocky hillock); Dùn an Iarla DSH-INV^{Heb} NG289549 (not in *Canmore*). The feature descriptions are from *Canmore*, 22843, 22830, 38687, 38569 respectively. This list should be considered indicative only.

⁸⁸ Fashionable from c.1138 for former forts or look-alikes (Coates 2006, 45). Ultimately from Syria, via a byname for Edinburgh Castle (ibid., 28), the original Latin *Castellum Puellarum*, 'girls' castle' (ibid., 21, 29 n. 67), has the specific clearly in the plural. However, the attributive Older Scots forms are number-neutral, and the Gaelic versions would appear to derive from this model.

⁸⁹ **Allt na' Gaill**† FRR-SUT, **Allt nan Gall** FRR-SUT, **Allt nan Gall** MRV-ARG.

⁹⁰ **Allt a' Ghoill** ALE-INV, **Allt a' Ghoill** LAG-INV.

⁹¹ **Caochan a' Ghoill** CDR+MDL-NAI.

⁹² **Eas a' Ghoill** GIL-ARG.

⁹³ **Finyngauld**† STD-ABD.

⁹⁴ **Gil nan Gall** LCH-ROS^{Heb}.

	ScG n.m/f. <i>loch</i> 'loch' : 2 ⁹⁵ (1) ⁹⁶	INV ^{Heb} , ROS ^{Heb} , SUT
	ScG n.f. <i>lùb</i> 'loop' : 1 ⁹⁷ (1) ⁹⁸	ROS, ROS ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m/f. <i>tobar</i> 'well' : (1) ⁹⁹	ARG
Possible [1]:	ScG n.m/f. <i>tobar</i> 'well' : [(1)] ¹⁰⁰	ARG

A variety of generics is found, both linear (ScG *allt*, *caochan*, *fèith*, *gil* and, applied to a stream, *eas*) and spot (ScG *loch*, *lùb*, *tobar*). The most frequent single generic is ScG n.m. *allt*, though **Allt na' Gaill**† FRR-SUT probably displays specific element borrowing from **Cnoc nan Gall** FRR-SUT, and **Allt nan Gall** FRR-SUT with **Loch nan Gall** FRR-SUT (itself without obvious explanation), rather than having unique association. On the other hand, there had been iron-working in the area of **Tobar a' Ghoill** SSS-ARG, probably in the mid-eighteenth century, and economic activity is also recorded for **Allt a' Ghoill** LAG-INV, which was apparently used as a mill lade. This very common generic is found with a range of other human classifications.

Indeed, the only name with a generic of fresh water which clearly has linear significance is **Caochan a' Ghoill** CDR+MDL-NAI, which formed part of the parish boundary until 1889. The Burn of **Finnygauld**† STD-ABD is a possible estate boundary, but also of significance is the Ladder Road track which passes through the settlement on its way to and from the parish and county boundary (possibly passing into **Korynagald**† IVV-BNF, also containing ScG *Gall*). A much shorter route for shoreline access might be implied by **Gil nan Gall** LCH-ROS^{Heb}, but reference to a route or a boundary for a possible migrant family at Tom an Fhuadain, 'the hillock of the wanderer', is speculative. **Eas a' Ghoill** GIL-ARG has an associated track, but this goes beyond the stream and ends at a shieling in a corrie below the county boundary, with a high pass across.

The names with ScG n.f. *lùb* also give little clue. **Lùb nan Gall** LCH-ROS^{Heb} has a hint of having formerly featured on a parish boundary later rationalised, but probably

⁹⁵ **Loch nan Gall** BVS-ROS^{Heb}, **Loch nan Gall** FRR-SUT.

⁹⁶ **Loch a' Ghoill** NUS-INV^{Heb}.

⁹⁷ **Lùb nan Gall** LCH-ROS^{Heb}.

⁹⁸ **Lùb a' Ghaill**† LAL-ROS.

⁹⁹ **Tobar a' Ghoill** SSS-ARG.

¹⁰⁰ **Tobargayle**† CAM-ARG.

refers to pasture (and a mill) accessed from across the boundary. **Lùb a' Ghail**† LAL-ROS is also beside the parish boundary. It can be speculated, but no more, that **Allt nan Gall** MRV-ARG defines a boundary related to the possible thirteenth-century church of Cill Choluim Chille at NM670451, which was in the patronage of the crown following forfeiture in 1493 of the original patron, the Lord of the Isles (Cowan 1967, cited in *Canmore*, 22431); and/or it may be related to Tigh an Easbuig (for *Taigh an Easbaig*, 'the bishop's house') NM667454, presumed to relate to the tacksman of Keil, Hector MacLean, minister of Morvern from 1639 to 1679 and bishop of Argyll from 1680 to 1687 (*Canmore*, 79963).

A mix of classification is therefore demonstrated: borderland, commemorative, resource and transit. It may be that some at least of those with no attributable classification are commemorative in nature, for accidents or other incidents relating to the water.

Fig. 28 *Goill*-names with generics for habitation

Habitation

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Probable 8:	ScG n.m. <i>baile</i> 'settlement' : 6 ¹⁰¹ (1) ¹⁰²	ABD, FIF, INV, KNR, ROS
	ScG n.m. <i>taigh</i> 'house' : 1 ¹⁰³	ARG ^{Heb}
Possible [3]:	ScG n.m. <i>baile</i> 'settlement' : [3] ¹⁰⁴	ANG, FIF

Balgoal‡ ULW-ROS is a pertinent, i.e. adjunct, of Findon estate, that appears, assuming it can be equated with 1826 E. *Finden*, to form a detached part of Cromartyshire. **Balnagall** TAI-ROS marches with a detached part of Cromartyshire.¹⁰⁵

Gallabhail◊ KIH-INV and **Belnagauld** STD-ABD are in close proximity to sites potentially identified with *Goill*. The latter was by a Catholic chapel, but it is not known if there was a direct relationship. The former (a.k.a. SSE **Englishton**) also had a church, a

¹⁰¹ **Ballingall**‡ KTT-FIF, **Ballingall** LSL-FIF, **Ballingall** ORW-KNR, **Balnagall** TAI-ROS, **Belnagauld** STD-ABD, **Gallabhail**◊ KIH-INV.

¹⁰² **Balgoal**‡ ULW-ROS.

¹⁰³ **Taigh nan Gall**◊ KKV-ARG^{Heb}.

¹⁰⁴ **Balgall**‡ CBE-FIF, **Balgay**‡ LIB-ANG, **Ballingall**‡ FAL-FIF.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. **Achnagall**‡ TAI-ROS under *Agricultural Unit*, above.

vicarage of the canons of Elgin MOR, though in Inverness-shire. But a more obvious *Goill* association is secular, it being by Tom a' Chaisteil, 'the hillock of the castle'. The probable reference is to the resident Corbet family (from before 1220 to 1498) or the poorly recorded preceding occupier, "Thomson" (*TISS* 1, 82).

There are no such immediate clues to the referents in the two Fife and one Kinross-shire (and therefore, being in Scots Gaelic, clearly medieval) instances. But just over one kilometre from **Ballingall**‡ KTT-FIF is Ramornie KTT-FIF NO318096. This name contains ScG n.m. *ràth* 'defended homestead', which is identified in *PNF* ii (p. 300) as either the large enclosure and ring-ditch by Ramornie Mains or the double-ditched enclosure 400m to the east at NO325098 on Lawfield CLS-FIF. Closer to **Ballingall** ORW-KNR at 220m is a double-ditch rectilinear enclosure (*Canmore*, 27907). If a direct relationship with medieval fortified dwellings is accepted for these, and for **Gallabhail**◊ KIH-INV, they may be as associated residences or agricultural centres for the community centred on the fort. **Ballingall** LSL-FIF would not appear to fit with this model. It could, like **Belnagauld** STD-ABD, relate to religious personnel. The parish formed a detached part of the diocese of Dunkeld and from the mid-thirteenth century was in the patronage of Inchcolm Abbey ABO-FIF (*PNF* ii, 356), but the old parish church, on the general site of the original (*Canmore*, 29952), is not particularly close at NO255020. The reference is more probably to a secular possession, given the known links of the parish lands with Buchan or, after 1308, with Ross (*PNF* ii, 357–8).

The only instance with ScG n.m. *taigh*, **Taigh nan Gall**◊ KKV-ARG^{Heb} (a.k.a. **Tobhta nan Sasannach**◊), is later, more certain, and different in character, being a resource-name. It reputedly refers to occupation c.1790 by workers brought in to work a local quarry. By way of near-contemporary comparison, it was Scottish immigration after 1800 that led to the small Canadian settlement of Englishtown acquiring the Gaelic name of *Baile nan Gall*.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ The Francophone settlement of Port Dauphine on St Ann's Bay in Cape Breton was largely deserted following the fall of the French fortress of Louisbourg in 1759 to the British, and it is presumed that the name-change dates to the subsequent shift in population and culture (<<http://fortress.uccb.ns.ca/historic/gaelic3.html>>, accessed 22 Apr. 2010).

In the study there are only two other probable ethnonymic identifications in Gaelic, with the plural of EG *Bretnach* and singular of ScG *Sasannach*, both in Fife.¹⁰⁷ Other reference to human classifications in *baile*-names is common, but fall into two distinct groups. There are many ecclesiastical occupations recorded,¹⁰⁸ which supports the suggestions of religious association. There are several names containing crafts (one in particular being common, that of the blacksmith), but with a smaller range of occupations.¹⁰⁹ Only three specifics have been potentially found which have a category of activity other than ethnic, ecclesiastical or craft, two of which relate directly to positions in the feudal system, namely ScG n.f. coll. *tuath* 'tenantry' and ScG n.m. *baran* 'baron'.¹¹⁰

Fig. 29 *Goill*-names with generics for headlands

Headland

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Probable 18:	ScG n.f. <i>àird</i> 'projection' : 5 ¹¹¹	ARG, INV ^{Heb} , PER, ROS
	ScG n.m. <i>gob</i> 'headland point' : (1) ¹¹²	INV ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m. <i>maol</i> 'cape' : 1 ¹¹³	WIG
	ScG n.m. <i>rubha</i> 'headland' : 11 ¹¹⁴	ARG, ARG ^{Heb} , INV ^{Heb} , ROS ^{Heb}

There are two clear groups here, with the sole instances with ScG n.m. *gob* and ScG n.m. *maol* being exceptional. There is no clear explanation for either of these names. The precipitous cliffs and inaccessible location of **Gob a' Ghoill** HAR-INV^{Heb}, on Soay in

¹⁰⁷ **Balbarton**‡ KGH-FIF, **Balsusney**‡ KDT-FIF.

¹⁰⁸ ScG n.m. *aba* 'abbot' (Ballinaby ARG^{Heb}, Balnaba WIG); ScG n.m. *bhiocar* 'vicar' (Ballivicar ARG^{Heb}, Balvicar ARG^{Heb}); ScG n.f. *cailleach* 'nun' (Baile nan Cailleach SUS-INV^{Heb}); ScG n.m. *deòradh* 'relic keeper' (Ballindeor ARG); ScG n.m. *easbaig* 'bishop' (Balnespick INV); ScG n.m. *manach* 'monk' (Balivanich INV^{Heb}, Balmanno PER); ScG n.m. *ministear* 'minister' (Bail-a'-Mhinister ROS); ScG n.m. *sagart* 'priest' (Balhagarty KCD, Ballintaggart PER, Balsaggart AYR). Possible: ScG n.f. *cailleach* 'nun; old woman; malign spirit' (Balachailloch ABD, Balhalloch ABD). This list should be considered indicative only. Not occupational are Ballindean FIF and PER (Ó Maolalaigh 1998, 20–1; *PNF*, iv, 155–6) and Balmavicar NR593098 ARG (Colville & Martin 2009, 9).

¹⁰⁹ ScG n.m. *bàrd* (Balbardie FIF, WLO, Balvaird ROS, AYR, PER); ScG n.m. *ceàrd* 'tinker' (Balnaguard PER); ScG n.m. *gobhainn* 'smith' (Balagowan ARG, Balgowan INV, PER, WIG, Balgown INV^{Heb} ×2, WIG, Balgownie ABD ×2, FIF, Ballygowan ARG, Ballygown BTE, ARG^{Heb}, Balnagowan ARG^{Heb}, Balnagown NAI, ROS ×2, Pitagowan); ScG n.m. *saor* 'wright' (Balantyre PER); ScG n.m. *tàillear* 'tailor' (Baile an Tàilleir INV^{Heb}). This list should be considered indicative only.

¹¹⁰ Ballintua AKE-INV, Balvarran KRK-PER.

¹¹¹ **Aird Ghall**‡ SUS-INV^{Heb}, **Ardagaw**‡ AMN-ARG, **Ardnagal** L GK-ARG, **Ardnagaul** KIL-PER, **Ardinagal**‡ LCA-ROS.

¹¹² **Gob a' Ghoill** HAR-INV^{Heb}.

¹¹³ **Maol nan Gall**‡ KMN-WIG.

¹¹⁴ **Rubha Cam nan Gall** SUS-INV^{Heb}, **Rubha Ghall** GIL-ARG, **Rubha nan Gall** KKE¹-ARG^{Heb}, **Rubha nan Gall** KKE²-ARG^{Heb}, **Rubha nan Gall** KLE-INV, **Rubha nan Gall** NUS¹-INV^{Heb}, **Rubha nan Gall** NUS²-INV^{Heb}, **Rubha nan Gall**‡ NUS³-INV^{Heb}, **Rubha nan Gall** STY-ROS^{Heb}, **Rubha nan Gall Beag** TOY-ARG^{Heb}, **Rubha nan Gall Mòr** TOY-

the St Kilda archipelago, renders commemoration of an incident the most likely naming motivation, and **Maol nan Gall**† KMN-WIG, recorded in 1920, is probably a late description of the Mull of Galloway coined from a viewpoint at, or across, the sea. In the *rubha* and *àird* groups there are two names that are also exceptions to the norm, in that they are situated inland without maritime access. The small headland of **Rubha Ghall** GIL-ARG is on freshwater Loch Tulla, with no independent indication as to its motivation. The generic in **Ardnagaul** KIL-PER, on the other hand, refers to a projecting ridge. The traditional explanation, that the abandoned settlement of this name was settled by Flemish weavers 1583×1631, has to be discounted as it is first recorded in 1573. But an associated watch-point can be identified in Creag an Sgrùdaidh, if interpreted as 'the rock of the lookout'.

These exceptions aside, the principle difference between the *àird*- and *rubha*-names is of the relative size of the features, resulting in settlements being named for four of the five *àird*-names,¹¹⁵ but for none for the much bigger group with *rubha*. All *rubha*-headlands are small and of little significance as anchorages, though suitable for the beaching of small craft. Otherwise they are comparable. Indeed, the sole *àird*-name with no known settlement, **Àird Ghall**† SUS-INV^{Heb}, incorporates at its point **Rubha Cam nan Gall** SUS-INV^{Heb}, a.k.a. Ru Aird Ghall†, and presumably shared the motivation for the shared specific.

One possible explanation for coastal names which must be considered is that of maritime watch-points. An established system of these existed in the Isle of Man, as revealed by a manuscript of 1627 (published in Johnson 2002, 77) listing the various locations, determined by need rather than administrative convenience (ibid., 78), to which separate day and night watches were appointed. Notably, "whilst the daytime watchers were positioned on 'hills for day watch' giving elevated views out to sea, the

ARG^{Heb}. A comparable name is SSE Foreigner's Point ANR-FIF NT660992 on the Isle of May (OS¹⁰), but as it is not recorded on the OS 6' 1st edn, this is likely to be a modern coining, the motivation for which is opaque.

¹¹⁵ Association of ScG n.f. *àird* with settlements should not be overstressed, however. The name **Ardnagal** LGK-ARG was included in OS mapping through what was already a ruined house by 1878, neighbouring the actual *àird*. The modern settlement associated with **Ardagaw**† AMN-ARG is Airs NM999313, off the headland itself.

night watch was kept at 'hills and ports for night watch' – sometimes from hills, but more often from, or close to, ports or, more precisely, potential landing places" (ibid., 75).

There is little consistency in the direction faced by either *àird* or *rubhaichean*, but with a prejudice against the west for both on this, the west coast of Scotland. Exceptionally, **Ardinagal**† LCA-ROS and **Rubha nan Gall** NUS²-INV^{Heb} face directly west, but in sheltered spots on the sea lochs of Loch Carron and Loch Portain respectively. In fact most of the other headlands are on sea lochs, rather than facing the open sea.¹¹⁶ **Rubha nan Gall** KKE²-ARG^{Heb} is on the narrow Sound of Mull, in a similar situation to those on lochs. The only exceptions are therefore, again, **Rubha Cam nan Gall** and **Àird Ghall**† on Wiay SUS-INV^{Heb}. Particularly from the 102m Beinn a Tuath at the head of the *àird* and the highest point of the island, a view extends north-east to south-east across and along the Minch, dividing the Outer Hebrides from Skye; but if following the pattern of the other *àird*- and *rubha*-names, perhaps the significant feature is the sheltered kyle formed by Loch a' Laip between Wiay and Benbecula.

Given the enclosed waters of most of the headlands, they would not have been well suited as daytime watch-points, either for defence or for the launching of piratical ambushes on maritime traffic. Night-time watches are also unlikely: some are at the entrances to the sea lochs, but with no significant settlement or resource so defended,¹¹⁷ and though three could be said to cover fair-sized landing-beaches,¹¹⁸ others are along the loch¹¹⁹ or on open coastline.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ **Ardagaw**† AMN-ARG (Loch Etive), **Ardnagal** LGK-ARG (Loch Long), **Rubha nan Gall** KKE¹-ARG^{Heb} (Loch Tuath), **Rubha nan Gall** KLE-ARG (a skerry probably preserving an alternative name for the high-water island of **Eilean nan Gall** on Loch Linnhe), the pairing of **Rubha nan Gall Beag/Mòr** TOY-ARG^{Heb} (Loch Don), **Rubha nan Gall** NUS¹-INV^{Heb} (Loch Euphort), **Rubha nan Gall**† NUS³-INV^{Heb} (Loch nam Madadh), **Rubha nan Gall** STY-ROS^{Heb} (Broad Bay).

¹¹⁷ **Rubha Cam nan Gall** SUS-INV^{Heb} (with **Àird Ghall**† SUS) at the entrance to Loch a' Laip, **Rubha nan Gall** NUS¹-INV^{Heb} at the entrance to Loch Euphort, **Rubha nan Gall** NUS²-INV^{Heb} at the entrance to Loch Portain, **Rubha nan Gall Beag/Mòr** TOY-ARG^{Heb} at the entrance to Loch Don.

¹¹⁸ **Ardinagal**† LCA-ROS at the end of the beach at NG837392 at Achintraid, **Ardnagal** LGK-ARG over the final approach to a beach at NN296045 at Succoth at the end of Loch Long, **Rubha nan Gall** STY-ROS^{Heb} over the water in front of Tràigh Chuil NB465387.

¹¹⁹ **Ardagaw**† AMN-ARG (Loch Etive), **Rubha nan Gall** NUS²-INV^{Heb} (Loch Portain), **Rubha nan Gall**† NUS³-INV^{Heb} (Lochmaddy), **Rubha nan Gall** KLE-INV (Loch Linnhe).

¹²⁰ **Rubha nan Gall** KKE¹-ARG^{Heb}, **Rubha nan Gall** KKE²-ARG^{Heb}.

Temporary shore-bases for small-scale piratical raiding is a further possibility, with most of the headlands inaccessible or remote by land. The most noted exponents of this activity in the Hebrides were the Norse Vikings, but these can be ruled out, with Gaelic thought to have been expunged as the community language in the southern isles¹²¹ (probably before the noun + article + noun form was securely established), and only introduced to the northern Hebrides after the Viking period. *Rubha nam Mèirleach* SMI-ARG^{Heb(INV)} NM368910, 'the headland of the robbers', perhaps provides a parallel. On the southern tip of the island of Rùm,¹²² it is well enough established for there to have been specific element sharing with *Allt nam Mèirleach* NM365920 and *Lochan nam Mèirleach* NM372914. The outlook is a wide panorama to the west and south, and east across the entrance to the Sound of Mull. However, *mèirleach*-names fail to demonstrate any close correlation between these and *Goill*-names, and this is the only headland-name among them.

The remaining, and most plausible, explanation is of shore-camps related to long-distance seasonal fishing activity.¹²³ By the end of the medieval period at least, this typically entailed small "by-boats"¹²⁴ servicing a mother ship, acting as a store for salted fish, anchored in a sheltered harbour. Such camps on the west coast of Scotland would provide access to such as fresh water and firewood, while having a modicum of security and minimal intrusion on existing land use. In the Newfoundland fisheries the shore-camps would even entail semi-permanent encampments deserted only for the winter months, if at all (Grosse 1988, 17), which could conceivably have been the case with the settled *àird*-headlands in Scotland.¹²⁵ An indication of the activity based on these headland-sites is revealed by some accompanying place-names. On either side of the point of **Rubha nan Gall** KKE¹-ARG^{Heb} on the island of Ulva off Mull are the small beaches of *Port Bàta na Luinge*, 'the landing-beach of the ship's boat', and *Port an Taigh-shalainn*,

¹²¹ See Macniven 2006 for evidence of probable total Old Norse replacement of Early Gaelic as far south as Islay.

¹²² Current OS map-form: formerly *R(h)um*.

¹²³ For a description of sixteenth-century English inshore fishing in Newfoundland, see Grosse 1988, 1, 17.

¹²⁴ Grosse (1988, 17) says bye-boat keepers "were often independent operators who were passengers aboard ship allotted space to transport their boats. The bye-boat keepers operated from shore, sold their catches to the fleet and returned home in the fall. A few remained throughout the winter to guard their premises and prepare boats, gear and property for the fishery in the following spring."

¹²⁵ At the other extreme, it might be postulated that freshwater fishing with overland communication explains **Rubha Ghall** GIL-ARG.

'the landing-beach of the salt store'. The former may refer to a by-boat, whereas the latter indicates curing activity on shore before fish were transferred to a ship. Alongside **Rubha nan Gall**† NUS³-INV^{Heb} is *Strom na Fùirneis* (OS¹⁰), 'the sound of the furnace', perhaps referring to curing by smoking. If **Cnoc nan Gall**◇ NUS-INV^{Heb} is also a fishing shore-camp,¹²⁶ then *Poll an t-Suicair* (*recte* *Poll an t-Siùcair*) NF889547, 'the pool of the sugar', may indicate use of a further method of curing.

Other coastal curing-sites can be inferred from place-names, exemplified by *Rubha an t-Salainn* AMN-ARG NM967432, 'the headland of the salt', on Loch Creran. The headland is unnamed on Admiralty 2814b in 1863, but "Salthouse" is given for the structure at NM969429 on the OS 6" 1st edn in 1878. This is said by *Canmore* (152091) to have been a farmstead called Saltcrofts. Parallels are found in the Saltness-names, of either Norse (presumably Norn) or Older Scots derivation, applied to small headlands in the Northern Isles.¹²⁷ Some caution is required in extending the logic of this to identify further curing-sites by the mention of the process ingredients alone, though many *salann*-names (and another with ScG n.m. *siùcar*) do indeed approximate the topography of those instances already identified.¹²⁸ There may have been some confusion between ScG n.m. *sàilean* 'small sea inlet' and ScG n.m. *salann* in some other names,¹²⁹ but though the topography of a few do not permit direct reference to a shore-station site,¹³⁰ they may still be related to curing activity in the immediate vicinity. *Coire an t-Salainn* ARR-ARG NM884555, and *Allt an t-Salainn* NM889551 flowing from the corrie as a tributary (OS 6" 1st edn) above the shore, are hard to explain. It is possible, however, that there is oblique

¹²⁶ A further possibility is **Mullach nan Gall** TIR-ARG^{Heb}.

¹²⁷ Salt Ness SST-SHE HU345504, WAF-ORK ND276899 and YEL-SHE HU486804, Saltness DTG-SHE HU359666 and WAS-SHE HU242488.

¹²⁸ (*Allt*) *Camas an t-Salainn* AMT-INV NM819947 by *Rubha Dubh a' Bhàta*, 'the black headland of the boat', *Camas an t-Salainn* AMT-INV NM654853, *Carraig an t-Salainn* KMR-ARG NM796000, (*Port*) *Ceann an t-Salainn* NKN-ARG NR735754, *Cùil an t-Salainn* LBR-ROS NH172887 (a small bay formed by a headland), *Leac an t-Siùcair* KKV-ARG^{Heb} NM310183, *Port an t-Salainn* JUR-ARG^{Heb} NR499628 on the small *Rubha na h-Acairseid*, 'the headland of the anchorage', *Port an t-Salainn* KKE-ARG^{Heb}, *Port an t-Salainn* NKN-ARG NR697724, *Rubha an t-Salainn* APC-ROS NG879548, *Rubha an t-Salainn* MRV-ARG NM767599, *Rubha an t-Salainn* LBR-ROS NC069176, *Rubha an t-Salainn* LGK-ARG NS198979, *Salann Bay* KFN-ARG NR935672.

¹²⁹ To add to the uncertainty, two names with ScG n.m. *salann* on the current map were shown with different names on the OS 6" 1st edn: *Carraig an t-Salainn* KMR-ARG NM796000 was *Carraig Fhalamh*, 'void rock', and *Creag an t-Salainn* EDS-SUT NC232550 was *Creag na Sàil*, 'the rock of the heel'.

¹³⁰ Joining the shore but with no headland and on the east coast is *Allt an t-Salainn* CLY-SUT NC918069, as with *Allt an t-Siùcair* ARD-ARG NM514631 on the west; *Càrn an t-Salainn* LAL-ROS NG788318 and *Creagan an t-Salainn* LAL-ROS

reference in the corrie-name to the appropriately named Rubha nan Sòrnagan NM888543, 'the headland of the little kilns'. Maol Mhìr an t-Salainn BUC-STL NN397114, 'the ridge of the grain(s) of salt', is unique in being above a body of fresh water, Loch Katrine. This unusual name may simply refer to a favourite picnic spot, but the small headland of Rubha Maoil Mhìr an t-Salainn (OS 6" 1st edn; OS¹⁰) below it (which would have been slightly bigger before damming of the loch) may have had a role in fishing on the loch; in which case it would support the case for a similar role for **Rubha Ghall** GIL-ARG on Loch Tulla. More secure are Gortan an t-Sailleir SSS-ARG NR817471, 'small enclosure of the salt-cellar' above Kilbrannan Sound and Rubha an t-Sailleir KLR-INV^{Heb} NG431766, a headland on the Minch.

In the study there are no other probable ethnonymic identifications with *àird*-names;¹³¹ other references to human classifications do exist, but are very few in number.¹³² There are five *rubha*-names, two with ScG *Sasannach* (singular), one with ScG *Frangach* (plural), one with ScG *Spàinnteach* (plural) and one with ScG *Gàidheal* (adjectival).¹³³ Other references to human classifications are plentiful, but most commonly in the genitive singular.¹³⁴ The genitive plural is much less attested,¹³⁵ despite all eleven instances with ScG *Gall* being of this nature.¹³⁶

NG760299 are both hills above small bays; Creag an t-Salainn EDS-SUT NC232550 is a steep straight shoreline; Sgeir an t-Salainn NG856550 is a small skerry near an indented shoreline.

¹³¹ Indirectly only in **Yngles Ardnel**† WKB-AYR.

¹³² Identified are Ardgowan IVK-RNF with ScG n.m. *gobhainn* 'smith', Rubh' Ard an Duine KKB-ARG^{Heb} (Kerrera) for Rubha Àird an Duine with ScG n.m. *duine* 'man, person', probably in the sense of washed-up body (as locally explained for Geodha an Duine◊ BRL-INV^{Heb} NG428136 (Soay); pers. comm. William Leah, ex Soay, in 1992), and possibly Ardvasar SLT-INV^{Heb} (Skye) with ScG n.m. *màsair* 'mace-bearer' or ScG n.m. **bàsair* 'executioner'. All three are coastal.

¹³³ Rubha an t-Sasannaich MRV-ARG, Rubha Sasannaich KBK-ARG^{Heb}, Rubha nam Frangach INA-ARG, Rubha nan Spàinnteach◊ BRR-INV^{Heb}, Rubha Gàidhealach KCN-ARG^{Heb}.

¹³⁴ On OS²⁵, with ScG n.m. *bàillidh* 'factor', ScG n.m. *banntlach* 'widow, widower', ScG n.m. *buirdeasach* 'burgess', ScG n.f. *cailleach* 'old woman; nun; malign spirit' ×9, ScG n.m. *clèireach* 'cleric', ScG n.m. *crochaire* 'hangman, one deserving hanging', ScG n.m. *croisean* 'poet', ScG n.m. *duine* 'man, person', ScG n.m. *fean* 'man, husband', ScG n.m. *gille* 'lad' ×2, ScG n.f. *maighdeann* 'maiden', ScG n.m. *maraiche* 'seaman', ScG n.m. *ridire* 'knight', ScG n.m. *sagart* 'priest', ScG n.m. *sàirdseant* 'sergeant'.

¹³⁵ ScG n.m. *bodach* 'old man' (Rubha nam Bodach ARG^{Heb}); ScG n.m. *bràthair* 'brother' (Rubha nam Bràithrean ARG^{Heb}, Rubha nam Bràithrean INV^{Heb}); ScG n.f. *cailleach* 'old woman; nun; malign spirit' (Rubha Chailleach ROS); ScG n.m. *fean* 'man, husband' (Rubha nam Fear ARG^{Heb}); ScG n.m. *mèirleach* 'robber' (Rubha nam Mèirleach ARG^{Heb}(INV)). ScG n.f. *maighdeann* 'maiden' in Rubha nam Maighdeannan is clearly figurative, referring to the sea rocks Macleod's Maidens DSH-INV^{Heb} NG242361.

¹³⁶ In effect ten names, with **Rubha nan Gall Beag** TOY-ARG^{Heb} and **Rubha nan Gall Mòr** TOY-ARG^{Heb} probably sharing the specific, with contrasting adjectives.

Fig. 30 *Goill*-names with generics for hill entitiesHill entity

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Probable 23:	ScG n.m. <i>bàrr</i> 'hill' : 1 ¹³⁷	ARG
	ScG n.m. <i>càrn</i> 'hill' : 2 ¹³⁸	ARG ^{Heb} , INV ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m. <i>cnoc</i> 'hill' : 2 ¹³⁹	ARG ^{Heb} , CAI+SUT
	ScG n.m. <i>cnoc</i> 'hillock' : 4 ¹⁴⁰ (1) ¹⁴¹	ARG ^{Heb} , INV+ROS, INV ^{Heb} , LAN, SUT
	ScG n.f. <i>creag</i> 'rocky hill' : 5 ¹⁴²	ABD, AYR, INV, MLO, WLO
	ScG n.f. <i>cruach</i> 'stack-like hill' : (1) ¹⁴³	INV
	ScG n.m. <i>druim</i> 'ridge' : 2 ¹⁴⁴ (1) ¹⁴⁵	ARG, INV
	ScG n.m. <i>màm</i> 'hill' : (1) ¹⁴⁶	ARG
	ScG n.m. <i>mullach</i> 'height' : 1 ¹⁴⁷	ARG ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m. <i>sgùrr</i> 'conical hill' : 1 ¹⁴⁸	INV ^{Heb}
ScG n.m. <i>tòrr</i> 'heap-shaped hill' : (1) ¹⁴⁹	INV	
Possible [3]:	ScG n.m. <i>cnoc</i> 'hillock' : [(2)] ¹⁵⁰	KCB
	ScG n.m. <i>druim</i> 'ridge' : [1] ¹⁵¹	KCB

Despite a wide range of generics, there is a notable absence of common terms associated with large hills, such as ScG n.m. *aonach* 'steep-sided ridge', ScG n.f. *beinn* 'large hill', ScG n.m. *binnein* 'peaked hill', ScG n.m. *meall* 'lump', ScG n.m. *monadh* 'massif', ScG n.m. *socach* 'pert hill' and ScG n.m. *stob* 'peak'. The hill-entity generics that

¹³⁷ **Bàrr nan Gall** SKN-ARG.

¹³⁸ **Càrn nan Gall** BRL-INV^{Heb}, **Càrn nan Gall** KKM-ARG^{Heb}.

¹³⁹ **Cnoc Mòr nan Gall** KKV-ARG^{Heb}, **Cnoc nan Gall** FRR+HAL-SUT+CAI.

¹⁴⁰ **Cnoc nan Gall** COO-ARG, **Cnoc nan Gall** FRR-SUT, **Cnoc nan Gall** NUS-INV^{Heb}, **Knock-na-Gaul** KCV+KIT-INV+ROS.

¹⁴¹ **Knocklegoill** EKB-LAN.

¹⁴² **Cragingalt** SOL-MLO, **Craigengall** TPH-WLO, **Craigall** CML-AYR, **Creag nan Gall** AKE-INV, **Creag nan Gall** CRB-ABD.

¹⁴³ **Cruach a' Ghoill** AMT-INV.

¹⁴⁴ **Drimnagall** NKN-ARG, **Druim nan Gall** KMR-ARG.

¹⁴⁵ **Druim a' Ghoill** KLE-INV.

¹⁴⁶ **Màm a' Ghoill** ARD-ARG.

¹⁴⁷ **Mullach nan Gall** TIR-ARG^{Heb}.

¹⁴⁸ **Sgùrr nan Gall** POR-INV^{Heb}.

¹⁴⁹ **Torgyle** UGM-INV.

¹⁵⁰ **Knockgill** CMI-KCB, **Knockgyle** GRN-KCB.

¹⁵¹ **Drumwall** GRN-KCB.

have been identified can be considered a set of names for lower (though not always low) hills. ScG n.f. *creag* as 'rocky hill' (as opposed to *creag* as a hill feature) forms a clear subset, not least because of its distinct eastern and southern distribution, penetrating into Lothian.

There are a number of other probable ethnonymic identifications in the study with one of these generics with the same sense, but they are predominantly modern-era names. The generics are *bàrr* 'hill' ×2,¹⁵² ScG n.m. *cnoc* 'hillock' ×1(×5),¹⁵³ *druim* 'ridge' ×1(×1),¹⁵⁴ *sgùrr* 'conical hill' ×1(×2)¹⁵⁵ and *tòrr* 'heap-shaped hill' (×1);¹⁵⁶ five with a plural specific (nine with a singular).

Taking the *creag*-names as a case study, the reference to human classifications in general is also plentiful, with fifty-nine identified in Gaelic orthography in the current toponymicon. Of these, however, only twelve (20.3%) contain the genitive plural; this contrasts with the plural in all seven *Gall*-names. Of the fifty-nine, the largest group contains non-vocational specifics,¹⁵⁷ plus eighteen with secular roles¹⁵⁸ with a wide range of specifics, and ten with religious reference.¹⁵⁹ Restricted for comparative purposes to those currently in Gaelic orthography to the east of the watershed and south of Loch Ness and the Moray Firth, applied to a "hill entity", the percentage is little different, with the plural in two of the nine instances (22.2%). The specifics in these names are balanced,

¹⁵² **Barbrethan** KML-AYR, **Barnultoch** INH-WIG.

¹⁵³ **Cnoc a' Ghàidheil**† (unidentified) Skye INV^{Heb}, **Cnoc a' Ghàidheil** KDO-ARG^{Heb}, **Cnoc an t-Sasannaich** ASY+LBR-SUT+ROS, **Cnoc an t-Sasannaich** KMR-ARG, **Cnoc Fraing** MDL-INV, **Cnoc nan Sasannach** CON-ROS.

¹⁵⁴ **Druim an t-Sasannaich**◊ LAP-ARG^{Heb}, **Drumbreddan** SOK-WIG.

¹⁵⁵ **Sgùrr an Albannaich** AMT-INV, **Sgùrr an t-Sasannaich** AMT-INV, **Sgùrr nan Spàinnteach** GLL-ROS.

¹⁵⁶ **Tòrr an Albannaich** GLE-INV.

¹⁵⁷ With ScG n.f. (*seana-*)*bean* '(old) woman, wife' ×2 (plural), ScG n.m. *bodach* 'old man' ×5 singular and ×5 plural, ScG n.m. *bràthair* 'brother' (plural), ScG n.f. *cailleach* 'old woman; nun; malign spirit' ×9, ScG n.m. *duine* (*carach*) '(sly, deceitful) man, person' ×2, ScG n.m. *gille(achan)* '(young) lad' ×2, ScG n.f. *nighean* 'daughter, girl' ×5.

¹⁵⁸ With ScG n.m. *bancair* 'banker', ScG n.m. *bàrd* 'poet', ScG n.m. *breabadair* 'weaver', ScG n.m. *buachaille* 'herd', ScG n.m. *ceàrd* 'tinker' (plural), ScG n.m. *diùc* 'duke', ScG n.m. *gobhainn* 'smith', ScG n.m. *greusaiche* 'cobbler', ScG n.m. *iasgair* 'fisherman', ScG n.m. *mèirleach* 'robber' (plural), ScG n.m. *muillear* 'miller', ScG n.m. *rìgh* 'king', ScG n.m. *saighdear* 'solder' ×2 (one plural), ScG n.m. *sgalag* 'labourer', ScS n. *tacksman* 'tenant of a tack' (hybrid; a.k.a. Craigallda† BQR-PER NN514211 [Carnegie 1896, 612] (Watson 2002, 37), with ScG n.m. *alt* 'steep bank'), ScG n.m. *tuairnear* 'wood turner', ScG n.m. *tuathanach* 'farmer'.

¹⁵⁹ With ScG n.m. *buidseach* 'witch', ScG n.m. *clèireach* 'cleric', ScG n.m. *deòradh* 'relic keeper', ScG n.m. *ministear* 'minister', ScG n.m. *sagart* 'priest' ×6.

though, with four specifics with secular roles,¹⁶⁰ plus a single cleric (all with genitive singular).¹⁶¹

The possibility is that *Creag nan Gall* may have acted as a stock name for hills with a specific function. If this is the case, then a transit alarm-point is the most likely meaning, with **Craigengall** TPH-WLO and **Craigall†** CML-AYR near parish and county boundaries, and **Creag nan Gall** CRB-ABD by a probable old parish boundary. **Creag nan Gall** AKE-INV is not near a boundary, but provides a view west over the route of Rathad nam Mèirleach, 'the road of the robbers' (though detailed analysis of all *mèirleach*-names has failed to find any close correlation between these and *Goill*-names). The aspects of a watch-site on these would be directed whence speakers of Gaelic would be expected, i.e. in Abernethy & Kincardine INV and Torphichen WLO looking further west into the Highlands and the Central Belt, and in Colmonell AYR looking east from Carrick into Galloway, though situated in areas that can be assumed to be predominantly Gaelic-speaking at the time of naming. **Cragingall†** SOL-MLO is notably a Gaelic name situated at the heart of Older Scots influence. If the name is not an early survival, it may be a coining, from before its recording in 1456, by speakers of Gaelic conscious of the watch function of the hill on the margins of the medieval city.

Such *Goill*-name alarm-points may not have been coined by the passing subjects of the watch, but rather by a local Gaelic-speaking community noting the presence of the watchers in its midst or on its margin. This is surely the case with **Toum Scalan n Sasnich†** CRB-ABD, for ScG **Tom Sgàlan an t-Sasannaich*, 'the hillock of the temporary hut of the "Saxon" (Englishman)', a probable watch-point for Government soldiers from 1748 to 1831. As most of the twenty names with ScG n.m. *saighdear* 'soldier' in Gaelic orthography on OS²⁵ are applied to hill entities¹⁶² or features,¹⁶³ it is reasonable to assume

¹⁶⁰ Creag a' Bhàird PER poet', Creag nan Ceàrd PER 'tinkers', Creag a' Ghobhainn ABD (SSE Craig Gowan) 'smith', Creag a' Ghreusaiche INV 'cobbler', Creag an Rìgh INV+MOR 'king'.

¹⁶¹ Creag a' Chlàirich ABD.

¹⁶² Càrn an t-Saighdeir LAL-ROS NG834310, Creag an t-Saighdeir KLE-INV NN181885 in the isthmus between lochs Arcaig and Lochy, Tom an t-Saighdeir KDV-ARG NM971152 above the isthmus between lochs Avich and Awe (shown on the OS 6" 1st edn as Tom an Fhir-bhr[è]ig 'the hillock of the man profile', so maybe figurative). ScG n.m. *saighdear* is in the genitive singular in all of these.

¹⁶³ Clach an t-Saighdeir IVV-BNF NJ155021, Coire an t-Saighdeir CRB-ABD NN966965 above the Làirig Ghru (a.k.a. Coir[e] na[n] Saighdearan; Watson & Allan 1984, 50), Coire an t-Saighdeir FTL-PER NN647652, Creag nan Saighdear BQR-PER NN567147 on Loch Lubnaig, Druim an t-Saighdeir FRR-SUT NC675432 above the road junction at Syre in Strathnaver, Glac

that some at least of these refer to transit alarm-points. A similar semantic focus on the watchers is found in the fifteen names on OS²⁵ with the often collective ScG n.m. *freiceadan* 'guard, sentinel(s)'.¹⁶⁴ These are almost exclusively hill-entity and hill-feature names, with a prospect from all of these, a few with a maritime outlook clearly intended.¹⁶⁵ Such watch-sites provide a model of a power among, but not necessarily of, the community, for the emergence of *Goill*-names.

There are also, however, Gaelic names which may well apply to watch-points, but with a semantic emphasis on the outlook itself. Creag an Sgrùdaidh NN558328, 'the rock of the scrutiny', above **Ardnagaul** KIL-PER is one such, and suggests an alarm function associated with the *Goill*. Tom Dà Choimhead NJ001101, a.k.a. Sithean (Dubh) Dà Choimhid, is just below **Creag nan Gall** AKE-INV and shares its view west.¹⁶⁶ A second name with ScG *dà choimhead*, 'two views',¹⁶⁷ Coire Dà Choimhid AMN-ARG NN128442, can only be said to have a significant view from one of its flanks; this may have a bearing on the *Coire nan Gall* hill-feature names. The other names with ScG n.m. *coimhead*

an t-Saighdeir JUR-ARG^{Heb} NR506722, Meall an t-Saighdeir GLE-INV NG742006 looking up Loch Nevis, Meall nan Saighdear CLD-PER NN591093 guarding the Pass of Leny, Meall nan Saighdearan COM-PER NN671207 at the junction of Gleann Ghòirnean and Glen Artney, Sgùrr an t-Saighdeir LAG-INV NN471808, Sròn an t-Saighdeir SMI-INV^{Heb} NM318988 with a panorama from Rùm over the Minch, Tom nan Saighdearan AFE-PER NN403090 in the isthmus between lochs Arklet and Katrine (judged by McNiven (2011, 111) as being a watch-point which was probably associated with the eighteenth-century Inversnaid barracks). ScG n.m. *saighdear* is in the genitive singular in eight out of the twelve names (with a plural variant for Coire an t-Saighdeir CRB-ABD).

¹⁶⁴ Beinn an Fhreiceadain ASY-SUT NC044290, Beinn Freiceadain FRR-SUT ND059557, Càrn an Fhreiceadain KIN-INV NH725071, Cnoc an Fhreiceadain DUS-SUT NC324598, FRR-SUT NC887538, KBD-BTE NR966509, TNG-SUT NC611594, Cnoc Freiceadain REA-CAI ND012653, Meall an Fhreiceadain ARD-ARG NM483663, Meall an Fhreiceadain KIL-PER NN393227, Sithean Freiceadain ROG-SUT NC639220, Tom an Fhreiceadain AMT-INV NG790023, Tom nam Freiceadan FTL-PER NN512566, Uamh an Fhreiceadain GAI-ROS NG745735. Only Tom nam Freiceadan FTL-PER has a plural specific. The article is usually present, but strangely not in three cases. It is to be assumed that the sole instance of a freshwater generic, Loch an Fhreiceadain LAI-SUT NC514167, has a relationship with nearby Cnoc na Faire LAI-SUT, though not adjacent. All other generics are nominally hill entities apart from Uamh an Fhreiceadain GAI-ROS, which is named for a shallow cave on the side of a natural rocky hillock (*Canmore*, 11764). There has been a persistent tradition associated with Uamh an Fhreiceadain GAI-ROS of a MacLeod stronghold, no doubt encouraged by the place-name and the rocky mound (*Canmore*, 11764, citing an OS report of 1965 and Dixon 1886, 24, 45, 98). This and Cnoc an Fhreiceadain KBD-BTE are the only two coastal sites, though some are not far inland. Again, the category of hill entities merges into hill features, particularly the said Cnoc an Fhreiceadain KBD-BTE, which is no more than a narrow shelf on a steep slope. Given the meaning, however, it is assumed that Meall an Fhreiceadain KIL-PER is an alternative for Grey Height, rather than the slope falling from it as marked on the map.

¹⁶⁵ Beinn an Fhreiceadain ASY-SUT, Cnoc an Fhreiceadain KBD-BTE, Uamh an Fhreiceadain GAI-ROS.

¹⁶⁶ There is an unexplained structure below Tom Dà Choimhead at NJ00101003 (*Canmore*, 240829), and an illicit still (which would presumably benefit from the alarm potential of the hillock) at NJ00091007 (*Canmore*, 240831).

¹⁶⁷ The full implication of *dà choimhead* is not clear, as Tom Dà Choimhead has only one clear line of sight along immediate approaches to it (pers. observ.). Note also the variation in treatment in these names of the grammar of the indefinite dual number in the genitive, with *dà choimhid* beside *dà choimhead*.

'watching, observing' include a specific reference to a watch-house, in Loch an Taigh-choimhid (OS *Tigh-choimhid*) TNG-SUT NC662607,¹⁶⁸ situated by a route way (OS 6" 1st edn).¹⁶⁹ Names with ScG n.m. *fradharc* 'view, prospect' are all on hill-entities,¹⁷⁰ but otherwise have no bearing on the study.

Perhaps the *Goill*-name alarm-points are better viewed as not watching for or by *Goill*, but as beacon-sites, relaying an alarm not necessarily generated by direct observation of intruders but as part of a chain of such beacons or on receipt of information otherwise communicated.

It has been proposed by MacRobbie (MS 2003×10) that the past participle *loisgte* 'burnt' of ScG vb *loisg* 'burn' refers in place-names to the lighting of two bonfires for the Beltane tradition of driving cattle between them on the 1st of May. It has also been suggested that it refers to scorching by the wind.¹⁷¹ However, the topography of these names do not lend support to either interpretation as a universal explanation for this large class of names (125 on OS²⁵), which are in ninety-eight instances combined with generics which are found in the alarm-point names or generics referring to similar features.¹⁷² It is also clear from a number of the generics, however, that reference cannot always be to beacon-sites,¹⁷³ and without further research *loisgte*-names must be deemed unreliable parallels. The standard noun, ScG n.m. *losgadh*, does not appear in any mapped name, but

¹⁶⁸ A reported possible crannog on Loch an Taigh-choimhid (which otherwise may have held, or be associated with, the watch-house) was untraceable in 1978 (*Canmore*, 5780).

¹⁶⁹ Allt a' Choimhid SSS-ARG NR813372 may refer to an associated high hill spur at NR804386, providing a platform with clear maritime views. Death Choimhead AMN-ARG NM946286, with ScG adj. *deagh* 'good', may not be a facile modern label, 'good view', but rather 'good watch-point'. It has long appeared on maps (1801 *Dibhoid*, Langlands Map; 1824 *Dibhaid*, Thomson Map; 1878 *Death Choimhead*, OS 6" 1st edn), and is applied a prominent peaked hill with a clear view along Glen Lonan, as does Tom a' Choimhid LGK-ARG NN192044 along the glen of River Goil.

¹⁷⁰ Càrn an Fhradhaire CIA-MOR NJ078350, Cnoc a[n] Fhradhairec STH-INV^{Heb} NG754261, Cnoc a[n] Fhradhaire (*recte* Fradhairec) DSH-INV^{Heb} NG331414, Cnoc an Fhradhairec KIN-INV NN810892, Creag an Fhradhairec ARD-ARG NM627684, Tom a[n] Fhradhairec BVS-ROS^{Heb} NB394450, Tom a[n] Fhradhairec STY-ROS^{Heb} NB448425, Tòrr an Fhradha[i]rc KKE-ARG^{Heb} NM415450.

¹⁷¹ Ex info. Seumas Grannd a.k.a. James Grant. Suggested when considering Creag Loisgte AKE-INV NH997107.

¹⁷² ScG n.f. *àird* 'projection', ScG n.m. *bàrr* 'hill' ×2, ScG n.f. *beinn* 'hill, peak', ScG n.m. *càrn* 'cairn' ×2, ScG n.m. *cnoc* 'hill(ock)' ×15, ScG n.m. *cnocan* 'hillock' ×2, ScG n.f. *creag* 'crag; rock; rocky hill' ×56, ScG n.m. *creagan* 'outcrop' ×4, ScG n.f. *cruach* 'stack-like hill' ×2, ScG n.m. *druim* 'ridge' ×2, ScG n.m. *meall* 'heap-shaped hill', ScG n.m. *rubha* 'headland' ×2, ScG n.f. *tòn* 'rump-shaped hill?' ×2, ScG n.m. *tòrr* 'heap-shaped hill' ×5, ScG n.m. *torran* 'hillock'.

¹⁷³ ScG n.f. *àirigh* 'shieling', ScG n.m. *allt* 'burn' ×5, ScG n.m. *bad* 'grove', ScG n.m. *blàr* 'open ground', ScG n.m. *caochan* 'rill' ×2, ScG n.m. *cleiteadh* 'natural rock pier', ScG n.f. *dail* 'meadow', ScG n.m/f. *doire* 'grove' ×2, ScG n.m. *eilean* 'island' ×3, ScG n.m. *goirtean* 'crop enclosure', ScG n.m. *lagan* 'small hollow', ScG n.m. *lochán* 'small loch', ScG n.f. *mòine* 'peatbog', ScG n.f. *pàirc* 'enclosed field', ScG n.m. *rèidh* 'level space', ScG n.m. *ruighe* 'hill slope; shieling', ScG n.f. *sgeir* 'skerry', ScG n.m. *taigh* 'house', ScG n.f. *tràigh* 'beach'.

features in **Creag Losgaidh nan Gall**† HAR-INV^{Heb}. Four other *loisg*-names also appear to suit a beacon interpretation. Two nearby heights above the coast of Stornoway parish in Lewis ROS^{Heb} are named Cnoc Loisg.¹⁷⁴ One at NB470406 may be related to Cnoc an t-Solais STY-ROS^{Heb}, 'the hill of the light', a name which appears on OS mapping after the first edition applied to a new settlement just below **Sithean Strangoil** STY-ROS^{Heb} (which does not contain ScG *Gall*): the *sithean* may have been the beacon-site. Cnoc an Loisgein TNG-SUT, the highest point of Eilean nan Ròn in the mouth of Tongue Bay, appears to contain an unattested appellative ScG n.m. **loisgean* which is proposed by the study to mean 'beacon-site'.¹⁷⁵ This appellative may also be present in the name of Barnluasgan NKN-ARG, a settlement named from a 126m hill (with a dun at NR78719113; *Canmore*, 39168),¹⁷⁶ and in the name of the 164m hill and former settlement of Darloskine KCW-WIG.¹⁷⁷ The elongated shape of Barnluasgan NKN-ARG in particular contrasts with the round Cnoc an Loisgein, reducing the possibility of a shared figurative motivation based on ScG n.m. *losgann* 'frog, toad'. The specific may have been reinterpreted in Beinn nan Losgann NM534654,¹⁷⁸ unless the reference is to frogs or toads on the lower slopes of this 315m-high hill. The possibility of ScG n.m. *losgann* 'frog, toad' is greater in those *loskin*-names with generics implying lower locations, especially if these locations contain water, though not all are clear-cut.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ NB470406, NB496434.

¹⁷⁵ NC638656, with specific element borrowing producing Rubha an Loisgein TNG-SUT NC636660 (Fraser 1978, 88, though he records it as *Rubh' an Losgann* and interprets it with ScG n.m./f. *losgann* 'sledge' (ibid., 87, 89); not NC635661 as given by the OS). Fraser similarly interprets Cnoc an Loisgein as 'sledge hillock' (rejecting ScG n.m. *losgann* 'frog, toad') or 'burnt hillock', citing the form *Cnoc Loisgte* from an informant.

¹⁷⁶ ScG n.m. *bàrr* + ScG gen. art. *an* + ScG n.m. **loisgean*, 'the hill of the beacon site', NR789914, 1654 *Barloisken* (Blaeu Map), 1725 *Barloisken* (1745 Moll Map), 1755 *Burlaskin*, *L<och> Barlaskin* (Roy Map), 1801 *Barinluskan* (Langlands Map), 1824 *Barinluskan* (Thomson Map), 1878 *Baranloisgan* (OS 6" 1st edn), 1894×1926 *Barr an Luasgain* {MS 371, 114×5} (Robertson MSS).

¹⁷⁷ ScG n.m./f. *doire* + ScG n.m. **loisgean*, 'beacon site grove', NX270740, 1644 *Dirloskane* (*Retours* no. 114), 1636×52 *Dyrloysken* (Gordon Map 61) 1654 *Dyrloisken* (Blaeu Map), 1755 *Darloskin* (Roy Map), 1782 *Dirloskan* (Ainslie Map), 1826 *Dirloskan* (Thomson Map), 1849 *Darloskine* (OS 6" 1st edn). Interpreted by Maxwell (1930, 105) as *dúr losgann* 'water of the [sic] frogs', and by MacQueen (2008, 125) as *daire losgann* 'toad thicket, thicket where toads abound'.

¹⁷⁸ ScG n.f. *beinn* + ScG gen. art. *nan* + ScG n.m. *losgann*, 'the hill of the frogs or toads', NM534654, 1878 *Beinn nan Losgann* (OS 6" 1st edn), 1915 *Beinn na Losgann* (Henderson 1915, 162). Interpreted by Henderson (loc. cit.) as 'toad hill'.

¹⁷⁹ ScG n.m. *achadh* 'field' in the 243m hill Cnoc Odhar Auchaluskin KKC-ARG NR707438 (existing name *Achadh Losgann*, Gillies 1906, 23); ScG n.m./f. *cùilt* 'neuk' in Cuitaloskin BLA-PER NN791641; ScG n.m. *gart* 'enclosure' in 189m Gartloskan Hill SOE-ARG NR703138 from two former settlements (*Gart-losgann*, 'toad field', Gillies 1906, 23, 186, Colville & Martin 2009, 19); ScG n.m./f. *lag* 'hollow' in Lagloskine KKC-ARG NR726468; ScG n.f. *linne* 'pool' in 80m Lingloskin Hill KCM-WIG NW976679 (*linn losgann*, 'the frogs' pool', Maxwell 1930, 197, though no primary name or indication of a pool is known), and in Linloskin Bridge PEH-WIG NX393668 by a backwater of the River Cree renowned for frogs (*linn losgann*, loc. cit.); ScG n.m./f. *loch* 'lake' in Loch Loskin DKM-ARG NS169787, though the nearby farm of Dunloskin

Lexicographically, ScG n.f. *faire* 'watching, sentinel'¹⁸⁰ is shown to incorporate both watch and warning functions.¹⁸¹ Nineteen of these have generics classed as hill entities, four as hill features and one as terrain, though the distinction between hill entities and features is a blurred one. All sixteen Argyllshire and Clyde instances provide maritime views,¹⁸² but the nine northern names are all inland.¹⁸³ There is some clustering in both, illustrated by six pairs of names in shared parishes;¹⁸⁴ that is, half the corpus. It would appear that archaeology is not currently able to assist in determining which are genuine watch-sites. There is no consistency in archaeological remains to indicate anything other than coincidental association with *faire*-name sites.

It was suggested by Carmichael (*Carmina* ii, 222) that the knolls with ScG n.m. *aingeal* 'light, fire' were places of sun and fire worship, but such knolls would be appropriate locations for beacons. Putting the two names with *aingeal* in the plural aside,¹⁸⁵ being those most likely to contain the homonym ScG n.m. *aingeal* 'angel', the specific only appears in three names on OS²⁵, all with the generic ScG n.m. *cnoc* and in Argyll (mainland and Islay).¹⁸⁶ On OS¹⁰, however, are other instances of *cnoc* and, into Inverness-shire, with ScG n.m. *tom*.¹⁸⁷ The hillock at NN007310 AMN-ARG is recorded

NS169780 (*Dùn Losgann*, Gillies 1906, xxii, 208) is presumed in *Canmore* (40730) to be named from the 177m prominent hill feature Dunan NS164785, above the loch.

¹⁸⁰ To minimise confusion with ScG n.f. *faire* 'ridge, height', the sample is restricted to instances of *faire* as a specific and with a clear reference.

¹⁸¹ ScG n.m. *cnoc-faire* 'alarm-post, watch-hill', with n.m. *cnocair* as a side form, and n.m. *àrd-chnoc-faire* 'great beacon, sconce' (Dwelly, s.vv.). Simplex ScG n.f. *faire* 'watch-hill' (ibid., s.v., citing Armstrong's Gaelic dictionary 1825) may have been deduced from the toponyms.

¹⁸² Beinn na Faire CAM-ARG NR603171, Càrn na Faire GCA-ARG^{Heb} NR662546, Cnoc na Faire COO-ARG NR407959, COO-ARG NR421789, KCH-ARG NR882658, KCN-ARG^{Heb} NR293744, KKB-ARG NM790270, KKB-ARG NM820238, KKM-ARG^{Heb} NR421988, NKN-ARG NR690785, NKN-ARG NR741897, SSS-ARG NR878568, SSS-ARG NR904642, Cnoc na Faire Mòr COL-ARG^{Heb} NR390937, Cnocan na Faire KMY-BTE NR946212, Tom na Faire LAP-ARG^{Heb} NM788361. Cf. Taigh na Faire HAR-INV^{Heb} NF091992 (St Kilda), with its elevated view out to sea, where "in the old days a watchman was kept day and night to protect them from pirates who plundered their sheep and cattle" (Mathieson 1928, 127).

¹⁸³ Bac na Faire CON+LBR-ROS NH227806, Bealach na Faire GLE-INV NN066995, Càrn Faire nan Con CON-ROS NH395591, Clais na Faire CCH-SUT NH632977, Cnoc na Faire LAI-SUT NC508184, Creag na Faire CCH-SUT NH646937, Creag na Faire SNZ-INV^{Heb} NG364562, Tom na Faire KLE-INV NN118750 (OS¹⁰), Tòrr na Faire KCR-ROS NH467916.

¹⁸⁴ In Colonsay & Oronsay ARG^{Heb}, Contin ROS, Creich SUT, Kilmore & Kilbride ARG, North Knapdale ARG and Saddell & Skipness ARG.

¹⁸⁵ Cnoc nan Aingeal NUS-INV^{Heb} NF818605, Cnoc nan Aingeal KKV-ARG^{Heb} NM272237 a.k.a. Cnoc an t-Sidhein (for *Sithein*).

¹⁸⁶ Cnoc Aingil KDO-ARG^{Heb} NR317511, Cnoc an Aingil INA-ARG NN060046 and KMG-ARG NR850968.

¹⁸⁷ Cnoc Aingil LAP-ARG^{Heb} NM863439, Tom Aingil KMV-INV NN307812.

with both ScG n.m. *cnoc* and ScG n.m. *tulach*.¹⁸⁸ Similarly, use of ScG n.m. *teine* 'fire' in place-names tends to be for elevated spots, with six instances of the generic ScG n.m. *cnoc*,¹⁸⁹ two of ScG n.m. *creagan*,¹⁹⁰ and one of ScG n.m. *tom*.¹⁹¹ There are, however, instances with generics not indicating elevation.¹⁹² The generics in names with ScG n.m. *solas* 'light' generally indicate the presence of an elevated platform. The principle exceptions are water-names,¹⁹³ and Dwelly, under *solus*, reports that the term was used adjectively in Arran, where two of these names are located, and cites the example of *uisge solas*, 'clear water'. Joyce (*INP* i, 219) says An t-Uisge Solais (modern IrG n.m. *uisce*) is named for its "brilliant foaming torrent that can be seen several miles off." On the other hand, it is argued by MacQueen (2002, 61) in respect of Barsolus INH-WIG NX104566 (with ScG n.m. *bàrr* 'hill') that it indicates a light marking a postulated ford, though the parallel evidence for this from Irish names is weak,¹⁹⁴ and the name is paralleled in three Gallowegian hill-names without association with river crossings.¹⁹⁵ Camas Solais TBT-ROS NH939876 is unlikely to refer to a light for guiding vessels to shore in poor visibility, being a small feature without sand on which to effect a landing: bioluminescence is a possibility here. In addition to ScG n.m. *bàrr* in the above names, hill entities provide the generic in *solas*-names with ScG n.m. *cnoc* 'hill',¹⁹⁶ ScG n.m. *dùnan* 'knoll',¹⁹⁷ and ScG n.m. *tòrr* 'heap',¹⁹⁸ along with the hill features ScG n.f. *creag* 'rock',¹⁹⁹ ScG n.m. *ràth* 'mound'²⁰⁰ and probably ScG n.m. *coire* 'corrie'.²⁰¹ However, the parish-name Resolis RSS-ROS

¹⁸⁸ Cnoc Aingil a.k.a. Tulach Aingil (*Carmina* ii, 222); location of "Cnoc Aingil" confirmed, ex info. Brig. John M. MacPharlane, ex Taynuilt AMN-ARG, in 2012.

¹⁸⁹ Cnoc an Teine BRL-INV^{Heb} NG364229, KKE-ARG^{Heb} NM398456, KKE-ARG^{Heb} NM398456, KKE-ARG^{Heb} NM553470, KLO-INV NH469471, TOY-ARG^{Heb} NM657419.

¹⁹⁰ Creagan an Teine FRR-SUT NC797651, UIG-ROS^{Heb} NB064335.

¹⁹¹ Tom an Teine KMV-INV NN214799.

¹⁹² Dail Teine FRR-SUT NC832628, Làrach an Teine FRR-SUT NC846662, Loch an Teine HAR-INV^{Heb} NB144111.

¹⁹³ Loch Uisge an t-Solais UIG-ROS^{Heb} NB372309, Uisge Solais KMY-BTE NR884459, Uisge Solais Mhòir KMY-BTE NR889470.

¹⁹⁴ He refers to *INP* i, 219–20 (cited as 209–10), which gives several examples of fords named for *solas*, but all have a generic meaning 'ford', and Joyce cautions that that the nature of the water might be referred to in some cases (without conclusive evidence given for any).

¹⁹⁵ Barsoles BUL-KCB NX818627 and OLU-WIG NX286575, Barsolis Hill CMI-KCB NX751699.

¹⁹⁶ Cnoc an t-Solais STY-ROS^{Heb} NB477408.

¹⁹⁷ Dùnan an t-Solais KDO-ARG^{Heb} NR440520.

¹⁹⁸ Tòrr Solais ARD-ARG NM495634.

¹⁹⁹ Creag an t-Solais LDK-PER NN983488, and probably underlying Solus Craggie KDN-SUT ND004189.

²⁰⁰ Ràth-Solais (OS *Rath-soluis*) BRL-INV^{Heb} NG387342.

²⁰¹ Coire an t-Solais KKE-ARG^{Heb} NM469519 may refer to a beacon site above it. It is tempting to relate Coire an t-Solais to Càrnain (for *Càrnain*) an Amais NM465523, as 'the small cairn of the aiming, i.e. guidance', but the topography makes this unlikely; obsolete ScG n.m. *amas* 'ambush' is more likely.

NH678655, ScG *Ruigh-Sholais*, is interpreted by Watson (1904, 120) as referring to the sunny south-easterly slope on which the church sits. As there is a general northerly aspect locally, this is probably correct.

The distribution pattern shows a wide spread of these potential beacon-sites across the Highlands,²⁰² with little clustering of elements to show a dialectical preference for one over another on a geographical basis. A medieval dating for ScG *Gall* for at least some such alarm-points is apparent for the instances in Midlothian, West Lothian and Carrick,²⁰³ and for ScG n.m. *solas* in Galloway,²⁰⁴ given that the language was not toponymically productive in these areas into the modern era. The absence of ScG *Gall* in the potential watch and warning transit-names of the northern Highlands is notable.

The closest other *Goill* hill entities to the postulated model for the *Creag nan Gall* names is the 'hill' *cnoc*-names. **Knock-na-Gaul**† KCV+KIT-INV+ROS is a hill-top knoll above a mountain pass and route linking Inverness-shire and Ross-shire. The hill **Cnoc nan Gall** FRR+HAL-SUT+CAI straddles the county boundary between Sutherland and Caithness: it is traversed by the route of Cadha nan Catanach, 'the pass of the persons associated with Sutherland', which formerly gave its name to a settlement on the Caithness side, and the motivation could come from the transit of travellers, or indeed from its borderland location. As noted, there are no *Creag nan Gall* names in the northern Highlands. The other 'hill', **Cnoc Mòr nan Gall**◇ KKV-ARG^{Heb}, appears to have acquired a second, ethnonymic specific through borrowing from **Taigh nan Gall**◇ KKV-ARG^{Heb} (with a late *terminus a quo* of the eighteenth century).

The 'hillock' *cnoc*-names confirm a lack of pattern. **Cnoc nan Gall** FRR-SUT is on the flank of a larger hill and might be taken with the hill features below given its view down Strath Naver; on the other hand, its association with an enclosure may make it a pastoral reference to incomer shepherds. **Cnoc nan Gall** COO-ARG is in a vicinity

²⁰² The terms ScG n.m. *bior-fuinn* 'landmark; beacon', ScG n.m. *braidseal*, *braight(seal)* 'beacon-hill; bonfire', ScG n.m. *leus-mara* 'beacon' and ScG n.m. *rabhachan* 'warning; beacon' (Dwelly, s.vv.) have not been encountered in the toponymicon. ScG n.m. *maolan* 'beacon; bleak eminence' appears in Am Maolan TOY-ARG^{Heb} NM646264 and KKB-ARG^{Heb} NM806285, but there is no evidence with which to distinguish the meaning in either.

²⁰³ **Craingalt**† SOL-MLO, **Craigengall** TPH-WLO.

²⁰⁴ **Craigall**† CML-AYR in Carrick, and Barsoles BUL-KCB NX818627, Barsoles OLU-WIG NX286575, Barsolis Hill CMI-KCB NX751699, Barsolus INH-WIG NX104566.

productive of archaeological finds and with a folk tradition of there having been a chapel. It is best seen as being named under an antiquarian motivation in response to a local understanding of there having been earlier human activity here. Also probably antiquarian is **Knocklegoil** EKB-LAN, the site of a large cairn. Likewise, the local toponymic association with the plural of ScG n.m. *druineach* 'druid' may be associated with the unmapped (and insecurely recorded) **Cnoc nan Gall**◊ NUS-INV^{Heb} on Ronay, but the proximity of **Low-landers Chappel**† NUS-INV^{Heb}, even if across the intervening kyle on Grimsay as argued in the study, suggests a possible seasonal fishing shore-camp; west-facing but sheltered Rubha na Bùth NF889549 (for either **Rubha nam Bùth*, 'the headland of the booths', or **Rubha na Bùtha*, 'the headland of the booth') might be appropriate in this context. The topography for the low headland of **Mullach nan Gall** TIR-ARG^{Heb} with good landing-places, but open to the east, may also suggest such a resource-name.

The lack of pattern extends to the other hill-entity names. **Cruach a' Ghoill** AMT-INV is probably an alarm-point, and **Càrn nan Gall** KKM-ARG^{Heb} is a possible beacon-site. On the other hand, **Càrn nan Gall** BRL-INV^{Heb} would not make a good beacon-site, and may have been named by specific element borrowing (from **Camas nan Gall** BRL-INV^{Heb}), as may **Sgùrr nan Gall** POR-INV^{Heb} (from **Sgeir nan Gall**◊ POR-INV^{Heb}, though the reverse is also possible). **Druim a' Ghoill** KLE-INV is a good watch-point over, but not on, the route followed by an eighteenth-century General Wade road, and **Bàrr nan Gall** SKN-ARG forms one side of a small pass through which runs an established route. But **Druim nan Gall**‡ KMR-ARG is probably associated with the parish boundary, while **Drimnagall** NKN-ARG (with **Bealach nan Gall**‡ NKN-ARG) could be motivated by commemoration or domain. **Màm a' Ghoill**‡ ARD-ARG has hints of being a commemoration of some unknown incident, and **Torgyle**‡ UGM-INV, if not a watch-point, might refer to travellers on a river ferry below it (or even to exploitation of minerals, to judge from the name of the hill behind it, **Tòrr a' Chlèibh** NH302137, 'the heaped hill of the creel').

Hill feature

Incidences of generics	With adj. or gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Probable 25:	ScG n.m. <i>bac</i> 'terrace' : (1) ²⁰⁵	ROSHeb
	ScG n.m. <i>bealach</i> 'pass' : 3 ²⁰⁶	ARG, INV ^{Heb}
	ScG n.f. <i>buaille</i> 'stock fold' : (1) ²⁰⁷	INV ^{Heb} (figurative use)
	ScG n.m. <i>coire</i> 'corrie' : 8 ²⁰⁸ (2) ²⁰⁹	ARG, BNF, INV, ROS
	ScG n.f. <i>creag</i> 'crag' : 2 ²¹⁰	INV ^{Heb}
	ScG n.f. <i>leac</i> 'declivity' : 1 ²¹¹ (2) ²¹²	ARG, PER
	ScG n.f. <i>leacann</i> 'steep slope' : 1 ²¹³	ARG
	ScG n.f. <i>leargach</i> 'steep-slope place' : 1 ²¹⁴	AYR
	ScG n.f. <i>sròn</i> 'hill-spur' : 1 ²¹⁵ (1) ²¹⁶	INV
ScG n.f. <i>staidhir</i> 'stair' : 1 ²¹⁷	ABD (figurative use)	
Possible [1]:	ScG n.m. <i>coire</i> 'corrie' : [(1)] ²¹⁸	ROS

A range of hill features are involved, but ScG n.m. *coire* accounts for over a third of the total. There are five other probable ethnonymic identifications in the study, with ScG *Albannach* (gen. sg.),²¹⁹ ScG *Sasannach* (gen. sg.),²²⁰ ScG *Spàinnteach* (gen. pl.)²²¹ and two of ScG *Gàidheal* (one gen. sg., one gen. pl.).²²² Other reference to human classifications in *coire*-names is common, with thirty-one identified in Gaelic orthography in the

²⁰⁵ **Bac a' Ghoill** HAR-INV^{Heb}.

²⁰⁶ **Bealach nan Gall**∅ BRR-INV^{Heb}, **Bealach nan Gall**‡ NKN-ARG, **Bealach nan Gall** NKN+SKN-ARG.

²⁰⁷ **Buaile a' Ghoill** SUS-INV^{Heb}.

²⁰⁸ **Coire nan Gall** AMT-INV, **Coire nan Gall** KIT-ROS, **Coire nan Gall** KLE-INV, **Coire nan Gall** KMD-ARG, **Coire nan Gall** KMV-INV, **Coire nan Gall** LAG-INV, **Corrie Gaul**‡ KCV-INV, **Korynagald**‡ IVV-BNF.

²⁰⁹ **Coire a' Ghoill** GIL-ARG, **Coire a' Ghoill** KCR-ROS.

²¹⁰ **Craighenall** RED-PER, **Creag Losgaidh nan Gall**‡ HAR-INV^{Heb}.

²¹¹ **Leac nan Gall** KCH-ARG.

²¹² **Leac a' Ghoill** AFE-PER, **Leac a' Ghoill** IVC-ARG.

²¹³ **Leacann nan Gall** IVC-ARG.

²¹⁴ **Leargaidh Ghallta**∅ LGS-AYR.

²¹⁵ **Sròn nan Gall** KMV-INV.

²¹⁶ **Sròn a' Ghoill** KMV-INV.

²¹⁷ **Stair na Gall**‡ CRB-ABD.

²¹⁸ **Coire a' Ghoill** ALN-ROS.

²¹⁹ **Coire an Albannaich** AMN-ARG.

²²⁰ **Coire an t-Sasannaich** AMT-INV.

²²¹ **Coirean nan Spàinnteach** GLL-ROS.

²²² **Coire a' Ghàidheil** KCV-INV, **Coire nan Gàidheal** ARD-ARG.

current toponymicon. Of these, however, only five (16.1%) contain the genitive plural; this contrasts with the plural or adjective in 72.0% of the *Gall*-names. Eight have secular roles (five connected to violence or illegality),²²³ seven with religious reference,²²⁴ and one with a genealogical specific.²²⁵ Possible association with the boundaries of civil society may be reinforced with the fourteen non-vocational specifics,²²⁶ which in many cases can have supernatural interpretations.

ScG *Gall* might therefore refer to raiding camps (maybe as a one-off incident), with a corrie providing some shelter from the elements and view and shelter for rustled stock, but at the same time outlook from its side or lip for prey and/or protection. However, other explanations are available for most. **Corrie Gaul**† KCV-INV may be named with specific element borrowing from **Knock-na-Gaul**† KCV+KIT-INV+ROS, which relates to a pass. **Korynagald**† IVV-BNF may be directly related to a similar pass. Other *coire*-names have no through-route, and are rather associated with a boundary (parish, estate or ward) above them,²²⁷ across their mouth²²⁸ or through their middle.²²⁹ **Coire a' Ghoill** GIL-ARG, too, may have been named with specific element borrowing if not commemorating an incident, but the association of **Eas a' Ghoill** GIL-ARG with a route is unsure, and association of **Coire nan Gall** KIT-ROS with a route is weak.

Other hill features show variety. Only one, **Craighenall** RED-PER, is on borderland, being on the parish boundary. **Leargaidh Ghallta**◇ LGS-AYR with an adjectival specific is a domain-name in a broad sense, used to distinguish from other *leargaidh*-names, Largy KBD-BTE NS049243 in Arran, and Largie KKC-ARG NR678256 in Kintyre. **Leac a' Ghoill** IVC-ARG is probably as a result of specific element borrowing (and variation in grammatical number).²³⁰ The three *bealach*-names form a subset of their

²²³ With ScG n.f. *baintighearna* 'lady of rank', ScG n.m. *bàrd* 'poet', ScG n.m. *fear-bogha* 'archer', ScG n.m. *gadaiche* 'thief', ScG n.m. *greusaiche* 'cobble' (plural), ScG n.m. *mèirleach* 'robber' (plural), ScG n.m. *saighdear* 'solder' ×2, ScG n.m. *tàillear* 'tailor'.

²²⁴ With ScG n.m. *clèireach* 'cleric', ScG n.m. *sagart* 'priest' ×6.

²²⁵ With ScG n.m. *Siosalach* 'member of the family Chisholm'.

²²⁶ With ScG n.m. *balachan* 'young boy' ×2, ScG n.m. *balbhan* 'dumb person', ScG n.f. *bean* 'woman, wife' (plural), ScG n.f. *caileag* 'girl', ScG n.f. *cailleach* 'old woman; nun; malign spirit' ×5, ScG n.m. *fear* 'man, husband' ×3 (one plural, all modified), ScG n.f. *nighean* 'daughter, girl'.

²²⁷ **Coire a' Ghoill** KCR-ROS, **Coire nan Gall** KLE-INV, **Coire nan Gall** LAG-INV.

²²⁸ **Coire nan Gall** KMV-INV.

²²⁹ **Coire nan Gall** AMT-INV, **Coire nan Gall** KMD-ARG.

²³⁰ With **Leacann nan Gall** IVC-ARG, which is one of the alarm-points.

own. All but one of the nine others, however, appear to be alarm – watch and/or warning – points (the ninth, **Buaile a' Ghoill** SUS-INV^{Heb} with its figurative generic, may be a high but exposed instance of these points, or it may be a commemoration of some event). An informative example²³¹ of the warning function is unidentified **Creag Losgaidh nan Gall**† HAR-INV^{Heb}, 'the burning-crag of the *Goill*', presumably referring to a beacon.

The *Bealach nan Gall* names have no certain motivation, though there is a folktale connected to **Bealach nan Gall**◇ BRR-INV^{Heb} of raiders being stopped while using this route, and **Bealach nan Gall** on the NKN+SKN-ARG border is associated with Loch nan Eilthreach NKN+SKN-ARG, 'the loch of the pilgrims, emigrants, foreigners'. So commemoration of incidents is a possible explanation, or there may be no unity in the set, with **Bealach nan Gall** NKN+SKN-ARG potentially referring to its borderland location. There is only one other probable ethnonymic identification in the study, **Bealach nan Spàinnteach** GLL-ROS, 'the pass of the Spaniards', which relates to the Battle of Glenshiel 1719. Other reference to human classifications in *bealach*-names show only half of the twenty-two identified to be non-vocational.²³² Of the occupational specifics, only one has the genitive plural, **Bealach nam Mèirleach** TNG-SUT NC416364, 'the pass of the robbers'.²³³ None of which contradicts commemorative reference.

Fig. 32 *Goill*-names with generics for islands

Island

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Probable 11:	ScG n.m. <i>eilean</i> 'island' : 6 ²³⁴ (2) ²³⁵	ARG, ARG ^{Heb} , INV, INV ^{Heb} , ROS, SUT
	EG n.f. <i>inis</i> 'island' : 1 ²³⁶	Hebrides
	ScG n.f. <i>innis</i> 'island' : 2 ²³⁷	FIF, INV ^{Heb}

²³¹ Albeit also a perilous example, only known to have been recorded once, and not in a formal context: it was mentioned by a native of the parish in a transcribed radio broadcast, 1936×37.

²³² Assuming the subgroup of ScG n.m. *coisiche* (plural) ×3 refers to 'foot traveller' rather than 'footman; foot soldier'.

²³³ The other occupational specifics are ScG n.m. *bàillidh* 'factor', ScG n.m. *baran* 'baron', ScG n.m. *sealgair* 'hunter' ×2, ScG n.f. *baintighearna* 'lady of rank' ×2, ScG n.m. *fear-bogha* 'archer'×2, ScG n.m. *sagart* 'priest', ScG n.m. *tàillear* 'tailor'.

²³⁴ **Eilean nan Gall** KIT-ROS, **Eilean nan Gall** KLE-INV, **Eilean nan Gall** NUS-INV^{Heb}, **Eilean nan Gall** TNG¹-SUT, **Eilean nan Gall**† TNG²-SUT, **Elenyngill**† KKM-ARG^{Heb}.

²³⁵ **Eilean a' Ghoill** KKV-ARG^{Heb}, **Eilean a' Ghoill** LAP-ARG.

²³⁶ **Innse Gall**◇ ☼.

²³⁷ **Inchgall**† BGY-FIF, **Innisgall**† HAR-INV^{Heb}.

Only three other probable ethnonymic identifications in the study, all being *eilean*-names, with ScG *Èireannach* (singular),²³⁸ ScG *Lochlannach* (adjective)²³⁹ and ScG *Sasannach* (originally singular).²⁴⁰ Other reference to human classifications in *eilean*-names is common, with thirty-nine identified in Gaelic orthography in the current toponymicon.²⁴¹ Almost three quarters, twenty-eight, have occupational or religious specifics, subdivided into fifteen references to secular employment,²⁴² nine to ecclesiastics²⁴³ and four to feudal roles.²⁴⁴ Of these, only three (10.7%) contain the genitive plural, contrasting with the plural in 81.8% of the *Gall*-names and 63.6% in the non-vocational names.

All the *eilean*-name islands are small, the seven marine features being close inshore. Indeed, five are tidal²⁴⁵ and a further one a headland, perhaps formerly a tidal island.²⁴⁶ **Eilean nan Gall** TNG¹-SUT, a.k.a. OSc **Lowlandmens Yle**,²⁴⁷ in the mouth of the Kyle of Tongue, stands out among these as being the largest, having associated anchorage. Like all the *eilean*-names, it lacks its own freshwater supply, but also has a tidal link to shore. It is suggested that this was a shore-base for long-distance seasonal marine fishing, as in the *àird*- and *rubha*-names. **Eilean nan Gall** TNG¹ is also the only *eilean*-name recorded before the nineteenth century, first in 1530; though it is argued in the study that the exploitation of **Eilean a' Ghoill** LAP-ARG predates the construction of Castle Stalker on neighbouring Eilean an Stalcaire in Loch Laich, c.1540. This latter island and **Eilean nan Gall** KLE-ARG would only be reachable by shallow-draught vessels such as for a landing party from a ship moored in deeper water, but whereas **Eilean a' Ghoill** LAP-ARG

²³⁸ **Eilean an Èireannaich** EDS-SUT.

²³⁹ **Na h-Eileanan Lochlannach** \diamond SUS-INV^{Heb}.

²⁴⁰ **Eilean nan Sasannach** KMV-INV.

²⁴¹ The specifics of the eleven non-vocational names are ScG n.f. *bean* 'woman, wife' $\times 6$ (five plural), ScG n.m. *fean* 'man, husband' (single), ScG n.m. *gille* 'lad' $\times 2$ (both plural).

²⁴² With ScG n.f. *banarach* 'dairymaid', ScG n.m. *bàrd* 'poet', ScG n.m. *brìtheamh* 'judge', ScG n.m. *clachair* 'mason' (plural), ScG n.m. *clàrsair* 'harper', ScG n.m. *gobhainn* 'smith' $\times 3$, ScG n.m. *greusaiche* 'cobbler' (plural), ScG n.m. *piobair* 'piper', ScG n.m. *portair* 'porter', ScG n.m. *saor* 'wright', ScG n.m. *stalcair* 'hunter; arrow-maker; dresser of hooks; cripple; blockhead'.

²⁴³ With ScG n.m. *aba* 'abbot' $\times 2$, ScG n.m. *easbaig* 'bishop' $\times 2$, ScG n.m. *cràbhaiche* 'ascetic', ScG n.m. *naomh* 'saint' (plural), ScG n.m. *sagart* 'priest' $\times 2$.

²⁴⁴ With ScG n.m. *baran* 'baron', ScG n.m. *morair* 'lord', ScG n.m. *rìgh* 'king' $\times 2$.

²⁴⁵ **Eilean a' Ghoill** KKV-ARG^{Heb}, **Eilean a' Ghoill** LAP-ARG, **Eilean nan Gall** KLE-INV, **Eilean nan Gall** NUS-INV^{Heb}, **Eilean nan Gall** TNG¹-SUT.

²⁴⁶ **Eilean nan Gall** KIT-ROS.

²⁴⁷ Recorded once, 1583 \times 96 by Pont, and so to be treated with caution. This may represent a contemporary translation rather than a genuine Older Scots tradition.

would be extremely small, isolated at low tides by mud flats, and after c.1540 dominated by the castle, **Eilean nan Gall** KLE-ARG is seen as being another fishing shore-base, given the generic variation in its name suggested by **Rubha nan Gall** KLE-ARG, improbably applied on OS mapping to a small skerry at the end of the tidal island. **Eilean a' Ghoill** LAP-ARG instead may have served in some way in the building of Castle Stalker, or have been the scene of some related incident. **Eilean a' Ghoill** KKV-ARG^{Heb} on Loch Scridain, on the other hand, seems to form a natural landing-stage and may have had economic use, but neither the topography nor the use of the genitive singular suit explanation as a fishing shore-base. But such a function is by the same measure a distinct possibility for the headland **Eilean nan Gall** KIT-ROS on Loch Duich and tidal **Eilean nan Gall** NUS-INV^{Heb} on Loch Euphort.

The other two *eilean*-names differ in not being marine. **Eilean nan Gall**‡ TNG²-SUT is not a true island at all, but a standalone hill rising out of the haugh in the mouth of a glen by the coast. As with the other hill-entity names, various interpretations are possible. But while a watch-point is feasible, the most likely explanation is borderland location, the hill forming much of a pocket of the parish isolated from the rest by the River Borgie. The identity of **Elenyngill**‡ KKM-ARG^{Heb} is not known for sure, but assuming it is indeed one of three possible freshwater islands, the identification given in the study is one with no OS-name (though on record as *Ellan Charrin* for *Eilean a' Chàirn). This island in Loch Ballygrant had been feued to MacLean of Duart in Mull at some point before 1549 has the ruins of high status buildings of the sixteenth century. With four extant recordings, all from the seventeenth century, it is likely that the name refers to this period; it is also likely that MacLean's retainers would be speakers of Gaelic, and probably Hebridean.

A domain explanation also applies to **Inchgall**‡ BGY-FIF, but in eastern Scotland with a first recording of 1393. It could apply to the retinue of the Anglo-Norman builder of the fourteenth-century castle on a mound then an island in Loch Ore. But the early meaning of ScG n.f. *innis* as 'island', the apparent early word formation without a medial article, and the unlikely coining of a Gaelic name in Fife in the fourteenth century, all suggest that the immigrant twelfth-century Burgundian lord of Lochoreshire was responsible for bringing in the occupants referred to. **Innisgall**‡ HAR-INV^{Heb} also displays

these early characteristics, with a defended water-girt (though marine) islet. *Innis* is not otherwise attested on OS²⁵ in the Outer Hebrides, so this is probably a late scholastic coining, with antiquarian reference to the possessors of the fort.

ScG n.f. *innis* 'island' is known in the Outer Hebrides, but only in the fossilised plural of its precursor EG n.f. *inis* in **Innse Gall** ◊ ☀, properly applied to the whole of the Hebrides, and referring to their occupation by Old Norse speakers at the expense of previous cultures throughout. The term *Gall* is not precise, however: it was still in use in thirteenth-century Irish eulogies to refer to Hebridean chiefs (McLeod 2004, 24–5).

Fig. 33 *Goill*-names with generics for marine features

Marine Feature

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Probable 9:	ScG n.m. <i>bodha</i> 'reef' : 2 ²⁴⁸	INV ^{Heb} , ROS ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m. <i>cleiteadh</i> 'natural rock pier' : (1) ²⁴⁹ BTE	
	ScG n.f. <i>sgeir</i> 'skerry' : 5 ²⁵⁰ (1) ²⁵¹	ARG, ARG ^{Heb} , INV, INV ^{Heb} , SUT
Possible [2]:	ScG n.m. <i>stac</i> 'stack' : [2] ²⁵²	ROS ^{Heb}

There are only three other probable ethnonymic identifications in the study: two *sgeir*-names, with ScG *Gàidheal* (plural)²⁵³ and ScG *Lochlannach* (singular),²⁵⁴ and one *bodha*, with ScG *Sasannach* (singular).²⁵⁵ Other reference to human classifications occurs in twenty *sgeir*-names in Gaelic orthography in the current toponymicon. Most are non-

²⁴⁸ **Bogha nan Gall** SMI-ARG^{Heb}(INV), **Bogha nan Gall**† UIG-ROS^{Heb}.

²⁴⁹ **Cleiteadh a' Ghoill** KMY-BTE.

²⁵⁰ **Sgeir nan Gall** ASY-SUT, **Sgeir nan Gall** ◊ CAM-ARG, **Sgeir nan Gall** KCN-ARG^{Heb}, **Sgeir nan Gall** KKV-ARG^{Heb}, **Sgeir nan Gall** ◊ POR-INV^{Heb}.

²⁵¹ **Sgeir a' Ghoill** GLE-INV.

²⁵² **Staca nan Gall** ◊ LCH^{dtchd}-ROS^{Heb}, **Staca nan Gall** ◊ UIG-ROS^{Heb}. Both consist of a stack accompanied by three, possibly four, rocks. The accompanying rocks in LCH^{dtchd}-ROS^{Heb} are columnar, and so an alternative interpretation of 'the stack of the freestanding rocks' with ScG n.m. *gall* is feasible, despite a local tale of a wrecked ship from **Gallaibh** ◊ CAI, SSE Caithness. It is not known whether the accompanying rocks in UIG-ROS^{Heb} are freestanding. *Stac(a)*-names rarely have human classifications as a specific, and the only two identified may be supernatural or figurative in implication: *Stac a' Bhodaich* TIR-ARG^{Heb} NM043459 'old man' and *Stac an Fhir Mhaoil* LCH-ROS^{Heb} NB424167 'bald man'. But cf. *Staca an Duitseach* (for *Dùitsigh*) I/ANT Rathlin with IrG *Dùitseach* n.m. 'Dutchman' (Mac Giolla Easpaig 1990, 22).

²⁵³ **Sgeir nan Gàidheal** LAP-ARG^{Heb}.

²⁵⁴ **Sgeir an Lochlannaich** DSH-INV^{Heb}.

²⁵⁵ **Bodha an t-Sasannaich** STH-INV^{Heb}.

vocational names,²⁵⁶ with six occupational names²⁵⁷ and two religious specifics.²⁵⁸ Only two contain the genitive plural, one non-vocational and one occupational, whereas seven of the *Gall*-names contain the plural.

The most likely implication for all the *Goill* marine features is commemorative, for the wrecking of a vessel of *Goill*.²⁵⁹ Only for **Bogha nan Gall** SMI-ARG^{Heb(INV)} is there even tentative evidence of a shipwreck that might lie behind a commemorative designation, so if this is indeed the general explanation, the wrecks are probably not of the modern period.

Fig. 34 *Goill*-names with generics for sepulchres

Sepulchre

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Probable 3:	ScG n.m. <i>càrn</i> 'cairn' : 1 ²⁶⁰	ABD
	ScG n.m. <i>cladh</i> 'burial-ground' : 1 ²⁶¹	ARG ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m. <i>tobhta</i> 'mound' : 1 ²⁶²	CAI

Four other probable ethnonymic identifications in the study have ScG n.m. *cladh* as a generic, one with ScG *Cruithneach*,²⁶³ one with ScG *Èireannach*,²⁶⁴ and two with ScG *Sasannach*,²⁶⁵ all with the genitive plural. All are genuine burial-grounds, though **Cladh nan Cruinneach**† LAP-ARG^{Heb} has an antiquarian naming. It would therefore be fair to accept **Cladh nan Gall**◊ KKV-ARG^{Heb} as also genuine, but making no assumptions as to the origins of the *Goill*, other than that they probably arrived at this sea-loch location by water.

²⁵⁶ With ScG n.m. *bodach* 'old man' ×2, ScG n.f. *cailleach* 'old woman; nun; malign spirit' ×5 (one plural), ScG n.f. *nighean* 'daughter, girl' ×4, ScG n.m. *uaibhreach* 'haughty person'.

²⁵⁷ With ScG n.m. *figheadair* 'weaver' ×2 (one plural), ScG n.m. *muillear* 'miller', ScG *nighean an rìgh* 'princess, the king's daughter', ScG n.m. *tàillear* 'tailor', ScG n.m. *usal* 'gentleman, noble'.

²⁵⁸ With ScG n.m. *clèireach* 'cleric', ScG n.m. *sagart* 'priest'.

²⁵⁹ Such an incident is recorded for an Irish skerry-name, Carraig na nGall a.k.a. English Rock, said locally to commemorate the wrecking on the rock of a revenue cutter that had been pursuing a smuggler's boat (Robinson 1990, 123).

²⁶⁰ **Cairngall** LON-ABD.

²⁶¹ **Cladh nan Gall**◊ KKV-ARG^{Heb}.

²⁶² **Toftingall** WAT-CAI.

²⁶³ **Cladh nan Cruinneach**† LAP-ARG^{Heb}.

²⁶⁴ **Cladh nan Èireannach** JUR-ARG^{Heb}.

²⁶⁵ **Cladh nan Sasannach** GAI-ROS, **Cladh nan Sasannach** KNM-PER.

The probable referent of **Toftingall** WAT-CAI, however, is a grass mound covering a broch site. A knowledge or folk memory of the worked stone, perhaps reinforced by (or causing) identification of the vicinity as the site of the Battle of Skida Mire 943×954, has attached this antiquarian name to it. **Cairngall** LON-ABD is also likely to be antiquarian. There was a genuine burial tumulus here, but it proved to be without a stone core when removed in 1813. The only probable ethnonymic parallel in the study is **Càrn Sasannaich** GIL-ARG (singular), which does apply to a pile of stones.

Fig. 35 *Goill*-names with generics for shorelines

Shoreline

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Probable 20:	ScG n.m. <i>aonan</i> 'cliff' : 1 ²⁶⁶	ARG ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m. <i>bàgh</i> 'bay' : 1 ²⁶⁷	ARG ^{Heb}
	ScG n.f. <i>cairidh</i> 'weir' : 1 ²⁶⁸	ROS
	ScG n.m. <i>camas</i> 'bay' : 7 ²⁶⁹ (1) ²⁷⁰	ARG, ARG ^{Heb} , INV, INV ^{Heb} , ROS, ROS ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m. <i>caolas</i> 'narrows' : 1 ²⁷¹	ARG ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m. <i>geodha</i> 'creek' : 1 ²⁷²	ROS ^{Heb}
	ScG n.f. <i>laimrig</i> 'landing-place' : 1 ²⁷³	INV ^{Heb}
	ScG n.f. <i>mol</i> 'stony beach' : (1) ²⁷⁴	INV ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m. <i>poll</i> 'pool' : 1 ²⁷⁵	INV ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m. <i>port</i> 'landing-beach' : 3 ²⁷⁶	ARG, INV ^{Heb}
	ScG n.m. <i>sloc</i> 'coastal pool' : (1) ²⁷⁷	INV ^{Heb}

²⁶⁶ **Aonan nan Gall** KDO-ARG^{Heb}.

²⁶⁷ **Bàgh nan Gall** JUR-ARG^{Heb}.

²⁶⁸ **Corrynagald** ULW-ROS.

²⁶⁹ **Camas nan Gall** BRL-INV^{Heb}, **Camas nan Gall** GLE-INV, **Camas nan Gall** GLL-ROS, **Camas nan Gall** KBK-ARG^{Heb}, **Camas nan Gall** KLE-INV, **Camas nan Gall** LBR-ROS, **Camas nan Gall** UIG-ROS^{Heb}.

²⁷⁰ **Camas a' Ghoill** GAI-ROS.

²⁷¹ **Caolas nan Gall** KCN-ARG^{Heb}.

²⁷² **Geodha nan Gall** BVS-ROS^{Heb}.

²⁷³ **Làimhrig nan Gall** HAR-INV^{Heb}.

²⁷⁴ **Mol a' Ghoill** HAR-INV^{Heb}.

²⁷⁵ **Poll nan Gall** NUS-INV^{Heb}.

²⁷⁶ **Port Bealach nan Gall** NKN-ARG (a.1878 *Port na Gall*), **Port nan Gall** ARD-ARG, **Port nan Gall** SSS-ARG.

²⁷⁷ **Sloc a' Ghallabhaich** SMI-ARG^{Heb}(INV).

There is a wide range of generics, with only two groupings. The smaller of these, ScG n.m. *port*, does not demonstrate any pattern, with no clear motivation for any of the names. It is possible that fishing shore-camps are indicated, but the points of land associated with the *port*-names are smaller²⁷⁸ or steeper,²⁷⁹ with the exception of **Port nan Gall** ARD-ARG. A much larger set is with ScG n.m. *camas*. There is only one other probable ethnonymic identification with the element in the study,²⁸⁰ with the singular of ScG *Albannach*.²⁸¹ Other reference to human classifications is limited, with six occupational names,²⁸² against five non-occupational.²⁸³ The occupational names include the only name with a plural specific. In the absence of alternative interpretations, the possible parallel presented by the plural specific of ScG n.m. *maraiche* 'seaman'²⁸⁴ suggests naming from suitability for anchorage.²⁸⁵ It is not clear whether any such use by outsiders was a regular or a single event.

The topography and lack of firm indication of motivation place **Mol a' Ghoill** HAR-INV^{Heb} and **Poll nan Gall** NUS-INV^{Heb} with the *port*- and *camas*-names. But the various other names do have suggested explanations. Two appear to be by specific element borrowing,²⁸⁶ and three are most likely to be named for events.²⁸⁷ The most secure instance is **Corrynagald**† ULW-ROS, a fish weir in the thanedom of Cawdor but in Ross and Cromarty (and for a time incorporated as a detached part into Nairnshire). The *Goill* may have been those associated with ownership and/or operation of the weir, or, from a Nairnshire perspective, a reference to its detached location.

²⁷⁸ **Port Bealach nan Gall** NKN-ARG.

²⁷⁹ **Port nan Gall** SSS-ARG.

²⁸⁰ Also Camus nan Éireannach a.k.a. Irish Cove in Richmond County, Nova Scotia (Comhairle na Gàidhlig, <www.chebucto.ns.ca>, accessed 29 Nov. 2003).

²⁸¹ **Camas an Albannaich** KBK-ARG^{Heb}.

²⁸² With ScG n.f. *baintighearna* 'lady of rank', ScG n.m. *clàrsair* 'harper', ScG n.m. *iasgair* 'fisherman', ScG n.m. *maraiche* 'seaman', ScG n.m. *mòr-fhear* (if for ScG n.m. *morair* 'lord'), ScG n.m. *muillear* 'miller'.

²⁸³ With ScG n.m. *balach* 'boy', ScG n.m. *bodach* 'old man', ScG n.f. *cailleach* 'old woman; nun; malign spirit', ScG n.m. *trustar* 'horrid person' ×2.

²⁸⁴ *Camas na (recte nam) Maraichean* LBR-ROS NC019071.

²⁸⁵ A further name with this implication may be *Camas nan Soithechean (recte Soithichean)* ASY-SUT NC011148, with the plural of ScG n.m. *soitheach* 'vessel'.

²⁸⁶ **Aonan nan Gall** KDO-ARG^{Heb}, **Sloc a' Ghallabhaich** SMI-ARG^{Heb (INV)}.

²⁸⁷ **Caolas nan Gall** KCN-ARG^{Heb}, **Geodha nan Gall** BVS-ROS^{Heb}, **Làimhrig nan Gall** HAR-INV^{Heb}.

Sphere of influence

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Probable 5:	ScG existing name ' <i>Gall</i> -associated' : 2 ²⁸⁸	CAI, INV
	ScG suffix <i>-achd</i> 'province' : 1 ²⁸⁹	Lowlands
	ScG suffix <i>-ibh</i> 'dative plural' : 1 ²⁹⁰	CAI
	ScG n.m/f. <i>tìr</i> 'land' : 1 ²⁹¹	INV
Possible [3]:	ScG existing name ' <i>Gall</i> -associated' : [1] ²⁹²	SUT
	ScG n.m/f. <i>tìr</i> 'land' : [1] ²⁹³	WIG

The use of either of the suffixes in place-names is restricted to regional names. These are not locational suffixes, but direct references to the *Goill* which came to be synonymous with territories associated with them.

The ScG suffix *-achd* can express the office, and by extension the domain, held by a personage.²⁹⁴ It is attached to the ethnonym, used collectively, to name the two parts in the modern Gaelic perception of Scotland, viz **Galltachd**☞☼ and **Gàidhealtachd**☞☼. These descriptions have become tied since c.1700 to the geographical concepts in Scottish Standard English of Lowlands and Highlands respectively, though still retaining a cultural discernment largely belied by language statistics.²⁹⁵ The suffix is not applied to any other ethnicities, but can be applied to supra-ethnic cultural groupings such as *Crìosdachd* 'Christendom'.

The ScG suffix *-ibh* marks the dative plural, from the phrase "in amongst" (MacBain 1922, 5; Watson 1926, 29, 100), and **Gallaibh**☞ CAI has become the Gaelic county-name for Caithness. It is not found with any other ethnicities, but is similarly

²⁸⁸ **Caladal nan Gall**☞ HAL-CAI, **Galcantray**‡ CRD-INV.

²⁸⁹ **Galltachd**☞☼.

²⁹⁰ **Gallaibh**☞ CAI.

²⁹¹ **Galltair** GLE-INV.

²⁹² **Carranagaweis**‡ (unidentified) SUT, **Galdchollochoyis** KMA-PER.

²⁹³ **Drumgalder**‡ OLU-WIG.

²⁹⁴ The application to domain is explicit in Dwelly, s.vv., in respect of *bàillidhneachd* (from ScG n.m. *bàillidh* 'magistrate'), *impireachd* (ScG n.m. *impire* 'emperor'), *maorsainneachd* (ScG n.m. *maor* 'constable') and *rioghachd* (ScG n.m. *rioh* 'king'). Note also the district of *An Tòisigheachd* a.k.a. Ferintosh ULW-ROS, from ScG n.m. *tòiseach* 'thane' (Watson 1904, 114).

²⁹⁵ In the 2001 Scottish Census, only "52 per cent of all people able to speak, read or write Gaelic lived in Eilean Siar, Highland or Argyll & Bute" (*GROS* 2005, 10).

frozen in the neighbouring Gaelic county-names *Cataibh* for Sutherland and *Arcaibh* for Orkney, from the tribal designations of Cats and Orcs respectively (Watson 1926, 29). There is no supporting evidence for the claim by Moss (1979, 225–6) that ScG **Gallaibh**◇ was, from his personal recollection, still used in the twentieth century by Gaelic speakers in Caithness, Strathspey MOR and The Aird INV to refer privatively to any area without Gaelic as a traditional language (though this might explain the otherwise very precise geographical reference in **Sloc a' Ghallabhaich** SMI-ARG^{Heb(INV)} in the coastal toponymicon of Canna, at some remove from the county). The construction with ScG *-ibh* is, besides, an archaic form. Moss believed **Gallaibh**◇ became a name for Caithness following adoption by Lewis islanders, who did not have it in their lexicon, engaging in the fishing industry in the Caithness port of Wick. But it is much more likely that any borrowing was in fact of an established name for the non-Gaelic area of Caithness, latterly applied to other such districts.

The other domain-names are for much more restricted areas, places rather than territories. However, **Galltair** GLE-INV may have originally applied to a wider area than the present crofting township, to judge from its Irish parallel Gaultiere I/WAT, IrG *An Ghailltír*, which applied to a tract of land granted in the twelfth or thirteenth century to Norse settlers and is now a barony (*INP* iii, 362). The Scottish instance has no distinctive Norse link, but was in 1588 part of an estate held of the Bishop of the Isles (*Dunvegan Bk* i, 5) within the Argyll diocese (*Atlas* 1996, 360). Similarly, **Caladal nan Gall**◇ HAL-CAI is a small district, formerly Church property (Omand 1972, 129). If the Church is the common factor behind a domain-name reference to the *Goill*, this could be as owners (in the case of **Galltair** GLE-INV, Hebridean-based) or as tenants, or the reference could be to a borderland location. Borderland is also possible for **Fleenas-na-gael** ACL-NAI, recorded in 1920 by Diack (MS Nairn, 4) from a Gaelic oral source in Nairnshire as *Flionais nan Gall*,²⁹⁶ belying the Standard English orthographic representation. The farm forms a bulge of Ardclach into two neighbouring parishes, one of which, Auldearn NAI, was mainly "English"-speaking in 1822, when it was estimated that 55% of the population of Ardclach NAI spoke Gaelic (Withers 1984, 85). But the significant boundary marked by the place-

²⁹⁶ Recorded by Diack at the same time were *Flionais Mhòr* and *Flionais Mheadhanach*, clearly for Fleenasmore and Midfleenas. His notes simply state, "Fleenas na Gael Fli:naf vor, mheadhonach, nan gauL." (Diack MS Nairn, 4).

name was in fact probably an administrative one within Ardlach. At some point before completion of the county OSnb in 1871, the small district of Fleenas had been divided, with **Fleenas-na-gael** ACL-NAI (1583×96 *Flyinessbeg*, 1654 *Flanes-beg*, with ScG adj. *beag* 'small') coming under Lethen estate FYV-ABD, and Fleenasmore (with contrasting ScG adj. *mòr* 'big') remaining under local management, from Cawdor estate CDR-NAI. The name was therefore probably a domain motivation. Nearby **Galcantray**‡ CRD-INV, on the other hand, appears to be an antiquarian reference, specifying part of the district of Cantray with allusion to a Roman enclosure (*Canmore*, 15033). The model *Gall* + existing name also existed in Ireland, where in 1605 Balligalantrim† (1565 *Ballygallantry*), IrG n.m. *baile* + *Gall*-Aontroim, applied to that part of the town of Antrim I/ANT, IrG *Aontroim*, which was inhabited by the English (*PNNI* Antrim 1, 152).²⁹⁷

Fig. 37 *Goill*-names with generics for stones

Stone

Incidences of generics	With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Probable 3:	ScG n.f. <i>clach</i> 'stone' : 1 ²⁹⁸ (1) ²⁹⁹	ROS
	ScG n.f. <i>leac</i> 'slab' : 1 ³⁰⁰	ARG ^{Heb}

Clach Goil KCR+RSK-ROS relates directly to a parish boundary, and though not a boundary marker, the close proximity of **Clach nan Gall** EDT-ROS to a parish boundary may mean that this too is a borderland reference. **Leac nan Gall** KCN-ARG^{Heb}, on the other hand, is a natural landing-pier, and is probably linked to an event commemorated in two other *Goill*-names close by.³⁰¹ Among the five other probable ethnonymic identifications in the study with ScG n.f. *clach* there is support for both explanations. A tradition attached to the shoreline **Clach an t-Sasannaich** NKN-ARG (singular) relates that it was used as a place for landing stores, and **Clach na Briton** KIL-PER (plural) is believed to be a significant early boundary marker.³⁰²

²⁹⁷ 1565 *Ballygallantry*, 1605 *Balligalantrim* (*PNNI* Antrim 1, 152).

²⁹⁸ **Clach nan Gall** EDT-ROS.

²⁹⁹ **Clach Goil** KCR+RSK-ROS.

³⁰⁰ **Leac nan Gall** KCN-ARG^{Heb}.

³⁰¹ **Caolas nan Gall** KCN-ARG^{Heb}, **Sgeir nan Gall** KCN-ARG^{Heb}.

³⁰² Unidentified **Clach an Roman**◇ ARD-ARG is close to the boundary with KLE-ARG, but is recorded only as a stone on which a pedlar would rest her pack. **Leac an Fhrangaich**◇ TIR-ARG^{Heb} (singular) is apparently a grave marker, whereas the motivation for **Clachangael**‡ MLH-BNF (plural) is unclear.

Terrain

Incidences of generics	With adj. or gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym	Geographical distribution
Probable 16:	ScG n.m. <i>blàr</i> 'open space' : 2 ³⁰³	INV, PER
	ScG n.f. <i>clais</i> 'ditch' : 1 ³⁰⁴	PER
	ScG n.f. <i>cluain</i> 'pasture' : 1 ³⁰⁵	AYR
	ScG n.f. <i>coille</i> 'wood' : 1 ³⁰⁶	ARG, BNF
	ScG n.? * <i>collach</i> 'hazel wood' : 1 ³⁰⁷	PER
	ScG n.f. <i>dail</i> 'meadow' : 2 ³⁰⁸ (1) ³⁰⁹	ARG ^{Heb} , AYR, INV
	ScG n.f. <i>glac</i> 'hollow' : 1 ³¹⁰	ARG ^{Heb}
	ScG n.f. <i>innis</i> 'meadow' : 2 ³¹¹	FIF, INV
	ScG n.m/f. <i>machair</i> 'low-lying plain' : 1 ³¹² ☼	
	ScG n.f. <i>mòine</i> 'peatbog' : 2 ³¹³	ABD, FIF
ScG n.m. <i>siuch</i> 'narrow hollow' : 1 ³¹⁴	INV	
Possible [4]:	ScG n.f. <i>dail</i> 'meadow' : [(1)] ³¹⁵	ARG
	ScG n.f. <i>innis</i> 'meadow' : [(1)] ³¹⁶	FIF, WIG
	ScG n.m. <i>lòn</i> 'wet meadow' : [1] ³¹⁷	CAI
	ScG n.m. <i>monadh</i> 'hill-pasture' : [1] ³¹⁸	KCB

This disparate group has a cluster of elements where resource is possibly the motivation for the naming with ScG *Gall*. Two apparently applied to grazing land:

Glengall † AYP-AYR with ScG n.f. *cluain* and **Inchgall** ◊ KGH-FIF with ScG n.f. *innis*.

³⁰³ **Blair-na-gaul** † KIH-INV, **Blaregal** † AFE-PER.

³⁰⁴ **Glassingall** DLE-PER.

³⁰⁵ **Glengall** † AYP-AYR.

³⁰⁶ **Galcols** † FRC-BNF.

³⁰⁷ **Galdchollachoyes** † KMA-PER.

³⁰⁸ **Dail Ghall** JUR-ARG^{Heb}, **Dalgall** † KWG-AYR.

³⁰⁹ **Dail a' Ghoill** KLE-ARG^(INV).

³¹⁰ **Glac nan Gall** ◊ KKV-ARG^{Heb}.

³¹¹ **Inchgall** ◊ KGH-FIF, **Innis nan Galla** LAG-INV.

³¹² **Machair Ghallta** ◊ ☼.

³¹³ **Mingall** † FAL-FIF, **Moniegall** † CRB-ABD.

³¹⁴ **Shunagal** ◊ DRM-INV.

³¹⁵ **Dailgoil** † CAM-ARG.

³¹⁶ **Inchiguile** † SOR-WIG.

³¹⁷ **Loangall** LAT-CAI.

³¹⁸ **Munwhall** GRN-KCB.

The users of **Innis nan Galla** LAG-INV were possibly drovers, on a stance set back from the road, but could have been the incoming Lowland sheep farmers who arrived on the farm of Aberarder, the first in the locality. The exploiters of **Glengall**† AYP-AYR might be associated with Alloway Mote AYP-AYR, of possible early medieval origin (*Canmore*, 41610). Similarly, **Inchgall**◇ KGH-FIF is below a ring ditch, but the specific might otherwise relate to its location along the boundary in a thin offshoot of the parish.

Other probable resource-names are the three references to peatbogs. **Moniegall**† CRB-ABD was just across the eponymous bridge from Kindrochit Castle, a fourteenth-century royal hunting seat, and **Mingall**† FAL-FIF, was separated from its estate centre by the parish boundary. To these can be added **Bedgall**† DFL-FIF, presumed to have provided fuel for Dunfermline Abbey, though the generic is not transparent. A similar resource explanation might be applicable to other terrain-names for which there is no indication as to naming motivation.

Dail Ghall◇ JUR-ARG^{Heb}, on the other hand, is probably a transit trade-name, as there was a beach-market here for trading with visiting vessels. Some names may be commemorative, as is suggested for **Glac nan Gall** KKV-ARG^{Heb}, given its potential as an ambush or resistance point, with the topographically similar **Glassingall** DLE-PER and **Shunagal**◇ DRM-INV perhaps also sharing such a violent past.³¹⁹ In one case at least, that of **Blaregal**† AFE-PER, the reference is probably coincidental, being associated with a postulated alarm-point on **Leac a' Ghoill** AFE-PER, though it could possibly be independent, maybe as a stance on the guarded route. **Machair Ghallta**◇ ☼ is unique, however, in that it applies to the Lowlands as a whole, after they had become associated with the *Goill*. If resource-names are to be assumed for the remaining unclassified names, **Galcols**† FRC-BNF is not for timber, but as a hunting resource for the Bishop of Aberdeen, though **Galdchollachoyes**† KMA-PER appears to apply to a hazel wood, and so a food resource. More speculatively, **Dail a' Ghoill**† KLE-ARG^(INV) could possibly have been grazing land for the medieval parish church of St Munde NN08315911 on Eilean Munde LAP-ARG in Loch Leven, with reference to the clerics or, more probably, to the

³¹⁹ An apparent example of commemorative use, illustrating the danger of relying on topography, is found in *Caorán na nGall* in Carna I/GAL, 'the moor of the *Goill*'. This is said by Robinson (1990, 91) to be named for Elizabethan English soldiers stranded and starved to death here. On the other hand, this could be folk etymology, representing a further danger.

intervening post-medieval parish boundary.³²⁰ **Blair-na-gaul**† KIH-INV and **Dalgall**† KWG-AYR (apparently later known as Cranberry Moss) may have been grazing or peat resources, for unidentified users.

There are surprisingly very few other probable ethnonymic identifications in the study with terrain generics, and only one of these, with genitive plural, is related to use of the terrain as a resource.³²¹ The others are an antiquarian,³²² a figurative³²³ and two commemorative names.³²⁴

General Patterns

The distribution of probable *Goill*-names by naming motivation shows no overall pattern. A few patterns of application are apparent, however, from the above review of analysed data. The specific can be applied to various categories of people, only one of which can be described as specifying an ethnicity, variously Norse and non-Gaelic Scots:

- **Authority personnel**, in names applied to settlements servicing secular power which originates externally. This category first appears on record in 1295, for **Ballingall**† KTT-FIF, though if **Glengall**† AYP-AYR is indeed associated with the early medieval ringwork of Alloway Mote, then the name either dates back to EG *Gall* or is antiquarian. Though recorded relatively late, **Gallabhail**◇ KIH-INV and **Moniegall**† CRB-ABD probably relate directly to medieval seats of power. The last such application would appear to be **Elenyngill**† KKM-ARG^{Heb}, suggested in the study to relate to the sixteenth century. Reference can be to the centre itself³²⁵ or to a neighbouring related settlement.³²⁶

³²⁰ The boundary only came into existence following the division and absorption of the parish of Eilean Munde, which had covered Glencoe and parts of Appin to the south of the loch and Onich and Mamore to the north; the last service in the church took place in 1653 (*Canmore* 23541). It may be significant that this modern-era terrain-name is the only one with its specific in the singular.

³²¹ **Blàr nan Gàidheal** LDK-PER.

³²² **Clais nan Cruineachd** ASY-SUT.

³²³ **Mòine Fhlanrasach** DRY+KPN+PMH-STL+PER.

³²⁴ **Bad an t-Sasannaich** AFE-PER, **Dail an t-Sasannaich**† KKE-ARG^{Heb}.

³²⁵ **Elenyngill**† KKM-ARG^{Heb}, **Inchgall**† BGY-FIF.

³²⁶ **Ballingall**† KTT-FIF, **Ballingall** ORW-KNR, **Gallabhail**◇ KIH-INV, **Glengall**† AYP-AYR.

- **Ecclesiastical personnel**, in names applied to possessions of the Church. This first appears on record 1240×1332, for **Bedgall**† DFL-FIF. A probable instance is in 1588, for **Galltair** GLE-INV as land belonging to the Bishop of the Isles. If a religious rather than royal association for **Auchingalls**† CLN-BNF is accepted, based on the pattern of ScG n.m. *achadh* identified above, then this could date to 1236 × c.1400; by c.1300 at the latest it was an appropriated parish church in the diocese of Aberdeen. And if a religious association for **Dail a' Ghoill**‡ KLE-ARG^(INV) as grazing land for the medieval parish of St Munde is accepted, then this predates 1653. **Belnagauld** STD-ABD is close to the presumed site of a chapel, and may have serviced this, as similarly proposed for the semantic parallels of **Ballingall**‡ KTT-FIF and **Ballingall** ORW-KNR in relation to secular centres. (**Caladal nan Gall**◊ HAL-CAI was church estate, but see below.) **Allt nan Gall** MRV-ARG as a boundary for church property is speculative, but if so could refer to the patronage being in royal hands, as it was from 1493.
- **Economic interlopers**, in names referring to the exploitation of economic resources apparently primarily destined for external consumption. This category first appears on record in 1530, for **Eilean nan Gall** TNG¹-SUT. This may well have served as a shore-base for long-distance seasonal marine fishing, putting it in by far the biggest group in this economic category, typified by *Aird nan Gall* and *Rubha nan Gall*. The currency of economic association survived till at least the end of the eighteenth century with **Taigh nan Gall**◊ KKV-ARG^{Heb}, and probably into the nineteenth with **Innis nan Galla** LAG-INV. The activities possibly referred to are sheep farming,³²⁷ estuarine fishing,³²⁸ marine fishing,³²⁹ iron making,³³⁰ marble quarrying,³³¹ milling,³³² peat extraction³³³ and trade.³³⁴

³²⁷ **Innis nan Galla** LAG-INV.

³²⁸ **Corrynagald**† ULW-ROS.

³²⁹ **Aird Ghall**† SUS-INV^{Heb}, **Ardagaw**† AMN-ARG, **Ardnagal** LGK-ARG, **Ardnagaul** KIL-PER, **Ardinagal**† LCA-ROS, **Cnoc nan Gall**◊ NUS-INV^{Heb}, **Eilean nan Gall** TNG¹-SUT, **Mullach nan Gall** TIR-ARG^{Heb}, **Rubha Cam nan Gall** SUS-INV^{Heb}, **Rubha Ghall** GIL-ARG, **Rubha nan Gall** KKE¹-ARG^{Heb}, KKE²-ARG^{Heb}, KLE-INV, NUS¹-INV^{Heb}, NUS²-INV^{Heb}, † NUS³-INV^{Heb}, STY-ROS^{Heb}, **Rubha nan Gall Beag** TOY-ARG^{Heb}, **Rubha nan Gall Mòr** TOY-ARG^{Heb}.

³³⁰ **Tobar a' Ghoill** SSS-ARG.

³³¹ **Taigh nan Gall**◊ KKV-ARG^{Heb}.

³³² **Allt a' Ghoill** LAG-INV.

³³³ **Mingall**† FAL-FIF.

³³⁴ **Dail Ghall** JUR-ARG^{Heb}.

- **Ethnicity**, in names applied to areas dominated by a distinctive culture associated with the *Goill*. This is thought to date to the ninth, and certainly the tenth, century for **Innse Gall**◊ ☀, SSE The Hebrides, when they were dominated by the Norse. It is likely that **Gallaibh**◊ CAI refers to the north-east corner of the Highlands similarly Norse in character, though not recorded before 1775. The referent ethnicity had changed when employed from probably the seventeenth century in **Galltachd**◊ ☀ and from c.1710 **Machair Ghallta**◊ ☀ for the late medieval construct (McLeod 1999, 1) of the Lowlands.³³⁵ From the evidence of Moss (1979), it is possible that *Gallaibh* was borrowed as an appellative applied to non-Gaelic areas, associated with the speakers of Older Scots or Scots. This culture is the reference found in **Caladal nan Gall**◊ HAL-CAI, a.k.a. SSE **Scotscaelder**. At the far end of the Scottish mainland, the once-attested **Maol nan Gall**† KMN-WIG is probably a relatively late exonym, coined by passing maritime travellers, if anything more than a literary invention at all.
- **Intruders**, in names applied to points for warning by signal of incursions. Typically, these are hill entities called *Creag nan Gall*,³³⁶ the first appearing on record in 1426, for **Craigengall** TPH-WLO. Commemorative names for such incursions can also be tentatively identified.³³⁷ And a couple of *Goill*-names of otherwise unknown reference are situated physically below watch-point *faire*-names, and it has been assumed that they therefore allude to the function of these, and so are coincidental namings.³³⁸
- **Predecessors**, in names applied to archaeological remains in the environment, typically *Dùn nan Gall* for defensive remains. This category first appears on record in 1547, for **Toftingall** WAT-CAI. Also necessarily medieval, as they are names coined in Scots Gaelic in Kirkcudbrightshire and Lanarkshire, is **Dunguile**‡ KTN-

³³⁵ With the associated contrastive name **Leargaidh Ghallta**◊ LGS-AYR.

³³⁶ **Cragingalt**† SOL-MLO, **Craigengall** TPH-WLO, **Craiggall**† CML-AYR, **Creag Losgaidh nan Gall**† HAR-INV^{Heb}, **Creag nan Gall** AKE-INV, **Creag nan Gall** CRB-ABD.

³³⁷ **Bealach nan Gall**◊ BRR-INV^{Heb}, **Eilean nan Gall** KLE-INV, **Glac nan Gall**◊ KKV-ARG^{Heb}.

³³⁸ **Cleiteadh a' Ghoill** KMY-BTE and Cnocan Faire KMY-BTE, **Sgeir nan Gall**◊ CAM-ARG and Beinn na Faire CAM-ARG. Cf. the relationship between **Blaregal**† AFE-PER and **Leac a' Ghoill** AFE-PER, **Corrie Gaul**† KCV-INV and **Knock-na-Gaul**† KCV+KIT-INV+ROS, **Leac a' Ghoill** IVC-ARG and **Leacann nan Gall** IVC-ARG, **Rubha Cam nan**

KCB and **Knocklegoil** EKB-LAN. Probably a late scholarly manifestation of such application is **Innisgall**† HAR-INV^{Heb}.³³⁹

- **Wayfarers**, in names referring to legitimate travellers, entering and leaving a county or similar district on land, or sailing off the coast. This category first appears on record 1583×96, for **Korynagald**† IVV-BNF, with a settlement-name for **Cnoc nan Gall** FRR+HAL-SUT+CAI shortly thereafter in 1606. The only other inland instance, **Finnygauld**† STD-ABD, relates to the same route as **Korynagald**† IVV. Seafarers are only securely identified through names commemorating shipwreck or the result of shipwreck.³⁴⁰

Gall SUS-INV^{Heb} and **Aird Ghall**† SUS-INV^{Heb}, **Rubha nan Gall Beag** TOY-ARG^{Heb} and **Rubha nan Gall Mòr** TOY-ARG^{Heb}.

³³⁹ Others are **Cairngall** LON-ABD, **Cnoc nan Gall** COO-ARG, **Eilean a' Ghoill** AMT-INV, **Galcantray**† CRD-INV.

³⁴⁰ **Camas nan Gall** BRL-INV^{Heb}, **Geodha nan Gall** BVS-ROS^{Heb}, **Gob a' Ghoill** HAR-INV^{Heb}, **Làimhrig nan Gall** HAR-INV^{Heb}.

Map 22

Goill: ongoing interaction

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding possible names


- Borderland
- Domain



Map 23

Goill: resource-names

Probable ethnonymic place-names

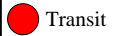
 Resource



Map 24

Goill: transit-names

Probable ethnonymic place-names



Transit

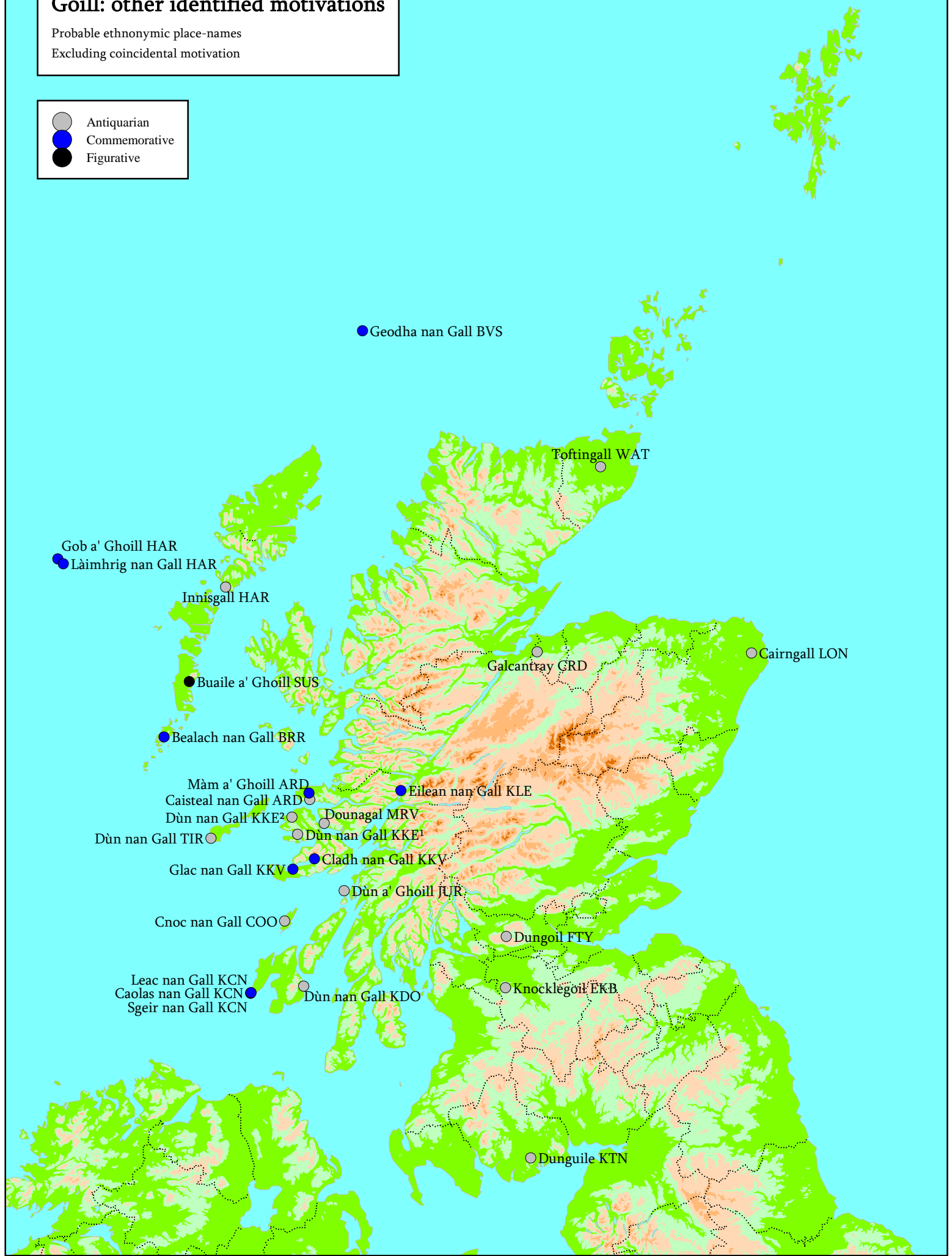


Map 25

Goill: other identified motivations

Probable ethnonymic place-names
Excluding coincidental motivation

- Antiquarian
- Commemorative
- Figurative



Map 26

Goill: unknown motivations

Probable ethnonymic place-names
Excluding possible names

○ Unknown



21 Other names related to *Goill*

Probable identifications: 4 (see Map 27, p. 264)

Possible identifications: 0

Other *Goill*-related population groups encountered in place-names in the study area are as follows, showing region of origin, then language and geographical distribution:

Scotland	OSc n. <i>Lawlandman</i> ¹	SUT
	ScS n. <i>Lowlandman</i> ²	ARG ^{Heb}
	SE n. <i>Lowlander</i> ³	INV ^{Heb}

¹ **Lowlandmens Yle**† TNG-SUT.

² **Lowlandman's Bay** JUR-ARG^{Heb}.

³ **Low-landers Chappel**† NUS-INV^{Heb}, **Lowlander's Leap**† NUS-INV^{Heb}.

Map 27

Goill: Others

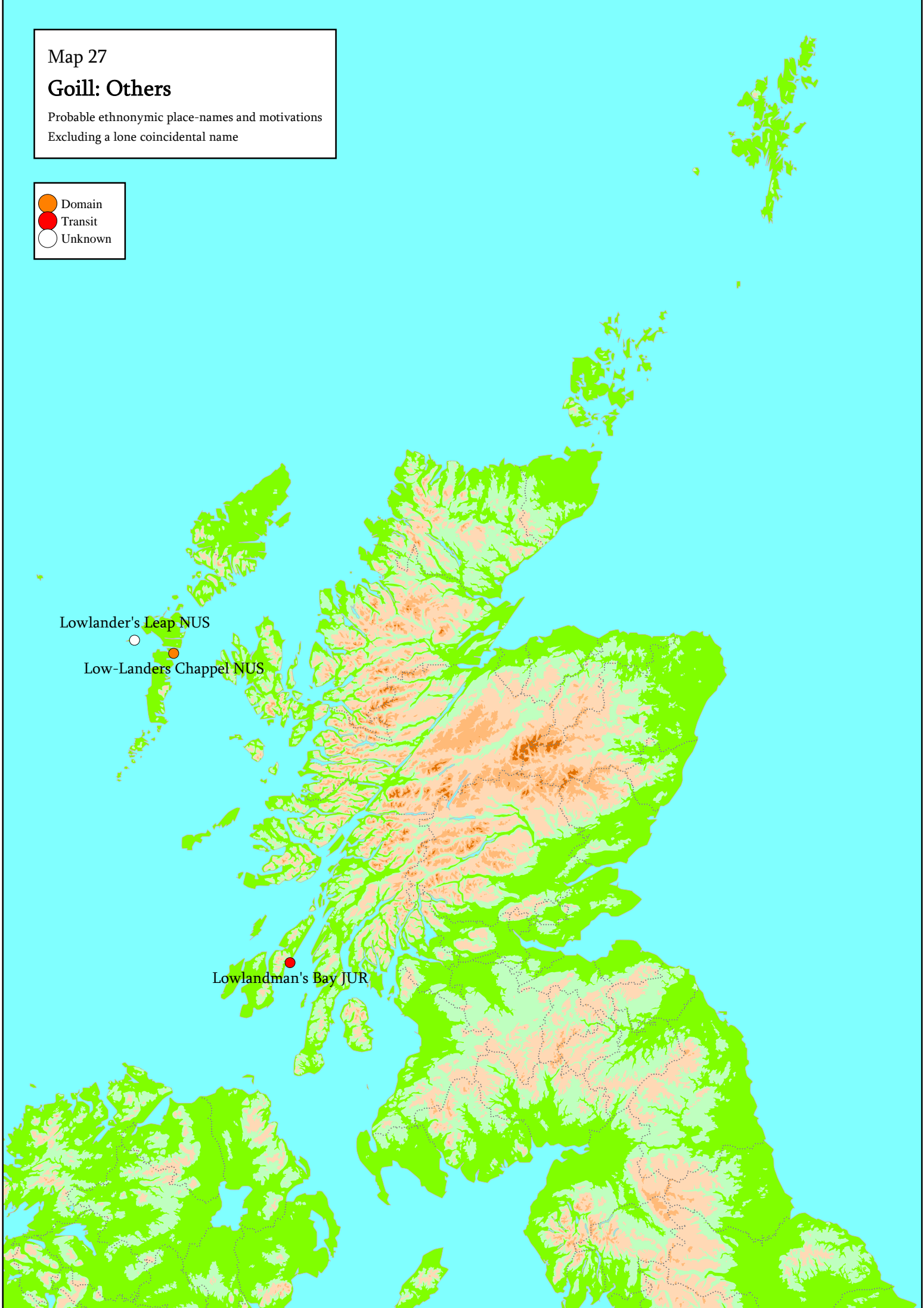
Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding a lone coincidental name

- Domain
- Transit
- Unknown

Lowlander's Leap NUS

Low-Landers Chappel NUS

Lowlandman's Bay JUR



22 Exotic ethnonyms

Probable identifications: 27 (see Map 28, p. 266)

Possible identifications: 0

Other ethnicities and population groups encountered in place-names in the study area are as follows, showing region of origin and geographical distribution:

Eastern Europe ¹	SE adj. <i>Egyptian</i> ²	ABD, BNF
	SE n. <i>Gypsy</i> ³	ELO, KCB, MOR, ROS, WIG
	SE n. <i>Pole</i> ⁴	FIF
North America	SE adj. <i>American</i> ⁵	ABD, ANG, ARG ^{Heb}
	SE adj. <i>Canadian</i> ⁶	ABD
	SE n. <i>Indian</i> ⁷	BTE, INV ^{Heb}
Asia	ScG n.m. <i>Innseanach</i> ⁸	ARG, ARG ^{Heb} , INV ^{Heb}
	SE adj. <i>Chinese</i> ⁹	ELO
	SE n. <i>Indian</i> ¹⁰	ARG ^{Heb}
	SE adj. <i>Japanese</i> ¹¹	DNB, PEB
	SE n. <i>Saracen</i> ¹²	LAN

¹ Discounted as containing ScS n. *greek* 'sandstone' is Greeksyke† LRB-STL NS8783, 1819 {saside} (Reid 2009, 179).

² **Egyptian Pot** FIN-ABD, **Egyptian Stripe** CAB-BNF.

³ **Gipsies' Cave** CRO-ROS, **Gipsies Cave** DUF-MOR, **Gipsies Grave**† GBA-ELO, **Gipsy Cave** LWT-WIG, **Gipsy Point** KRB-KCB, **Gypsy Well** KKK-KCB.

⁴ **Poles' Dump**† FAL-FIF.

⁵ **American Gairdens**◇ CRB-ABD, **American Monument**◇ KDO-ARG^{Heb}, **Americanmuir**‡ MSM-ANG.

⁶ **Canadian Brig**◇ CRB-ABD, **Canadian Camp**◇ CRB-ABD, **Canadian Road** ABG-ABD, **Canadian Road** BIR-ABD.

⁷ **Indian's Face**◇ CUM-BTE, **Sleeping Indian**◇ BRR-INV^{Heb}. Discounted is Indians BFN-STL NS521891, 1732 W.*Indeans* {parish register} (Thomson 2002, 51).

⁸ **Drochaid an Innseanaich** ARD-ARG, **Òban an Innseanaich** NUS-INV^{Heb}, **Uaigh an Innseanaich**◇ HAR-INV^{Heb}, **Uamh Sheumais an Innseanaich**◇ KKV-ARG^{Heb}.

⁹ **Chinese Bridge**† HAD-ELO.

¹⁰ **Indians' Loch**◇ KKV-ARG^{Heb}.

¹¹ **Japanese Garden** STB-PEB, **Japanese Strip** LUS-DNB.

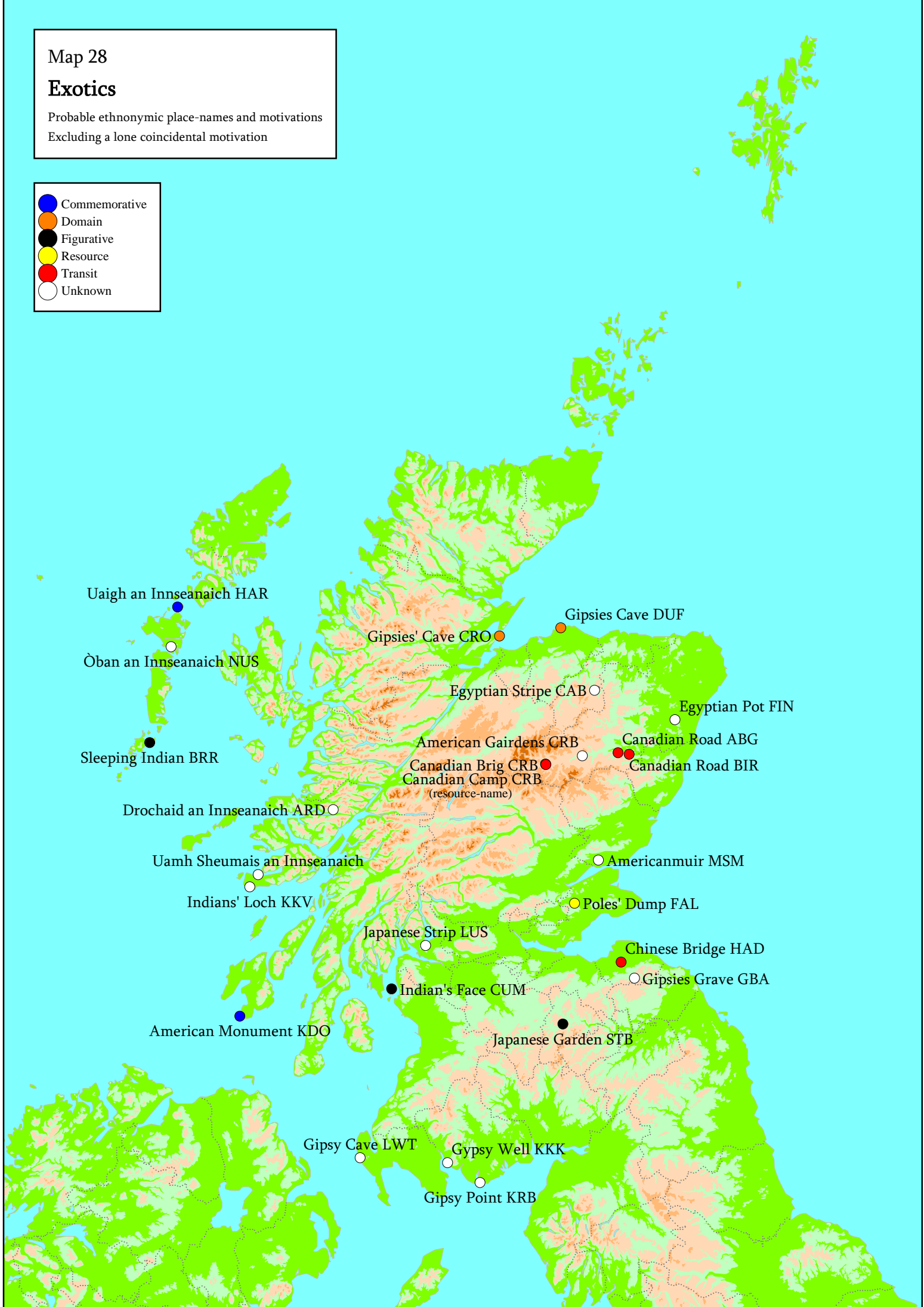
¹² **Saracen**◇ GLW-LAN.

Map 28

Exotics

Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding a lone coincidental motivation

- Commemorative
- Domain
- Figurative
- Resource
- Transit
- Unknown



Conclusion

23 Conclusion

A total of 652 place-names in Scotland and the Border Counties of England have been identified as probably containing an ethnonymic element. A further 133 possible cases, for which significant doubt over the element remains, have similarly been recorded. Analysis of the probable identifications suggests that the motivations behind the use of ethnonyms in the coining (or reinterpretation) of place-names fall into eight classifications, tabulated in Figure 39. These in turn can be grouped by the nature of interaction between ethnicities implied by the motivation: ongoing interaction is marked by reference to domain or borderland, occasional interaction by reference to resource or transit, and superficial interaction is expressed by commemorative, antiquarian or figurative names (see Chapter 1 §e).

Fig. 39 Motivations for probable ethnonymic place-names

<i>interaction</i>	Ongoing		Occasional		Superficial			not evidenced		
<i>motivation</i>	Border	Domain	Resource	Transit	Antiquarian	Commem.	Figurative	Coincidental	Unknown	Total
Albanians	8	3	1	0	0	3	0	0	2	17
Britons	1	9	1	0	4	0	0	0	1	16
Cruithnians	0	2	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	7
Cumbrians	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7
Danes	0	2	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	13
English	8	12	1	0	10	9	0	2	11	53
Flemings	0	7	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	9
French	0	4	0	1	2	6	0	0	5	18
Gaels	0	5	3	4	0	1	0	5	8	26
<i>Goill</i>	23	13	29	23	15	11	1	13	50	178
Irish	1	7	0	3	0	1	0	3	4	19
Picts	0	2	0	0	45	0	0	0	0	47
Saxons	4	7	2	2	1	10	0	0	19	45
Scots	18	17	0	2	0	2	19	5	4	67
Welsh	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4
Others	0	5	2	12	23	14	14	8	48	126
Total	63	104	39	47	116	58	35	36	154	652
% of overall	9.7%	16.0%	6.0%	7.2%	17.8%	8.9%	5.4%	5.5%	23.6%	100%

a) Interaction between ethnicities

The eight classifications of motivation for ethnonymic place-names have been designed to match the data. It is, therefore, of no surprise that names containing a probable ethnonym have been identified or proposed in the study area for each of these

classes. However, the distribution of classification is neither even across the classes, nor balanced amongst the various ethnicities. Unknown and coincidental classifications aside (here and henceforth), two motivations stand out, antiquarian with 25.1% of the remaining corpus of 462, and domain with 22.5%. Other motivations are less frequent, but all are of some significance: borderland 13.6%, commemorative 12.6%, transit 10.2%, resource 8.4%, figurative 7.6%. Motivations indicating a superficial level of interaction (antiquarian, commemorative, figurative) explain many of the names evidencing contact (209, 45.2%), but those indicating a more substantial interaction, either ongoing or occasional, between namers and named form the majority (253, 54.8%). Of these, approaching twice as many demonstrate ongoing interaction between ethnicities at the time of naming as demonstrate occasional interaction (167, 36.1%, to 86, 18.6%).

The data in Figure 39 show little if any interaction has been preserved in the toponymicon of some ethnicities. Cruithnians and Picts are so named only in archaic literary terms for their ethnic domain as a whole.¹ The Danes appear only twice,² the Welsh but three times;³ in all five instances as domain-names. Indeed, occasional interaction is heavily clustered in the *Goill*-names, with fifty-two (60.5%) of a total of eighty-six such place-names. Fifty-nine point one per cent of the eighty-eight significant interaction-names mentioning the *Goill* refer to this occasional interaction, more than the toponymicon of any other individual ethnicity (next highest are Gael-names at 58.3%, but amounting to only seven). This notable anomaly is made up of twenty-nine resource motivations and twenty-three for transit, and reinforces the semantic distance of ScG *Gall* from reference to an ethnicity.

Domain motivations are unique in being present in every ethnonymic toponymicon. All six Cumbrian-names are domain. The seven Fleming-names represent 87.5% of eight, perhaps as an incoming ethnicity filling an economic niche. Other ethnonyms have large clusters, with nine Briton-names, twelve English-names, thirteen *Goill*-names and seventeen Scot-names, but only in the Briton-names is this a dominant figure, accounting for 60.0% of the toponymicon.

¹ **Cruitheanchlár**† ☼, **Cruithentuath**† ☼, **Pictavia**† ☼, **Péttland**† ☼.

² **Danna** NKN-ARG, **Denbie** DTN-DMF.

³ **Wauchope**‡ HOB-ROX, **Wauchope**‡ LHM-DMF, **Waughton** PRK-ELO.

Borderland motivations are more restricted in their ethnic spread, only being found in names mentioning Albanians, Britons, English, *Goill*, Irish, Saxons or Scots. The bigger numbers of these are twenty-three *Goill*-names and eighteen Scot-names, but the biggest proportion of any one ethnonymic toponymicon is to be found in the eight Albanian-names (53.3% of known motivation). Names with resource and transit motivation – the occasional interaction-names – are dominated by *Goill*-names. The numbers for such motivations are low or non-existent for other ethnonyms, with the notable exception of six transit Highlander-names,⁴ to be taken with four similarly motivated Gael-names (albeit applied to generally bigger features).⁵ It is as if the interaction between Highland Gael and the Lowlands, as seen from two opposite linguistic viewpoints in the modern period, relied on effort of travel by the Highlanders-cum-Gaels.

In terms of classifications of ethnic interaction outlined in the study rationale, domain-motivated names generally suggest minimal resource competition (assuming a high degree of rural self-sufficiency), with the Flemings furthermore filling an economic niche. Competition within the same economic niche is not shown, perhaps due to the inherent instability of such interaction. Interaction between territories is not well demonstrated by borderland-names, with the exception of modern-period names on the Anglo-Scottish border. However, long-range economic contacts by both land and sea are revealed by transit- and resource-names.

Though motivations referring to superficial interaction have little to say on direct contact, they can still relate consciousness and perceptions of an ethnicity, and perhaps passing contact. Commemorative motivations are clustered, with nine English-, ten Saxon- and eleven *Goill*-names, the latter two in particular serving to balance the picture of Gaels travelling south and east with that of outsiders present within the Highland line. But with trauma so often at the root of commemorative motivation, they also serve to

⁴ **Hielanman's Well**◊ LOI-STL, **Highlanders' Ford**† TUF-ABD, **Highlandman Loan** CRF-PER, **Highlandman's Haugh** CAP-PER, **Highlandman's Road** RHU-DNB, **Highlandmen's Steps**† CLU-ABD.

⁵ **Cachla nan Gàidheal**† COM-PER, **Rathad Mòr nan Gàidheal**† AAR+LUS+RHU-DNB, **Rathad Mòr nan Gàidheal**† INB+KIH-INV, **Stairsneach nan Gàidheal** DDY+MDL-INV.

emphasise the difference in relationship.⁶ By far the biggest cluster of names with antiquarian motivation is of Pict-names. At forty-five, this is 95.7% of the Pict-name toponymicon of known motivation; all apart from two archaic territorial names. Most of the probable Dane-names (eleven; 84.6%), Cruithnian-names (five; 71.4%) and nineteen Roman-names of known motivation (fifteen; 78.9%) are likewise antiquarian. Ideas of history have informed these names. Figurative motivations similarly rely on stereotypes, but rather than refer to past peoples, they utilise contemporary images. (Figurative Scottish Standard English Roman-names might be thought an exception, but the allusion in these to a high-bridged nose draws on a cultural motif of the time; *OED*, s.v.).⁷ There is only a narrow spread of such motivations among the individual ethnonyms, with just nineteen Scot-names (32.8%) and one apiece for the Flemings (comparison of terrain) and the *Goill* (inaccessible pasture); the Scot-names refer to older techniques or technology. Figurative motivation is, however, behind a fifth (20.0%) of the names with the "Other" and exotic ethnonyms. These names refer to the Dutch (house design,⁸ and comparison to hat⁹ and boat styles),¹⁰ Germans (perceived form),¹¹ Highlanders (requirement of physical prowess),¹² Irish "Paddy" (gateway marker),¹³ Japanese (garden design),¹⁴ North American Indians (perceived form),¹⁵ Romans (perceived form)¹⁶ and Swiss (house design).¹⁷

b) Application of ethnonyms

The table in Figure 40 summarises the application of the ethnonyms, over time and by language. The time periods are of necessity broad and blurred, given the variability of data and the obscurity of dates of coining in most cases, and the difficulty in

⁶ There are commemorative motivations for Highlander-names, but of the five **Highlanders Nose**† KLE-INV is in the Highlands and **Highlandman's Dyke**† ALV+KED-BNF+ABD is passive. The only commemorative motivation for the Gaels is in **Loch nan Gàidheal** KKV-ARG^{Heb}, in which any external interaction would be with excisemen.

⁷ **Craig Roman** BGE-PER, **Roman**‡ TOW-ABD, **Roman Hill** MON-ANG.

⁸ **Dutch Cottage** GOL-SUT, **Dutch House** MPK-AYR.

⁹ **Dutchman's Cap** KKE-ARG^{Heb}.

¹⁰ **Dutchmanstern** PTP-WIG.

¹¹ **German Soldier**◊ DRM-INV.

¹² **Highlandman's Walk** DAI-AYR.

¹³ **Paddy's Milestone**◊ DAI-AYR.

¹⁴ **Japanese Garden** STB-PEB.

¹⁵ **Indian's Face**◊ CUM-BTE, **Sleeping Indian**◊ BRR-INV^{Heb}.

¹⁶ **Craig Roman** BGE-PER, **Roman** TOW-ABD, **Roman Hill** MON-ANG.

¹⁷ **Swiss Cottage** BLE-MOR.

meaningfully comparing the different data sets, but give a useful picture of general shifts in application.

Fig. 40 Ethnicity by era

<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>Early to High Middle Ages</i>	<i>from c.1300 Late Middle Ages</i>	<i>from c.1560 Modern Period</i>
Albanians	Scotians ScG	Scotians ScG	Scots ScG
Britons	British ON ScG	—	†British SSE
Cruithnians	Picts EG	—	†Picts ScG
Cumbrians	British ON OE	—	—
Danes	East Scandinavians ON	—	†Scandinavians SSE
English	English OE OSc	Anglophone Scots OSc	English OSc ScS SSE
Flemings	Flemings OE	Flemings OSc	— ¹⁸
French	French BrB	French OSc ScG	French ScG SSE
Gaels	Gaelophones EG	—	Scottish Gaels ScG
<i>Goill</i>	Scandinavians EG	aliens & Anglophones ScG	aliens & Anglophones ScG
Irish	Hiberno-Norse ON EG	Irish OSc ScG Scottish Gaels OSc	Irish ScG SSE
Picts	—	trolls ON	trolls & †Picts ScS SSE
Saxons	Northumbrian BrB EG OE	English ScG	English ScG
Scots	Scotians ON OE	Scottish Gaels OSc	Scots ScS SSE
Welsh	—	Romance-speakers OSc	Welsh SSE

For some ethnicities, there is no appreciable change, though of course what it meant to be Flemish or French will have changed over the centuries. Some have ceased to be productive by the end of the High Middle Ages, only to be resuscitated in modern times for antiquarian names; some are not even known to be toponymically represented in the earlier period. These applications, indicated in the table by the dagger symbol, are to the Celtic British (Britons), Picts (Cruithnians, Picts) and Scandinavians (Danes, Norse). One ethnicity, the Picts, moved over into mythical beings in Old Norse (as happened with ON *Finnr*), and the study suggests that this application continued with language shift into Shetlandic Scots. The English ethnicity also ceased to apply toponymically to the ethnic

¹⁸ The sole example from the modern period, figurative **Mòine Fhlanrasach** DRY+KPN+PMH-STL+PER, is scarcely evidence for the ethnonym.

English, but moved over to Scots typically speaking Older Scots, before moving back to apply to those of English nationality. Early Gaelic Gael-names could refer to mixed-culture societies speaking the language.¹⁹ ScG *Gàidheal* became toponymically productive in the modern period, in self-referential place-names: the only ethnicity to refer to the Gaels in new names of this period, in an expression of ethnicism. Gaels are indicated in the Late Middle Ages, in some cases, with OSc *Erish*, but it is also found applied to Irish. *Goill* is shown to have had mixed application, not retaining proper ethnic status.

There are two pairs of ethnicities which have shared their application patterns. Cruithnian-names in Gaelic and Pict-names in Scots and English have been applied with antiquarian motivation to the Picts in the modern period, suggestive of semantic development in parallel under the influence of close linguistic interaction. Similarly, Gaelic Albanian-names and English Scot-names applied to those associated with the eastern region called *Alba* and *Scotia*, and in the modern period to members of the Scottish nation. But in the meantime, summarised here as the Late Middle Ages, Older Scots used the ethnonym to refer to Scottish Gaels, something for which there is no evidence with ScG *Albannach*. There is no clear dating of the names, but the impression – it can be no stronger from the available data – is that ScG *Albannach* continued to be used to refer to someone from the area of *Scotia* into the Late Middle Ages. If not anyone from *Scotia*, it is conceivable that it now specified someone from *Scotia* who primarily spoke the ascendant language of that region, Older Scots, though without further research this must remain speculative.

c) Name generics and name survival

The range of generics combined in place-names with probable ethnonymic specifics is extensive. It includes all the general categories of feature employed in the study – relief (167 identified), passage (27), land-use (45), settlement (228), inland water (60) and marine (105) – and most of the subcategories.²⁰ It would seem that ethnonyms can be applied to any kind of feature, though it is notable that there is no evidence of hill

¹⁹ **Gall-Ghàidhealaibh** ✨, **Galloway** ✨ (e.g. Clancy 2008) and possibly **Argyll** ✨ (Jennings & Kruse 2009, 99).

²⁰ Not for land object, marine passage, topographical district or waterway.

ranges or large rivers being so named. It would therefore appear that there is no general theory applicable to generics in ethnonymic names, though the case with individual ethnonyms has been considered in the chapters dealing with the various ethnicities.

Place-names are only as permanent as society chooses to make them. Of the 652 probable ethnonymic instances in the database, 153 (23.5%) are obsolete, defined for the study as not reported in or after 1950 (though this gives no reliable indication as to how many names have been lost without trace). The level of status and recognition attached to a name has a significant part to play in determining whether that name survives migration to another, usually nearby, location, transfer to a second, distant feature, incorporation in a secondary name, or reapplication in a conscious return to earlier practice. Status is suggested by the nature of the feature, e.g. a parish may be higher than a village, which may be higher than a farm, which may be higher than an obsolete name (Nicolaisen 2001, 47); it has been of particular relevance to the study if it reflects the relative status of the ethnonym contained. Of probable ethnonymic names in the database, sixty-eight (10.4%) are apparently extant but do not have the status to feature, or have their status enhanced by featuring, on modern OS mapping (though the very fact that this kind of name is unmapped greatly reduces the possibility of it having been recorded for the study).

Where the ethnonym element has remained transparent, changing attitudes to the ethnicity or the ethnonym itself can have an impact on a place-name's maintenance, typified in the study by SE *Paddy*, a byname for an Irishman now usually regarded as pejorative. A place-name can also fall obsolete by design, for example by an act of formal renaming, by abandonment following a period in which multiple names applied to the same feature, or by incorporation or division. But it can also become obsolete by accident, for example with change of use altering the nature of a feature (e.g. by afforestation or urbanisation),²¹ change of topography extinguishing the feature (e.g. by quarrying or open-cast mining), or change of language leading to the weakening, even loss, of its associated toponymic tradition (the fate to a large extent of the Pictish toponymicon).²²

²¹ E.g. **Scotsblair**‡ KTL-DNB, lost under expansion of the town of Lenzie. The farm-name has been preserved in a street-name; though it is a useful warning for urban toponymics that the site of the farmhouse lies under an adjacent housing scheme to that served by Scotsblair Avenue.

²² For a review of the present state of knowledge of the Pictish toponymicon, see Taylor 2011.

d) The nature of groups and individuals

Where members of an ethnicity are directly referred to in a place-name, the people can in theory be categorised by the markers for lateral and vertical pre-modern ethnicity as identified by Smith (1986, 76–7). For a lateral ethnicity, extensive in coverage, but weak in penetration down the social scale, the typical members were aristocratic, with clerical and scribal strata, plus a few wealthy urban merchants. For a vertical pre-modern ethnicity, intensive in social penetration, but more exclusive in nature and often religious in quality, the typical members would be either urban-based, priestly, trading and artisan, or a loose coalition of clans, and form (in the context of the study area) either frontier ethnicity or diaspora/sect ethnicity. The patterns of ethnonymic place-names in the study do not reflect these circumstances, with no ethnicity predominantly urban or aristocratic. The Flemings are seen to be linked to the wool trade on behalf of monastic networks, and so come closest to a diaspora ethnicity, but are only toponymically named in a rural context. Otherwise, the ethnonymic data in the place-names, by themselves, have little to say on the issue. A further categorisation on which the data has proven to be silent is gender: no female form of an ethnonym has been found by the study.²³ This is not to say that females were never implicitly included in groups referred to, but that no name is known in which a female individual, or predominantly female group, is the subject of the specific element.

However, the study does highlight three relationships between groups or individuals and features with an ethnonymic place-name. Further, there is evidence of ethnicism in one ethnicity, the Gaels, being reflected in the toponymicon.

Classification of named groups and individuals

An *overlord* is defined for the purpose of the study as a nation, proprietor, feudal superior or other dominant force exercising control or influence over exploitation of the feature. Most likely to fall into this category in the modern period is a borderland-name

²³ Scottis-wiffis-brig† MML-FIF NO319142, 1540 (*RMS* iii no. 2136), is judged to be 'Scott's wife's bridge', with her husband's anthroponym.

referring to an Albanian (MacDonald of Glenalladale)²⁴ and contrasted with a name referring to a modern Saxon (Mr Astley),²⁵ and an isolated portion of an estate of *Goill* (Lethen estate in Aberdeenshire);²⁶ in the Early or High Middle Ages, Saxon control over a maritime "border" island,²⁷ fortification domain-names referring to Britons,²⁸ a former Anglian settlement as a high status Cumbrian domain,²⁹ the domain of a French colonist (Roger Francis),³⁰ the fortification of *Goill* (associated with Robert the Burgundian);³¹ and in the Late Middle Ages, episcopal property of Scots (associated with the Bishop of Dunkeld),³² episcopal property of *Goill* (associated with the Bishop of the Isles),³³ an island seat for an estate of *Goill* (associated with MacLean of Duart),³⁴ a peatbog resource serving a royal hunting seat of *Goill* (associated with Robert II),³⁵ and an isolated property of *Goill* (associated with the Stewarts).³⁶ It is notable that all but the modern contrasting pair have an ethnonymic specific in the plural,³⁷ despite being subject to a single overlord at any one time (with the possible exception of the Saxon island, and just possibly the British forts). But rather than seeing the plural in these names as necessarily referring to the resident followers and/or family, it is possible that they mark a recognition of the heritable nature of the possession. This is commonly found in extant Gaelic names naming overlord families, such as the planned village of *Baile nan Granndach*, 'the settlement of the Grants', SSE Grantown-on-Spey CIA-MOR, laid out in 1765 to 1766 by the laird, Sir James Grant (Smith 2001, 444).

An *interloper* is defined by the study as an incomer from one ethnicity amid inhabitants of another. Such an incomer can have benign intent, as for non-competitive

²⁴ **Sgùrr an Albannaich** AMT-INV.

²⁵ **Sgùrr an t-Sasannaich** AMT-INV.

²⁶ **Fleenas-na-gael** ACL-NAI.

²⁷ **Allasan**† DAI-AYR.

²⁸ **Cair Brithon**† DUM-DNB, **Dumbretton** ANN-DMF, **Dumbryden**† COT-MLO; on the basis that fortification demonstrates a degree of status.

²⁹ **Cummercolstoun**† HAD-ELO.

³⁰ **Frenchland** MOF-DMF.

³¹ **Inchgall**† BGY-FIF.

³² **Karramund Scottorum**† CRM-MLO.

³³ **Galltair** GLE-INV.

³⁴ **Elenyngill**† KKM-ARG^{Heb}.

³⁵ **Moniegall**† CRB-ABD.

³⁶ **Aikengall** IWK-ELO.

³⁷ The ethnonyms in **Cummercolstoun**† HAD-ELO and **Frenchland** MOF-DMF are in apposition to the generic, and so with plural implication.

resource extraction, or seek mutual benefit, as for trade, or demonstrate belligerence, as with military intervention. The incomer can intend a temporary, repeat or permanent presence, or have an incidental association rendered permanent through burial. Those names for which established explanations and context as to why the ethnicity were present have been determined (while accepting the danger that some such explanations may in fact be folkloric)³⁸ are all from the modern period, apart from a minority of belligerence commemorations from the Late Middle Ages.

These belligerence-names refer to troops considered to be English and Saxon in the Anglo-Scottish wars of the fourteenth century,³⁹ to Saxons in some indeterminate military context,⁴⁰ and to a Hebridean raider in Orkney,⁴¹ similarly of unclear date. The belligerents of the modern period are again referred to as English and Saxons, from the wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries;⁴² also a subsequent garrison watch-point⁴³ and a poacher who died while trying to escape capture.⁴⁴ The hanging of raiders in 1689 is marked by a Highlander-name,⁴⁵ and the defeat of an undated (and possibly folkloric) raid by mainlanders by a *Goill*-name.⁴⁶ The only name of this kind in the study area south of the Anglo-Scottish border marks the defeat of a band of seventeenth-century moss-trooper bandits.⁴⁷ Also operating outwith normal military structures was a force of Spanish Armada troops employed as mercenaries in 1588,⁴⁸ but the Spaniards in the Jacobite rising of 1719 were acting on behalf of their government.⁴⁹ French pirate ships or warships are recalled in a couple of names,⁵⁰ and the sailors of a Dutch East Indiaman in

³⁸ E.g. **Irishman's Corrie**◊ DRM-INV, deemed to be a translated reinterpretation of its alternative, Coire an Eireannaich◊, 'the corrie of the wedder goat'.

³⁹ **Englishmen's Syke**◊ GAS-SLK, **Glen Sassunn** FTL-PER.

⁴⁰ **Lag nan Sasannach** KBD-BTE.

⁴¹ **Highlandman's Hamar** WRY-ORK.

⁴² **Bad an t-Sasannaich**◊ AFE-PER, **Englishfield**† CIE-ABD, **Englishmen's Den** FEC-KCD, **Field of the English** CRD-INV.

⁴³ **Toum Scalan n Sasnich**† CRB-ABD.

⁴⁴ **Englishman's Loup** MGF-KCB.

⁴⁵ **Highlandmen's Mossie** GLS-BNF^(ABD).

⁴⁶ **Bealach nan Gall**◊ BRR-INV^{Heb}.

⁴⁷ **Scot's Gap** BELL-NTB; there is indeterminate tradition of a battle at **Scots-Croft**† BOOT-CMB.

⁴⁸ **Port nan Spàinnteach** ARD-ARG.

⁴⁹ **Bealach nan Spàinnteach** GLL-ROS (with **Coirean nan Spàinnteach** GLL-ROS and **Sgùrr nan Spàinnteach** GLL-ROS).

⁵⁰ **Frenchman's Rock** BOR-KCB, **Frenchman's Rocks** KCN-ARG^{Heb}.

1674.⁵¹ What is notable with all these belligerents apart from the post-Jacobite garrison, is that they have been unsuccessful: they have been defeated, killed or sunk.

Death of travellers at sea brought by wreck or tide, who might not otherwise have landed in the study area, are benign to the local community that deals with the body (apart from the fear of fever, which in at least one instance lead to a hasty *in situ* burial).⁵² The fact that these incidents are all named in Gaelic is surprising, but perhaps explicable in terms of the sea conditions of the Atlantic and the west coast. The ethnicity most named is that of the Saxons with three names,⁵³ with one Irish-name,⁵⁴ and an Indian sailor⁵⁵ and a Spanish-name for three Portuguese;⁵⁶ a Manx vessel is mentioned, but it is not known how the crew fared.⁵⁷ Death also comes to a stranded Englishman in Mull, if the tale of his eventual murder is to be believed,⁵⁸ and for the workers who died while exploiting iron ore in Ross-shire.⁵⁹ These, the several names associated with shore-camps for long-distance fishing, and the quarry-workers named as *Goill* and Saxons,⁶⁰ are not considered to be engaged in activity of mutual benefit. Although indigenous or indigenised landowners might be involved, the local community is not known to be a direct benefactor to any appreciable degree. The only benign intruders inspiring a name in the study south of the Border are, uniquely, French refugees who received asylum from persecution during the French Revolution.⁶¹

Those interlopers from which mutual benefit was seen to accrue fall into two main groups. From the twentieth century come names of allies during the World Wars, with a memorial to Americans in the first,⁶² and to the presence of Canadian forestry

⁵¹ **Hollanders' Grave** NMV-SHE, with **Hollanders' Ayre** NMV-SHE.

⁵² As reported for **Uaigh an Innseanaich**◊ HAR-INV^{Heb}, note also that those buried at **Cladh nan Èireannach** JUR-ARG^{Heb} were reportedly the victims of an onboard fever.

⁵³ **Geodha an t-Sasannaich**◊ UIG-ROS^{Heb}, **Port an t-Sasannaich** NKN-ARG, **Rubha Sasannaich** KBK-ARG^{Heb}.

⁵⁴ **Cladh nan Èireannach** JUR-ARG^{Heb}.

⁵⁵ **Uaigh an Innseanaich**◊ HAR-INV^{Heb}.

⁵⁶ **Uaighean nan Spàinnteach**◊ BRR-INV^{Heb}.

⁵⁷ **Manxman's Rock** KMN-WIG.

⁵⁸ **Dail an t-Sasannaich**† KKE-ARG^{Heb}.

⁵⁹ **Cladh nan Sasannach** GAI-ROS.

⁶⁰ **Rubha an t-Sasannaich** MRV-ARG, **Taigh nan Gall**◊ KKV-ARG^{Heb}, **Tobhta nan Sasannach**◊ KKV-ARG^{Heb}.

⁶¹ **Frenchmen's Row** CAST-NTB.

⁶² **American Monument**◊ KDO-ARG^{Heb}.

workers⁶³ and Polish troops in the second;⁶⁴ only one of these names has been added to OS mapping. Older names relate to trading by *Goill*, French and Dutch,⁶⁵ illicit trading by Manxmen,⁶⁶ droving by Highlanders,⁶⁷ and the import of Highland labour and Welsh expertise.⁶⁸

A *native* is defined by the study as a member of an indigenous or indigenised ethnicity, whether the natives represent the regionally dominant ethnicity, or maintain a marginalised one, possibly in the minority, in the face of ethnic shift from the ethnicity.⁶⁹ Where they are considered dominant, a territorial name is not uncommon, as found from the Early or High Middle Ages for the Cruithnians,⁷⁰ Cumbrians,⁷¹ English,⁷² Gaels,⁷³ Picts,⁷⁴ Saxons⁷⁵ and Scots.⁷⁶ None was formed in the Late Middle Ages, but the format became productive again in the modern period, with a new Gaelic consciousness of Scotland divided between the Gaels⁷⁷ and the *Goill*⁷⁸ (reflecting a divide which was not described in ethnic terms in Scots and English, but by the contrasting and generalising topographical terminology of Highland and Lowland). The Gaels also stand apart in the names for geographical spots, as opposed to regions; they are the only ethnicity in the study area to have named places for themselves in their own associated language within their own territory.⁷⁹ These emic Gael-names are recorded from 1603, coincidentally in the same

⁶³ **Canadian Brig**◊ CRB-ABD, **Canadian Camp**◊ CRB-ABD, **Canadian Road**◊ ABG-ABD. Presumably also **Canadian Road** BIR-ABD.

⁶⁴ **Poles' Dump**◊ FAL-FIF.

⁶⁵ **Dail Ghall** JUR-ARG^{Heb}, **Rubha nam Frangach** INA-ARG, **Hollanders' Knowe** LWK-SHE.

⁶⁶ **Manxman's Rock** BOR-KCB.

⁶⁷ **Highlanders' Ford**† TUF-ABD, **Highlandman Loan** CRF-PER.

⁶⁸ **Highlandman's Dyke**† ALV+KED-BNF+ABD, **Welshman's Rock** SMI-ARG^{Heb (INV)}.

⁶⁹ As for *Walh*-names in England.

⁷⁰ **Cruitheanchlár**† ☼, **Cruithentuath**† ☼.

⁷¹ **Cumberland**† ☼, **Cumbria** ☼, **Kumraland**† ☼.

⁷² **Angelcynn**† ☼, **Angelðeod**† ☼, **England** ☼.

⁷³ **Argyll** ☼, **Gall-Ghàidhealaibh**◊ ☼, **Innse Gall**◊ ☼.

⁷⁴ **Péttland**† ☼, **Pictavia**† ☼.

⁷⁵ **Sasainn**◊ ☼, **Saxland**† ☼.

⁷⁶ **Scotland** ☼, **Skotland**† ☼.

⁷⁷ **Gàidhealtachd**◊ ☼.

⁷⁸ **Gallaibh**◊ CAI, **Galltachd**◊ ☼, **Machair Ghallta**◊ ☼.

⁷⁹ **Allt nan Gàidheal** ROG-SUT, **Blàr nan Gàidheal** LDK+LOR-PER, **Cachla nan Gàidheal**† COM-PER, **Clachangael**† MLH-BNF, **Cnoc a' Ghàidheil** (unidentified) INV^{Heb}, **Cnoc a' Ghàidheil** KDO-ARG^{Heb}, **Coire nan Gàidheal** ARD-ARG, **Creagan nan Gàidheal** ROG-SUT, **Eas a' Ghàidheil**† ARD-ARG, **Lag nan Gàidheal** SOE-ARG, **Linne a' Ghàidheil** KDO+KKM-ARG^{Heb}, **Loch a' Ghàidheil** KKE-ARG^{Heb}, **Loch nan Gàidheal** KKV-ARG^{Heb}, **Port Ghàidheil**† FTL-PER, **Rathad Mòr nan Gàidheal**† AAR+LUS+RHU-DNB, **Rathad Mòr nan Gàidheal**† INB+KIH-INV,

year as the first recording of a name marking the Anglo-Scottish border.⁸⁰ But the borderland-names are of a different order, in which the geographical relationship to a boundary is the defining feature, rather than its associated ethnicity.⁸¹ Emic names apart, native ethnicities resident in the territory associated with them can be said to be the seven contemporary Briton-names in Gaelic (coming, presumably, after the expansion of Cumbria),⁸² along with three Dumfriesshire Irish-names and two north-eastern Scot-names understood as applying to late medieval remnant Gaelic communities resisting shift to the Scots;⁸³ and in earlier medieval periods, three remnant Saxon communities resisting shift to the Cumbrians,⁸⁴ and an English-name in the face of Scottish expansion.⁸⁵ The distribution for these etic names suggests that ethnic shift served as a motivation, on the outer reaches of the ethnicity's territory. Here the existing members of the dominant ethnicity were in closest contact with the ascendant culture, and possibly it was here that the shift first became apparent.

Stairsneach nan Gàidheal DDY+MDL-INV, and names reinterpreted to **Coire a' Ghàidheil** KCV-INV, **Eilean nan Gàidheal**† TNG-SUT, **Port na Gael** SSS-ARG, **Sgeir nan Gàidheal** LAP-ARG.

⁸⁰ **Scots' Dike** CAN+LNGT-DMF+CMB, followed by (not in chronological order) **English Craig**† LNGT-CMB, **English Kershope** LNGT-CMB, **English Knowe**† BELL+LNGT-NTB+CMB, **Englishtown** LNGT-CMB, **Scotch Craig** CSL-ROX, **Scotch Kershope** CSL-ROX, **Scotch Knowe** CSL-ROX.

⁸¹ If there is an exception to this, it is **English New Water Shiel** BET/BERW-NTB, away from the line of the Border but in the parish of Berwick-on-Tweed, with its ambiguous national identity.

⁸² **Balbarton**‡ KGH-FIF, **Barbrethan** KML-AYR, **Clach na Briton** KIL-PER, **Culbratten** PEH-WIG, **Drumbreddan** SOK-WIG, **Dumbretton** ANN-DMF, **Dumbryden**‡ COT-MLO. The exception is **Dumbarton** DUM-DNB, deemed by the study to be antiquarian.

⁸³ **Airswood**‡ WES-DMF, **Archbank** MOF-DMF, **Earshaw**‡ LHM-DMF, **Scotston** AUH-ANG. **Scotston** INC-ABD.

⁸⁴ **Glensax** PLS^{dtchd}-SLK^(PEB), **Glensaxon**‡ WES-DMF, **Pennersaugh**‡ MLB-DMF.

⁸⁵ **Inglewood**‡ PENR-CMB (with its alternative, **Inglefeld**†).

Appendices

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i) General abbreviations and symbols

Abbreviated Latin terms are not italicised, Latin terms written in full are.

" "	in early forms, reported pronunciation	<	develops from
()	in early forms, form rejected by, or comment found in, the source; or, the date of transcription	>	develops into
(ABD)	county code after 1889 boundary changes	< >	expanded abbreviation
*	unattested form	×	year falls between those given, inclusively
.	in early forms, links abbreviated affix or generic to primary name	×2	multiple occurrence
@	approximate grid reference	2×	double land unit, collectively named
/	both apply	◇	extant, but not on current OS maps
//	phoneme (see IPA, §ii below)	→	leads to; or, replaced by
[]	phonetics (see IPA, §ii below); or, original spelling not given in printed source; or, researcher's comment or correction	←	leads from; or, replacing
\ \	amended omission	·	divider between early forms from the same source in the same year
?	identification insecure	†	obsolete (i.e. not reported in or after 1950); or, obsolete or deceased prior to, or at, the stated date
??	identification unlikely	‡	obsolete as an attested primary name, but incorporated in an extant secondary name
{ }	original source or author	☀	covering, or covered, by numerous counties
	element break in analysis of name	1 2 3	unique keys for headname, where name and locality code are repeated
~	article precedes the headname	a.	Latin <i>ante</i> 'before' (inclusive)
+	in secondary names, affix or generic	A.	affix Auld, or variation thereof

a.k.a.	also known as, i.e. alias	n.pl.	noun plural
abl.	ablative	nom.	nominative
acc.	accusative	Nr.	affix Nether, or variation thereof
adj.	adjective	Nth.	affix North, or variation thereof
anthro.	anthroponym	O.	affix Over, or variation thereof
art.	article	OS	Ordnance Survey
attrib.	used attributively	p.	Latin <i>post</i> 'after'
C	century	p.p.	past participle
coll.	collective noun	pers. observ.	personal observation
dat.	dative	px	prefix
dim.	diminutive	pl.	plural
dtchd	detached part of parish or county	prep.	preposition
E.	affix East(er), or variation thereof	pres.p.	present participle
e.C	early half of century	rad.	radical
edn	edition	repub.	republished
ex nom.	Latin <i>ex nomine</i> 'from a name', i.e. an existing place-name incorporated as an element in another	s.a.	Latin <i>sub anno</i> 'under the year', i.e. as dated in the source
fem.	feminine gender	s.l.	Latin <i>sine loco</i> 'without place', i.e. no stated publication-place
gen.	genitive	s.n.	Latin <i>sub nomine</i> 'under the name', i.e. the headname under discussion
H.	affix High, or variation thereof	s.v.	Latin <i>sub verbo</i> 'under the word', i.e. the headword under discussion
hydro.	hydronym	sfx	suffix
loc.	locational	sg.	singular
Lt.	affix Little, or variation thereof	Sth.	affix South, or variation thereof
lt.C	late half of century	U.	affix Upper, or variation thereof
Lw.	affix Low(er), or variation thereof	v.	Latin <i>vide</i> 'see'
m.C	middle of century	vb	verb
masc.	masculine gender	vel	Latin <i>vel</i> 'or rather', i.e. proposed amendment to source
Md.	affix Mid(dle), or variation thereof	viz	Latin <i>videlicet</i> 'it may be seen', i.e. namely
Mk.	affix Meikle, or variation thereof	vol.	volume
n.?	noun, gender unknown	vsn	version
n.d.	no date	W.	affix West(er), or variation thereof
n.f.	feminine noun		
n.m.	masculine noun		
n.nt.	neuter noun		

ii) IPA symbols and diacritics

International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols and diacritics found in the study, with IPA number given where relevant.

[]		phonetic transcription, giving the exact sound of a particular pronunciation	l	155	alveolar lateral approximant
//		phonemic transcription, giving the broad features of speech sounds, allowing for variation	ɭ ^y		velarised dental lateral approximant
b	102	voiced bilabial stop	L	158	velar lateral approximant
t	103	unvoiced alveolar stop	w	170	voiced labial-velar approximant
d	104	voiced alveolar stop	i	301	close front unrounded vowel
k	109	voiceless velar stop	ɛ	303	open-mid front unrounded vowel
g	110	voiced velar stop	e	303	close-mid front unrounded vowel
m	114	bilabial nasal	a	304	open front unrounded vowel
n	116	alveolar nasal	ɑ	305	open back unrounded vowel
ŋ ^y		velarised dental nasal	u	308	close back rounded vowel
ɲ	118	palatal nasal	o	315	close-mid back rounded vowel
ɴ	120	uvular nasal	ɪ	319	close-mid front unrounded vowel
r	122	alveolar trill	ə	322	schwa (mid-central vowel)
f	128	voiceless labiodental fricative	ɐ	324	near-open central vowel
θ	130	voiceless dental fricative	æ	325	near-open front unrounded vowel
s	132	voiceless alveolar fricative	◌	402A	voiceless
ʃ	134	voiceless postalveolar fricative	◌ ^h	404	following is pre-aspirated
ʝ	139	voiced palatal fricative	◌ ^j	421	preceding is palatalised
x	140	voiceless velar fricative	◌ ^ˈ	501	following has primary stress
ɣ	141	voiced velar fricative	◌:	503	preceding is long
χ	142	voiceless uvular fricative	◌˙	504	preceding is half-long
h	146	unvoiced glottal fricative	◌.	506	hiatus (syllable break)
ɸ	148	voiceless alveolar lateral fricative	◌ _—	509	no break (linking)

iii) Language codes

Includes details of the notional periods employed by the study to classify a lexicon.

BrB	British dialects: (incorporates BrC and BrP)	OIr	Old Irish: 500 to 900 (subdivision of EG)
BrC	Cumbric dialect of British: from 900	ON	Old Norse: to 1200 (generally used here for OWN, unless to distinguish between OWN and OD)
BrP	Pictish dialect of British: from 400	OSc	Older Scots: 1100 to 1700 (early Standard English in Cumberland and Northumberland from 1500)
BrW	Welsh dialect of British: 550 to 1250 (incorporates OW)	OW	Old Welsh: 750 to 1250 (subdivision of BrW)
EG	Early Gaelic: to 1100 (incorporates OIr and Middle Irish)	OWN	Old West Norse (see ON): incorporates Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic
ESE	English Standard English: from 1500	ScG	Scots Gaelic: from 1100 (a.k.a. Scottish Gaelic)
e.ESE	early English Standard English: 1500 to 1700	ScS	Scots: from 1700
IrG	Irish Gaelic: from 1100	SE	Standard English: (common to ESE and SSE)
Ln	Latin	SSE	Scottish Standard English: from 1700
ME	Middle English: 1100 to 1475	W.	Welsh: from 1400
MW	Middle Welsh: 1200 to 1400		
OD	Old Danish: to 1200		
OE	Old English: to 1100		
OFr	Old French: 900 to 1350 (a.k.a. Anglo-Norman and Anglo-French)		

iv) Locality codes

Three-letter codes (Scottish parishes)

Parish codes found in the study. These have been adopted from the comprehensive list used by the Scottish Place-Name Database, held by the Scottish Place-Name Survey, University of Edinburgh.

AAR	Arrochar	ARH	Ardoch	BLA	Blair Atholl
ABC	Abercorn	ARK	Auchindoir & Kearn	BLE	Bellie
ABE	Abdie	ARO	Ardrossan	BMC	Balmaclellan
ABG	Aboyne & Glentinar	ARR	Ardgour	BMG	Balmaghie
ABL	Aberlemno	ARS	Ardersier	BOH	Boharm
ABO	Aberdour FIF	ASB	Abbey St Bathans	BOL	Bolton
ABR	Aberdour ABD	ASY	Assynt	BOR	Borgue
ABT	Arbuthnott	AUG	Auchtergaven	BOW	Bower
ABU	Aberlour	AUH	Auchterhouse	BOY	Boyndie
ACL	Ardclach	AUK	Auchinleck	BQR	Balquhidder
ADN	Auchterderran	AUL	Auldearn	BRL	Bracadale
AFE	Aberfoyle	AUS	Auchterless	BRR	Barra
AGK	Arngask	AVO	Avondale	BRS	Bressay
AIH	Airth	AYP	Ayr	BUC	Buchanan
AIR	Airlie	AYT	Ayton	BUI	Burntisland
AKE	Abernethy & Kincardine	BAD	Banchory Devenick	BUL	Buittle
ALE	Alvie	BAF	Boleskine & Abertarff	BVS	Barvas
ALF	Alford	BAL	Ballantrae	BWD	Bowden
ALN	Alness	BAR	Barr	CAB	Cabrach
ALV	Alvah	BCN	Bo'ness & Carriden	CAE	Caerlaverock
ALY	Alyth	BDY	Bendochy	CAG	Cambuslang
AMN	Ardchattan & Muckairn	BEA	Beath	CAL	Carmichael
AMT	Arisaig & Moidart INV	BET	Berwick-on- Tweed	CAM	Campbeltown
AMY	Auchtermuchty FIF	BFF	Banff	CAN	Canonbie
ANN	Annan DMF	BFN	Balfron	CAP	Caputh
ANR	Anstruther Wester FIF	BGE	Blairgowrie	CAS	Cardross
ANY	Abernethy	BGY	Ballingry	CAV	Cavers
APC	Applecross	BIG	Biggar	CAY	Cannisbay
ARD	Ardnamurchan	BIH	Birsay & Harray	CBE	Carnbee
		BIR	Birse	CBP	Cockburnspath
				CBS	Cross & Burness
				CCH	Creich
				CDR	Cawdor
				CER	Ceres

CHK	Channelkirk	DAY	Dalry	DUS	Durness
CHM	Coldingham	DAZ	Dalziel	DYC	Dyce
CIA	Cromdale, Inverallan & Advie	DBG	Dunbog	EAG	Eaglesham
CIE	Cairnie	DDA	Dunkeld & Dowally	EAR	Earlston
CLD	Callander	DDE	Dundee	ECC	Eccles
CLG	Crailing	DDN	Dundonald	ECH	Echt
CLI	Clunie	DDR	Durisdeer	ECK	Eckford
CLN	Cullen	DDY	Daviot & Dunlichity	EDA	Eday
CLO	Closeburn	DFL	Dunfermline	EDD	Eddleston
CLS	Collesie	DFS	Dumfries	EDI	City of Edinburgh
CLU	Cluny	DGL	Douglas	EDS	Eddrachilles
CLY	Clyne	DIR	Dirleton	EDT	Edderton
CMI	Crossmichael	DKM	Dunoon & Kilmun	EKB	East Kilbride
CMK	Carmunnock	DLE	Dunblane & Lecropt	ELL	Ellon
CML	Colmonell	DLP	Dunlop	ENY	Eassie & Nevay
COL	Coll	DLR	Dalry	ERL	Evie & Rendall
COM	Comrie	DLS	Dallas	ERS	Erskine
CON	Contin	DMN	Dalmeny	FAK	Falkirk
COO	Colonsay & Oronsay	DNH	Dornoch	FAL	Falkland
COT	Colinton	DNN	Dunnichen	FAR	Farnell
CPS	Campsie	DNR	Dunrossness	FEA	Fearn
CRA	Crail	DNS	Duns	FEC	Fettercairn
CRB	Crathie & Braemar	DNY	Denny	FER	Fern
CRD	Croy & Dalcross	DOR	Dornock	FET	Fetlar
CRE	Craigie	DPC	Dunipace	FGK	Findo Gask
CRF	Crieff	DPH	Dolphinton	FIN	Fintray
CRG	Craig	DRM	Duthil & Rothiemurchus	FIR	Firth
CRM	Cramond	DRS	Dores	FON	Forglen
CRO	Cromarty	DRY	Drymen	FOR	Forgue
CRT	Cranston	DRZ	Drumelzier	FOW	Fowlis Wester
CRU	Cruden	DSH	Duirinish	FPC	Ferry-Port-on- Craig
CRW	Crawford	DTG	Delting	FRC	Fordyce
CSL	Castleton	DTN	Dalton	FRD	Fordoun
CST	Carstairs	DTR	Dunnottar	FRR	Farr
CUM	Cumbræ	DUB	Dunbarney	FTL	Fortingall
CUS	Culross	DUF	Duffus	FTY	Fintry
CUT	Cummertrees	DUL	Dull	FYV	Fyvie
DAI	Dailly	DUM	Dumbarton	GAI	Gairloch
DAL	Dalmellington	DUR	Durris	GAR	Gartly
				GAS	Galashiels
				GBA	Garvald & Bara
				GCA	Gigha & Cara

GGK	Gargunnoch	JOH	Johnstone	KKE	Kilninian & Kilmore
GIL	Glenorchy & Inishail	JUR	Jura	KKK	Kirkmabreck
GLA	Glamis	KBA	Kilbarchan	KKL	Keithhall & Kinkell
GLB	Glenbuchet	KBD	Kilbride	KKM	Killarow & Kilmeny
GLC	Glencairn	KBE	Kilbirnie	KKR	Kirkinner
GLE	Glenelg	KBK	Kilbrandon & Kilchattan	KKT	Kilniver & Kilmelfort
GLL	Glenshiel	KCH	Kilchalmonell & Kilberry	KKV	Kilfinichen & Kilvickeon
GLN	Glasserton	KCM	Kirkcolm	KLE	Kilmallie
GLS	Glass	KCN	Kilchoman	KLM	Kilmany
GLV	Glenbervie	KCO	Kincardine O'Neil	KLO	Kilmorack
GLW	Glasgow Barony	KCQ	Kilconquhar	KLR	Kilmuir
GOL	Golspie	KCR	Kincardine	KLS	Kinnettles
GOR	Gordon	KCV	Kiltarlity & Convinth	KMA	Kilmadock
GRK	Greenock	KCW	Kirkcowan	KMC	Kirkmichael
GRM	Grangemouth	KDN	Kildonan	KMD	Kilmodan
GRN	Girthon	KDO	Kildalton & Oa	KME	Kilmuir Easter
GTG	Glenmuick, Tullich & Glengairn	KDT	Kirkcaldy & Dysart	KMG	Kilmichael Glassary
HAD	Haddington	KDV	Kilchrenan & Dalavich	KMK	Kilmarnock
HAL	Halkirk	KEA	Kilearnan	KML	Kirkmichael
HAM	Hamilton	KED	King Edward	KMN	Kirkmaiden
HAR	Harris	KEI	Keig	KMO	Kilmaronock
HAW	Hawick	KEL	Kells	KMR	Kilmartin
HCR	Hutton & Corrie	KEO	Kelso	KMV	Kilmonivaig
HFM	Half Morton	KET	Kettins	KMY	Kilmory
HOB	Hobkirk	KFN	Kilfinan	KNG	Kingarth
HOY	Hoy & Graemsay	KGH	Kinghorn	KNL	Kinellar
IKG	Inverkeithing	KGL	Kinglassie	KNM	Kenmore
ILN	Innerleithen	KGM	Kingoldrum	KNO	Knockando
INA	Inveraray	KHP	Kirkhope	KPF	Kirkpatrick Fleming
INB	Inverness & Bona	KIG	Kirkpatrick Irongray	KPJ	Kirkpatrick Juxta
INC	Insch	KIH	Kirkhill	KPN	Kippen
INH	Inch	KIL	Killin	KRB	Kirkcudbright
INK	Inverkeilor	KIN	Kingussie & Insh	KRD	Kincardine-in-Menteith
INR	Inverurie	KIT	Kintail	KRK	Kirkmichael PER
INT	Inchture	KKB	Kilmore & Kilbride	KRL	Kirkliston
IVC	Inverchaolain	KKC	Killean & Kilchenzie	KRM	Kirkmichael BNF
IVK	Inverkip				
IVV	Inveravon				
IWK	Innerwick				
JED	Jedburgh				

KSO	Kirkwall & St Ola	LSL	Leslie FIF	NKN	North Knapdale
KSP	Kilspindie	LTN	Linton	NLS	Newlands
KSS	Kinloss	LUP	Lumphanan	NLU	New Luce
KSY	Kilsyth	LUS	Luss	NMO	New Monkland
KTE	Kiltearn	LWH	Lochwinnoch	NMV	Northmavine
KTL	Kirkintilloch	LWK	Lerwick	NUS	North Uist
KTN	Kelton	LWT	Leswalt	ODR	Old Deer
KTT	Kettle	MAD	Madderty	OHS	Oldhamstocks
KUD	Kirkurd	MAI	Markinch	OLU	Old Luce
KWG	Kilwinning	MAN	Manor	OMR	Old Machar
LAG	Laggan	MAY	Maybole	ONM	Oxnam
LAI	Lairg	MDL	Moy & Dalarossie	ORD	Ordiqhill
LAK	Laurencekirk	MEA	Mearns	ORW	Orwell
LAL	Lochalsh	MEN	Menmuir	PAI	Paisley
LAP	Lismore & Appin	MER	Mertoun	PCK	Penicuik
LAR	Largo	MET	Methlick	PCR	Peterculter
LAS	Lasswade	MGF	Minnigaff	PEH	Penninghame
LAT	Latheron	MLB	Middlebie	PET	Petty
LAU	Lauder	MLH	Mortlach	PHD	Peterhead
LBN	Liberton	MLR	Melrose	PLS	Peebles
LBR	Lochbroom	MMK	Monymusk	PMH	Port of Menteith
LCA	Lochcarron	MML	Monimail	POR	Portree
LCH	Lochs	MMR	Midmar	PRK	Prestonkirk
LDK	Little Dunkeld	MOF	Moffat	PTM	Portmoak
LEW	Lesmahagow	MOM	Mochrum	PTP	Portpatrick
LGK	Lochgoilhead & Kilmorich	MON	Monifieth	PTT	Pettinain
LGS	Largs	MOU	Moulin	RAF	Rafford
LGT	Langton	MPK	Monkton & Prestwick	RAT	Rathven
LHM	Langholm	MQR	Monquhitter	REA	Reay
LIB	Liff & Benvie	MRT	Morton	RED	Redgorton
LIN	Lintrathen	MRV	Morvern	REN	Renfrew
LLE	Lochlee	MSM	Mains & Strathmartine	RER	Rerrick
LNK	Lanark	MSW	Mouswald	RHU	Rhu
LOC	Logie-Coldstone	MUK	Muirkirk	RNH	Rosneath
LOE	Logie Easter	MUT	Muthill	ROB	Roberton
LOF	Longforgan	MZS	Monzievaird & Strowan	ROG	Rogart
LOI	Logie STL	NAB	New Abbey	RSK	Rosskeen
LON	Longside	NCU	New Cumnock	RSS	Resolis
LOR	Logierait	NEI	Neilston	RUV	Ruthven
LOU	Loudoun	NES	Nesting	RWL	Ruthwell
LRB	Larbert			SAB	St Andrews-Lhanbryde
LRT	Lochrutton				

SAD	St Andrews & Deerness	STF	St Fergus	TUR	Turriff
SAN	Sanquhar	STH	Strath	TWL	Tingwall
SCY	St Cyrus	STM	St Mungo's	TWY	Twynholm
SEL	Selkirk	STO	Stow	TYR	Tyrie
SHA	Shapinsay	STT	Straiton	UGM	Urquhart & Glenmoriston
SKN	South Knapdale	STU	Strachur	UIG	Uig
SLA	Slains	STY	Stornoway	ULW	Urquhart & Logie Wester
SLN	Saline	SUS	South Uist	UNS	Unst
SLO	Strathmiglo	SYM	Symington	UPH	Uphall
SLT	Sleat	TAI	Tain	WAF	Walls & Flotta
SMI	Small Isles	TAN	Tannadice	WAL	Walston
SNI	St Ninians	TBT	Tarbat	WAS	Walls & Sandness
SNZ	Snizort	TEM	Temple	WAT	Watten
SOE	Southend	THU	Thurso	WCA	West Calder
SOE	Southend	TIR	Tiree	WES	Westerkirk
SOK	Stoneykirk	TLD	Tarland	WHI	Whitsome
SOL	South Leith	TNG	Tongue	WHT	Whithorn
SOR	Sorbie	TON	Tongland	WIK	Wick
SPO	Spott	TOW	Towie	WKB	West Kilbride
SRO	South Ronaldsay	TOY	Torosay	WMS	Wemyss
SSL	St Andrews & St Leonards	TPH	Torphichen	WON	Wilton
SSS	Saddell & Skipness	TQR	Traquair	WRY	Westray
SST	Sandsting	TRB	Tarbolton	YAR	Yarrow
SSY	Stronsay	TRG	Trinity Gask	YEL	Yell
STB	Stobo	TRO	Troqueer	YES	Yester
STD	Strathdon	TUF	Tullynessle & Forbes		

Four-letter codes (English registration districts)

Codes for the 1881 Census registration districts covering Cumberland and Northumberland.

ALNW	Alnwick NTB	CAST	Castle Ward NTB	NEWT	Newcastle upon Tyne NTB
ALST	Alston CMB	COCK	Cockermouth CMB	PENR	Penrith CMB
BELF	Belford NTB	GLEN	Glendale NTB	RTHB	Rothbury NTB
BELL	Bellingham NTB	HALT	Haltwhistle NTB	TYNE	Tynemouth NTB
BERW	Berwick NTB	HEXH	Hexham NTB	WHTV	Whitehaven CMB
BOOT	Bootle CMB	LNGT	Longtown CMB	WIGT	Wigton CMB
BRMP	Brampton CMB	MORP	Morpeth NTB		
CARL	Carlisle CMB				

v) County codes

Study Area

Abbreviations for Scottish counties as used by Nicolaisen, Gelling and Richards (1970), with additional codes for Cumberland and Northumberland, for Hebridean portions of counties, and for the former counties of Cromartyshire and Ross-shire (united in 1889; Shennan 1892, 132).

ABD	Aberdeenshire	KNR	Kinross-shire
ANG	Angus	LAN	Lanarkshire
ARG	Argyllshire	MLO	Midlothian
ARG ^{Heb}	Argyllshire (Hebrides)	MOR	Morayshire
AYR	Ayrshire	NAI	Nairnshire
BNF	Banffshire	NTB	Northumberland
BTE	Buteshire	ORK	Orkney
BWK	Berwickshire	PEB	Peeblesshire
CAI	Caithness	PER	Perthshire
CLA	Clackmannanshire	RNF	Renfrewshire
CMB	Cumberland	ROS	Ross and Cromarty
CRYx	Cromartyshire (in ROS)	ROSx	Ross-shire (in ROS)
DMF	Dumfriesshire	ROS ^{Heb}	Ross-shire (Hebrides)
DNB	Dunbartonshire	ROX	Roxburghshire
ELO	East Lothian	SHE	Shetland
FIF	Fife	SLK	Selkirkshire
INV	Inverness-shire	STL	Stirlingshire
INV ^{Heb}	Inverness-shire (Hebrides)	SUT	Sutherlandshire
KCB	Kirkcudbrightshire	WIG	Wigtownshire
KCD	Kincardineshire	WLO	West Lothian

Britain and Ireland outwith the Study Area

England:		E/DOR	Dorset
E/BDF	Bedfordshire	E/DRB	Derbyshire
E/BRK	Berkshire	E/DRH	County Durham
E/BUC	Buckinghamshire	E/ESX	Essex
E/CAM	Cambridgeshire	E/GLO	Gloucestershire
E/CHE	Cheshire	E/GLT	Greater London
E/CNW	Cornwall	E/HMP	Hampshire
E/DEV	Devon	E/HNT	Huntingdonshire

E/HRE	Herefordshire
E/HRT	Hertfordshire
E/IOW	Isle of Wight
E/KNT	Kent
E/LEI	Leicestershire
E/LIN	Lincolnshire
E/LNC	Lancashire
E/MDX	Middlesex
E/NFK	Norfolk
E/NIT	Nottinghamshire
E/NTP	Northamptonshire
E/OXF	Oxfordshire
E/RUT	Rutland
E/SFK	Suffolk
E/SHR	Shropshire
E/SOM	Somerset
E/SSX	Sussex
E/STF	Staffordshire
E/SUR	Surrey
E/WAR	Warwickshire
E/WLT	Wiltshire
E/WML	Westmorland
E/WOR	Worcestershire
E/YOE	Yorkshire (East Riding)
E/YON	Yorkshire (North Riding)
E/YOW	Yorkshire (West Riding)

Ireland:

I/ANT	Antrim
I/ARM	Armagh
I/CAR	Carlow
I/CAV	Cavan
I/CLA	Clare
I/CRK	Cork
I/DON	Donegal
I/DUB	Dublin
I/DWN	Down
I/FMN	Fermanagh
I/GAL	Galway

I/KER	Kerry
I/KLD	Kildare
I/KLK	Kilkenny
I/LFD	Longford
I/LIM	Limerick
I/LON	Londonderry
I/LTH	Louth
I/LTM	Leitrim
I/LX	Laoighis
I/MHN	Monaghan
I/MTH	Meath
I/MYO	Mayo
I/OFF	Offaly
I/RCM	Roscommon
I/SLI	Sligo
I/TIP	Tipperary
I/TYR	Tyrone
I/WAT	Waterford
I/WEX	Wexford
I/WIC	Wicklow
I/WME	Westmeath

Man:

IOM	Isle of Man
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Wales:

W/AGL	Anglesey
W/BRE	Brecknockshire
W/CRD	Cardiganshire
W/CRM	Carmarthenshire
W/CRN	Caernarvonshire
W/DEN	Denbighshire
W/FLI	Flintshire
W/GLA	Glamorgan
W/MER	Merionethshire
W/MTG	Montgomeryshire
W/PEM	Pembrokeshire
W/RAD	Radnorshire

vi) Topographic codes

Land-use:

- LD land-use district without RL or SS of same name (e.g. deer forest, muir, parkland)
- LF field-name (e.g. croft, field, meadow, pasture)
- LO land object (e.g. bothy, fank, tree)
- LR land-use relief (e.g. rock vein, wood)
- LS occasional settlement (e.g. camp, shieling)
- LW waterlogged land (e.g. bog, moss)

Marine:

- MO marine object (e.g. marine landing stage)
- MR marine relief (e.g. bay, coastal cave, foreshore, point of land, rock, sea loch, shore, small island)
- MW marine water (e.g. firth, sea, strait)

Passage:

- PL land passage (e.g. road, track)
- PM marine passage (e.g. ford)
- PO passage object (e.g. bridge, gateway, inn, crossroads, station, toll bar)
- PR natural passageway (e.g. pass)
- PS settlement passage (e.g. street)
- PW freshwater passage (e.g. bridge, ford)

Relief:

- RD topographical district without RL of same name (e.g. hill range)

- RL relief (e.g. boulder, hill, hollow, inland cave, moor, valley)
- RM relief defined by salt water (e.g. coast, headland or island of habitable size)
- RO artificial relief (e.g. barrow, cairn, dyke, frontier wall, monument, quarry, standing stone)
- RW relief defined by fresh water (e.g. headland or island of habitable size)

Settlement:

- SD settlement district without SS of same name (e.g. barony, estate, parish)
- SL settlement land (e.g. county, country, region)
- SO settlement object (e.g. burial-ground, church, defensive position, fort, garden, grave)
- SS settlement (e.g. castle, city, cottage, crofting township, farmstead, house, mill (inhabited), monastery, ruin, suburb, town, village)

Water (Inland):

- WL freshwater (e.g. freshwater loch, river)
- WO freshwater object (e.g. fishing station, mill (object), riparian landing stage, spring, weir, well)
- WP waterway (e.g. canal)
- WR freshwater feature (e.g. loop, pool, rock, shore, small island, waterfall)

- ? **unknown**

Appendix B: Bibliography

i) Manuscripts.....	294
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The standard University of St Andrews division of sources has been followed, but with the addition of a discrete section for maps, plans and charts, as dictated by the nature of the study. For convenience in consultation, all reference codes for items in §i, i.e. manuscripts, contain either "MS" or, in a few cases, "db" (for 'database'). Reference codes for items in §ii, i.e. maps, plans and charts, contain "Admiralty" (for 'Admiralty chart'), "Map", "OS" (for 'Ordnance Survey') or "Plan", as appropriate. Other references follow the pattern of surname(s) and year of publication, other than where a unique code is established (as in the 'List of abbreviated titles of the printed sources of Scottish history to 1560', a supplement to the *Scottish Historical Review* 42) or otherwise appropriate.

i) Manuscripts

Abell MS 1746: The Roit or Quheill of Tyme, a.1538, held by the National Library of Scotland.

Bod. Library MS Rawl. B. 502: miscellany of texts, twelfth century, in the Rawlinson collection of the Bodleian Library, held by University of Oxford.

Brit. Library Add MS 33245: 'Sententiarum, uerborum, ac rerum presertim notabilium, locorum item quarundam limitum, in Registro sequenti memorandorum, Index serie literaria exactiuscolleeta', early sixteenth century, held by the British Library, London.

Chron. Worcester MS: Cotton Tiberius B iv, held by the British Library, London.

Diack MS Nairn: 'Nairn visit', by Francis Carney Diack, 1920, held by the University of Aberdeen. A notebook from during a visit to Nairnshire, composed mainly of phonetic transcriptions of Gaelic place-names from local informants.

Douglas MS: 'Records of the Parish of Dallas', by Robert Douglas, [a.1939], held by the Moray Council, Elgin. Douglas was a native of Dallas. His manuscripts were completed at the end of the 1930s.

- Fyvie MS no. 295: item 295 at the top of fo. 1v in bundle 289–97 from the muniments of Dunfermline Abbey, 1228, extracted in 1624 from a collection in Pinkie Castle, held by Fyvie Estate Office, transcribed in 2008 by Dauvit Broun.
- Gammeltoft MS: 'Norse-Gaelic Contacts: what can place-names and place-name elements tell us?', lecture handout, by Peder Gammeltoft, 2004, University of Edinburgh, 29 Apr. 2004.
- Grant MS: 'Some Caithness Place-names as Recorded by Dr James H. Grant from Native Speakers of MacKay Country Gaelic', list supplied to AAA Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba ~ Gaelic Place-Names of Scotland, by James H. Grant [a.k.a. Seumas Grannd], 13 Oct. 2008.
- Harley MS 3859: 'Historia Brittonum', Harleian recension, c.1100, by the British Library, London.
- Harley MS 4700: 'Regiam majestatem' etc., c.1500, held by the British Library, London.
- HCA MS D536/D: documents relating to the Chisholms of Strathglass and Comar, 1675–1727, held by the Highland Council, Inverness.
- MacRae MS: 'Old Names in Edderton from the Survey of 1808', by Donald MacRae, n.d., held in Tain Museum, Tain. Notes by Rev. MacRae regarding: "Plans of the Estate of Balnagown lying in the Parishes of Kilmuir, Loggie, Fearn, Eddertown and Kincardine, and County of Ross, the property of Sir Charles Ross Bart, Surveyed by George Brown 1808".
- MacRobbie MS: 'Gaelic and Old Norse Topographical Coastal Names from Aultbea to Gruinard', by William MacRobbie, 2003×10.
- NAS MSS, manuscripts as below, held by the National Archives of Scotland (National Records of Scotland from April 2011), Edinburgh.
- NAS MS AF49/2/1: 'Descriptive survey and valuation of the estates of Ardnamurchan and Sunart with suggestions for improvement by Alexander Low', Riddell papers, 1807 (see NAS MSS, above).
- NAS MS AF49/3: 'Report by Thomas Anderson, Strontian, on the farms on the barony of Ardnamurchan and Sunart', Riddell papers, 1829 (see NAS MSS, above).
- NAS MS Cal.: 'Calendar of Charters' (see NAS MSS, above).

NAS MS E645/1/1: 'Judicial rental of real estate which belonged to John McKinnan late of McKinnan, taken upon depositions of his tenants in the isle of Mull', 1718 (see NAS MSS, above).

NAS MS NRAS2383: '[Broun-Lindsay Family, of Colstoun, Haddington, East Lothian]', private collection recorded in the National Register of Archives for Scotland (see NAS MSS, above).

NAS MS RH5/231: 'Inquisition as to rights of the king in the bounds of Bavelay: the men of the barony state the king never had rights there, as it is the lord of Brad's, and his servants took the animals of the king's farmers in the moor of Pentland and imparked them, and took 'punlayn' whenever they found them within the bounds of Bavelay', 1280 (see NAS MSS, above). Reproduced in part in *History Scotland* 5:4, 20.

NAS MS RHP72: 'Ardnamurchan and Sunart the property of Sir James Milles Riddell, Bt.', by William Bold, 1806 (see NAS MSS, above).

NAS MS RHP320: 'Plan of Teasses Common with the Baronies of Balmain and Pitcruivie, the minerals under which are the property of the Hon Lady Mary L Craufurd of Craufurd and Kilburnie', 1829 (see NAS MSS, above).

NAS MS RHP1318: 'Plan of the estate of Blair Adam, property of William Adam, Fife', surveyor unknown, 1824 (see NAS MSS, above).

NAS MS RHP3595 MS: 'Plan of Estate of Lesslie belonging to the Right Honourable Earl of Rothes', by Alexander Martin, 1810 (see NAS MSS, above).

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NAS MS RHP11605: 'Plan of intended road from Sheil House on Loch Dowich to Beaully', by George Brown, 1795 (see NAS MSS, above).

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NAS MS RHP89887/14: '[Photocopy of volume of plans of barony of Ardgour, Argyll] Trinsleg', by James Wingate, 1815 (see NAS MSS, above).

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NAS MS SRO GD1/529/247: '[Rental of the estate and barony of Dunipace belonging to Sir Archibald Primrose]', 1741 (see NAS MSS, above).

NAS MS SRO GD90/1/11: '[Charter by Alan, Prior of the Hospitallers in England, with consent of the chapter, in favour of the canons of the Holy Cross of Edinburgh of the Hospitaller's lands in Galloway, viz Artun and Hirtun]', 1192 (see NAS MSS, above).

NLS MS: manuscript held by the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.

NLS Adv. MS 34.6.24: miscellaneous, 1710 (see NLS MS, above).

NLS Adv. MS 52: 'Níor ghlac cliath colg no gunna', anonymous panegyric poem, p.1680 (see NLS MS, above). Transcribed and ed. by William John Watson in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 29, 222–4 and 234 (in which he gives *Albain gan chaomh ré [sic] chéile*).

NLS MS 269: 'Alasdair Cameron', a.k.a. "North Argyll", twentieth century (see NLS MS, above).

NLS MS 369: unnamed, twentieth century? (see NLS MS, above).

NLS MS Acc. 11244: 'Fraser of Belladrum Papers' (see NLS MS, above).

OSnb: Ordnance Survey Original Object Name Books, county surveys as below, 1845–78 (see NAS MSS, above). Consulted on microfilm copies and photocopied indices in the library of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh, and on microfilm (Highlands and Islands only) in Highland Council archives, Inverness.

OSnb ABD: Aberdeenshire, 1865–71 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb ANG: Angus, 1857–61 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb ARG: Ordnance Survey Original Object Name Books, Mainland Argyllshire, 1868–78 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb ARG^{Heb}: Hebridean Argyllshire, 1868–78 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb AYR: Ayrshire, 1855–57 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb BTE: Buteshire, 1856 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb BWK: Berwickshire, 1856–58 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb CAI: Caithness, 1871–73 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb CLA: Clackmannanshire, 1861–62 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb DMF: Dumfriesshire, 1848–58 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb DNB: Dunbartonshire, 1859–60 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb ELO: East Lothian, 1855–56 and 1859 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb FIF: Fife, 1853–56 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb INV: Mainland Inverness-shire, 1868–73 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb INV^{Heb}: Hebridean Inverness-shire, 1876–78 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb KCB: Kincardineshire, 1863–65 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb KCD: Kirkcudbrightshire, 1848–51 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb KNR: Kinross-shire, 1853–56 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb LAN: Lanarkshire, 1858–61 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb MLO: Midlothian, 1851–53 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb MOR: Moray, 1868–70 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb NAI: Nairnshire, 1869–71 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb ORK: Orkney, 1877–78 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb PEB: Peeblesshire, 1855–58 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb PER: Perthshire, 1859–64 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb RNF: Renfrewshire, 1856–57 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb ROS: Mainland Ross-shire, 1871–76 (see OSnb, above).

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OSnb SHE: Shetland, 1878 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb SLK: Selkirkshire, 1856–60 (see OSnb, above).

OSnb STL: Stirlingshire, 1858–61 (see OSnb, above).

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Pringle MS: 'State of the Process of Valuation of the forfeited estate of Lochiell', 1761,
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Prot. Bk Ker MS: 'Protocol Book of Robrt Ker, 1613–21', held by General Register House
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RBE MS: 'Red Book of the Exchequer ~ Liber Rubeus ~ Liber ruber Scaccarii', a.1230, MS
PRO E164/2, held by the National Archives, London.

Robertson MS 357: '[Ross-shire]', 1901–02, photocopy held by Highland Council archive, HRA/D221.

Robertson MSS: notes by Charles M. Robertson, 1894×1926, held by the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, transcribed and ed. Jacob King, 2011, unpublished.

SAUL MS 37490: charter for part of Carskerdo CER-FIF, held by St Andrews University Library, transcribed and translated in *PNF* ii, 56–7.

SPNS MS: Scottish Place-name Survey records, held by the University of Edinburgh.

SSS db 1960/117/B13: School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive, 1960, held by the University of Edinburgh.

Thomson MS: 'Miscellaneous Notes on the History or Antiquities of Grantown and Neighbourhood', Vols. 2 and 3, by William Thomson, 1908. A number of sets of typed copies are said to exist around Grantown-on-Spey (ex info. B. Morgan): one of these was consulted. Vol. 4 was written in 1909.

Tobar db ID 25587: oral history sound archive, Calum MacArthur, Ardfernal JUR-ARG^{Heb}, 1971, at <www.tobarandualchais.co.uk>, Tobar an Dualchais ~ Kist o Riches.

Watson db: Strathearn place-name database, by Angus Watson, 1990s. Compiled as part of the preparation for Watson 2002.

Westray db: 'Westray and Papa Peece Neems' [*sic*], off-line electronic database, held by the Westray Heritage Centre, Pierowall, consulted 13 Jul. 2009. "A group of young folk in Westray have gathered together all the house, field and coastline names in Westray and Papa Westray. They researched their meanings and recorded local voices speaking them." Sound files not operating when consulted.

ii) **Maps, plans and charts**

Adair Map 3: 'A Mape of the countries about Stirling', by John Adair, 1680s, at <maps.nls.uk>, held by the National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS.70.2.11.

Adair Map 8: 'Mappe of Wast Lothian comonly called Linlithgowshire', by John Adair, 1684, at <maps.nls.uk>, held by the National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS.70.2.11.

Adair Map 9: 'Midlothian', by John Adair, c.1682, at <maps.nls.uk>, held by the National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS.70.2.11.

Adair Map 10: 'East Lothian', by John Adair, 1682, at <maps.nls.uk>, held by the National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS.70.2.11.

Adair Map, 1703: 'A true and exact Hydrographical description of the Sea coast and Isles of Scotland made in Voyage round the same by that great and mighty James the 5th', in *Description of the Sea Coast and Islands of Scotland*, by John Adair, 1703, at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Admiralty charts, below, by the Hydrographic Office of the Admiralty (London), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Admiralty 1118: *The Shetland Isles*, surveyed 1833, published 1838 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 1426: *Loch Eil, leading to the Caledonian Canal*, surveyed 1841, published 1842 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 1979: *Kirkcudbright Bay*, surveyed 1838, published 1850 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2155: *Sound of Mull*, surveyed 1851, published 1852 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2321: *Loch Fyne*, surveyed 1848, published 1856 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2326: *Loch Crinan to Guan Sound*, surveyed 1850–55, published 1856 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2475: *Ardnamurchan to Summer Isles, including the Inner Channel and part of the Minch*, surveyed 1849–56, published 1857 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2476: *Inner Channel: Sound of Seil to the Sound of Mull*, surveyed 1855, published 1856 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2496: *Sleat Sound*, surveyed 1852, published 1856 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2498: *Southern part of the Sound of Raasay and Inner Sound*, surveyed 1851–57, published 1857 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2500: *Lochs Broom*, surveyed 1849, published 1857 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2503: *Lochs Laxford and Inchard with Scourie Bay*, surveyed 1846, published 1856 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2507: *Ardnamurchan Point to Loch Bhreatail, Skye, including the Small Isles and Sleat Sound*, surveyed 1852–63, published 1863 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2515: *Islay, Jura, Colonsay &c.*, surveyed 1849–55, published p.1856 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2642: *Sound of Harris*, surveyed 1857, published 1859 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2652: *Loch Tuadh and the Isles*, surveyed 1857, published 1859 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2676: *Loch Alsh and Loch Duich*, surveyed 1854, published 1859 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2770: *Sound of Barra*, surveyed 1861–62, published 1874 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2805: *Monach and Haskeir Is. with the adjacent coast of North Uist*, surveyed 1860, 1863–65, published 1861, small corrections 1882 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2814a: *Loch Linnhe, Southern Part*, surveyed 1860, published 1862 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2814b: *Lochs Etive and Creran*, surveyed 1861, published 1863 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Admiralty 2905: *East Loch Tarbert*, surveyed 1857, published 1876 (see Admiralty charts, above).

Ainslie Map, 1773: *Map of Selkirkshire or Ettrick Forest*, by John Ainslie, 1773 (s.l.), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Ainslie Map, 1775: *County of Fife*, by John Ainslie, 1775 (London), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Ainslie Map, 1782: *A map of the county of Wigton*, by John Ainslie, 1782 (Edinburgh), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Ainslie Map, 1789: *Scotland, drawn from a series of angles and astronomical observations*, by John Ainslie, 1789 (Edinburgh), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Ainslie Map, 1794: *Map of the County of Forfar or Shire of Angus*, by John Ainslie, 1794 (Edinburgh), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Ainslie Map, 1796: *Map of the County of Renfrew*, by John Ainslie, published 1800 (London), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland Newman 645.

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Armstrong Map, 1769: *A map of the County of Northumberland with that part of the County of Durham that is North of the River Tyne*, by Andrew Armstrong, 1769 (s.l.), at <communities.northumberland.gov.uk>, Northumberland Archives Service.

Armstrong Map, 1773: *Map of the three Lothians*, by Andrew and Mostyn Armstrong, 1773 ([Edinburgh]), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Armstrong Map, 1775 AYR: *A new map of Ayrshire*, by Andrew Armstrong, 1775 (s.l.), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Armstrong Map, 1775 PEB: *[M]ap of the County of Peebles or Tweedale*, by Mostyn Armstrong, 1775 ([Edinburgh]), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Arrowsmith Map: *Map of Scotland constructed from original materials*, by Aaron Arrowsmith, 1807 (London), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Bald Map: *Plan of the island of South Uist*, by William Bald, c.1825 (Edinburgh), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Bartholomew Map: *Survey Atlas of Scotland*, by John G. Bartholomew, 1912 (Edinburgh), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Bartholomew ½ Map: *Half Inch to the Mile*, by John Bartholomew (Edinburgh), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Bell Map: *County of Kinross*, by John Bell, 1796 ([Edinburgh]), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

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Appendix C: Glossary of elements

All elements identified in probable or possible ethnonymic place-names in the study area, other than the ethnonyms themselves, are listed by language. The part of speech and relevant interpretation for each element is indicated, along with occasional supporting text. The probable or possible ethnonymic names postulated to contain the elements are given.

N.B. Probable ethnonymic place-names are shown in normal font; possible ethnonymic place-names are shown in italicised font. Note that the tentative nature of a possible classification refers only to the ethnonym, not to the element listed. Standard English elements, Scottish and English, are all shown as "SE".

BrB <i>cajr</i>	n.f.	homestead	Karramund Scottorum† CRM-MLO
BrB * <i>cal</i>	adj.	hard In Calder-names, the inference may be a hard river bed or a strong current (<i>BLITON</i>).	Caladal nan Gall HAL-CAI Scotscalder HAL-CAI
BrB <i>can</i>	adj.	white	Galcantray CRD-INV
BrB * <i>drum</i>	n.m/f.	ridge	<i>Drumgwedyl (unidentified)</i>
BrB <i>duβr</i>	n.m.	water	Caladal nan Gall HAL-CAI Scotscalder HAL-CAI
BrB * <i>glinn</i>	n.m.	valley	Glensax PLS ^{dtchd} -SLK ^(PEB) Glensaxon WES-DMF
BrB * <i>ir</i>	art.	the Similar to the Welsh form; the normal Cumbric form of the article is <i>in</i> , according to Coates (Coates & Breeze 2000, 352).	Pennersaugh MLB-DMF
BrB <i>penn</i>	n.m.	end or top place There is no evidence of a sense 'hill' according to Coates (Coates & Breeze 2000, 354).	Pennersaugh MLB-DMF
BrB <i>strad</i>	n.m/f.	broad valley	Strawfrank CST-LAN
BrB <i>treβ</i>	n.f.	settlement	Galcantray CRD-INV
EG <i>aird</i>	n.f.	point	<i>Ardescroon Point</i> † ARS-INV
EG <i>airer</i>	n.m.	coast. Originally nt. (<i>DIL</i>).	Argyll ☼
EG <i>alt</i>	n.m.	cliff	Aldasan† DAI-AYR ^{Heb}
EG <i>beith</i>	n.f.	birch(wood)	Fleming-Beath† BEA-FIF
EG <i>clár</i>	n.m/nt.	plain, surface, land	Cruitheanchlár† ☼
EG <i>dub</i>	adj.	black	Durdy Inglis† KSP-PER Durdy Scot† KSP-PER
EG <i>dún</i>	n.nt.	fort	<i>Duncryne KMO-DNB</i>
EG <i>-ib</i>	dat. pl. ending	"amongst"	Gall-Ghàidhealaibh◊ ☼ Galloway ☼
EG <i>in</i>	nom. sg. art.	the	Cruitheanchlár ☼
EG <i>inis</i>	n.f.	island	Innse Gall◊ ☼ <i>Inchcruin BUC-STL</i>

EG <i>pett</i>	n.f.	estate	<i>Pitscottie CER-FIF</i>
EG <i>rath</i>	n.m/f.	earthen fort	Rathillet KLM-FIF Rathliesbeag KLE-INV
EG <i>túath</i>	n.f.	nation, territory Applied in respect of a people or of a subdivision.	Cruithentuath† ☼
Ln <i>-ia</i>	sfx	land of	Cumbria ☼ Pictavia† ☼
Ln <i>mare</i>	n.nt.	sea	Mare Britannorum† ☼ Mare Frisicum† ☼
Ln <i>molendinum</i>	n.nt.	mill	Scottie Molendinum† KSS-MOR
Ln <i>saxum</i>	n.nt.	large stone	Saxum Hiberniensium† KGL+PTM-FIF+KNR
OD <i>bý</i>	n.m.	village	Flimby COCK-CMB
OE <i>botl</i>	n.nt.	habitation	Irisbuttill† BUL-KCB
OE <i>cot</i>	n.nt.	cottage	<i>Walcot Burn TEM-MLO</i>
OE <i>cynn</i>	n.nt.	race, offspring, kin	Angelcynn† ☼
OE <i>ðeod</i>	n.f.	region	Angelðeod† ☼
OE <i>feld</i>	n.m.	open or cultivated land	Inglefeld† PENR-CMB
OE <i>*hop</i>	n.nt.	enclosed valley	Wauchope HOB-ROX Wauchope LHM-DMF
OE <i>hyll</i>	n.m/f.	hill	<i>Wobrethills† CAN-DMF</i>
OE <i>land</i>	n.nt.	land	Cumberland ☼ England ☼ Saxland† ☼ Scotland ☼
OE <i>mōr</i>	n.m.	waste ground	Earsmortoune† MRT-DMF
OE <i>tūn</i>	n.m.	settlement	Cummercolstoun† HAD-ELO
OE <i>*þwīt</i>	n.nt.	clearing A probable early borrowing of ON n.f. <i>þveit</i> . See Nicolaisen 2001, 133–8, for discussion of the difficulties in using thwaite- names for identifying language.	<i>Ormathwaite COCK-CMB</i>
OE <i>wæð</i>	n.nt.	ford	Scotwad† GKG+PMH-PER+STL
OE <i>wudu</i>	n.m.	forest	Inglewood PENR-CMB
ON <i>býr</i>	n.m.	settlement	Birkby BOOT-CMB Birkby WIGT-CMB Denbie DTN-DMF Ireby WIGT-CMB Scotby CARL-CMB
ON <i>dalr</i>	n.m.	valley	Cummersdale CARL-CMB Petta Dale NES+TWL-SHE Petta Dale NMV-SHE
ON <i>ey</i>	n.f.	island	Cumbrae ARO ^{dtchd} +CUM-BTE Danna NKN-ARG
ON <i>fjall</i>	n.nt.	hill	Pettigarths Field NES-SHE <i>Pettafel† BRS-SHE</i> <i>Sheaval Fiundan LCH^{dtchd}_ROS^{Heb}</i>
ON <i>garðr</i>	n.m.	yard	Pettigarth∅ BRS-SHE Pettigarths Field NES-SHE
ON <i>gerði</i>	n.nt.	enclosure	Funzie Girt FET-SHE
ON <i>gjá</i>	n.f.	creek	Petti's Geo WAS-SHE
ON <i>höfn</i>	n.f.	harbour	Finnies Haven CAY-CAI
ON <i>Kolr</i>	anthro.	given name	Cummercolstoun† HAD-ELO
ON <i>*lágr</i>	n.m.	low-lying ground	<i>Bretallaughe† ☼</i>
ON <i>land</i>	n.nt.	land	Kumbraland† ☼ Pétland† ☼ Skotland† ☼ <i>Paidland Vird NMV-SHE</i>

ON <i>múli</i>	n.m.	projecting hill	Scotmill KCH-ARG
ON <i>-nna</i>	gen. pl. art. sfx	the	Pettena Shaigo† YEL-SHE
ON <i>skógr</i>	n.m.	wood	Briscoe WHTV-CMB
ON <i>smuga</i>	n.f.	narrow cleft	Pettasmog† UNS-SHE
ON <i>sætr</i>	n.nt.	pasture land	Finnister NES-SHE Petester UNS-SHE
ON <i>teigr</i>	n.m.	paddock	<i>Finsteg† FET-SHE</i>
ON <i>varða</i>	n.f.	beacon	Pettifirth BRS-SHE <i>Paidland Vird NMV-SHE</i>
ON <i>vatn</i>	n.nt.	loch, lake	Petta Water DTG+TWL-SHE
ON <i>vrá</i>	n.f.	corner, neuk, nook	Cumbretrute-wra† PENR-CMB
Osc <i>bank</i>	n.	bank, slope	Archbank MOF-DMF
Osc <i>*birren</i>	n.	entrenched camp	<i>Scottisbiryn† MON-ANG</i>
Osc <i>brig</i>	n.	bridge	Frankisbrige† PENR-CMB
Osc <i>burch</i>	n.	enclosed space	Inglisberrie Grange† PTT-LAN
Osc <i>burn</i>	n.	burn, stream	Scots Burn LEW-LAN Scots Burn LOE-ROS Scotsburn KSS+RAF-MOR
Osc <i>but</i>	n.	separated ploughed ground	Scotsmen's Butts† ALY-PER
Osc <i>cot</i>	n.	cottage	Danyscottis† LUP-ABD
Osc <i>crag</i>	n.	rock	Scotscraig FPC-FIF
Osc <i>croft</i>	n.	smallholding	Scotispatis-croft† EDI-MLO
Osc <i>dyke</i>	n.	dyke, wall	Scots' Dike CAN+LNGT-DMF+CMB
Osc <i>fald</i>	n.	enclosure	Earsefald† CUT-DMF
Osc <i>feild</i>	n.	field	<i>Inglisfield BOL+ YES-ELO</i>
Osc <i>flat</i>	n.	level ground	<i>Scots Flat† GRM-STL</i> <i>Sutherounflat† (unidentified) ELO</i>
Osc <i>gate</i>	n.	road	Ersgait TRO-KCB Scotsgat† INB-INV Scot's Road DLS+KNOMOR Scottis-mennis-gait† DDA-PER
Osc <i>gill</i>	n.	gully, hollow	<i>Arresgill LHM-DMF</i> <i>Earsgill HCR-DMF</i> <i>Normangill CRW-LAN</i>
Osc <i>grange</i>	n.	farm with granaries	Inglisberrie Grange† PTT-LAN
Osc <i>hag</i>	n.	clearing	Earshaig KPJ-DMF
Osc <i>halch</i>	n.	haugh, river meadow	Earshaw LHM-DMF Scotch-haugh Burn FRD-KCD
Osc <i>hall</i>	n.	mansion	Fleming Hall WHTV-CMB
Osc <i>hals</i>	n.	narrow feature	<i>Fleming Halse† CARL-CMB</i>
Osc <i>hill</i>	n.	hill, hillock	Scotstonhill SAB-MOR <i>Fleminghill KMK-AYR</i> <i>Frango Hill KCM-WIG</i> <i>Frankie Hill MGF-KCB</i>
Osc <i>hole</i>	n.	hiding place	Scots Hole† MER-BWK
Osc <i>hope</i>	n.	enclosed valley	English Kershope LNGT-CMB Scotch Kershope CSL-ROX
Osc <i>hous</i>	n.	house; shed	<i>Wellshouses† MAN-PEB</i>
Osc <i>ile</i>	n.	island	Lowlandmens Yle† TNG-SUT
Osc <i>kers</i>	n.	crass	English Kershope LNGT-CMB Scotch Kershope CSL-ROX
Osc <i>know</i>	n.	hillock	<i>Norman Knowes† LBN-MLO</i>

OSc <i>land</i>	n.	land; cultivation strip	Flemingis-land† KET-ANG Flemyland DLR-AYR Franksshelande† (unidentified) MLO Frenchland MOF-DMF Pictland ☼
OSc <i>law</i>	n.	hill	Norman's Law ABE ^{dtchd} -FIF
OSc <i>lie</i>	def. art.	the	English Mill STF-BNF ^(ABD) Erisgait† TRO-KCB Frankisbrige† PENR-CMB Galcols† FRC-BNF Scotispatis-croft† EDI-MLO Scotsburn KSS+RAF-MOR Scotsraig FPC-FIF Scottis-raw† DDA-PER Scottsmill PHD-ABD <i>Scotstoun NLS-PEB</i>
OSc <i>mark</i>	n.	boundary or land mark Also <i>merk</i> .	Denmark RED-PER
OSc <i>miln</i>	n.	mill	English Mill STF-BNF ^(ABD) Scottsmill BOY-BNF Scottsmill TUF-ABD Scottismannis Mylne† ALY-PER Scottismyll† LIN-ANG Scottsmill PHD-ABD <i>Scots Mill† IKG-FIF</i> <i>Scottsmill KNL-ABD</i> <i>Scottsmill TQR^{dtchd}-PEB</i>
OSc <i>pat</i>	n.	coal-pit	Scotispatis-croft† EDI-MLO
OSc <i>pule</i>	n.	pool	Scott's Pool PHD+STF-ABD+BNF
OSc <i>raw</i>	n.	street of houses	Scottis-raw† DDA-PER <i>Scotteraw† (unidentified) DMF</i>
OSc <i>reisk</i>	n.	fen	Scottismanisrisk† RED-PER
OSc <i>rig</i>	n.	ridge, cultivated strip	<i>Ear's Rig KPJ-DMF</i>
OSc <i>se</i>	n.	sea	Scots Sea† ☼
OSc <i>side</i>	n.	shore, hillside	Inglissyde† ☼
OSc <i>sike</i>	n.	small stream	<i>Ersock GLN+WHT-WIG</i>
OSc <i>skelly</i>	n.	seashore skerry	Englishman's Skelly CRA-FIF
OSc <i>strother</i>	n.	bog	English Strother GLEN-NTB
OSc <i>sutherland</i>	adj.	southern	Southeran Hills† ALNW-NTB
OSc <i>the</i>	def. art.	the	Scotisgait† GLA+AIR+KGM-ANG Scots' Dike CAN+LNGT-DMF+CMB Scots Sea† ☼ Scotsmen's Butts† ALY-PER Scottismanisrisk† RED-PER Scottis-mennis-gait† DDA-PER Scottismyll† LIN-ANG
OSc <i>toun</i>	n.	settlement	<i>passim</i>
OSc <i>wath</i>	n.	ford, fordable stream	Scotiswath† ANN+DOR+WIGT-DMF+CMB
OSc <i>watir</i>	n.	river, body of water	Scottewatre† CLA+FIF+MLO+PER+STL+WLO
OSc <i>well</i>	n.	well	Englishwells† DNS-BWK <i>Wobrethills† CAN-DMF</i>
OSc <i>wod</i>	n.	wood	Airswood WES-DMF <i>Archwood JOH-DMF</i> <i>Welschewod† PCK-MLO</i>
OW <i>cair</i>	n.f.	fort	Cair Brithon† DUM-DNB

ScG <i>achadh</i>	n.m.	field, farm	Achingale WAT-CAI Achnagall† TAI-ROS Achnyalbenach† BAR-AYR Aikengall IWK-ELO Auchenfranco LRT-KCB Auchingalls† CLN-BNF Auchingaw◊ LRB-STL Auchnagall MDL-INV Auchnagallin CIA-MOR Auchnagaul ALN-ROS Auchoyle† KME-ROS <i>Auchgoyle KFN-ARG</i> <i>Auchoyle† KFN-ARG</i>
ScG <i>-achd</i>	sfx	domain	Gàidhealtachd◊ ☼ Galltachd◊ ☼
ScG <i>àird</i>	n.f.	projection (topographic)	Àird Ghall† SUS-INV ^{Heb} Ardagaw† AMN-ARG Ardinagal† LCA-ROS Ardnagal LGK-ARG Ardnagaul KIL-PER Yngles Ardnel† WKB-AYR <i>Towart-Fleeming† DKM-ARG</i>
ScG <i>àirigh</i>	n.f.	shieling	Arinacrinachd APC-ROS
ScG <i>-ais</i>	loc. sfx	place	Fleenas-na-gael ACL-NAI
ScG <i>allt</i>	n.m.	burn, stream	Allt a' Ghoill ALE-INV Allt a' Ghoill LAG-INV Allt an Albannaich DUS-SUT Allt an t-Sasannaich DUS-SUT Allt na' Gaill† FRR-SUT Allt nan Albannach EDS-SUT Allt nan Albannach◊ LOE-ROS Allt nan Gàidheal ROG-ROS Allt nan Gall FRR-SUT Allt nan Gall MRV-ARG Alton Albany BAR-AYR
ScG <i>alt</i>	n.m.	steep bank	Alt an Albannaich KDO-ARG ^{Heb}
ScG <i>a'</i>	nom. fem. art.	the	Gàidhealtachd◊ ☼ Galltachd◊ ☼ Machair Ghallta◊ ☼ Mòine Fhlanrasach DRY+KPN+PMH-STL+PER
ScG <i>an (t-)</i>	nom. fem. art.	the	Leargaidh Ghallta LGS-AYR
ScG <i>an</i>	nom. masc. art.	the	Galltair GLE-INV
ScG <i>an (t-)</i>	gen. masc. art.	the	Clach an Roman◊ ARD-ARG Tìgh an t-Sasannaich† LOR-PER <i>Teigh Franchich† COL-ARG^{Heb}</i>
ScG <i>aonach</i>	n.m.	steep-sided ridge	<i>Aonach Shasuinn KCV^{dachd}-INV</i>
ScG <i>aonan</i>	n.m.	cliff	Aonan nan Gall KDO-ARG ^{Heb}
ScG <i>bac</i>	n.m.	terrace, hollow	Bac a' Ghoill HAR-INV ^{Heb}
ScG <i>bad</i>	n.m.	grove	Bad an t-Sasannaich AFE-PER
ScG <i>baile</i>	n.m.	settlement	Balbarton KGH-FIF Balgoil ULW-ROS Ballingall KTT-FIF Ballingall LSL-FIF Ballingall ORW-KNR Balnagall TAI-ROS Balsusney† KDT-FIF Belnagauld STD-ABD Gallabhail◊ KIH-INV <i>Balgalli† CBE-FIF</i> <i>Balgay LIB-ANG</i> <i>Ballingall FAL-FIF</i>

ScG <i>bàrr</i>	n.m.	hill	Barbrethan KML-AYR Barnultoch INH-WIG Bàrr nan Gall SKN-ARG
ScG <i>beag</i>	adj.	little, small	Rathliesbeag KLE-INV Rubha nan Gall Beag TOY-ARG ^{Heb}
ScG <i>bealach</i>	n.m.	pass	Bealach nan Gall◊ BRR-INV ^{Heb} Bealach nan Gall NKN-ARG Bealach nan Gall NKN+SKN-ARG Bealach nan Spàinnteach GLL-ROS Port Bealach nan Gall NKN-ARG
ScG <i>beinn</i>	n.f.	hill, peak	Beinn an Albannaich ARD-ARG
ScG <i>blàr</i>	n.m.	open ground	Blair-na-gaul† KIH-INV Blàr nan Gàidheal LDK+LOR-PER Blaregal† AFE-PER
ScG <i>bodha</i>	n.m.	reef	Bodha an t-Sasannaich STH-INV ^{Heb} Bodha nan Gall SMI-ARG ^{Heb (INV)} Bogha nan Gall† UIG-ROS ^{Heb}
ScG <i>buaile</i>	n.f.	stock-fold	Buaile a' Ghoill SUS-INV ^{Heb}
ScG <i>bùta</i>	n.?	archery butt	Putan Sassenich† CRB-ABD
ScG <i>cachaileith</i>	n.f.	(temporary) gate(way)	Cachla nan Gàidheal† COM-PER
ScG <i>cairidh</i>	n.f.	weir	Corrynagald† ULW-ROS
ScG <i>caisteal</i>	n.m.	castle	Caisteal nan Gall◊ ARD-ARG
ScG <i>cam</i>	adj.	bent, awry	Rubha Cam nan Gall SUS-INV ^{Heb}
ScG <i>camas</i>	n.m.	bay, river bend	Camas a' Ghoill GAI-ROS Camas an Albannaich KBK-ARG ^{Heb} Camas nan Gall BRL-INV ^{Heb} Camas nan Gall GLE-INV Camas nan Gall GLL-ROS Camas nan Gall KBK-ARG ^{Heb} Camas nan Gall KLE-ARG Camas nan Gall LBR-ROS Camas nan Gall UIG-ROS ^{Heb}
ScG <i>caochan</i>	n.m.	rill, small stream	Caochan a' Ghoill CDR+MDL-NAI Caochantassanich† BLA+FTL+LOR ^{dtchd.} -PER
ScG <i>caolas</i>	n.m.	narrows	Caolas nan Gall KCN-ARG ^{Heb}
ScG <i>capall</i>	n.m.	mare; horse; colt	Gleann Capall an Èireannaich KDO-ARG ^{Heb}
ScG <i>càrn</i>	n.m.	cairn	Cairngall LON-ABD Càrn nan Gall BRL-INV ^{Heb} Càrn nan Gall KKM-ARG ^{Heb} Càrn Sasannaich GIL-ARG <i>Cairnrankie Houses FRC-BNF</i>
ScG <i>clach</i>	n.f.	stone	Clach an Roman◊ ARD-ARG Clach an t-Sasannaich NKN-ARG Clach Goil KCR+RSK-ROS Clach na Briton KIL-PER Clach nan Gall EDT-ROS Clachangael MLH-BNF <i>Clach a' Bhreatannaich LGK-ARG</i>
ScG <i>cladh</i>	n.m.	burial-ground	Cladh nan Cruinneach† LAP-ARG ^{Heb} Cladh nan Èireannach JUR-ARG ^{Heb} Cladh nan Gall◊ KKV-ARG ^{Heb} Cladh nan Sasannach GAI-ROS Cladh nan Sasannach KNM-PER
ScG <i>clais</i>	n.f.	ditch, groove	Clais nan Cruineachd ASY-SUT Glassingall DLE-PER
ScG <i>cleiteadh</i>	n.m.	natural rock pier	Cleiteadh a' Ghoill KMY-BTE
ScG <i>cluain</i>	n.f.	pasture	Glengall AYP-AYR
ScG <i>cnoc</i>	n.m.	hill	Cnoc Mòr nan Gall◊ KKV-ARG ^{Heb} Cnoc nan Gall FRR+HAL-SUT+CAI Knock-na-Gaul† KCV+KIT-INV+ROS <i>Knockgill† CMI-KCB</i>

ScG <i>cnoc</i>	n.m.	hillock	Cnoc a' Ghàidheil† (unidentified) INV ^{Heb} Cnoc a' Ghàidheil KDO-ARG ^{Heb} Cnoc an t-Sasannaich ASY+LBR-SUT+ROS Cnoc an t-Sasannaich KMR-ARG Cnoc Fraing MDL-INV Cnoc nan Gall COO-ARG ^{Heb} Cnoc nan Gall FRR-SUT Cnoc nan Gall∅ NUS-INV ^{Heb} Cnoc nan Sasannach CON-ROS Knocklegoil EKB-LAN <i>Knockgyle GRN-KCB</i>
ScG <i>coille</i>	n.f.	wood	Galcols† FRC-BNF Gallchoille NKN-ARG
ScG <i>coire</i>	n.m.	corrie, hillside hollow	Coire a' Ghàidheil KCV-INV Coire a' Ghoill GIL-ARG Coire a' Ghoill KCR-ROS Coire an Albannaich AMN-ARG Coire an t-Sasannaich AMT-INV Coire nan Gàidheal ARD-ARG Coire nan Gall AMT-INV Coire nan Gall KIT-ROS Coire nan Gall KLE-ARG ^(INV) Coire nan Gall KMD-ARG Coire nan Gall KMV-INV Coire nan Gall LAG-INV Corrie Gaul† KCV-INV Korynagald† IVV-BNF <i>Coire a' Ghoill ALN-ROS</i> <i>Coire na Seanagalla LAG-INV</i>
ScG <i>coirean</i>	n.m.	small corrie	Coirein nan Spàinnteach GLL-ROS
ScG <i>*collach</i>	n.?	hazel wood See Watson 1926, 378, 420, 482; McNiven 2011, 331.	Galdchollachoyes† KMA-PER
ScG <i>creag</i>	n.f.	crag	Craighhall RED-PER Creag an t-Sasannaich KIL-PER Creag Losgaidh nan Gall† HAR-INV ^{Heb}
ScG <i>creag</i>	n.f.	rock	Creag an t-Sasannaich TIR-ARG ^{Heb} <i>Creag Rankie CAP-PER</i>
ScG <i>creag</i>	n.f.	rocky hill	Cragingalt† SOL-MLO Craigengall TPH-WLO Craiggall† CML-AYR Creag nan Gall AKE-INV Creag nan Gall CRB-ABD
ScG <i>creagan</i>	n.m.	outcrop	Creag nan Sasannach GIL-ARG Creagan an t-Sasannaich GAI-ROS Creagan nan Gàidheal ROG-SUT <i>Creagan nam Frangach KKV-ARG^{Heb}</i>
ScG <i>cruach</i>	n.f.	stack-like hill	Cruach a' Ghoill AMT-INV
ScG <i>cùil</i>	n.f.	corner, neuk, nook	Culbratten PEH-WIG
ScG <i>cuithe</i>	n.f.	stock-fold	Cuinagault† KKE-INV ^{Heb}
ScG <i>dail</i>	n.f.	meadow	Dail a' Ghoill KLE-INV Dail an t-Sasannaich† KKE-ARG ^{Heb} Dailghall† JUR-ARG ^{Heb} Dalgall† KWG-AYR <i>Dailgoil† CAM-ARG</i>
ScG <i>doire</i>	n.m/f.	grove, cluster	<i>Dargodjel PEH-WIG</i> <i>Dirvananie KCW-WIG</i>
ScG <i>drochaid</i>	n.f.	bridge	Drochaid an Innseanaich ARD-ARG

ScG <i>druim</i>	n.m.	ridge	Drimnagall NKN-ARG Druim a' Ghoill KLE-INV Druim an t-Sasannaich [◊] LAP-ARG ^{Heb} Druim nan Gall KMR-ARG ^{Heb} Druim nan Sasannach AFE-PER Drumbrethan SOK-WIG <i>Drumbarton Hill TUF-ABD</i> <i>Drumgalder OLU-WIG</i> <i>Drumwall GRN-KCB</i>
ScG <i>dùn</i>	n.m.	fort	Dounagal† MRV-ARG Dumbarton DUM-DNB Dumbretton ANN-DMF Dumbryden COT-MLO Dùn a' Ghoill JUR-ARG ^{Heb} Dùn nan Gall KDO-ARG ^{Heb} Dùn nan Gall KKE ¹ -ARG ^{Heb} Dùn nan Gall KKE ² -ARG ^{Heb} Dùn nan Gall TIR-ARG ^{Heb} Dungald† LOE-ROS Dunultach KCH-ARG
ScG <i>dùn</i>	n.m.	heap-shaped hill	Dungoil FTY-STL Dunguile KTN-KCB
ScG <i>eas</i>	n.m.	cataract	Eas a' Ghàidheil ARD-ARG Eas a' Ghoill GIL-ARG
ScG <i>eilean</i>	n.m.	island	Eilean a' Ghoill KKV-ARG ^{Heb} Eilean a' Ghoill LAP-ARG Eilean an Èireannaich EDS-SUT Eilean nan Gàidheal† TNG-SUT Eilean nan Gall KIT-ROS Eilean nan Gall KLE-ARG Eilean nan Gall NUS-INV ^{Heb} Eilean nan Gall TNG ¹ -SUT Eilean nan Gall TNG ² -SUT Eilean nan Sasannach KMV-INV Eileanan Lochlannach [◊] SUS-INV ^{Heb} Elenyngill† KKM-ARG ^{Heb}
ScG <i>fèith</i>	n.f.	bog channel	Finnygauld STD-ABD
ScG <i>fionn</i>	adj.	white, bright	<i>Sheaval Fiundan LCH^{dtchd}-ROS^{Heb}</i>
ScG <i>fuaran</i>	n.m.	spring	Fuaran an t-Sasannaich KLE-INV
ScG <i>gart</i>	n.m.	crop enclosure	<i>Gartnagaul† (unidentified) ARG^{Heb}</i>
ScG <i>geodha</i>	n.m.	creek	Geodha an Albanaich† LCH-ROS ^{Heb} Geodha an t-Sasannaich LCH-ROS ^{Heb} Geodha an t-Sasannaich [◊] UIG-ROS ^{Heb} Geodha nan Gall BVS-ROS ^{Heb}
ScG <i>gil</i>	n.f.	rill, small stream	Gil nan Gall LCH-ROS ^{Heb}
ScG <i>glac</i>	n.f.	hollow	Glac nan Gall [◊] KKV-ARG ^{Heb} <i>Glac a' Bhreatannaich KMV-INV</i>
ScG <i>gleann</i>	n.m.	glen, valley	Gleann Capall an Èireannaich KDO-ARG ^{Heb} Glen Sassunn FTL-PER <i>Glenbertle WES-DMF</i>
ScG <i>gob</i>	n.m.	headland point	Gob a' Ghoill HAR-INV ^{Heb}
ScG <i>-ibh</i>	dat. pl. ending	amongst, territory	Gallaibh [◊] ✨-CAI
ScG <i>-in</i>	loc. sfx	place Only evidenced as attached to settlement-names, and sometimes at least not radical. See <i>PNF</i> v (forthcoming).	Durdy Inglis† KSP-PER Durdy Scot† KSP-PER <i>Balgall† CBE-FIF</i> <i>Balgay LIB-ANG</i> <i>Pitscottie CER-FIF</i>
ScG <i>innis</i>	n.f.	haugh, meadow	Inchgall [◊] KGH-FIF Innis nan Galla LAG-INV <i>Inchigule† SOR-WIG</i>
ScG <i>innis</i>	n.f.	island	Inchgall BGY-FIF Innisgall HAR-INV ^{Heb}

ScG <i>lag</i>	n.m.	hollow	Lag nan Gàidheal SOE-ARG Lag nan Sasannach KBD-BTE
ScG <i>laimrig</i>	n.f.	landing place	Làimhrig nan Gall HAR-INV ^{Heb}
ScG <i>leac</i>	n.f.	declivity	Leac a' Ghoill AFE-PER Leac a' Ghoill IVC-ARG Leac nan Gall KCH-ARG
ScG <i>leac</i>	n.f.	slab	Leac an Fhrangaich ∅ TIR-ARG ^{Heb} Leac nan Gall KCN-ARG ^{Heb}
ScG <i>leacann</i>	n.f.	broad slope	Leacann nan Gall IVC-ARG Leacann Sasannaich KMG-ARG
ScG <i>leargach</i>	n.f.	steep-slope place See Holmer 1962, 70, 113.	Leargaidh Ghalta ∅ LGS-AYR
ScG <i>leathad</i>	n.m.	slope	Leathad nan Cruineachd EDS-SUT
ScG <i>linne</i>	n.f.	pool	Linne a' Ghàidheil KCM+KDO-ARG ^{Heb} Linne an t-Sasannaich KLE-ARG
ScG <i>loch</i>	n.m/f.	loch, lake, fjord, pool	Loch a' Ghàidheil KKE-ARG ^{Heb} Loch a' Ghoill NUS-INV ^{Heb} Loch Albanich † KMG-ARG Loch nan Gàidheal KKV-ARG ^{Heb} Loch nan Gall BVS-ROS ^{Heb} Loch nan Gall FRR-SUT
ScG <i>lòn</i>	n.m.	wet meadow, stream	<i>Loangall LAT-CAI</i>
ScG <i>losgadh</i>	n.m.	burning	Creag Losgaidh nan Gall † HAR-INV ^{Heb}
ScG <i>lùb</i>	n.f.	river bend	Lùb a' Ghaill † LAL-ROS Lùb nan Gall LCH-ROS ^{Heb}
ScG <i>machair</i>	n.m/f.	low-lying plain	Machair Ghalta ∅ ☼
ScG <i>màm</i>	n.m.	large round hill	Màm a' Ghoill ARD-ARG
ScG <i>maol</i>	n.m.	cape (topographic)	Maol nan Gall † KMN-WIG
ScG <i>mòine</i>	n.f.	peatbog	Mingall † FAL-FIF Mòine Fhlanrasach DRY+KPN+PMH-STL+PER Moniegall † CRB-ABD
ScG <i>mol</i>	n.f.	stony beach	Mol a' Ghoill HAR-INV ^{Heb}
ScG <i>monadh</i>	n.m.	hill pasture, massif	<i>Munwhall GRN-KCB</i>
ScG <i>mòr</i>	adj.	big, great	Cnoc Mòr nan Gall ∅ KKV-ARG ^{Heb} Rathad Mòr nan Gàidheal † AAR+LUS+RHU-DNB Rathad Mòr nan Gàidheal † INB+KIH-INV Rubha nan Gall Mòr TOY-ARG ^{Heb}
ScG <i>mullach</i>	n.m.	height	Mullach nan Gall TIR-ARG ^{Heb}
ScG <i>na (h-)</i>	nom. fem. art.	the	Na h-Eileanan Lochlannach SUS-INV ^{Heb}
ScG <i>nam</i>	gen. pl. art.	the	Auchenfranco LRT-KCB Clach na Briton KIL-PER Rubha nam Frangach INA-ARG <i>Creagan nam Frangach KKV-ARG^{Heb}</i> <i>Sheaval Fiundan LCH^{dtchd}-ROS^{Heb}</i> <i>Sloc nam Frangach BRR-INV^{Heb}</i>
ScG <i>nan</i>	gen. pl. art.	the	<i>passim</i>
ScG <i>òban</i>	n.m.	small bay	Òban an Innseanaich NUS-INV ^{Heb}
ScG <i>ochdamh</i>	n.m.	eighthland Measure of land.	Auchtygall PHD-ABD
ScG <i>peighinn</i>	n.f.	pennyland Measure of land.	Penalbanach KKE-ARG ^{Heb}
ScG <i>poll</i>	n.m.	pool	Poll nan Gall NUS-INV ^{Heb}

ScG <i>port</i>	n.m.	landing place	Port an Duitsich COO-ARG ^{Heb} Port an t-Sasannaich NKN-ARG Port an t-Sasannaich TOY-ARG ^{Heb} Port Bealach nan Gall NKN-ARG Port na Gael SSS-ARG Port nan Gall ARD-ARG Port nan Gall SSS-ARG Port nan Spàinnteach ARD-ARG
ScG <i>port</i>	n.m.	shieling	Port Ghàidheal† FTL-PER
ScG <i>raon</i>	n.m/f.	field	Rune Pictorum† RAF-MOR
ScG <i>rathad</i>	n.m.	road	Rathad Mòr nan Gàidheal† AAR+LUS+RHU-DNB Rathad Mòr nan Gàidheal† INB+KIH-INV
ScG <i>rubha</i>	n.m.	headland	Rubha an t-Sasannaich MRV-ARG Rubha Cam nan Gall SUS-INV ^{Heb} Rubha Gàidhealach KCN-ARG ^{Heb} Rubha Ghall GIL-ARG Rubha nam Frangach INA-ARG Rubha nan Gall KKE ¹ -ARG ^{Heb} Rubha nan Gall KKE ² -ARG ^{Heb} Rubha nan Gall KLE-ARG Rubha nan Gall NUS ¹ -INV ^{Heb} Rubha nan Gall NUS ² -INV ^{Heb} Rubha nan Gall† NUS ³ -INV ^{Heb} Rubha nan Gall STY-ROS ^{Heb} Rubha nan Gall Beag TOY-INV ^{Heb} Rubha nan Gall Mòr TOY-ARG ^{Heb} Rubha nan Spàinnteach◊ BRR-ARG ^{Heb} Rubha Sasannaich KBK-ARG ^{Heb}
ScG <i>sean</i>	adj.	old	<i>Coire na Seanagalla</i> LAG-INV
ScG <i>Seumas</i>	anthro.	given name Cognate with SSE <i>James</i> .	Uamh Sheumais an Innseanaich◊ KKV-ARG ^{Heb}
ScG <i>sgeir</i>	n.f.	skerry, sea rock	Sgeir a' Ghoill GLE-INV Sgeir an Lochlannaich† (unidentified) INV ^{Heb} Sgeir nan Gàidheal LAP-ARG ^{Heb} Sgeir nan Gall ASY-SUT Sgeir nan Gall◊ CAM-ARG Sgeir nan Gall KCN-ARG ^{Heb} Sgeir nan Gall KKV-ARG ^{Heb} Sgeir nan Gall◊ POR-INV ^{Heb}
ScG <i>sgùrr</i>	n.m.	conical hill	Sgùrr an Albannaich AMT-INV Sgùrr an t-Sasannaich AMT-INV Sgùrr nan Gall POR-INV ^{Heb} Sgùrr nan Spàinnteach GLL-ROS
ScG <i>siuch</i>	n.m.	narrow hollow	Shunagal◊ DRM-INV
ScG <i>sloc</i>	n.m.	coastal pool	Sloc a' Ghallabhaich SMI-ARG ^{Heb} (INV) <i>Sloc nam Frangach</i> ◊ BRR-INV ^{Heb}
ScG <i>sròn</i>	n.f.	hill-spur	Sròn a' Ghoill KMV-INV Sròn Albannach KCH-ARG Sròn nan Albannach JUR-ARG ^{Heb} Sròn nan Gall KMV-INV Stronnynalbynnych† KMG-ARG
ScG <i>stac</i>	n.m.	sea-stack	Staca nan Gall◊ LCH ^{dtchd.} -ROS ^{Heb} Staca nan Gall◊ UIG-ROS ^{Heb}
ScG <i>staidhir</i>	n.f.	stair(s)	Stair na Gall CRB-ABD
ScG <i>stairsneach</i>	n.f.	threshold	Stairsneach nan Gàidheal DDY+MDL-INV
ScG <i>taigh</i>	n.m.	house	Taigh nan Gall◊ KKV-ARG ^{Heb} Tigh an t-Sasannaich† LOR-PER <i>Teigh Franchich</i> † COL-ARG ^{Heb}
ScG <i>tìr</i>	n.m/f.	land	Galltair GLE-INV
ScG <i>tobar</i>	n.m/f.	well	Tobar a' Ghoill SSS-ARG <i>Tobar na Danich</i> † CIA-MOR <i>Tobargayle</i> † CAM-ARG

ScG <i>tobhta</i>	n.m.	mound	Toftingall WAT-CAI
ScG <i>tobhta</i>	n.f.	standing ruin	Tobhta nan Sasannach◊ KKV-ARG ^{Heb}
ScG <i>toll</i>	n.m.	hole	<i>Towart-Fleeming</i> † DKM-ARG
ScG <i>tom</i>	n.m.	hillock	Tom an t-Sasannaich DUL-PER Toum Scalan n Sasnich† CRB-ABD
ScG <i>tòrr</i>	n.m.	heap-shaped hill	Torgyle UGM-INV Tòrr an Albannaich GLE-INV
ScG <i>uaigh</i>	n.f.	grave	Uaigh an Innseanaich HAR-INV ^{Heb} Uaighean nan Spàinnteach◊ BRR-INV ^{Heb}
ScG <i>uamh</i>	n.f.	cave	Uamh Sheumais an Innseanaich◊ KKV-ARG ^{Heb}
ScS <i>aire</i>	n.	gravelly beach	Hollanders'-AYRe NMV-SHE
ScS <i>brig</i>	n.	bridge	Canadian Brig◊ CRB-ABD Scotsbrig MLB-DMF
ScS <i>burn</i>	n.	stream	Englishman's Burn KKK-KCB Highlander's Burn◊ KRM-BNF Picts Burn† NES-SHE Scotch-haugh Burn FRD-KCD <i>Irish Burn GLV-KCD</i> <i>Pikieston Burn SAN-DMF</i>
ScS <i>cove</i>	n.	cave	<i>Pikie's Cove CHM-BWK</i>
ScS <i>craig</i>	n.	rock	Craig Roman BGE-PER English Craig† LNGT-CMB Scotch Craig CSL-ROX
ScS <i>croft</i>	n.	smallholding	Highlandman's Croft ORD-BNF
ScS <i>da</i>	def. art.	the	Pettasmog† UNS-SHE Pict's Hoose◊ WAS-SHE
ScS <i>den</i>	n.	narrow ravine	Englishmen's Den FEC-KCD
ScS <i>dub</i>	n.	pool	Englishmen's Dub KEL-KCB
ScS <i>dyke</i>	n.	wall	Danes Dike CRA-FIF Danes Dyke BFF-BNF Danish Dyke† ABU-BNF Highlandman's Dyke† ALV+KED-BNF+ABD Normandykes PCR-ABD Pict's Dyke CLI-PER Pict's Dyke◊ GRN-KCB Picts' Dyke† NCU+SAN-AYR+DMF Romans' Dyke† NCU+SAN-AYR+DMF Scots Dyke† CSL+BELL-ROX+NTB <i>Pickadike</i> † CBS-ORK
ScS <i>fauch</i>	n.	fallow field	Norman Faughs† PCR-ABD
ScS <i>gairden</i>	n.	garden	American Gairdens◊ CRB-ABD
ScS <i>garth</i>	n.	enclosure	Pickigarth† DNR-SHE
ScS <i>geo</i>	n.	creek	Englishman's Geo FET-SHE Hollander's Geo DNR-SHE <i>Geo of Newfinnamie UNS-SHE</i>
ScS <i>hammer</i>	n.	rock ledge	Highlandman's Hamar WRY-ORK
ScS <i>haugh</i>	n.	meadow	Highlandman's Haugh CAP-PER
ScS <i>heuch</i>	n.	steep bank	Picardy Heught† INC-ABD
ScS <i>hill</i>	n.	hill	Scotch Hill BLE-MOR Scots Hill BOH-BNF <i>Wallace's Hill YAR^{ditchd.}-SLK</i>
ScS <i>hill</i>	n.	hillock	Danes Hill† MAY-AYR Picts' Hill MLR-ROX
ScS <i>hole</i>	n.	small bay	English Hole WRY-ORK
ScS <i>hoose</i>	n.	house	Pict's Hoose◊ WAS-SHE
ScS <i>hoosie</i>	n.	small house	Picts' Housie◊ GTG-ABD
ScS <i>how</i>	n.	tumulus	Saxon Howe AUG-PER
ScS <i>howe</i>	n.	hollow	Picts Howe LOC-ABD
ScS <i>knockle</i>	n.	protuberance	Knocklegoil EKB-LAN

ScS <i>knowe</i>	n.	hillock, knoll	English Knowe† BELL+LNGT-NTB+CMB Highlanders' Knowe CAV-ROX Highlanders' Nose† KLE-INV Hollanders' Knowe LWK-SHE Pict's Knowe TRO-KCB Scotch Knowe CSL-ROX <i>Norriesknow</i> † CER-FIF <i>Scot Knowe SST-SHE</i>
ScS <i>lake</i>	n.	coastal pool	Manxman's Lake KRB-KCB
ScS <i>law</i>	n.	hillock, mound	Frenchlaw† WHI-BWK Scotlaw LGS-AYR
ScS <i>law</i>	n.	rounded hill	Irish Law DLR-AYR Norrie's Law LAR-FIF <i>Welshie Law YAR-SLK</i>
ScS <i>loan</i>	n.	passage	Highlandman Loan CRF-PER
ScS <i>loch</i>	n.	loch, lake	Dutch Loch WAS-SHE Indians' Loch◊ KKV-ARG ^{Heb} Picts' Loch† LWK-SHE
ScS <i>loup</i>	n.	leap	Englishman's Loup MGF-KCB Highlandman's Loup MOF-DMF
ScS <i>*mossie</i>	n.	small bog Diminutive of ScS n. <i>moss</i> .	Highlandmen's Mossie GLS-BNF ^(ABD)
ScS <i>muir</i>	n.	common	Americanmuir† MSM-ANG
ScS <i>ness</i>	n.	promontory	Picts Ness DTG-SHE
ScS <i>neuk</i>	n.	corner, nook	Englishman's Neuks BAD-KCD Frenchman's Neuk AGK-PER
ScS <i>-o</i>	dim. sfx	In the Western Mainland and Northern Isles of Orkney. See Sandness 2010, 318–9.	Picto ERL-ORK Pictou SHA-ORK
ScS <i>park</i>	n.	enclosure	Picts' Park◊ GTG-ABD Roman Camp Park† FAK-STL Roman Park FGK-PER Roman Park MLR-ROX <i>Danepark SYM-AYR</i> <i>French Park</i> † LRB-STL
ScS <i>pot</i>	n.	pool	Egyptian Pot FIN-ABD
ScS <i>quoy</i>	n.	enclosure	Pickaquoy KSO-ORK Pickasquoy◊ BIH-ORK
ScS <i>rickle</i>	n.	loose dyke	Paddysrickle◊ CRW-LAN
ScS <i>rig</i>	n.	ridge	Highlandman's Rig MGF-KCB
ScS <i>ring</i>	n.	stone circle, prehistoric circle	Picts' Ring◊ GTG-ABD
ScS <i>road</i>	n.	track	Highlandman's Road RHU-DNB Scot's Road DLS+KNO-MOR
ScS <i>shiel</i>	n.	hut	English New Water Shiel BET/BERW-NTB
ScS <i>spout</i>	n.	narrow channel	Englishman's Spout KNO-MOR
ScS <i>stane</i>	n.	stone	<i>Pikiestane CHK-BWK</i>
ScS <i>strip</i>	n.	tree belt	Japanese Strip LUS-DNB
ScS <i>stripe</i>	n.	small stream	Egyptian Stripe CAB-BNF
ScS <i>syke</i>	n.	rill, small stream	Briton Sike ECK-ROX Englishmen's Syke◊ GAS-SLK
ScS <i>tail</i>	n.	attached land	Pictail SAD-ORK
ScS <i>toun</i>	n.	settlement	<i>Frenchton FOW-PER</i> <i>Pikieston Burn SAN-DMF</i> <i>Scotstown ECH-ABD</i>
ScS <i>varg</i>	n.	bog Shetland dialect. See Jakobsen 1936, 172.	Petvarg† WAS-SHE
ScS <i>wall</i>	n.	well	Brittons Walls† STM-DMF Roman Well† BCN-WLO

ScS <i>ward</i>	n.	enclosure	Dutch Ward SST-SHE
ScS <i>wark</i>	n.	construction	Danes Wark SAD-FIF
ScS <i>water</i>	n.	loch, lake	Petta Water DTG+TWL-SHE
SE <i>bank</i>	n.	slope, raised shelf	Scott's Bank KHP-SLK
SE <i>bay</i>	n.	coastal indentation	Lowlandman's Bay JUR-ARG ^{Heb}
SE <i>bridge</i>	n.	bridge	Chinese Bridge† HAD-ELO Englishman's Bridge KKK-KCB Roman Bridge LDK-PER <i>Irish Bridge BELL-NTB</i>
SE <i>buttress</i>	n.	hill abutment	Highlander Buttress SMI-ARG ^{Heb (INV)}
SE <i>cabin</i>	n.	rudimentary dwelling	Swiss Cabin Wood EDD-PEB
SE <i>camp</i>	n.	encampment	Canadian Camp CRB-ABD Danish Camp∅ WHTV-CMB Roman Camp UPH-WLO Roman Camp Park† FAK-STL Roman Camp Wood CLD-PER Roman Camp Wood TQR-PEB Romancamp Gate BLE-MOR
SE <i>cap</i>	n.	cap, head-dress	Dutchman's Cap KKE-ARG ^{Heb}
SE <i>cave</i>	n.	cave, cavern	Gipsies' Cave CRO-ROS Gipsies Cave DUF-MOR Gipsy Cave LWT-WIG Romans' Cave∅ CRB-ABD
SE <i>chapel</i>	n.	chapel, non-Presbyterian church	Low-landers Chappel† NUS-INV ^{Heb}
SE <i>close</i>	n.	enclosure	<i>Norman WIGT-CMB</i> <i>Norman Close† COCK-CMB</i>
SE <i>clump</i>	n.	grove	Highlandman's Clump ODR-ABD
SE <i>cottage</i>	n.	cottage, small house	Dutch Cottage GOL-SUT Roman Cottage† ARH-PER Swiss Cottage BLE-MOR
SE <i>crag</i>	n.	rock	<i>Norman Crag PENR¹-CMB</i> <i>Norman Crag PENR²-CMB</i>
SE <i>dale</i>	n.	portion of land	Irish Dales† BELF-NTB
SE <i>dam</i>	n.	reservoir	Englishman's Dam† LRB-STL
SE <i>ditch</i>	n.	ditch	Pict's Ditch∅ SEL-SLK
SE <i>dump</i>	n.	rubbish tip	Poles' Dump† FAL-FIF
SE <i>face</i>	n.	face	Indian's Face CUM-BTE
SE <i>field</i>	n.	field	Englishfield† CIE-ABD Field of the English CRD-INV Frenchfield PENR-CMB Pictfield BDY-PER
SE <i>flat</i>	n.	level ground	<i>French Flatt∅ CARL-CMB</i>
SE <i>ford</i>	n.	ford	Englishman's Ford† MEN-ANG Highlanders' Ford† TUF-ABD Scotchman's Ford MEN-ANG Scotchman's Ford RTHB-NTB Scotsmansford† KCO-ABD
SE <i>garden</i>	n.	garden	Japanese Garden STB-PEB
SE <i>gate</i>	n.	gateway	Romancamp Gate BLE-MOR
SE <i>grave</i>	n.	grave	Gipsies Grave0134 GBA-ELO Hollanders' Grave NMV-SHE Swedish Man's Grave† DNH-SUT
SE <i>hall</i>	n.	large house, mansion	Scotch Hall HEXH-NTB

SE <i>hill</i>	n.	hill	Daneshill ALNW-NTB Frankhill†-WIGT-CMB German Hill DRZ-PEB Germanhill BUL-KCB Roman TOW-ABD Roman Hill MON-ANG <i>Drumbarton Hill TUF-ABD</i>
SE <i>hole</i>	n.	cave	English Hole WRY-ORK Picts Holes† WHTV-CMB
SE <i>hole</i>	n.	pool	Dane's Hole KNO-MOR
SE <i>house</i>	n.	house	Dutch House MPK-AYR Picts' House GTG-ABD Pict's Houses ALF-ABD <i>Cairnrankie Houses FRC-BNF</i> <i>Wellshouses† MAN-PEB</i>
SE <i>how</i>	n.	mound	Frankhisshow† COCK-CMB <i>Pickthowe† -WIGT-CMB</i> <i>Pict-How PENR-CMB</i> <i>Pictowe† PENR-CMB</i>
SE <i>land</i>	n.	land, ground	Dutchmansland† DPC-STL <i>Dainelandes† WHTV-CMB</i> <i>Earsland† ALNW-NTB</i>
SE <i>leap</i>	n.	leaping-place, place leapt	Dutchman's Leap LWK-SHE Lowlander's Leap† NUS-INV ^{Heb}
SE <i>meadow</i>	n.	meadow	Scotchmeadows HEXH-NTB
SE <i>milestone</i>	n.	milestone	Paddy's Milestone◊ DAI-AYR
SE <i>mill</i>	n.	mill	Dutch Mills† AYP-AYR Frenchmill† CPS-STL
SE <i>monument</i>	n.	monument	American Monument KDO-ARG ^{Heb}
SE <i>mount</i>	n.	mound	Irish Mount WCA-MLO <i>Paddy's Mount ALNW-NTB</i>
SE <i>oak</i>	n.		
SE <i>of</i>	prep.	of	Field of the English CRD-ABD Geo of Newfinnamie UNS-SHE Scotston of Kirkside SCY-KCD Scotston of Usan CRG-ANG
SE <i>park</i>	n.	enclosure	Picts' Park◊ GTG-ABD Roman Camp Park† FAK-STL Roman Park FGK-PER Roman Park MLR-ROX <i>Danepark SYM-AYR</i> <i>French Park† LRB-STL</i>
SE <i>pier</i>	n.	pier	Dane's Pier◊ SSY-ORK
SE <i>plantation</i>	n.	plantation	<i>Paddy's Plantation KMN-WIG</i>
SE <i>point</i>	n.	headland	Gipsy Point KRB-KCB <i>Ardescroon Point† ARS-INV</i>
SE <i>pool</i>	n.	loch	Dutch Pool◊ DNR-SHE
SE <i>pool</i>	n.	pool	Highlandman's Pool CAE-DMF <i>Paddy's Pool DRZ-PEB</i>
SE <i>rig</i>	n.	ridge	Flamiggs COCK-CMB
SE <i>rock</i>	n.	rock, skerry	Frenchman's Rock BOR-KCB Frenchman's Rocks KCN-ARG ^{Heb} Highlandman's Rock† LAP-ARG ^{Heb} Irishman's Rock HAR-INV ^{Heb} Manxman's Rock BOR-KCB Manxman's Rock KMN-WIG Welshman's Rock SMI-ARG ^{Heb (INV)}
SE <i>row</i>	n.	street of houses	Frenchmen's Row CAST-NTB <i>Paddy Row ONM-ROX</i>
SE <i>shiel</i>	n.	shieling hut	Scotch Shields† LNGT-CMB
SE <i>stank</i>	n.	pool	Duch Stank† COCK-CMB

SE <i>stone</i>	n.	stone, rock	Picardy Stone INC-ABD Roman Stone◊ COM-PER <i>Paddy's Stone</i> ABR-ABD
SE <i>the</i>	def. art.	the	<i>passim</i>
SE <i>town</i>	n.	town, settlement	Englishtown LNGT-CMB Scotstown ARD-ARG
SE <i>umbrella</i>	n.	umbrella	Highlandman's Umbrella◊ GLW-LAN
SE <i>vale</i>	n.	valley	Danevale CMI-KCB
SE <i>view</i>	n.	outlook	Scot's View† COCK-CMB
SE <i>walk</i>	n.	walking route, path	Highlandman's Walk† DAI-AYR
SE <i>wall</i>	n.	wall	Britton Wall† ☼-CMB+NTB Picts Wall† ☼-CMB+NTB Roman Wall◊ ☼-CMB+NTB
SE <i>water</i>	n.	loch, lake	Petta Water DTG+TWL-SHE
SE <i>water</i>	n.	water	English New Water Shiel BET/BERW-NTB
SE <i>way</i>	n.	road	Romanway PENR-CMB
SE <i>well</i>	n.	well	Gypsy Well KKK-KCB Hielanman's Well◊ LOI-STL Highlandman's Well MLH-BNF Norman's Well PCR-ABD Pictish Well◊ DUF-MOR Pict's Well HOY-ORK Picts Well SPO†-ELO Roman Well† DUF-MOR <i>Norrieswell</i> † CER-FIF
SE <i>wood</i>	n.	wood	Highlandman's Wood RHU-DNB Roman Camp Wood CLD-PER Roman Camp Wood TQR-PEB Roman Wood JED-ROX Swiss Cabin Wood EDD-PEB
SE <i>work</i>	n.	defensive structure	Pict's Ditch◊ SEL-SLK Pictswork KHP+SEL-SLK