Ethnonyms in the Place-names of Scotland 
and the Border Counties of England

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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 motte 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 ethonyms 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*.
Acknowledgements

Le buidheachas dha Mairead, Ealasaid agus Seumas, nach b’aithne riamh saoghal às aonais an rannsachaidh seo, agus dha Dawn, a thug aire dhuinn uile: tha e lân-âm gum faigh iad mo lân-aire-sa. ’S ann dhaibhsan a tha an tràchdas seo.

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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 *Cruithen 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 *Cruithneach.

Cumbrian
Used in the study in relation to ethnonyms derived from BrB plural *Combrogī 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 etic, 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 emic, 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 endonym.

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 anthroponym, 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 transferred name, 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scots</td>
<td>A lexical item is typically labelled in the study as Scots, rather than Scottish Standard English, if it is to be found in the <em>Scottish National Dictionary (SND)</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scribal sequence</td>
<td>The order in which place-names are consecutively mentioned in a manuscript.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary name</td>
<td>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 <em>specific element borrowing</em>, below.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specific element borrowing</td>
<td>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 <em>specific element sharing</em> has been used.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stock name</td>
<td>One of a reserve of place-name forms associated with topographic archetypes in the collective memory of a culture. It differs from a <em>transferred name</em>, below, in not being commemorative.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transferred name</td>
<td>A daughter place-name, commemorating a particular mother name, normally having travelled over a much greater distance than a <em>migrated name</em>, above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transit-name</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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-
In the study, however, a place-name is defined in a wider sense, 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). 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

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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. 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

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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. 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. 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. 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

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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). 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). Ethnonyms are grouped for analytical purposes (*Ethnonyms*, below), each

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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* IUS-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. 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. 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). No evidence to support this model or to confirm its application to the ethnicities under consideration has

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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 amphictyones", 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, an association with a specific territory, 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.

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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."
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. 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:

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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 *Goiill* 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](image)

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

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

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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. 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.

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18 E.g. OSc n. wes > SSE n. wood in **Airthvore**. WES-DMF, 1493. Eeswod. 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 apppellative identical to ScG Gall, ScG n.m. gall 'freestanding stone or rock', has hardly been mentioned in mainstream Scottish academic publications for a generation, 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

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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 *Cumber may be BrB *Cumbo applied in an Old English context, rather than as a loan-word, and adds evidence of Cumbrian immigration into East Lothian.20

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

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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, 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, and
tentatively suggests that the former Debatable Land along the border with
Dumfriesshire was also named with a *Bretr*-name.

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'. As
befits an apparently common element, it has attracted the attention of many

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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* KKE^-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 Briðon (Coates, in Coates & Breeze 2000, 348).

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

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 Britthon⁴ 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, that these may have referred to British incomers who arrived on the back of Viking expansion.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gen. sg.</td>
<td>‘Britte, Bretnaig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. pl.</td>
<td>Bretain, Bretnaig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. pl.</td>
<td>Bretan, Bretnach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>Britt, Bretnach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ‘Brittá. No place-name in the study area has been found to contain this ethnonym.4

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gen. sg.</td>
<td>Gall-Britte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. pl.</td>
<td>Gall-Bretain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. pl.</td>
<td>Gall-Breatan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>Gall-Bretnach</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. Breataínn 'Britain'. 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), 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). A Gallovidian reflex of this surname, MacBratney (Black 1946, 459), is found in reduced form (Black 1946, 99) in Bratney Walls‡ KKR-WIG. 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

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5 Breatunn (Dwelly, 1008; MacLennan 1925, 49), Breatunn breíciaN (Dieckhoff 1932, 181; for [ˈbɾɛxtən]), but now the nominative has generally given way to the palatalised form, in common with similar country-names: Breatuinn (Dorian 1978, 170), Breatainn [ˈbɾɛhˈtən] (Wentworth 2003, under Britain, for [ˈbɾɛhˈtən]), Breat(a)in (Robertson & MacDonald 2004, 303).
6 Henderson’s (1910, 60) Mac Na Breatnach 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 Bhreatuinich (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 might 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. Brettta
- 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);

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9 NM795683, 1878 Sròn a’ Bhreathuinnach (OSnb 62:65). **Glac a’ Bhreatanach** 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 Bhreatuinnach (Cnoc Mhic Breatanach) (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 Bhreatanach (OSnb 57:116). 11 HW816319, 1852 Geodha na Breatuin (Geodh an Brathan- Geodha na Breatun) (OSnb 136:24) Geodh a Brathan (OSnb 136:77).
OE *bryt(ta) (or adj. *brýd), 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 Britton-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. The earliest recording is 1755, 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.

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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 Britons Walls† STM-DMF, 1755 Bralen [recte Braten] Wells (Roy Map).
**Dataset Overview**

Beyond three SSE antiquarian references, a single dubious Old English possibility, an Old Welsh exonym, and a Latin name reflecting, if any, an unknown vernacular, 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. byr, with a settlement pattern more in keeping with OWN n.m. býr than with the nucleated villages typical of OD n.m. bý (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.

Of the four possible Gaelic Briton-names, two are northern outliers and are safer discounted. 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

13 Briton Sike ECK-ROX, Britton Wall † STM-DMF.
14 Wobrethills † CAN-DMF.
15 Cair Brithon † DUM-DNB. The indigenous British name was probably Kaer Alclut †.
16 Mare Britannorum †.
17 Cf. fourteenth-century Britscoghenes † E/WML, with ON n.m. skógr 'wood' + ON n.f. eng 'meadow' (PNWe 2, 138; VEPN 2000, 27–8).
18 Drumbarton Hill TUF-ABD, Glac a’ Bhrataannaich 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) 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. 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. *treòb* ‘settlement’. 3) **Culbratten** PEH-WIG, with ScG n.f. *cùil* ‘neuk, nook’, applied to a farm in a slight hollow.

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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 NS392071. Further out on either side are Troquhain NS375092 and Tradunnock NS301045, but they could not be said to be directly associated with the hill.
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.  *Cruithnech*
- nom. pl.  *Cruithin, Cruithnig*
- collective  Cruithne, Cruithni
- gen. pl.  Cruithen, Cruithnech
- adj.  *Cruithnech*

 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 and Cruithnech, the latter also recorded as the plural Cruithnig:

 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 Aráidi specifically), and he reports (ibid., 99–100) Tuath Chruitheanch 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.

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1 LL In. 5863: Aed Brecc. i cath Monad Daire Lothair ro marbad > cethri rig Cruthen, 'Aed Brecc, was killed in the battle of Monad Daire Lothair along with four Cruithnian kings'.
2 LL In. 29a: Albanai .i. Saxain > Bretnaig > Cruithnig, 'Albanians, i.e. Saxons & Britons & Cruithnians'.
3 Watson (1904, xlv) talks of a place 'Cruthneachan in Lochaber' as referring to the Cruithe. 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*. There is no evidence of the ethnonym having being 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', and as pointed out by Alexander (1952, 173, 191), it is an element found in hydronyms. With intransitive application, accumulation of mist or low cloud might explain both the noun and the toponyms.

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**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

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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 Cruinachgan KMV-INV NN326691, 1873 *An Cruinneachdhag* (OS 6th edn); Burncruinach GAR-ABD NJ01353, 1871 (OSnb 36:89); Cruinachdan‡ LAG-INV NN536919, 1755 *Loch Cruinachan* (Roy Map).
7 Such might be applicable to the south-west facing corrie of Coire Cruinneachan KNM-PER NN731390, 1984 (OS 35) with its several burns; the low-lying field of Cruinach† CAM-ARG @NR670231, 1943 (Colville & Martin 2009, 19); the meadows at Dalchruneach AMN-ARG NM889396, 1978 (OS 35), Dalchrunnich† INA-ARG NN089125, 1878 (OSnb 8:102) and Dalchrunan† 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’ Cruinneachaidh- Beinn Cruinneachaidh)* (OSnb 18:124 BNF), 1871 *Beinn a’ Chruinnich (Beinn a’ Cruinneach)* (OSnb 81:23 ABD), and the inhospitable *Càrn Cruithneachd* KIT-ROS NG994258, 1755 *Carn Crunech* (Roy Map). Cf. Clach a' Chruinneachaidh BRL-INV†a NG349369, a shoreline skerry in a sea-loch.
The 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-ARG³, 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

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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, \textit{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
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 ☼ 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; 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 Wallh, with the latter applied in England to more Romanised Britons.

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1 As defined for this period by Hicks (d2005), Cumbria ☼ encompassed the Lennox, Strathclyde and modern Cumberland, possibly at times Ayrshire, West Lothian and Peebleshire. 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 *Cummiesdale* CARL-CMB (1225 *Cumbrehale*, 1227 *Cumbredal*).

**ON ‘*Kumrir*** (nom. sg., masc.)

- gen. sg. *Kumris*
- nom. pl. *Kumrar*
- gen. pl. *Kumra*
- adj. *Kumbreskr*

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\textit{dthd}+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*

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3 Reconstructed from *KumBeskar* by Ekwall (1953, 163).
OE *Cumer* is only once attested, in the genitive plural Cumeran. 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-. 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, apart from in the high-recognition territorial name Cumberland ☼ (and Latin Cumbria ☼). 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. kembre, 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...

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4 Cumbri in the Chronicle of Ædelweard c.1000 and by Florence of Worcester a.1118; adjectival Cumbres in Gospatric’s Writ of 1041–64 is taken to represent *Cumbres* and to be based on ON adj. kumbreskr (Ekwall 1953, 163).
5 A medial -b- in the initial element of Cumbrae ARO61,4 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 Cumbercolstoun 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 Cumru KMC-DMF between 1329 and 1573 (with a late reappearance in 1611). Cf. Cumrew BRMP-CMB NY50504, 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. riw ‘steep slope’ (PNCu 1, 77; Jackson 1963, 80; Coates & Breeze 2000, 283). Modern development of a medial -b- must be assumed in Cumbers LEW-LAN NS775345, 1533 Cümrr (RMS iii no. 1330) etc. till 1583×96 Kumberheads Nr.cumb-re Sth.Kumb-r O.Kumbyr (Pont Map 34); Cumblands BOOT-CMB SD083977, 1578 Cumerlandes [Cockermouth MS, unspecified] (PNCu 2, 377); Cumberland PTT-LAN @NS965415, 1511 Cummrylande (RMS ii no. 3603) but 1583×96 Kumberland (Pont Map 34). Early forms are lacking for the intriguing Longcummercattiff WIGT-CMB NY130532, 1865 Longcumercaittiff (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: Cobertone E/CAM, 1086 Cobertone (Mills 1998, 94); Cobberbach E/CHE, 1172×81 Cumbrecbech, 1190 Cumbrecbeche (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 Cumberdale (PNLei 3, 279); Cumberley E/LEI, 1601 (Cumberla, PNLei 3, 211); Cumberworth E/LIN, 1086 Cumberwurde (Mills 1998, 106); Comberford E/STF, 1187 Cumbreford (Mills 1998, 94); Cumberworth E/YOW, 1086 Cumbreuerde (Mills 1998, 106).
cumera by the fifteenth century, meaning that it is not possible to make an assumption one
way or the other for names with cumera 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 † AROdtchd+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 † AROdtchd+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

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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 Feilitzen (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.
Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding a lone possible name
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. 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
- gen. pl. Petta

---

1 By Ammianus Marcellinus (330–395), who otherwise used the standard Latin plural Picri, twice (Rivet & Smith 1979, 438).
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 Péttlandsfjørðr, 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. Pettˈ(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 Pétrs) “[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 Péístegs◊ 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.

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⁴ Ex info. Richard A.V. Cox in 2012.
⁵ @HT960390, 1970 Peterstegs Péístegs (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, Pick, Pickie** (nom. sg.)

- gen. sg.  *Pech't'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-MOR and Picklaw DUF-MOR. These can be compared to names with OSc adj. *pikit* 'pointed', each combined with OSc n. *law* 'hill'. 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, 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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gen. sg.</td>
<td><em>Pict's</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. pl.</td>
<td><em>Picts, Picardy</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. pl.</td>
<td><em>Picts</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td><em>Pictish</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *picardach*). 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,

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6 NJ147527, 1755 *Pickyhilloch* (Roy Map).
7 NJ153693, 1870 *Picklaw* (Pickielaw) (OSnb 9:61).
8 Picklaw CMK-LAN NS594570, 1755 *Pikedlaw* (Roy Map); Picklaw EAG-RNF NS571512, 1755 *Piketlaw* (Roy Map); Picklaw 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 Pitshall 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. *pioch* 'little boy, brat' is related to Norwegian n.m. *pjøkk* '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 *Skotlandstfirðir*, '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). 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ON Pettr 10[2]:</td>
<td>agriculture: 1⁴</td>
<td>SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beacon-site: 1⁵</td>
<td>SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>coastal: 1⁶</td>
<td>SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hill: [1]¹⁷</td>
<td>SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>loch: 1⁸</td>
<td>SHE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. fjordr '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 Péttlandsfjordr 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.

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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. fjordr ‘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 Péttlandsfjordr 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 **Pettina 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
subterranean : 2
surface structure : 1
territory : [1]
valley : 2

ScS Pecht 2:

bogland : 1

ScS Pick(ie) 4[4]:

agriculture : 1
linear structure : [1]
mound : 3
settlement : [1]
stone : [1]
subterranean : [1]

SSE 'Picardy 2:

fort : 1
stone : 1

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19 Pettigarth\textsuperscript{\circ} BRS-SHE (near a burnt mound formerly considered to be a tumulus).
20 Pettasmog\textsuperscript{†} UNS-SHE (a cave or cleft on the shore, accessible, but hidden, from above). Pett\textsuperscript{\textit{t}}'s Geo WAS-SHE (possibly properly applicable to a neighbouring, unnamed creek, with a subterranean passage at its end).
21 Pettigart\textsuperscript{\textit{h}}a 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 Pict\textsuperscript{\textit{s}} Hoose\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textit{\textendash}}} WAS-SHE (a semi-circular stone structure).
25 Pickartha\textsuperscript{†} DNR-SHE (with ScS n. garth 'enclosure').
26 Pickdike\textsuperscript{†} CBS-ORK (a ridge of loose stones around a shore pool; recorded as a toponym, but possibly the appellative).
27 Pickaquoy KSO-ORK (a burnt mound formerly considered to be a burial chamber). Pickasquoy\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textit{\textendash}}} 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).
28 Pikieston Burn SAN-DMF (with ScS n. toun; but there is no evidence for a settlement at this remote site).
29 Pikiestane CHK-BWK (but recorded late, without evidence for a stone).
30 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').
31 Picardy Heugh\textsuperscript{†} INC-ABD (below a vitrified fort).
32 Picardy Stone INC-ABD (a Class One Pictish symbol stone).
Of the above ethnonyms, only the ON \textit{Petr}-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 \textit{Pettigarths Field} NES-SHE, with its mix of pre-Pictish remains including a chambered cairn, a cairn with a cist, and

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{ll}
  \textbf{SE Pict 23[3]:} & agriculture : 1\textsuperscript{st} ORK  \\
  building : 2\textsuperscript{nd} ABD, ROX  \\
  cairnfield : 1\textsuperscript{st} PER  \\
  linear structure : 7\textsuperscript{th} AYR, CMB, DMF, KCB, NTB, ORK, PER, SLK  \\
  mound : 1\textsuperscript{st}[3]\textsuperscript{rd} [CMB], KCB  \\
  promontory : 1\textsuperscript{st} SHE  \\
  stone circle : 1\textsuperscript{st} ELO  \\
  subterranean : 6\textsuperscript{th} ABD, CMB, MOR  \\
  watercourse : 1\textsuperscript{st} SHE  \\
  well : 1\textsuperscript{st} ORK  \\
  ? : 1\textsuperscript{st} ORK
\end{tabular}
\caption{Ethnonyms and their corresponding site types.}
\end{table}

34 \textit{Pictail} SAD-ORK (with ScS n. \textit{tail} 'attached land'; but the interpretation of the generic is insecure).
35 \textit{Picts' Hill} MLR-ROX (formerly covered with buildings, one of which was said to have been the remains of a Pictish tower). \textit{Pict's Houses} ALF-ABD (boulders, formerly part of perceived oval foundations).
36 \textit{Pictfield} BDY-PER (by a field formerly containing a number of cairns).
38 \textit{Pict's Knowe} TRO-KCB (a probable late henge monument).
39 \textit{Pickthowe} WIGT-CMB. \textit{Pict-How} PENR-CMB, \textit{Pictowe} PENR-CMB (all three possibly for OSc adj. \textit{pikit} 'pointed').
40 \textit{Picts Ness} DTG-SHE (a small headland).
41 \textit{Picts Well} SPO-ELO (near a stone circle).
42 \textit{Petti's Geo} WAS-ABD (a former boulder-lined pit). \textit{Pictish Well} DUF-MOR (an underground well chamber, a.k.a. \textit{Roman Well}); the name changed along with development of archaeological understanding). \textit{Picts Holes} WHTV-CMB (probable prehistoric pit dwellings). \textit{Picts' House} a.k.a. \textit{Picts' Ring} GTG-ABD (along with Picts' Field; a souterrain discovered in 1894). \textit{Picts' House} GTG-ABD (a souterrain discovered shortly before 1941), \textit{Pichtshouse} TYR-ABD (the site of a possible cairn, formerly considered to be a British habitation or prehistoric underground structure).
43 \textit{Picts Burn} NES-SHE (a very small burn, no longer mapped).
44 \textit{Pict's Well} HOY-ORK (the site of a probably modern-period drystone well).
45 \textit{Pictou} SHA-ORK (with ScS locational suffix -\textit{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. 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, 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, Pettta Dale NES+TWL-SHE (with Petta Water DTG+TWL-SHE at its head, near the watershed) and Pettta Dale NMV-SHE. On the coast, a possible instance is Pettis's Geo WAS-SHE, if it is accepted that there has been an identification error on OS 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,

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* 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.

* 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. 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.

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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

Pettasmog UNS
Petester UNS

Pettena Shaigo YEL

Petta Dale NMV
Pettigaiths Field NES

Pictaquoy KSO
Pictaquoy SPO

Picts Burn NES
Picts Ness DTG
Petti's Geo WAS
Pettavarg WAS
Picts' Loch LW

Picts' Park GTG
Picts' Ring GTG
Picts Wall

Pickaquoy BIH
Pickaquoy KSO
Pictail SAD

Picardy Heugh INC
Picardy Stone INC
Pict's Houses ALF
Picts Howe LOC

Pict's Hoose WAS
Picardy CLI

Picts Holes WHTV
Picts' Hill MLR
Picts' Loch LW
Pictswork KHP

Picts' Dyke GRN
Picts' Dyke SEL
Picts' Knowe TRQ

Picts' Housie GTG
Picts' Housie GTG
Picts' Ring GTG
Picts' Park GTG

Picts' Dyke NCU
Picts' Hill MLR
Picts' Well HOY
Pict's Hoose WAS

Pict's Well SPO
Pict's Ditch SEL

Picts' Ditch SEL
Picts' Hill MLR
Picts' Knowe TRQ

Pictaquoy BIH
Pictaquoy KSO
Pictail SAD

Picts' Dyke CLI
Pictfield BDY

Pictshouse TYR

Piktov ERL
Piktou SHA
Pikanestie CBS

Picts' Knowe TRQ
Picts' Ring GTG
Picts' Park GTG

Pict's Hoose WAS
Pict's Park GTG
Pict's House GTG
Picts' Houses ALF

Pict's Hoose WAS
Pict's Park GTG
Pict's House GTG
Picts' Houses ALF

Pict's Hoose WAS
Pict's Park GTG
Pict's House GTG
Picts' Houses ALF
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-Ghàidheadh, 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'.

ScG Gàidheal (nom. sg., masc.)

- gen. sg. Gàidheil
- nom. pl. Gàidheil
- 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 /gæl/ in the now dominant dialects of the Outer Hebrides, and /gàl/ in many dialects elsewhere. 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 (Coirà 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

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2 The only settlement-name to possibly contain ScG Gàll-Ghàidheadh, 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 /gàt/ in East Perthshire by Ó Murchú (1989, 348), as gà:l ("the a lies between ä and a") in Glengarry by Dieckhoff (1932, under Gaidheel, for between [gæːl] and [gæːl]), as [gæːl.ə] in Wester Ross by Wentworth (2003, under Gael, for [gæːl.ə]), and as /gajət/ in Arran by Holmer (1957, §172, §212); but as /keːt/ 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 a or a in some districts as 'grâ'n,' 'a'nm,' etc., and that of è or e in others, 'grê'n,' 'enm.' Two prominent words that follow this analogy are màthair, 'mèhir,' or 'mèr,' and Gàidheal 'Gè-al.'"
n.m. gall 'freestanding stone or rock' is behind Pennyghael KKV-ARG\textsuperscript{11} and ScG n.f. gaille 'rock, stone' behind Gaeilavore Island KLR-INV\textsuperscript{11}. There has even been reinterpretation of Gall to Gàidheal in Corrie Gaul\textsuperscript{6} KCV-INV to Coire a' Ghàidheil, and in Eilean nan Gall\textsuperscript{‡} TNG\textsuperscript{2}-SUT to Eilean nan Gàidheal\textsuperscript{†} then back again. This confusion may have been facilitated by near-homophony in those Gaelic dialects pronouncing Gàidheal as /garl/. The anglicised form -g(h)ael has also been used to represent ScG adj. geal 'white'; ScG n.m. giall 'hostage'; ScG n.m. gobhal 'fork'\textsuperscript{8} and lenited ScG n.f. dail 'meadow'.\textsuperscript{9}

**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 \textsuperscript{11} and Galloway \textsuperscript{11} (equivalents of ScG Earra-Ghàidheal \textsuperscript{11} and ScG Gall-Ghàidhealaibh \textsuperscript{11} respectively), these refer to Gaelic polities displaying cultural traits with Scandinavian origins.\textsuperscript{11} The others in this group appear to be much younger.\textsuperscript{12} Gàidhealtachd \textsuperscript{11} also refers to territory, but was only used for the first

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\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{°} 1st edn; Canmore, 114056).

\textsuperscript{7} Inchgael\textsuperscript{6} GTG-ABD @NO3795, 1952 Inchgale (Alexander 1952, App. 2).

\textsuperscript{8} Knocknagael INB-INV NH659407, 1456 Knokynagill (ER vi, 215).

\textsuperscript{9} Stragael\textsuperscript{6} KMY-BTE NR992239, 1637 Stragall [rent roll] (Fraser 1999, 93): cf. Stragyle\textsuperscript{6} 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).

\textsuperscript{10} Camaghael KLE-ARG\textsuperscript{INV} NN120764, 1878 (Osnb 41:46).

\textsuperscript{11} Argyll\textsuperscript{6} 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\textsuperscript{6} and Gall-Ghàidhealaibh\textsuperscript{6} 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\textsuperscript{6} 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.

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

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\textsuperscript{1} 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\textsuperscript{°} 1st edn; Canmore, 114056).

\textsuperscript{2} Inchgael\textsuperscript{6} GTG-ABD @NO3795, 1952 Inchgale (Alexander 1952, App. 2).

\textsuperscript{3} Knocknagael INB-INV NH659407, 1456 Knokynagill (ER vi, 215).

\textsuperscript{4} Stragael\textsuperscript{6} KMY-BTE NR992239, 1637 Stragall [rent roll] (Fraser 1999, 93): cf. Stragyle\textsuperscript{6} 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).

\textsuperscript{5} Camaghael KLE-ARG\textsuperscript{INV} NN120764, 1878 (Osnb 41:46).

\textsuperscript{6} Argyll\textsuperscript{6} 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\textsuperscript{6} and Gall-Ghàidhealaibh\textsuperscript{6} 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\textsuperscript{6} 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.
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 Stairenneach 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 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

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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† TNG-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 ARG\(^{17}\) to be linguistically mixed, and Southend ARG\(^{18}\) 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-shire\(^{23}\) 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 *Alt 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\(^{16}\) 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\(^{26}\), *Blàr nan Gàidheal* LDK+LOR-PER\(^{27}\) and *Port Ghàidheal*† FTL-PER.\(^{28}\)
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\(^{\text{Heb}}\) 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\(^{\text{Heb}}\) 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 LAC-ARG\(^{\text{Heb}}\), but there is no evidence to this effect.

\(^{30}\) Ex info. Cathy Johnson, ex Port Wemyss KCN-ARG\(^{\text{Heb}}\), 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. 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.

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30 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. Irar
- 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 Êireannach** (nom. sg., masc.)
- gen. sg. Êireannaich
- nom. pl. Êireannaich
- gen. pl. Êireannach
- adj. Êireannach
Despite many apparent instances of this name appearing in the toponymicon, only three names are suggested by the study to contain the ethnonym. 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 Éireannach '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. 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 Erisch.

**Eibhreannach 'wether goat'**

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

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1 Eilean an Èireannaich EDS-SUT, Cladh nan Èireannach JUR-ARG, Gleann Capall an Èireannaich KDO-ARG.

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 Drummerinant (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); Drummond Earnoch MZS-PER NN796208, 1444 Drummanerynoch (ER v, 171), from John Drummond spending time in Ireland (Watson 2002, 312–3); Geodha an Èireannaich HAR-INV, 1900 Irishman's Cave (Heathcote Map), 1928 Geo an Eireanach (Matheson 1928), from an Irishman blown off course {Quine 1983, 41} (Coates 1990, 86); Lòn an Eireannaich SNZ-INV NG426480, 1878 Lòn an Eirenanach STH-INV, 1878 Rudh' an Eirenanach (OSnb 18:4), from an Irish champion dying at sea and buried here (Forbes 1923, 255) 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 al. 90).
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, though 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, 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 agriculture 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). It is also indicated six times in the SSE toponymicon, with variants of ScS n. *aiver, aver, haverel* and *haveron*, though not the alternatives from the Gaelic lexicon, *cullbhoc* and *laosboc*.

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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*.

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* (OSnb 11:3); Goirtean an Eibhreannaich KKM-ARG*Heb* NR372659, 1878 *Goirtean an Eibhrienach* (OSnb 39:173; with *É*- on the OS 6° 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topography</th>
<th>Distribution of <em>eibhreannach</em>-names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>burn 13:</td>
<td>ARG×3(^1), ARG(^{Heb})×3(^2), BTE(^1), CAI(^1), INV(^1), INV(^{Heb})×2(^3), PER×2(^7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(+2:) (BNF(^{Heb}), ROX(^{Heb}))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grazing 3:</td>
<td>ARG(^{Heb})(^2), INV(^1), INV(^{Heb})(^2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(+1:) (MLO(^{Heb}))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>headland 4:</td>
<td>INV(^{Heb})(^2), INV(^{Heb})×3(^5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(+1:) (ABD(^{Heb}))</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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10 An additional, translated burn-name is probably Irish Burn GLV-KCD, for ScG *Allt anЁireannach*.
11 Allt an Eireannach GIL-ARG NN072215, 1878 *Allt an Eireannach* (*Allt an Eireannach*) (OSnb 54:73); Allt an Eireannach KLE-ARG, 1878 (OSnb 68:57), with secondary names Drochaid an Eireannach KLE-ARG NM936798 and Loch an Eireannach KLE-ARG NM941806; Eas an Eireannach KKT-ARG NM873204, 1878 (OSnb 53:46).
12 Allt an Eireannach 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 Eireannach KMY-BTE NR911488, 1856 (OSnb 3:10), 1814 Irishman’s Burn {Yule Map} (Fraser 1999, 104).
14 Allt Eireannach WAT-CAI ND189517, 1873 (OSnb 12:101).
15 Féith an Eireannach DRM-INV NH948050, 1985 (OS\(^{2}\)), 1873 *Allt na Bà Eagaich* (*Allt na Bà Eagaiche*) (OSnb 2:100), with secondary name Coire an Eireannach\(^{\circ}\) (a.k.a. Coire Fearan Êireannach\(^{\circ}\)) DRM-INV NH945050 (pers. comm. Seumas Grant, ex Rothiemurchus DRM-INV, in 2000).
16 Allt an Eireannach SLT-INV\(^{Heb}\) NG729153, 1878 (OSnb 11:52); Lòn an Eirennach SNZ-INV\(^{Heb}\) NG426480, 1878 (OSnb 68:23).
17 Allt nan Eireannach KIL-PER NN352285, 1864 (OS 6‘ 1st edn); Alt Eirenich† KRK-PER ?NO078756 a.k.a. Allt Elrig, 1583–96 Altheirennach (Pont Map 27), 1636–52 Alt Eirenich (Gordon Map 43).
18 Aivron Stripe CAB-BNF NJ332723, a short hill burn.
19 Havering Sike CSL-ROX NY558880, near Dimmont Lair NY553885 ‘young wedder–sheep fold’ and Ewe Brae LNT-CMB NY558877 (Havering Bog NY557881 is probably secondary, with specific element borrowing from Havering Sike).
20 Góirtean an Eibhreannach KKM-ARG\(^{Heb}\) NR911488, 1878 *Goirtean an Eibhrionnaich* (OSnb 39:173; with E- on the OS 6‘ 1st edn.).
21 Erinneach\(^{\circ}\) UGM-INV @NH518290, a.2004 *Eirinneach* (Domhnallach 2004, 62), and *Éireannach* (ibid., 63).
22 Glaic an Eirinneach\(^{\circ}\) POR-INV\(^{Heb}\) @NG508389, 1923 (Forbes 1923, 199).
23 Haverel Wood LAS-MLO NT293662, in a small steep-sided glen (but not named on the OS 6‘ 1st edn).
24 Rubha an Eireannach BRR-INV\(^{Heb}\) NF747022, 1878 *Rubha an Eireannach* (Rudha an Eirionnaich) (OSnb 27:7), with secondary name Irishman Rock\(^{\circ}\) BRR-INV\(^{Heb}\) @NF747022 (Haswell-Smith 2004, 224; from a sailing chart?); Rubha an Eireannach STH-INV\(^{Heb}\) NG645247, 1878 Rudh’ an Eireannach (OSnb 18:4) *Rubha Eireannach* (OSnb 18:6); and Rubha nan Eireannach SUS-INV\(^{Heb}\) NF794194, 1878 *Rubha nan Eireannach* (OSnb 12:71).
25 Aver Hill SLA-ABD NK046289, a headland almost forming an island (OS\(^{2}\)).
hill(side) 14: ABD\textsuperscript{25}, ARG\texttimes3\textsuperscript{24}, ARG\textsuperscript{Heb}\texttimes2\textsuperscript{25}, INV\texttimes3\textsuperscript{30}, INV\textsuperscript{33}\texttimes2\textsuperscript{31}, PER\texttimes2\textsuperscript{25}, ROS\texttimes2\textsuperscript{30}, SUT\texttimes3\textsuperscript{34}
(+2:) (LAN\textsuperscript{30}, PER\textsuperscript{33})

island 1: ARG\textsuperscript{Heb}\textsuperscript{37}

loch(side) 2: ARG\times2\textsuperscript{19}

pass 1: PER\textsuperscript{39}

rock 2: ARG\textsuperscript{40}, SUT\textsuperscript{43}

skerry\textsuperscript{42} 3: ARG\textsuperscript{41}, INV\textsuperscript{Heb}\texttimes2\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{25} Baderonoch Hill TLD\textsuperscript{153}, TOW-ABD NJ435086, 1871 Baderonoch Hill (Badaronach) (OSnb 56:44).
\textsuperscript{26} Barr nan Eireannach GIL-ARG NN160266, 1878 Barr nan Eireannach (Barr nan Eara Nach) (OSnb 6:36); Mononernich\textsuperscript{†} KMG-ARG ?NR900949, 1541 Mononernich (RMS iii no. 2306), but especially 1610 Mononernich (RMS vii no. 265), with secondary name Dailaneireanach\textsuperscript{†} KMG-ARG NR900940, 1878 Barr nan Eireannach (Barr nan Earanaich) (OSnb 6:36); Mononernich\textsuperscript{†} RMS iii no. 2306; Tom an Eirinnich KKB-ARG NM890289, 1878 Tom an Eirinnich (Tom an Eiriannaich-Tom an Eireannach) (OSnb 19:88).
\textsuperscript{27} Tòrr nan Eireannach TOY-ARG Heb NM675247, 1878 (OSnb 76:136).
\textsuperscript{28} Tom an Eireannaich KLE-INV NN202885, 1873 Tom an Eireannaich (Tom an Eiriannaich) (OSnb 35:46).
\textsuperscript{29} Druim an Eireannaich† Skye-INV (unidentified), 1923 Druim an Eireannaich (Forbes 1923, 156).
\textsuperscript{30} Cnoc Eirionnaich BGE-PER NO117574, 1864 Cnoc Eiriannaich (OSnb 11:3); Creag an Eirionnaich BLA+DUL-PER NN894620, 1864 Creag an Eirionnaich (OS 6” 1st edn).
\textsuperscript{31} Bràigh an Eireannaich APC-ROS NG837603, 1876 Bràigh an Eireannaich (OSnb 41:92); Cnoc an Eirionnaich◊ GAI-ROS NG758732 (Wentworth 2003, under Irishman; with É-).
\textsuperscript{32} Cnoc an Eiriannaich KDN+LAT-SUT+CAI NC957277, a.1767 Knochanerinach· Knoc-an-Erinach (GC i, 164)
Knocknerinach (GC i, 168); Creag an Eirionnaich ASY-SUT NC141316, 1874 Creag Fheuranach (OS 6” 1st edn); Sròn an Eireannach KDN-SUT NC755384, 1855 Sròn an carnach (Burnett & Scott Map).
\textsuperscript{33} Avermarks Hill DGL-LAN NS785301, a steep round hill, next to Wedder Hill NS781310.
\textsuperscript{34} Aiver Wood LOF-PER NO245338, on the steep hillside of an unnamed pointed hill.
\textsuperscript{35} Sgeir an Eirionnaich KKE-ARG Heb NM284431, 1878 Sgeir an Eirionnaich (OSnb 73:11).
\textsuperscript{36} Larig Eirinach† BQR+KIL-PER NN514243, 1641 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).
\textsuperscript{37} Creagan Eireannaich SKN-ARG NR861731, 1878 Creagan Eirionnaich (Creagan Eirionnaich-Creagan Iarnaidh) (OSnb 27:49).
\textsuperscript{38} Alt Leum an Eireannach DUS-SUT NC473593, 1874 Alt Leum an Eirianach (Alt Leum an Eirionnaich) (OSnb 11:47).
\textsuperscript{39} 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, though browsing seaweed probably explains the shoreline skerries with ScG n.m/f. gobhar ‘goat’, Sgeir nan Gabhar 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 Gabhar ASY-ARG Heb NC066320 and Sgeir nan Gabhar LAP-ARG Heb NM798394, though closer inshore. It is conceivable that Camas an Eireannaich ARD-ARG and Rubha an Eireannach AMT-INV in fact refer to the skerry between them in inland Loch Shiel, Sgeir Dhubh Camas an Eireannach ARD-ARG NM849755.
\textsuperscript{40} Skerinerinach† HAR-INV 1755 Sker Hiernich (Roy Map), 1856 Paddys R<oc>o<oc>-k (Admiralty 2321).
\textsuperscript{41} Rubha an Eireannach◊ BRR-INV\textsuperscript{16th} NF651021, 1999 Ruibh’ an Eirinnach [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\textsuperscript{16th} NF653017, 1999 Raon na h-Eirinnach [ex info. Lachlan and Belle MacLean] (Stahl 1999, 240); Skerinerinach† HAR-INV\textsuperscript{16th} 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, 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, and by gobhar-names. The same topographical settings are paralleled on current OS mapping by ScG n.m/f. gobhar ‘goat’, 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, 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). These may indicate differences in goat management between wedders and other goats, with wedders kept in, or keeping to, more accessible terrain.

Èireannach ‘churn’

Èireannach, 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,

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40 Maintenance of a feral herd on Eilean nan Gobhar JUR-ARG146 NR537674 by boating out fresh goats is reported by Campbell (1965, 183).
41 Loch an Eireannaich KLE-ARG for Allt an Eireannaich KLE-ARG, and Lochan an Eireannaich BQR-PER for Larig Eirinach† BQR+KIL-PER.
42 However, there are no direct parallels for the generics ScG n.m. hàrr, 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.
43 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 OS only. Including by-form ScG gabhar; excluding names including an existing name. Ratios to rounded number.)
44 Àird nan Gobhar SUS-INV146 NF738281 is also applied to a small headland, but even incorporating this, there is still a notable imbalance in favour of eibhreannach.
45 Cf. the description of a dramatic cliff in a poem listing a series of rocky hills in Badenoch: Cadha ‘n Fheidh Lochain Ubhaidh … gobhar air ’aodainn, is lasboc air a’ cheann, ‘Cadha an Fheidh 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 Dubh 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**l**ob NF908566 is a small round bay with a narrow entrance, and Geodha an Èireannaich HAR-INV**l**ob 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

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 *Kilsemory* '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', 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 Eireannach* 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, 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, 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. *Irischmanis*  
nom. pl. *Erisch*, *Irischmen*  
gen. pl. *Irischmenis*  
adj. *Erisch*

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

56 Located on a boundary are Baderonoch Hill TLD+TOW-ABD, Cnoc an Eireannaich KDN+LAT-SUT+CAI (for which ScG n.n. *earrannaiche* was suggested in OSnb 5:63 CAI) and Creag an Eireannaich BLA+DUL-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, Irisch, Ersch* and *Erse* (*DOST*, s.v.v.); 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

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\(^{57}\) 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\(^{16a}\).

\(^{59}\) *Irish Burn* GLV-KCD.

\(^{60}\) *Irish Burn* GLV-KCD for ScG *‘Allt an Èireannach, Irishman’s Rock* HAR-INV\(^{16a}\) for *Skerinerinach†*. Also *Irishman’s Corrie* DRM-INV for *Coire an Èireannach†*. 
again surprisingly few, and displaying no pattern. ScG *Èireannach* is similarly limited in number, with only three cases recorded in Gaelic, again with no pattern. 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. 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 *Erisch* that a significant pattern within the study area is discernable. With one possible exception, this ethnonym is toponymically restricted to south-west Scotland, in particular Dumfriesshire, with outliers in Kirkcudbrightshire and possibly Wigtownshire. Three of the probable names lie along the hilly eastern margin of Dumfriesshire: *Archbank* MOF-DMF in upper Annandale and *Airswood*‡ WES-DMF and *Earshaw*‡ LHM-DMF in upper Eskdale. It is postulated in the study that the ethnonymic

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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 *Erisgait* TRO-KCB, *Irisbuttill* BUL-KCB. Possible: *Erosck* GLN+WHT-WIG.

66 Three possible *Erisch*-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. *Earsefeld*† CUT-DMF (first recorded 1654 *Ersthfeld*) 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. *Irisbutill*† BUL-KCB, now Orchardton, is the more secure interpretation of the two, 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

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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/ 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 *Irisbuttil† BUL-KCB* on the Kirkcudbrightshire coast. The coastal locality of *Irisbuttil† BUL-KCB* (and of possible Irish-name *Ersock* GLN+WHT-WIG), however, allows for direct immigration by sea. 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).

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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 Barnaman (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 *Craigheron* (OS 6’ 1st edn), NX821553 next to *Irisbuttil† BUL-KCB*. However, this would need to also be argued for the topographic features Craigherron GRN-KCB NX534678 and the discrete Craigherren 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.m. *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. Ulaid
ScG n.m. Ultach
SE n. Paddy

Isle of Man

SSE n. Manxman

Scotland

ScS n. Hielandman
SE n. Highlander
SSE n. Highlandman

1 Rathillet KLM-FIF, Rathlieberach 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 NT510125, 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, Hielanman's Umbrella GLW-LAN.
6 Highlander ANR-FIF, Highlander Buttress SMI-ARG INV-H, Highlander's Burn KRM-BNF, Highlanders' Ford TUF-ABD, Highlanders' Knowe CAV-ROX, Highlanders' Nose KLE-INV, Highlanders Spring KRM-BNF.
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,** 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 (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, with ScS n. ingle ‘domestic or industrial fire’. Through reanalysis, the name of Ingleston TWY-KCB has

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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 Inglishall† 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

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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} (PNF i, 106), owned by Mr Inglis, Selverton (1856 OSnb 10:37).
⁸ @NN990216, 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).\(^\text{10}\) 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 Inglish 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 applied to the territory of the ethnicity, reaching at least as far north as West Lothian in the early eighth century,\(^\text{12}\) the only Old English name is that of the district of Inglewood PENR-CMB (along with its 1285

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\(^{10}\) 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, \textit{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 (\textit{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.\footnote{Note Inglewood E/BRK SU365661, though presumably from an earlier period.}

Borderland-names emerge long after the Anglo-Scottish border had become finally fixed in 1552. From 1612 comes exonymic \textit{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 \textit{English Kershope} LNGT-CMB and \textit{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 \textit{Scotch Kershope} CSL-ROX immediately on the Scottish side. Similarly, \textit{English Craig}† LNGT-CMB and nearby \textit{English Knowe}† BELL+LNGT-NTB+CMB, recorded 1860, contrast with \textit{Scotch Craig} CSL-ROX and \textit{Scotch Knowe} CSL-ROX. The seasonal fishing hut on the River Tweed of \textit{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. \textit{ing} ‘river meadow’.

Conflict between England and Scotland, or incidents involving forces from both, have been commemorated in a number of minor names. \textit{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 \textit{Englishmen’s Syke}◊ GAS-SLK, scene of the killing of English raiders in 1337, and the \textit{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
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.† Reference to economic exploitation is rarely, if ever, found; there are more names bearing a seemingly folkloric allusion, though none other as stark as in **Englishman’s Cut** EDA-ORK. 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, 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

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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. Samsons wells†, 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. 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.

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).

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

20 A.k.a. ScG Gallabhall. MacKenzie’s (1927, 29) linking of Enlishton 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† 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.  

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

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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 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. 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. **Engliston** 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 **Engliston** ENY-ANG, had the most direct association with the castle. **Ingleton**‡ 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. **Ingliston**‡ 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.

- 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.

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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.\(^21\) 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 Castleton(w)n-names in Scotland (OS\(^25\)), none are in Wigtownshire, Kirkcudbrightshire or Dumfriesshire, nor indeed in Carrick or Kyle in Ayrshire.

Confirmation of rent from Castleton 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 Maxwelton 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

\(^{21}\) 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 *Englishten* 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 "Inleston" 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 groups 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
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 Flæmíngr** (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* (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, 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). Excluded from the study are suggestions of Old English names north of the firths of Forth and Clyde.

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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 webster (‘weaver’, 1600).

By c.1626, 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, 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 Udny, 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 Berewald 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

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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: Fleming AYT-BWK, 1690 Fleemingtoun; Fleemington AYT-BWK, 1690 LWH-RNF, 1695 Fleemingtoun; Towar-Fleming† DKM-ARG, 1695 Towart-Fleeming; Fleming NLS-PEB, 1755 Fleemingston; Fleming† CAG-LAN, 1795 Fleemington; Flemyland DLR-AVR, 1828 Fleemiland. Cf. Flimby COCK-CMB, 1571 Flymbye; Fleming† GLW-LAN, 1816 Flimington (Forrest Map); Fleminghill KMK-AYR, 1828 Fleminghill.
this family-name as an affix, 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, with which can be taken Flemyng-landis† KPF-DMF and Flemyngraw† KPF-DMF. 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.

**SE Fleming** (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. 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).

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7 NY276700, 1187–89 Kirkipatric (Glas. Reg. i no. 72). 
8 NY250753, 1462 Kirckconveth ['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 (OS50); Fleming's Wood CRT-MLO NT401661, 1988 (OS50); Flemington AVO-LAN NS706449, 1816 (Forrest Map); and Flemington† GLW-LAN NS604674, 1816 Flemington (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-ANG\(^{13}\) 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* 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*, 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:

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

15 William Fleming, but not the William Fleming (*PoMS*, person 1066) noted three times elsewhere in this table.
**Flemington** DAZ-LAN 1513 —

**Toward-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 (*PoMS*, person 1066) witnessed a confirmation of the land of Moniabrock LWH-RNF NS352632 in 1195–99 (*PoMS*, 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 (*PoMS*, person 1066) witnessed the gift of teinds of grain in Avondale AVO-LAN in 1229 (*PoMS*, factoid 44274).

**Flemington†** GLW-LAN 1816 —

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16 Although an abdaine 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, Flemington† 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 Flemington† 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. 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.

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. But they too, and those first recorded later, lack any evidence of such an association.

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

19 Flemington ABL-ANG, 1331×72 Flemyntoune; Flemington† CAG-LAN, 1421 Flemynto; Flemington‡ PET-INV, 1456 Flemyntoun.

20 Flemington DAZ-LAN, 1513 Flemingtoun; Towart-Fleeming† DKM-ARG, 1513 Tollart Flemynag; Flemington† LWH-RNF, 1544 Flemingtoun.
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,† *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‡ MLB-DMF (1194×1214 Penresax) and *Glensaxon‡ WES-DMF (1804 Saxon Syke, 1858 Glensaxon Sike) 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 PLSklär, SLK[PER], 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-. 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 Wealth (Cameron 1980, 1). Such an assumption is also followed in PNLei'2 (p. 135).
**ScG Sasannach** (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. 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", 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’dchd.-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),* then it can be said that a reflex ScG *‘Sasann* of EG gen. pl. **Saxan** survived into at least the early fourteenth century.

---

* 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](image-url)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
<th>With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Field-name 2: ScG n.m. bad 'grove' : (1)</td>
<td>PER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.f. dail 'meadow' : (1)12</td>
<td>ARG Heb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Shasannach 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 by his jealous piping tutor.

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.

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

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‡ (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.

As with Tobhta nan Sasannach◊ KKV-ARGlieb (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-ARGlieb and of an English sailor washed ashore in Geodha an t-Sasannaich◊ UIG-ROS lieb are also credible. Other commemorations of seaborne bodies can be postulated for Geodha an t-Sasannaich‡ LCH-ROS lieb and Port an t-Sasannaich TOY-ARG lieb, and perhaps shipwreck for the reef Bodha an t-Sasannaich STH-INV lieb, but there is no evidence available beyond the toponymic parallels.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
<th>With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marine 7:</td>
<td>ScG n.m. bodha 'reef' : (1)</td>
<td>INV lieb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. geodha 'creek' : (2)</td>
<td>ROS lieb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. port 'landing-beach' : (2)</td>
<td>ARG, ARG lieb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. rubha 'headland' : (2)</td>
<td>ARG, ARG lieb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
<th>With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Object 7:</td>
<td>ScG n.pl. bùtan 'butts' : (1)</td>
<td>ABD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. càrn 'cairn' : (1)</td>
<td>ABD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. clach 'stone' : (1)</td>
<td>ARG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. cladh 'burial-ground' : 2</td>
<td>PER, ROS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. creag 'rock' : (1)</td>
<td>ARG lieb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. fuaran 'spring' : (1)</td>
<td>INV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and 1628 (MacCoinnich 2006, 140), the twenty-three graves (or some at least) may date from the earlier venture.\textsuperscript{13} Tradition has it that the marine lochside boulder \textbf{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 \textbf{Putan Sassenich}† CRB-ABD, but the apparent genitive singular, and the reference to \textit{bùtan} (nominative plural of ScG n.? \textit{bùta} 'butt'), suggest this to be unrelated to the name. Likewise, there are no indications as to whom the small cairn of \textbf{Càrn Sasannaich} GIL-ARG, the small rock of \textbf{Creag an t-Sasannaich} TIR-ARG\textsubscript{Heb}, and the spring of \textbf{Fuaran an t-Sasannaich} KLE-INV refer to.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
Incidence of generics & With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym & Geographical distribution \\
\hline
Relief 14: & ScG n.m. \textit{cnoc} 'hillock': 1(2) & ARG, ROS, SUT \\
& ScG n.m. \textit{coire} 'corrie': (1) & INV \\
& ScG n.f. \textit{creag} 'crag': 1(1) & ARG, PER \\
& ScG n.m. \textit{creagan} 'outcrop': (1) & ARG \\
& ScG n.m. \textit{druim} 'ridge': 1(1) & ARG\textsubscript{Heb}, PER \\
& ScG n.m/f. \textit{lag} 'hollow': 1 & BTE \\
& ScG n.f. \textit{leacann} 'broad slope': (1) & ARG \\
& ScG n.m. \textit{sgùrr} 'conical hill': (1) & INV \\
& ScG n.m. \textit{tom} 'hillock': (2) & ABD, PER \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Saxon-names with generics for relief features}
\end{table}

Burial is also the probable explanation for at least two of this class of name. The evidence for \textbf{Coire an t-Sasannaich} AMT-INV is to be found on OS\textsuperscript{10}, 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. \textbf{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 \textit{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

\textsuperscript{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 Scal an 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):

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


\(^{15}\) *Caochantassanich†* BLA+FTL+LOR\(^{18}\)-PER.

\(^{16}\) *Allt an t-Sasannaich* DUS-SUT.

\(^{17}\) *Sgùrr an t-Sasannaich* AMT-INV.

\(^{18}\) *Dail an t-Sasunnaich†* KKE-ARG\(^{18}\).

\(^{19}\) *Bad an t-Sasannaich* AFE-PER.

\(^{20}\) *Port an t-Sasannaich* NKN-ARG.

\(^{21}\) *Rubha Sasannaich* KBK-ARG\(^{18}\).

\(^{22}\) *Geodha an t-Sasannaich* UIG-ROS\(^{20}\).
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. A single individual might not always be the intention, however, with a collective import to some names possible, 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, a burial place following an engagement, a prominent

| Commemoration | Object PER | – | – |
| Commemoration | Object ROS | Pre-C17th | – |
| Commemoration | Relief BTE | Pre-C17th | English combatants |
| Commemoration | Relief INV | Modern era | – |
| Domain | Habitation FIF | Early name | – |
| Resource | Habitation ARG | c.1790 | Migrant quarry-workers |
| Resource | Marine ARG | c.1830 | Migrant quarry-worker(s) |
| Transit (alarm) | Relief ABD | 1748×1831 | Government soldier(s) |
| Transit (travel) | Marine ARG | – | – |

---

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<sup>Heb28</sup>.
29 Rubha an t-Sasannaich MRV-ARG.
30 Toum Scalan n Sasnich CRB-ABD.
31 Clach an t-Sasannaich KKN-ARG.
32 Eilean nan Sasannach KMV-INV.
33 In particular Rubha an t-Sasannaich MRV-ARG, which has evidence for two houses. Toum Scalan 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,\textsuperscript{36} a rock outcrop above a road,\textsuperscript{37} a cliff-top shelf,\textsuperscript{38} a riparian island\textsuperscript{39} and industrial accommodation.\textsuperscript{40}

- nationality: there is no evidence to dispute the contention that ScG \textit{Sasannach} refers exclusively to an ‘English person’.

The conclusion must be that ScG \textit{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.
Map 11
Saxons: probable motivations
Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding a lone possible name
Map 12

Saxons: unknown motivations

Probable ethnonymic place-names
Excluding a lone possible name
### 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Ethnonyms</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>OSc n./adj. <em>Southern</em>¹</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friesland</td>
<td>Ln n.m. <em>Frisius</em>²</td>
<td>czeń</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>e.ESE adj. <em>Duch</em>³</td>
<td>CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SE adj. <em>German</em>⁴</td>
<td>INV, KCB, PEB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>SE adj. <em>Dutch</em>⁵</td>
<td>AYR, SHE, SUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SE n. <em>Dutchman</em>⁶</td>
<td>ARG Heb, SHE, STL, WIG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SSE n. <em>Hollander</em>⁷</td>
<td>SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>SE adj. <em>Swiss</em>⁸</td>
<td>MOR, PEB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

¹ Possible: *Sutherounflat* † ELO (unidentified). Discounted as containing OSc adj. *sutheron* 'south-lying' is Southern Hills † ALNW-NTB, 1623 (Beckensall 2006, 89).
² *Mare Frisicum* † COCK-CMB.
³ *Duch Stank* † COCK-CMB.
⁴ *German Hill:* DRZ-PEB, *German Soldier:* DRM-INV, *Germanhill:* † BUL-KCB.
⁶ *Dutchman’s Cap* KKE-ARG Heb, *Dutchman’s Leap* LWK-SHE, *Dutchmanland* † DPC-STL, *Dutchmanstern* PTP-WIG.
⁸ *Swiss Cabin Wood* EDD-PEB, *Swiss Cottage* BLE-MOR.
 Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations Excluding a lone possible name

Map 13

West Germanics: Others

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, Døsk

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, Døsk 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; 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).

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 'raider' (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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gen. sg.</td>
<td>Dànaich, Danmhargaich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. pl.</td>
<td>Dànaich, Danmhargaich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. pl.</td>
<td>Dànaich, Danmhargaich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>Dànaich, Danmhargaich</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though in use in the present-day language, ScG Dànach 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,¹ 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 Dânach 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 LCHotch.-ROSich (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 Sithean Sheaval (Sithean Shèabhal), 'knoll or fairy hill of Sheaval', on the top of the hill.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gen. sg.</td>
<td>*Denes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. pl.</td>
<td>Dene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. pl.</td>
<td>Dena, Deningea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>Denisc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

¹ 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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gen. sg.</td>
<td>Danis, Denis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. pl.</td>
<td>Danis, Denis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. pl.</td>
<td>Danis, Denis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>Dens</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only tentative identifications have been made in the study area. A folk etymology explains Denmark INK-ANG with reference to Danish camps previously understood to be nearby. 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. Similarly with OSc n. dene 'administrative dean'. However, the variant OSc dane in Danestone OMR-ABD, 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.

---

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); Dennylyne 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 Deysountoun (RMS iii no. 2973).

11 Despite the difficulty of word order, folk etymology explains Routdane† DLR-AYR NS268558, 1755 Rottingburn (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‡ TANG,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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidences</th>
<th>Possible Generic</th>
<th>Possible Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SSE n. vale ‘valley’ : 17</td>
<td>KCB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>3[3]: ScS n. dyke ‘wall’ : 2+[1]19</td>
<td>BNF, FIF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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12 NO461607, 1744 The Daneside, where the Danes encamped beforehand (GC), 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 Daneshill† WMS-FIF (with a castle). Daneshill‡ ALNW-NTB (neighbours Camp Hill, a name which implies a perceived feature).
17 Danes Dyke† AYR-BNF, Danes Diike 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).
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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidences</th>
<th>Generic in folk etymology</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Battlefield 2:</td>
<td>? &quot;croju&quot; 'slaughter' : 1&lt;sup&gt;20&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ABD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SSE n. side 'riverside' : 1&lt;sup&gt;25&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ANG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction 2:</td>
<td>SSE n. draught 'beast-drawn vehicle' : 1&lt;sup&gt;26&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ABD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SSE n. mark : 1&lt;sup&gt;27&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ANG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grave marker 2:</td>
<td>ScS n. den 'narrow ravine' : 1&lt;sup&gt;28&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>KCD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SSE n. stone : 1&lt;sup&gt;29&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ABD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martial incident 5:</td>
<td>SSE n. arrow : 1&lt;sup&gt;30&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>BNF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SSE n. clear (verb) : 1&lt;sup&gt;31&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>CAI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SSE n. halt 'stop' : 1&lt;sup&gt;32&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>FIF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<sup>20</sup> **Danes Wark** SAD-FIF, above.
<sup>21</sup> **Danish Camp** WHTV-CMB (the name suggests that a feature was perceived).
<sup>22</sup> **Dane's Pier** SSY-ORK (a natural bolder spit).
<sup>23</sup> **Denmark** RED-PER (a monolith).
<sup>24</sup> **Cruden** CRU-ABD NK092362, 1755 *Crawden Kirk* Crowden Bay/Skerrs (Roy Map), obscure: a battle with Canute (OSA v, 431–3; NSA xii, 978).
<sup>25</sup> **Denside** TAN-ANG NO461607, 1744 *The Daneside* (GC i, 286), ScS n. den 'narrow ravine': Danish encampment before a battle (loc. cit.).
<sup>26</sup> **Ardendraught** CRU-ABD NK076354, 1636=52 Ardenrett (Gordon Map 35), obscure: 'the old Danish roads' (OSA v, 431 n.).
<sup>27</sup> **Denmark** INK-ANG NO594465, 1583=96 (Pont Map 26), OSc n. dene 'small valley': Danish camps (OSA iii, 285).
<sup>28</sup> **Dannie's Den** SCY-KCD NO715632, 1841 (NSA xi, 282), ScS anthro. *Danie*: grave of a Danish warrior (loc. cit.).
<sup>29</sup> **Danestone** OMR-ABD NJ915101, 1543 *Deynstoun* (RMS iii no. 2973), OSc n. dene 'administrative dean': cairn over a defeated Danish leader (OSnb 69:29).
<sup>30</sup> **Ardarowe** BOY-BNF NJ665646, 1791=99 Ardrall (OSA xx, 344 BFF-BNF), obscure: Danish archers (loc. cit.; NSA xiii, 224; OSnb 7:31).
<sup>31</sup> **Clordon** THU-CAI ND149695, 1604 *Clareden* (Retours no. 5), obscure: cry of "clear the Dane" (Torfaeus 1866, 168).
<sup>32</sup> **Dunshelt** AMY-FIF NO249104, 1611 *Dwnscheill* (RMS v no. 488), ScG n.m. dùn 'fort': where fleeing or raiding Danes came to a halt (OSnb 13:3; OGS, under Daneshalt; Taylor 1995b).
Names containing the ethnonym are restricted to linear features\(^33\) 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 apppellative '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.\(^34\)

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*," with the suggestion that the

\(^33\) *Routdane*‡ DLR-AYR (above): 'rout of Danes' (OShb 20:23).

\(^34\) *Swordanes*◊ BFF-BNF NJ669644, 1791-99 *Swordane* (OSA xx, 344), obscure: Danish swordsmen (OSA xx, 344; NSA xiii, 224; OShb 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' Daines Moor E/NTP, 1467 *Danysmore* (Ekwall 1953, 156).


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name may have been coined with northern OE n.? byr, a loan-word from ON n.m. býr or OD n.m. býr ‘settlement’ (OED, 1888 edn, under by; Bosworth & Toller 1898, s.v.; VEPN 2000, 104), adopted by analogy from the local toponymy.\textsuperscript{36} 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:\textsuperscript{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 by(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 by(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),\textsuperscript{40} rather than to Denby in Derbyshire and in West Yorkshire,\textsuperscript{41} from OE ‘Dene (Mills 1998, 111; VEPN 2000, 105, 107: Ekwall 1953, 156–7, with less certainty).

\textsuperscript{36} 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.

\textsuperscript{39} The other written evidence was Johnston’s county-map and the valuation roll (OSnb 8:64 DMF).

\textsuperscript{40} Danby SE159871, Danby NZ707085, Danby Wiske SE338983, all 1086 Danebi (Ekwall 1953, 157).

\textsuperscript{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. The geographical
distribution of probable names only is indicated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Language(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>ON n.m. Finnr</td>
<td>SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>SE n. Icelander</td>
<td>SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavia</td>
<td>ScG n.m. Lochlannach</td>
<td>INV^Heb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OE n.m. Nordmann</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OSc n./adj. Norman</td>
<td>FIF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e.ESE n./adj. Norman</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SE n. n./adj. Norman</td>
<td>ABD, FIF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SE n. Norseman</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SE n. “Swedishman”</td>
<td>SUT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Norsecaldar HAL-CAI ND110615, 1538 Norne Caldour (ER xvii, 754) Norne-califar
(RMS iii no. 1798), formed a contrasting pair with Scotscaldar 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 Icelandic UNS-SHE.
4 Eileanan Lochlannach§ SUS-INV^Heb, Sgeir an Lochlannaich DSH-INV^Heb.
5 Possible: Ormathwaite COCK-CMB.
6 Norman’s Law AB£Abnd-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 PENR³-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

规范化的新近移民
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*† (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 apppellative W. n.m. *ffranc,* below, offers a potential alternative, but a conspicuous conical hillock near the present settlement suggests a motte or castle-hill.

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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 Frakkafield 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. frangcán, with a stem frangc + diminutive suffix, was applied to a genus of flowering plants in the daisy family (DIL, s.v.). 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. Welsh, too, might have had this element with reference to vegetation.

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2 Glossed as Athanasia and Herba sanctae Mariae.
3 Fraoch Frangach ‘cross-leaved heath Erica tetralix’ (Garvie 1999, 21), seileach Frangach ‘goat willow Salix caprea (also French willow Salix aquatica)’ (loc. cit.), seilechan Frangach ‘rosebay Chamaenerion 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. *franc* 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', though tansy might also be a candidate; a parallel is to be found in the 328m Tansy Hill LHM-DMF. Either plant might explain Loch Fraing KKV-ARG Heb. 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. However, a second, unmapped Port na Fraing² KKV²-ARG Heb on Mull suggests a more prosaic etymology than some unique incident or association.

**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.

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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', 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; this may offer an alternative to the ethnonym in Allt an Frangaich LCA-ROS. Development of the final syllable might explain the final syllable in the meadow-name Delfrankie◊ GLB-ABD. Either plant might be the referent in the upland sites of Glen Franka‡ CRW-LAN and Imire Frangach† RHU-DNB.

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 and Sloc nam Frangach◊ BRR-INV. 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. 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).

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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).
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. Francan
- nom. pl. Francan
- gen. pl. Franc(e)na
- adj. Frencis, Frencysc

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†

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Cho dall ri dailag, ‘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 Frankisheman, 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 Frangach 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 Phrangaich◊ 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). 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

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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). 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.

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

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18 Henderson (1998, 237) categorises Lochrutton crannog as being of an "historic type" (medieval or later occupation of larger inlet 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:

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

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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, 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 Bryncysegrfan 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
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

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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-oech> [Eta.k.a.rn] (Blaeu Map).
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). Cameron (ibid., 28–33) drew
together a thirteen-point conclusion on the English evidence of OE Walh in place-names.  
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).

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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. far ‘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*, 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 -*wall(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-CMB and Waldore† BRMP-CMB, 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). Name-initial OSc n. *well* 'spring, well' is found as the variant *wall* in reference to a long spring-fed boggy hollow; to an area of woodland, and to a stream in an early recording of the 'spring-burn' type. There

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8 Wallingford E/BRK, Wallstone E/DRB, Wallsworth E/GLO, Walsall E/STF, Walsham E/NFK E/SFK, Walshford E/YOW, Wealas Huþe† 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 *handwalth*, probably in Hundles Hope MAN-PEB NT230364, 1259 *Hundwulchope* *Hundwulchope* [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. *hundoel*; 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 Waugh’slea HFM-DMF NY329749, 1755 *Waldee* (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 *[wa:l]*, or if the ethnonym has been suggested for a particular name in the literature). The parallels are Walburn ('burn, stream'), Walcot ('cottage'), Walden ('dean'), Walford ('ford'), Walham ('enclosure'), Walmer ('loch'), Walmore ('moor'), Walshaw ('copse') 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 Welton (RMS iii no. 1588); in DPH-LAN NT092940, 1511 Weloun (RMS ii no. 3635); in FAK-STL NS791772, 1450 Weloune (RMS ii no. 353); in FTY-STL ‡ @NS657864, 1465 Weloune (RMS ii no. 832); and in MEA-RNF NS486547, 1542 E/W. Welton (RMS ii no. 4978). Walston contains the plural in KMK-AYR NS468408, 1488 Welston (ER x, 45) Nr/O. Wilsdon (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.


\(^{19}\) 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.

\(^{21}\) Wallham E/GLO, Wallon E/WAR.

\(^{22}\) Walmer E/KNT, E/WOR.

\(^{23}\) Walmire E/YON, Walsemore E/GLO.

\(^{24}\) Walshaw E/YOW.

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. No instance of the Old English adjective as an ethnonymic toponym is proffered by Cameron, despite Middle English examples (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. Wales ‘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. Only one of the Older Scots names for which the eponym can be positively or potentially identified is extant. Each uses the form Wallace almost exclusively, name-final if an affix to an existing name. Such affixes had seemingly been dropped by 1654, with change of ownership being one apparent motivation for this. In most cases, however, the etymology has had to be allocated to the anthroponym on the basis of probability. In at least one further name, Cambuswallace:
KMA-PER NN710032 (1491 Cambuswallance), OSc anthroponym Vallance has been reinterpreted as Walleis (first recorded in 1510 Campiswallace), and tales of the national hero William Wallace attached to it. Such tales are attached to some genuine anthroponymic names, but also to a couple of false ones, making it unsafe as evidence. 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. 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. Five name-initial instances in Scottish Standard English have likely candidates for the eponyms available, and two others are applied to small twentieth-century developments.

1650 Wallace-milne (Retours no. 224); Wallacetown AUK-AYR NS602215, 1636-52 Wallacetoun (Gordon Map 60); Wallacetown CAS-DNB NS356777, 1444 Wallastoune (RMS ii no. 273); Wallacetown DFS-DMF NX998762, 1858 (OS 6’ 1st edn), Wallacetown DAI-AYR NS277030, 1654 Wallakestou<n> (Blue Map); Wallacetown DUB-PER NO154190, 1465 Wallacetoun (ER vii, 671) Wallastoune (RMS ii no. 831); Wallacetown‡ MLB-DMF NY207748, 1638 Nr.Straithe a.k.a. Wallaletou (vel Wallaldtoune) (Retours no. 165); Wallisswardwork† (unidentified) AYR (1666 Retours no. 548). Of the same period are e.ESE Wallace Field CARL-CMB NY504491, 1662 Wallasisfield [Dean & Chapter of Carlisle MS, unspecified] (PNCu 1, 165), and e.ESE Wallisland† 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} Cambuswanthe? {CDS i no. 447} (McNiven 2011, 24, 304) Cambuswelhe? (Fraser, Menteith ii, 214), 1491 Cambusvallance (RMS ii no. 2008); Wallace Spa DEL-FIF NT087872, 1856 Wallace Spa (Well of Spa) (OSnb 121:49:69), Wallace Tower† AIH-STL NS919770 (Canmore, 48067); Wallace Tower AYP-AYR NS338218, 1855 (OS Town, Ayr sheet 8); Wallacetown‡ DPC-STL NS848848, 1723 Wallace tower (GC i, 333); Wallacetown DUB-PER NO154190, 1465 Wallace tower, influenced by the involvement of William Wallace in the battle of Biggar Moss 1297. The name replaced Whinbush† c.1835 (OSnb 3:34).

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

36 Wallace Craigie† DDE-ANG NO411309, 1539 Wallace–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 Wallacetun (ER vii, 671) Walasetoun (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 Wallacestone (GC i, 413).

39 Wallacetown SST-SHE HU305524 (Stewart 1987, 167, 277).

40 Wallace Bridge DTR-KCD NO880822, 1851 (OSnb 6:83); Wallacefield† DFN-DNB NSS32315, 1828 (Thomson Map); Wallace Geo SHA-SHE HY511158, 1878 Wallace Geo (Wallace Goe) (OSnb 18:121); Wallacetown DFL-FIF NY285771, 1858 Wallacetoun (Wallace Hall) (OSnb 37:132, 163); Wallacetown DUM-DNB (Canmore, 1861, 342).
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 [f]. This is found in early name-initial forms for Walston TRB-AYR, Walstone‡ PCK-MLO, Wellhouses† 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 plural or attributively.

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 ethnonyms adjective Welisc; but has a parallel form Walsh due to confusion with the nominative, OE Walh (Black 1946, 800). The names in which it has been identified are recorded in the nineteenth century at the earliest. The first element in

NS399747, 1860 Wallace’s Tower (OSnb 8:38); Wallace Wood BOR-KCB NX635488, 1987 (OS⁵⁰; Wallace Wood DBG-FIF NO311189, 1976 (OS⁵⁰)).

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. Vâl) (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\(^{\text{Heb(INV)}}\) 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*:

- **Small settlement**: None developed into urban units.
- **Subsidiary relationship with a local Anglian centre**: The parish of Hobkirk ROX NT587109\(^46\) 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

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\(^45\) 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\(^{\text{barc}}\)-SLK, 1486 Wallacehill, 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 Craigwaughton‡ 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 (OPSi, 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 NY363846 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). 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

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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,\textsuperscript{51} but \textit{Waughton} PRK-ELO stands isolated from them.

Both \textit{Wauchope}‡ HOB-ROX and \textit{Wauchope}‡ LHM-DMF are therefore consistent
with the English paradigm in so far as being small settlements located in minor side
valleys, and \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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

\textsuperscript{51} Cairndinnis NT570748 (location as on the OS 6’ 1st edn) (Watson 1926, 372); Dunpelder‡ a.k.a. Traprain Law NT581746
(Watson 1926, 345); Peffer Burn NT620825, rising in Prestonkirk (Watson 1926, 452; Nicolaisen 2001, 211); Pencairg
(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
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. Spàinnteach¹ SE n./adj. Roman²

ARG, INV³⁶⁷, ROS
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-INV³⁶⁷, Sguàrr nan Spàinnteach GLL-ROS, Uaighsean nan Spàinnteach BRR-INV³⁶⁷
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, Roman camp 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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gen. sg.</td>
<td><em>Albanaig</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom. pl.</td>
<td>Albanaig, Albain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. pl.</td>
<td>*Albanach, *Alban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td><em>Albanach</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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*’. 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*. 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 Irish\(^3\) 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

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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 .i. Bretnaig .i. 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 [L]uid forcuairt a procepta foalbain [sic] .i. bretnu .i. saxanchu (Stokes 1877, 118), showing accusative plural.
5 Bod. Library MS Rawl. B. 502, 81, b46: *co nAlbain .i. Bretnu .i. 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, but he does not extend this suggestion to the other likely candidates for the element, the districts of Breadalbane, Drumalbin† and Glen Albyn INV 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 Alba 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 Albannach. Albanach** (nom. sg., masc.)

gen. sg.  *Albaigh, Albannach*  
nom. pl. *Albaigh, Albannaich*  
gen. pl. *Albanach, Albannach*  
adj.  *Albanach, Albannaich*

EG *Albanach* continued into the Scots Gaelic period (Watson 1926, 12, gives *Allt an Albaigh* for *Alton Albany* BAR-AYR). Development of the double *n* is incomplete and perhaps more orthographic than radical, presumably influenced by the doubling of the final -*n* of EG gen. *Alban* 'of Albu' to produce ScG gen. *(na h-)Albann* 'of Alba', and by analogy with similar Gaelic ethnonyms formed from the adjectival suffix -ach, e.g.

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6 NS904383, 1492 *Drumalbane* (RMS ii no. 2102).
7 NN4836, 1608-61 *Braid Alabhan* (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 /a+bonax/, with the same /n/ as in *Sasunnach* /sasnx/ (ibid., 395; for *Sasannach*). Thomson (1981; 1994) in his English-to-Gaelic dictionary opts to spell the noun *Albanach* under *Scott(swoman)*, counter to general practice, but the adjective *Albannach*, under *Scottish*. Irish Gaelic has retained *Albanach*. Against this, Wentworth (2003, under *Scottsman* and *Scottish*), in describing the Gaelic of Wester Ross, gives [p] 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 Éirinn '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.

The 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\textsuperscript{Heb},\textsuperscript{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):\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{Heb} (above). The corpus divides, however, between those names with the ethnonymic specific in the genitive singular and those in the genitive plural.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{13} NG242465, 1923 Uaigh an Albannaich (Forbes 1923, 427) Uamh an t-Albannach a.k.a. Uaigh an t-Albannach (ibid., 437).
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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† is a small inlet, *Geodha an Albanach*† LCH-ROS† is an indent in the coastline, and *Alt an Albannaich* KDO-ARG† is a cliff-girt backshore in a remote location. None is a good landing-place for intercommunication: the boulder-strewn shore of *Geodha an Albanach*† LCH-ROS†, the enclosing cliff of *Alt an Albannaich* KDO-ARG†, and the availability of appropriate alternatives in the general area of each, all count against intercommunication. The boulders across *Geodha an Albanach*† LCH-ROS† 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

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*Albannaich* KBK-ARG†, *Coire an Albannaich* AMN-ARG and *Geodha an Albannaich*† LCH-ROS, or by analogy as suggested in respect of *Alton Albany* BAR-AYR.
cairns (OSnb 25:24 ROS)\(^6\) and place-names in the vicinity,\(^7\) 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*\(^\circ\) 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*\(^\dagger\) BAR-AYR. If this is not a transmission error, then it either demonstrates generic variation (with ScG n.m. *àlta* 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*\(^\dagger\) 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\(^\dagger\)\(^\vDash\) watershed. Perhaps Glen Albyn INV, the alias of the Great Glen, and Breadalbane \(^\vDash\) (with Lòcha Albannach KIL-PER)\(^8\) 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*\(^\circ\) LOE-ROS is

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\(^6\) Centred on NH726766 (*Canmore*, 14577). It is not clear, though probable, that this group includes Cairnn-namarow (ScG ‘*Càrn nam Marbh*’), a.k.a. OSc Deidmaniscairne, which with *Allt nan Albannach*\(^\circ\) LOE-ROS formed part of the bounds of Logie in 1607 (1610 *RMS* vii no. 329). Watson (1926, 12) latterly made this assumption.

\(^7\) Lochan a’ Chlaidheimh NH736778, ‘sword loch’, in Beàrn<a’s>a’ Chlaidheimh, ‘sword cleft’ (Watson 1904, 60).

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),9 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, Sròn Albannach KCH-ARG and Stronnynalbynych† 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 $53 \times 28\frac{1}{2} \times 51$ km ($33 \times 17\frac{1}{2} \times 32$ 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 Stronnynalbynych† 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 Stronnynalbynych† 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

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9 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 Féinne 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. Féinn.
22 The only exceptions to Féinn, 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. fian 'warrior-band (generic)'.

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three *sròn*-names with ScG n.m. *forsair* (one with the genitive singular) 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 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. **Stronnynalbynych**† 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 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 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.

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24 With a plural specific (both forms of the genitive plural being grammatically correct), *Sròn nam Fonsair* 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 Antrim\(^{26}\) 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.\(^{30}\)

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\(^{25}\) 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).
19 Scots: ethonyms derived from obscure *Scot

Probable identifications: 67 (see Maps 20 and 21, pp. 200–1)
Possible identifications: 18

**ON Skot** (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, Skotlandsfjörðir, 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 Skot** 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**

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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 Scottes (Blaeu Map), with secondary name Airiridcheoduis‡ 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 (Osbn 11:28).
⁵ Scottie‡ CBS-ORK HY744438, 1992 Scottie (Lamb 1992, 26, 112; Scottie Should† WRY-ORK HY501384, 2009 Scottie Should (Westray db); Scottigars CBS-ORK HY780553, 1783 Scottiger [court record] (Marwick 1923, 31); Scotto WRY-ORK HY498428, 1878 (Osbn 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, 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

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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'.

Grammar does not permit a phrase-final genitive for the ethnonyms OE, OSc and ScS Scot. Two other Old English elements produce $S(c)hot$-.

OE n.m. scēat 'projecting land' may well feature in Shothaugh ALNW-NTB, with the farm in a peninsula formed by a loop in the River Coquet. More frequently encountered, however, is OE n.? scēor '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. What is common when combined with OE n.m. tūn 'settlement' is a position on, or just below, the lip of a slope. (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

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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.m. (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 Shothaugh 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 Shotthaugh† HEXH-NTB @NY935641, 1479 Schothalghbankys (Beckensall 2006, 153), is unknown.

12 Acceptable as 'steep' is Shotton GLEN-NTB NT842303, c.1040 Scootadun [HSC’2000, 3] (pers. comm. Alex Woolf in 2005) Scoedadun (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 Shotley E/DRB SK312493 (Cameron 1996b, 180; Mills 1998, 312; PNSa 4, 132). On the parallel of shot-names, Scoatinflat† 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 (OS35), 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. scēast, but the name may have migrated down the slope from the pasture on the spur above.
area and some others, 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 *Sceott* c.1130; Feilitzen 1937, 356) in the toponymicon of the study area, though considered to be in a number in southern England. 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).

**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). 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

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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 health* (Ekwall 1953, 168); Shottesham E/NFK, 1044–47 *Shottesham*, 1086 *Scotesham* (Mills 1998, 311); Shotteswell E/WAR, c.1140 *Soteswell* [sic] (Ekwall 1953, 168; Mills 1998, 312); Shotisham E/SFK, 1086 *Scotesham* (Mills 1998, 312). The topography of Shotteswell in particular might be seen as suiting OE n.? *scōt*, 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 Scotiscroft (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 Scotisland† CHM-BWK @NT903659, 1623 (RMS viii no. 1132); Scotisland† DFS-DMF @NX977976, 1607 (RMS vi no. 1910); Scotis-land† ILN-PEB @NT329365, 1550 (1581 RMS v no. 311).

23 Scotisquarter† CRF-PER @NN889187, 1540 Scotis quartar (ER xvii, 465).

24 Ardlethame-scot† ELL-ABD NJ921303, 1657 (Retours no. 335); Scotstarvit† CER-FIF NO368112, 1612 Scottistarvet (RMS vii no. 747).

25 Scotshill† FER-ANG @NO479608, 1588 Scottishill (RMS v no. 1579). Cf. Scot’s House E/DRH NZ326609, tenanted 1382 by Galfridus Scot (coincidently 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-brig† MML-FIF NO319142, 1540 (RMS iii no. 2156).

28 Scotswood NEWT-NTB NZ198639, 1864 (OS 6’ 1st edn).

29 Scots-wall† SNI-STL @NS788938, 1579 (RMS iv no. 2890).

30 Scotisquarter† 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'. With minor Scotland-names in England, 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. scatland '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).

**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.

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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. 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, Sc n. croft 'smallholding', Sc n. quoy 'enclosure', SSE n. field, Sc n. garth 'enclosure', Sc n. ley 'fallow ground', ScG n.m. ruighe 'hill slope; shieling'), to facilities (SSE n. pier, Sc n. wall 'well', SSE n. well), to habitation (ex nomine, SSE n. hall, often used ironically, SSE locational suffix -ton, Sc n. town 'settlement'), SSE n.

34 The hypocoristic Scottie remains virtually unchanged in toponymic orthography, 1771 on (with the unique exceptions of 1860 Scott's Brae (Stewart 1987, 60), for Scottiesbrae DNR-SHE HU391177, and Scotti in Scottis Dellin\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) WAS-SHE @HT999391 (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 Scots wells (Ainslie Map), 1828 Scotswalls (Sharpe\(\text{\textsuperscript{et al.}}\) Map), 1827 Scotswells (Thomson Map), 1837 Scotswalls [Aberdour Map] (P\textsuperscript{N}F 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 Scots Dod CRW-LAN NT024229 (OSnb 18:146), 1870 Scott’s Chapel\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) ABU+MLH-BNF NJ304429 (OSnb 23:25) and Scott’s Well\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) MLH-BNF NJ304427 (OSnb 23:25), 1878 Scotsfield (OSnb 1:191), now Scottsfeld\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) TWL-SHE HU401395; not always securely, however, as in Scotsfield KPF-DMF NY236695: Scottsfeld in 1804 (Crawford Map), 1821 (Ainslie Map) and 1828 (Thomson Map), then Scottsfeld 1858 (OSnb 33:92), Scotsfield 1892 (Shennan 1892, 338), Scotsfield 1897 (OS 1\' 3rd edn) and finally Scottsfeld 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 Scottsfeld to Scottsfeld\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) TWL-SHE; likewise in Scott’s Hall FOR-ABD NJ613447, 1986 (OS\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\)), in which the genitive ending is often lost even in official use.

35 Scott’s\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) ERL-ORK HY402222 (Sandnes 2010, 242); Scott’s\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) STO-MLO @NT443436, a.1981 (SPNS MS).

36 Scotscroft DFL-FIF NT074924, 1755 Scott Croft (Roy Map).

37 Quoyscottie BIH-ORK HY385200, 1878 (OSnb 1:198).

38 Scottsfeld\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) ANY-PER NO157173, 1779 (Stobie Map); Scotsfield\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) HFM-DMF NY321734, 1858 (OSnb 23:48); Scotsfeld KPF-DMF NY236695, 1804 (Crawford Map); Scottsfeld\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) 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\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) 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 NK924298, 1871 (OSnb 29:97).

43 Scots Well LLE-ANG NO445813, 1861 (OSnb 63:58); Scott’s Well\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) MLH-BNF NJ304427, 1870 (OSnb 23:25).

44 Bandscotsdrum\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) SLN-FIF NT003923, 1828 Band Scots Drum (Sharpe\(\text{\textsuperscript{et al.}}\) Map); Scots Skiddoway\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) KDF-FIF NT263979, 1775 Scotswooday (Ainslie Map); Scotts Dellin\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) WAS-SHE @HT959391 (Stewart 1970, 316).

45 Scotsbra ORK HY764535, 1878 (OSnb 13:37); Scotsbray BHE-FIF NO532053, 1856 (OSnb 24:36); Scottshall\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) KCQ-FIF @NO459038, 1787 [sasine no. 1711] (P\textsuperscript{N}F iii, 285); Scott’s Hall FOR-ABD NJ613447, 1986 (OS\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\)); Scottshall ERL-ORK HY385200, 1878 (OSnb 15:19).

46 Scotsston GLW-LAN NS615639, 1858 (OS Town, Glasgow sheet VI.16.6); Scotsston\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) KMG-ARG NR920902, 1878 (OSnb 17:47), but probably as a transferred name; Scocton LDK-PER NN905425, 1907 (OS 1\' 3rd edn).

47 Scotties Toon\(\text{\textsuperscript{\textregistered}}\) DNR-SHE HU391177 a.k.a. Scottiesbrae, a.1860 (Stewart 1987, 281).
town), to stones (SSE n. *chapel*, used ironically; SSE n. *rock*; ScS n. *stane* 'stone'), to terrain (ScS n. *brae* 'hillside'; ScS n. *cleuch* 'narrow gorge'; ScS n. *dod* 'bare rounded hill'); to vegetation (SSE n. *plantation*; SSE n. *wood*), and one instance of ScS n. *ventur* 'venture'. Only eight of these have a recorded link to the anthroponym, five commemorating occupation or ownership, two an associated dignitary, and one an associated incident. 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. 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*). Apart from the absence of place-name coinings in Northumberland, this correlates well with the toponymicon.

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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 (OS)*.
53 Scotsbrae MQR-ABD NJ783484, 1871 (OSnb 63:37); Scottie's Brae† DFL-FIF @NT065845, 1771 [estate map] (*PNF* i, 354); Scotsbiesbrae DNR-SHE NU391177, 1860 Scotty's Brae (Stewart 1987, 60).
54 Scott's Cleuch Plantation ROB-SLK NT406132, 2006 (OS)*.
55 Scotts Dod CRW-LAN NT024229, 1861 (OSnb 18:146).
56 Scott's Level† HAW-ROX @NT514166, 1947 (Robson 1947, 62).
57 Scott's Plantation EAR-BWK NT630412, 1858 (OSnb 16:11); Scotts Plantation HOB-ROX NT576105, 2010 (OS)*.
58 Scot's Wood AUG-PER NO064347, 1985 (OS)*.
59 Scotsventure CRA-FIF NO553092, 1856 (OSnb 83:16).
60 Scottfield† 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 (*PNW* 1, 191); Scott Hill and Scot Sike, Warcop (*PNW* 2, 86); Scot Rake, Ravenstonedale (*PNW* 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*).
The adjective *Scotch* is said by *OED*, s.v., to be a contraction, first recorded 1570, of southern English *Scottish*;* 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. Prejudice against the term is already apparent in the OSnb,* and may have led to it being expunged without trace in some names in favour of ScS *Scots*. These names, and those in the study area that retained *Scotch*,* 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.* However, semantic impact of confusion between the genitive plural and the adjective is in most cases minimal (which in itself facilitates reinterpretation of the

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* 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 *Scotscairg* FPC-FIF, 1642 *Scottishcairg*.

* 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).

* *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(s)blair, Scotchblair; Scott's Bank* KHP-SLK, 1773, 1824, 1851 *Scotch Bank*, but 1821 *Scotsbank*.

* 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 *Scotsstoun*. *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 *Scotis dyke*, 1654 *March-Dyk, 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, 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.

* *Scotchman's Ford* MEN-ANG recorded from 1791*-99, Scotch Shields† LNGT-CMB in 1748, Scotch-baugh Burn FRD-KCD in 1865, Scotch Craig† CSL-ROX in 1860, Scotch Knowe‡ CSL-ROX in 1860.

* 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 (1495 *Scottispale) and *Scott's Bank* KHP-SLK (1773 *Scotch Bank*); but probably not in *Scot's Gap* BELL-NTB (1827 *the Scotch Gap*).
grammar). The variation extends to preposed attributive use of the noun, found also in Old English and in Old Norse. This has the same import as the genitive plural. In fact, few names with a clear genitive singular have been found, 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:

### Area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Incidences</th>
<th>Generic</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable 2</td>
<td>ON n.nt. land 'land' : 1</td>
<td>Skotland</td>
<td>☼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OE n.nt. land 'land' : 1</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>☼</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Applied to the territory associated with the ethnicity.

### Feature

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Incidences</th>
<th>Generic</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable 9:</td>
<td>OSc n. dyke 'dyke' : 1</td>
<td>CMB+DMF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OSc n. hole 'hiding place' : 1</td>
<td>BWK</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScS n. brig 'bridge' : 1</td>
<td>DMF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScS n. craig 'rock' : 1</td>
<td>ROX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScS n. dyke 'dyke' : 1</td>
<td>NTB+ROX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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, Scottismanisk† 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 Scotchcoultard 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.
This is a varied group, with a clear distribution in the area of the Anglo-Scottish border. Most are along the Border itself, a couple in a contrasting pairing with a similar feature on the English side. One dates from, and as a feature was erected to delineate, the agreement of the disputed border line in 1552, 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; the third is a renaming that according to the recorded forms took place 1694–1723.

Fig. 17 Scot-names with generics for ground

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidences</th>
<th>Generic</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Probable 6:</strong></td>
<td>OSc n. <em>but</em> 'separated ground' : 1&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>PER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc n. <em>halch</em> 'meadow' : 1&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>KCD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc n. <em>reisk</em> 'moor' : 1&lt;sup&gt;c&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>PER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup> *Scotch Knowe* CSL-ROX, *Scotsman’s Knowe* RTHB-NTB.
<sup>b</sup> *Scotsman’s Cairn* RTHB-NTB.
<sup>c</sup> *Scot’s Gap* BELL-NTB.
<sup>d</sup> *Scotisbiryn* † MON-ANG.
<sup>e</sup> *Scot Knowe* SST-SHE.
<sup>f</sup> 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.
<sup>g</sup> *Scotch Craig* CSL-ROX with *English Craig* † LNGT-CMB, and nearby *Scotch Knowe* CSL-ROX with *English Knowe* † BELL+LNGT-NTB+CMB.
<sup>h</sup> *Scots Dyke* † BELL+CSL-NTB+ROX.
<sup>i</sup> *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.
<sup>j</sup> *Scotsbrig* MLB-DMF from *Godsbridge*, possibly to avoid perceived profanity.
<sup>k</sup> *Scotsmen’s Butts* † ALY-PER.
<sup>l</sup> *Scotch-haugh Burn* FRD-KCD.
<sup>m</sup> *Scottismanisrisk* † RED-PER.
Possible [3]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>City</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CMB</td>
<td>ScS n. shiel ’bothy’</td>
<td>1st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLK</td>
<td>SSE n. bank</td>
<td>1st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTB</td>
<td>ESE n. meadow</td>
<td>1st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMB</td>
<td>ESE n. croft ’small enclosure’</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNB</td>
<td>OSc n. blair ’moss’</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STL</td>
<td>OSc n. flat ’level ground’</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) 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

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*Scotch Shields*† LNGT-CMB.

*Scott’s Bank* KHP-SLK (a slope of natural wood).

*Scotchmeadows* HEXH-NTB.

*Scots-Croft*† BOOT-CMB.

*Scotsblair*† KTL-DNB.

*Scots Flat*† GRM-STL.

*However, the "Scots firs" at Hangingshaw YAR-SLK NT398302 are from Highland seed (NSA iii, 43).
linguistic, tenurial 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'.

Fig. 18 Scot-names with generics for hills

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hill</th>
<th>Incidences</th>
<th>Generic</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable 4:</td>
<td>ON n.m. múli 'projecting hill': 1\textsuperscript{101}</td>
<td>ARG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OSc n. crag 'rock': 1\textsuperscript{102}</td>
<td>FIF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScS n. hill 'hill': 1\textsuperscript{103}</td>
<td>BNF+MOR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScS n. law 'hill': 1\textsuperscript{104}</td>
<td>AYR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Scotscraig 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.

\textsuperscript{103} 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).

\textsuperscript{101} Scotmill KCH-ARG.

\textsuperscript{102} Scotscraig FPC-FIF.

\textsuperscript{103} Scotch Hill BLE-MOR a.k.a. Scots Hill BOH-BNF.

\textsuperscript{104} Scotlaw LGS-AYR.
Such an interface is also implied by Scotmill KCH-ARG. Despite its modern form, it only lost a medial vowel and is recorded from a time when an Older Scots name is unlikely in Kintyre (1481 Scottomy). If indeed the genitive plural of ON Skotr + ON n.m. múlí, 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.

Industry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidences</th>
<th>Generic</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable</td>
<td>OsC n. miln 'mill' : 6</td>
<td>ABD, ANG, BNF, MOR, PER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OsC n. pat 'coal-pit' : 1</td>
<td>MLO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible</td>
<td>OsC n. miln 'mill' : [3]</td>
<td>ABD, FIF, PEB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the possible names below, and one rejected instance, 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. With a widespread distribution over the wider North East, and dating back to at least the thirteenth century in both Angus and Moray, 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 Other wise Satíri, in the thirteenth century (Njáls Saga, 213).
106 Scottie Molendinum† KSS-MOR (assuming for Older Scots), Scotsmill PHD-ABD, Scottomill† LIN-ANG, Scottomill† ALY-PEB, Scottomill BOY-ABD, Scottomill 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-PEB, though outwith the geographical distribution identified.
109 Scots Mill† IKG-FIF, probably with the surname SSE Scot.
110 Mackie's Mill MAI-FIF NT305978 and Mackiesmill PAI-RNF NS44615. Mack's 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, CI3 Scottie molendinum; Scottomill† 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\(^{\text{Heb}}\) (MacLeod 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\(^{\text{Heb}}\) 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 (MacLeod 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\(^{\text{ABD}}\) is notable, though possibly coincidental.

*Scotispatis-croft*\(^{\dagger}\) 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-*\(^{\text{Heb}}\), *click-*\(^{\text{Heb}}\), *clack-mill* (*SND*, under *klick-mill*), SSE n. *Norse mill* (MacLeod 2009, 19), ScG n.m.f. *muileann bh(h)ej* 'small mill' (MacLeod 2009 *passim*).

\(^{113}\) Carver considers it to be a demolished horizontal mill of the seventh (2008, 64 n. 5) or eighth century (in MacLeod 2009, 19–20).
Fig. 20 Scot-names with generics for routes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Route</th>
<th>Incidences</th>
<th>Generic</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable 9:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE n.nt. *wæð 'ford':</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>PER+STL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc n. *gate 'routeway':</td>
<td>4115</td>
<td>ANG, INV, MOR, PER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc n. *wath 'ford':</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>DMF+CMB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSE n. *ford':</td>
<td>2117</td>
<td>ABD, ANG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESE n. *ford':</td>
<td>1118</td>
<td>NTB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The location of Scotwad† GGK+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† GGK+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, Scotisgait† 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.\textsuperscript{119} The third name, Scotsmansford† KCO-ABD on the former Deeside road,\textsuperscript{120} crosses a stream so small that it is labelled as a drain on OS\textsuperscript{10}. 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 Scotsgait), 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement (other than Scotston-names)</th>
<th>Incidences</th>
<th>Generic</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable 8:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc existing name</td>
<td>3\textsuperscript{122}</td>
<td>CAI, MLO, PER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc n. hall 'large house'</td>
<td>1\textsuperscript{123}</td>
<td>CMB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{120} Kincardine O’Neil ABD did not have indigenous Gaelic in 1774 (Withers 1984, 130).

\textsuperscript{121} Scothy CARL-CMB.

\textsuperscript{122} Durdy Scot† KSP-PER, Karramund Scottorum† CRM-MLO, Scotscaler HAL-CAI.

\textsuperscript{123} Scotch Hall‡ HEXH-NTB.
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). 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 *by(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 *Scotscaldor* 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,

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124 *Scottis-raw†* DDA-PER.
125 *Scottstown* 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 Scotscaler 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). Scotscaler 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. 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.

### Settlement (Scotston-names)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidences</th>
<th>Generic</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable 13:</td>
<td>OSc n. toun ‘settlement’ : 13[^132]</td>
<td>ABD, ANG, BNF[^ABD], KCD, MOR, RNF, WLO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible [8]:</td>
<td>OSc n. toun ‘settlement’ : [8][^133]</td>
<td>ABD, ANG, BWK, CMB, PEB, RNF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^130]: An ethnonymic interpretation of Norneicalder† HAL-CAI is rejected (rather, OSc adj. northin), and ipso facto so too is the contrastive pairing with Scotscaler 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-BNK[^ABD], Scotston of Kirkside SCY-KCD, Scotston of Usan CRG-ANG, Scotstonhill SAB-MOR, Scotstown† DMN-WLO, Scotstown† ABC-WLO, OMR-ABD, RAT-BNF, Scotstoun† PAI-RNF.

[^133]: Scotston ELL-ABD, FAR-ANG, LGT-BWK, MET-ABD, Scotstown 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.\footnote{Of place-names with a potential anthroponym \(+\)-\text{-s-}+\text{-ton/toun/town} on the late twentieth century OS\footnote{Hooker 1991}, the seventeen instances of \textit{Scots}- is only less than that for the twenty of \textit{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: \textit{James}, with a long heritage as a personal name (Black 1946, 382), and intriguingly \textit{Ingles/Inglis}. It should be noted that all the data are retained in the lists for comparative purposes, and so include both the probably ethnonymic \textit{Scotstown}, ARD-ARG and discounted Scotston\footnote{KMG-ARG NR920902 and Scotstown BFF-BNF NJ682646.} KMG-ARG NR920902 and Scotstown BFF-BNF NJ682646.} 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Century</th>
<th>North East</th>
<th>Central Belt</th>
<th>South</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C13</td>
<td>KCD</td>
<td>WLO</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C14</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>WLO</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C15</td>
<td>ABD, BNF</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C16</td>
<td>ABD, ANG ×2, BNF\textsuperscript{[ABD]}, KCD, MOR</td>
<td>RNF ×2</td>
<td>PEB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C17</td>
<td>BNF</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C18</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>BWK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C19</td>
<td>ABD ×2, ANG</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C20</td>
<td>ABD</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 23 Scotston-names over time and space

If the north-eastern names were to infer an associated language as was claimed by Alexander (1952, 112–3),\footnote{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.”} 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.\footnote{\textit{Scotston}, LAK-KCD (first recorded 1242), \textit{Scotstown}, OMR-ABD (1446), \textit{Scotston}, FON-BNF (1453).} Similarly, an interpretation on the basis of language could only refer to Gaelic in the two West Lothian names.\footnote{\textit{Scotstoun}\footnote{DMN-WLO (first recorded 1228), \textit{Scotstown}‡ ABC-WLO (1375).}‡ DMN-WLO (first recorded 1228), \textit{Scotstown}† ABC-WLO (1375).} A geographical interpretation referring to a distinctive association with Scotia is also

192
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)s* 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. 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) 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

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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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidences</th>
<th>Generic</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable 6:</td>
<td>OSc n. <em>burn</em> 'burn' : 3&lt;sup&gt;140&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>LAN, MOR, ROS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OSc n. <em>pule</em> 'pool' : 1&lt;sup&gt;141&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ABD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OSc n. <em>se</em> 'sea' : 1&lt;sup&gt;142&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>☉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OSc n. <em>watir</em> 'water' : 1&lt;sup&gt;143&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>☉</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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† GGK+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

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<sup>140</sup> Scotsburn KSS-RAF-MOR, Scots Burn LEW-LAN, Scots Burn LOE-ROS.
<sup>141</sup> Scott’s Pool PHD+STF-BNF(ABD).
<sup>142</sup> Scots Sea† ☉.
<sup>143</sup> 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*, ‘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. 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.

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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, joined only by a couple of affixed names. They date in recording from 1130 in Cumberland, in reference to encroaching influence from Scotia, to the early thirteenth century in Lothian with the same inference. Later instances, with the possible exception of the two Renfrewshire names and probably Scotston, 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 coined etically, but adopted by the Scots by 1609. Earlier delineation is within the kingdom, marking where Scotia ended along the Forth river and firth; 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. This was maybe also true of the crossing of the Solway Firth. 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

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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 Scotewatre, Scots Sea.
149 Scotswad, GGK-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, but do not display any clear pattern. Features named in relation to (but in only one case being on) 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, and eticly designating Gaelic speakers in Norse-period Kintyre, in the Sidlaws possibly in Buchan before 1495, in east Perthshire before 1565, and in Sunart (by English migrant workers) 1755–1801. Also feasible are an emic designation of an Older Scots boundary in Moray, and an etic designation of a Gaelic boundary in north Fife before 1452.

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. Scottismannis). Barrow (1992, 208) explains via Scoticana c.1531–40, the Scottsgait 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, '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 Scottsgate) was described in 1870 as a

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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 Scotsdale HAL-CAI.
154 Scottmill KCH-ARG.
155 Durdy Scot† KSP-PER.
156 Scott's Pool PHD+STF-ABD+BNF(ABD). Note also Scotston STF-BNF(ABD).
157 Scottsmen's Butts† ALY-PER.
158 Scotstown ARD-ARG.
159 Scotch Hill BLE-MOR and Scots Hill BOH-BNF for the same hill.
160 Scotscraig 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 Dunbarrow DNN(ish)-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. 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.

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, with the possible instance with OSc n. raw in 1355. Others are more likely to be emic, dating from the sixteenth century on. The only association with

\textsuperscript{162} Scotch Hall‡ HEXH-NTB.  
\textsuperscript{163} Scotteraw† (unidentified) DMF. Scotis-raw† DDA-PER.  
\textsuperscript{164} Scottie Molendinum† KSS-MOR. Scotisgat† INB-INV.  
\textsuperscript{165} Scotteraw† (unidentified) DMF.  
\textsuperscript{166} 1502 OSc n. ‘Scottispät 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.\footnote{Scotch Hall\textsuperscript{1}} 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
Ethnomonyms associated with others
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. Gallda

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’, with developed meanings of ‘Scandinavian invader’ and then ‘Anglo-Norman’, 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, the basic meaning could indeed be said to be ‘foreign’. 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

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1 As a loan from Latin Gallus, with this meaning (Woolf 2007, 100 n. 24).

2 From 1171 (Ó Murchadha 1993, 65–6).


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), 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. 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. | Dubgall, 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* lnn. 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

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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; 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).

*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.*

Both terms did occasionally resurface as ethnonyms in the Scots Gaelic period. However, the reference is considered to have changed, with ScG *Dubbghall* 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

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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 *Fingall*, 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\(^{16th}\) NM739177, 1878 (OSnb 9:8); Druim Fhionnghail KKE-ARG\(^{16th}\) NM406534, 1878 *Druim Fhionnghail* (*Druim Fionnghail*) (OSnb 34:94); Fingiltoun† NEI-RNF @NS500563, 1431 *Fyngaltoun* (*RMS* ii no. 181); Geodha Fionnghail NUS-INV\(^{16th}\) NF721744, 1878 *Geo Fionnghail* (OS 6° 1st edn); Sloc Fionnghail‡ KEB-INV\(^{16th}\) NL678971 (Stahl 1999, 270). Two names with ScG adj. *fionn* 'white' + ScG n.f. *dail* 'meadow' have been reanalysed as *Fionnghal*: Bealach Fionnghail AMN+LAP-ARG NN130524, 1878 *Bealach Fionnghail* (Bealach Fhionnghail- Bealach Inisgill) (OSnb 49:51 AMN-ARG), and Fionnghall‡ KMV-INV NN350800, 1873 *Allt/Coire Fhionn-dhail* Allt/Coire Fhionn-dhalach (Allt/Coire Fhionn Dail) (OSnb 34:23) Allt/Drochaid Fhionnghail (OS 6° 1st edn). It is possible that Drummy Fingallie† FOW-PER NN931235, 1454 *Drummy* (Inchaff. Chrs Map), 1488 *Drammefingall* (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).

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 OS 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 unaffixed Dùghall-names associated with ScG n.m/f. loch or n.m. lochan, double that of the next two most common unaffixed Gaelic given names. 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, 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.

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10 McLeod (2002, 19) suspects anachronistic use, divorced from a full appreciation of the meaning; indeed, reinterpretation as *Fionn-Chàidheal*, 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 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 Dhûghaill* (OS 6' 1st edn); Loch Dùghaill EDS-SUT NC193520, 1755 *Loch Doul* (Roy Map); Loch Dùghaill LCA-ROS NG996471, 1583-96  *Loch Dùghaill* (Pont Map 4); Loch Dùghaill (Pont Text, 123v); Lochan Dùghaill SKN-ARG NR806807, 1876 *Lochan Dubhghall* (Lochan Dùghaill) (OSnb 57:165). Falling outwith the comparative data are Loch Duail DUS-SUT NC429639, 1874 *Loch na Duaille* (OS 6' 1st edn), not shown in transparent orthography on OS; Lochan Dhùghaill† KCH-ARG NM933795, 1878 (OS 6' 1st edn), a drained loch not marked on the modern OS; Lochan Nìghean 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 NG606080 was rendered as *Loch Dûghaill* by the OS, but no edition has been found with this form.

13 ScG given name Murchadh in Loch Mhurchaidh in UIG-ROS KB235330, UIG-ROS KB217270, KKM-ARG NR397758; ScG given name Ruairidh in Loch Ruairidh in UIG-ROS KB218220, HAR-INV KB173110, BAF-INV NH530213.

14 Loch Dùghaill EDS-SUT. There are only two other marine relief features with Dùghall, viz Àird Dhùghaill KKV-ARG NM933795, 1878 (OS 6' 1st edn), and Eilean Dùghaill APC-ROS NG794546, 1876 (OS 6' 1st edn).
**ScG** *Gall* (nom. sg., masc.)

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

- gen. sg. *Goill,* *Gallbhaich*
- nom. pl. *Goill,* *Gallabhaich*
- gen. pl. *Gall,* *Gallabhaich*
- adj. *Gallaich*

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. *Tileach* ‘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.*

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15 **Evidenced only in Sloc a’ Ghallaibhach** SMI-ARG[19th][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[19th], *Dail Ghall* JUR-ARG[19th], *Innisgall*‡ HAR-INV[19th] (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.

ScG \textit{Gall} returned to its basic meaning of 'alien'. But whereas EG \textit{Gall} had applied specifically to the incomer to the Gaelic cosmos, ScG \textit{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 \textit{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 English\textsuperscript{19} and generic ‘foreigners’. As an adjective, MacInnes says \textit{Gallaibh} privatively means ‘non-Gael’, but can be used without ethnonymic weight as \textit{gallaibh} ‘(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’.\textsuperscript{20} MacBain (1911, s.v.) subsequently dropped ‘foreigner’, favouring a ‘Lowlander, stranger’ combination.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{lowlander}) and Ó Murchú 1989 (p. 348) follow Dieckhoff in interpreting as ‘Lowlander’, whereas Wentworth (2003, s.vv.) gives both

\textsuperscript{19} Lowland emulators of English social and speech norms were similarly labelled with ScG \textit{Sasannach}, as if ‘Lowlanders in English disguise’ (MacInnes 1989, 93).

\textsuperscript{20} However, Shaw’s full definition in the same dictionary entry added, ‘an Englishman, or Low Country Scotchman’. In discussing \textit{Gallaibh} CAI, Shaw (1882 i, 273) refers not to the ethnonym, but to an apparently spurious ScG adj./n.? \textit{gaul} ‘low; plain’.

\textsuperscript{21} The contrasting of ScG \textit{Gall} and ScG \textit{Sasannach} is typified by the description by MacDhòmhnaill (1938, 46) of the large crowd at Lochmaddy fairs as being \textit{ás gach ceàrn: h-Earraich is Leodhasaich, Muilich is Collaich, Sgitheanaich, is Tirisdich, Goill is Sasunnaich}. Visitors from various Hebridean islands are named, along with a pairing of ScG \textit{Gall} and ScG \textit{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 \textit{Gall} is intended from a Hebridean perspective to include mainlanders irrespective of tongue.
'stranger' and 'incomer' for a single recording of Gall. 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). 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 gala-, for OSc n. galla, OSc n. gallous 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,
'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 dialectically 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. 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.

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, but the others are most probably figurative. Two are coastal features, perhaps with reference to the sound produced by the sea on them, and two are apparently hydronyms. There are several instances of ScG n.m/f. gabhail 'lease', or possibly 'reserved for grazing; appropriated' (DIL, under gabál), some exhibiting an

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24 Camas nan Geall ARD-ARG NM557616, 1541 Cambusnonggald (ER xvi, 623) Cambusnonggald (ibid., 643); Loch na Keal KKE+TOY-ARG16th NM499382, 1794 Loch na Gual a.k.a. Scaffold (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 Tobernagalladen (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 Callychyle (Callychyle) (Roy Map), recorded 1894×1926 as 'a' Chail(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 Auchiingile (ER xi, 463); Auchengool RER-KCB NX737495, 1305 Aghengoile (CD5 ii no. 1702); Auchengyle HFM-DMF NY297751, 1573 Auchiingavil [Annandale MS, unspecified] (Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 52); Auchingyle BUC-STL NS429907, 1612 (RMS vii no. 735); Galv† CRF-PER NN865213, 1445 Galvane More· Gallvale Beg (ER v, 204); Gauld Well BOH-BNF NJ306450, 1476 Galv(ail) (RMS ii no. 1236); Gavell KSY-STL NS693775, 1634 Galvalhill (Retours no. 147); Geàrraidh Gadhal BRB-INVNL674982, 1990 Garrygall (OS?); Geàrraidh Gall NUS-INVNF706725, 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 vi, 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 Gawlokumre (Watson 1900, 76).

[32] Achagail KMG-ARG NR977963, 1794 Agbagyle (Huddart Map Sb); Allt a’ Ghaill KTE-ROS NH560619, 1876 Allt a’ Ghaill (Allt a’ Ghaill· Allt an Ghabail → Allt a Ghaill → Allt a Ghaill) (OSnb 1:95, 103).

[33] Stragail† SOE-ARG ?NR659079, n.d. [rent roll] (Colville & Martin 2009, 33); Strathgyle DUR-KCD NO797928, 1583×96 Stragoil hill a.k.a. Pap Sta-kail (Pont Map 11); also Stragaìel† KMY-BTE NR992239, 1637 Stragail [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] Achagail KMG-ARG, Eddragoul FTL-PER.

[36] Fuaran Ghiole◊ AKE-INV @NH991149, 1900 Fuaran Seachd-gioil† ALN-ROS (unidentified), 1904 (Watson 1904, 278); Tobar na Goil† PET-INV (unidentified), 1841 Tobar na goll (NSA xiv, 380).

[37] Allt na Guiile BRL-INVNG408313, 1878 Alt na Coile (Allt na Goile· Leithead Alt na Guiile) (OSnb 1:20; Osnb 2:43, 46); Corgyle† KNO-MOR NJ214437, 1583×96 Korygyl (Pont Map 6:1); Dellagyle† KNO-MOR NJ246429, 1870 Haugh of Dellagyle (OSnb 16:98 MOR) Dellagyle Pool (Dalagyle Pool· Dalagyle Pool) (OSnb 1:21 BAN-BNF); Drumnagoil BEA+DFL-FIF NT101936, 1820×25 I Drummojil [NAS MS RHP1318] (PNF i, 169); A’ Ghioil DUS-SUT NC348717, 1874 (OSnb 16:14); Goil‡ LGK-ARG NS216930, 1430 L.goyle [Argyll charter, unspecified] (OPS ii, 79); Goile Choric BVS-ROS LNB340510, 1852 (OSnb 14:40, 77); Goil-réis† KMV-INV NN188833, 1873 (OSnb 35:77); A’ Ghoiil-sgeir DUS-SUT NC432670, 1874 (OSnb 10:21); Goile BUC+CLD-STL+PER NN381134, 1321 Gall-e· (RMS 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 *Gàidheal*, many dialects produce little verbal distinction between them, with the former typically pronounced /gəul/ across dialects, and the latter /gaul/ 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 [fliːnaʃ nan gaulv] (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.

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’. 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’ and in reference to stone cattle enclosures. In Scotland it encompasses rock columns, boulders, standing

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38 Other than south of mid Argyll or east of mid Perthshire, where /gəul/ might be expected (Robertson 1906–08 iii, 225–6), e.g. /gəul/ in East Perthshire (Ó Murchú 1989, 348). It is given as gaulː: in Glengarry by Dieckhoff (1932, s.v., for [gualː]), and [gəuːlː] in Wester Ross by Wentworth (2003, under foreign, incomer, lowlander, stranger, for [gualː]).

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, Gallhuises I/WAT, Galllys† (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); Gallbhuaille I/ANT Rathlin, ‘stone cattle enclosure’ (Mac Giolla Easpaig 1990, 45); Stranagwilily I/TYR, ‘river holm of the stone cattle enclosure’ (McKay 2007, 137).

43 Alt nan Gall◊ STY-ROS Heb NB496328 a.k.a. Alt Diobadal (PNP), sea stacks; the former peat refinery here was largely managed and operated by locals (Whiteford n.d.); Biod a’ Ghoiil DSH-INV¹⁶th NG282590, 1878 (OSnb 6:15), detached cliff buttress; Carn a’ Ghoiil SMI-ARG¹⁶th IN, 1878 (OSnb 63:6) a.k.a. Sgor Goul†, 1863 (Admiralty 2507), sea stack; Creag a’ Ghoiil KKV-ARG¹⁶th Heb NG263064, 1878 (OSnb 6:15), detached cliff buttress; Dunagoil KNG-BTE NS084530, 1440 (ER v, 79), rock eminence; Eilean a’ Ghoill AMT-INV Heb NG263064, 1878 (OSnb 6:15), detached cliff buttress; Dunagoil KNG-BTE NS084530, 1440 (ER v, 79), rock eminence; Eilean a’ Ghoill AMT-INV Heb NG263064, 1830 *Ilan na Guile* (Thomson Map), island with rock block; Fingall KMG-ARG NR955950, 1878 (OSnb 56:91), rocky eminence; Gollil KDO-ARG¹⁶th NR413450, 1878 (OSnb 36:174–5), skerries.

44 Bad a’ Ghoill LBR-ROS NC071112, 1755 Loch Patiguil (Roy Map), Clach M[ā]h[ūr]; at NC071111 (OS10); Corriegills‡ KBD-BTE NS036348, 1400 Corrillies [Bute MSS inventory, unspecified] (OPS ii, 2:249), The Corriegills Boulder on the shore (OGS, under Corriegills; MacNair 1914, 129–30); Minnigall‡ KEL-KCB NS526825, 1851 *Minnigall Lane* (Minnigall Lane) (OSnb 32:7) (Minnigall Lane Burn) (OSnb 35:4), rocky eminence (1797 Ainslie Map, 1821 Thomson Map, 1851 OS 6° 1st edn);
stones\textsuperscript{a} and cross slabs,\textsuperscript{a} always prominent. A collective form is ScG n.m. ‘gallach(\textit{an})’ ‘boulder-place’.\textsuperscript{a} No notable boulders are today associated with any of these names,\textsuperscript{a} but some evidence of boulders or stones is available in most cases.\textsuperscript{a} Most telling is the instance of Gattaway \textit{ANY-PER},\textsuperscript{a} 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, \textit{fear-brèige}, literally ‘false man’, can mean a ‘cairn’ (Dwelly, s.v.), and the plural \textit{fir-brèige}, a ‘stone circle’ (\textit{Dwelly App., under fear-brèige}).\textsuperscript{a} Another Lewis term for a standing stone is ScG n.m. \textit{tursa}, a loan from ON n.m. \textit{þurs} ‘giant, troll’ (Cox 2002, 206–7). In English, ESE n. \textit{sarsen, sarsen-stone, sarsen boulder}, applied to ‘one of the numerous large boulders or blocks of sandstone found

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Montgoldrum AFT-KCD NO812772, 1506 \textit{Mongowdrum} (Watt 1914, 373), former hilltop boulder NO816772 (Canmore, 36818). Possible: Galdnachowi? AKE-INV [JN0218, 1661 (Retours no. 111)].

\textsuperscript{a} Achingoul HAL-CAI ND101546, 1873 (OS 6° 1st edn) Achingale (OSnb 4:141), formerly four stones ND099543 (Canmore, 7751); Achnagouil LAT-CAI ND166324, 1671 Achingaw (Retours no. 28), stone ND160325 and recumbent stone ND160325 (Canmore, 8146); Calgow MGF-KCB NX430651, 1654 Kouligaw (Blau Map), stone NX27653 (Canmore, 63435); Dargall\textsuperscript{+} MGF-KCB NX401703 (1684 PL.WM, 43), depleted stone circle NX399709 (Canmore, 6307); Dargill MUT-PER NN862194, 1443 Dergale (RMS ii no. 270), stone, formerly three NN859200 (Coles 1910, 74; Canmore, 254439); Dergall\textsuperscript{+} KKK-KCB NX515282, 1543 Dargawell (1543 RMS iii no. 3106), various stones and stone circles (Canmore, 63666, 63669, 63672, 63688); Gaul Crosso\textsuperscript{+} FRC-BNF NJ535639, 1870 (OS 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; Tiragholi KKV-ARG\textsuperscript{+} NM354221, 1588 Tettigill· Teirkill (RMS v no. 1491), stone NM353224, said to be a pilgrims’ waymark (MacLauchlan 1863, 48–50). Possible: Coulghallitro KCH-ARG NR713656, 1511 Coulgalltreif (RMS ii no. 3622) Coulgalltreif (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\textsuperscript{+} (unidentified) PER, 1566 Galquhorne (ER xix, 549); Glashie\textsuperscript{+} OMR-ABD NJ929116, 1871 Gallachie How· Gallashe-end (OSnb 69:37). If reinterpreted, Sgeir nan Gàidheal LAP-ARG\textsuperscript{+} NM827248, 1878 (OSnb 19:101); Coire Gallachan KKB-ARG NO816772, 1450 (Admiralty 2155), formerly a stone NM779351 (Canmore, 1588); Ardsallachan BAC-CAI NJ403640, 1583–96 Retours (OS 6° 1st edn), stone 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; Tiragholi KKV-ARG\textsuperscript{+} NM354221, 1588 Tettigill· Teirkill (RMS v no. 1491), stone NM353224, said to be a pilgrims’ waymark (MacLauchlan 1863, 48–50). Possible: Coulghallitro KCH-ARG NR713656, 1511 Coulgalltreif (RMS ii no. 3622) Coulgalltreif (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\textsuperscript{+} (unidentified) PER, 1566 Galquhorne (ER xix, 549); Glashie\textsuperscript{+} OMR-ABD NJ929116, 1871 Gallachie How· Gallashe-end (OSnb 69:37). If reinterpreted, Sgeir nan Gàidheal LAP-ARG\textsuperscript{+} NM779351, 1852 Gladhueil R-oct-k (Admiralty 2155), formerly a stone NM779351 (Canmore, 22659).

\textsuperscript{a} Penneughail KKV-ARG\textsuperscript{+} NM516258, 1509 Penyegile (ER xiii, 214), reinterpreted, with a cross slab formerly at NMS156259 (OS 6° 1st edn; Canmore, 114056). Possible: Eligol STH-INV\textsuperscript{+} NG522142, 1863 (Admiralty 2507), with a cross slab NG522144 (Canmore, 11444) and ScG n.m. \textit{eala ‘stone marking an ancient tomb’}.

\textsuperscript{a} For the locational suffix -\textit{ach(an)}, see Watson 1904, xxxviii.

\textsuperscript{a} True also for Gallagh I/ANT, ‘place of stones or standing stones’ (\textit{PNNI Antrim} i, 107; McKay & Muhr 2007, 124).

\textsuperscript{a} Ardgallich\textsuperscript{+} GLS-ABD NJ401349, 1826 Ardgallie (Thomson Map), low circle of stones on a knoll (MacDonald 1900, 22) and Stonieley\textsuperscript{+} NJ409354 (OS 6° 1st edn); Galdach Croft LAT-CAI @NN3048, 1676 (Retours no. 31), two ruined brochs centred on ND178338; Gallachan KNG-BTE NO755177, 1450 dalachan (or Galachane) (\textit{Rot. Comp.} iii, 481, 495) (OPS ii, 212), boulders on the shore of Gallachan Bay NO5069570 (OS\textsuperscript{15}); Gattaway ANY-PER, below. Possibly containing the element are Bargaly MGF-KCB NX462663, 1527 Bargallie (RMS iii no. 501); Coire Gallachan KKB-ARG NM827248, 1878 (OSnb 19:101); and Garvegalochar KKV-ARG\textsuperscript{+} INV\textsuperscript{+} NJ338290, 1873 (OS 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\textsuperscript{+}, with Càrn Bhinneallaidh\textsuperscript{+} being the name of a particular rock on it, but this pronunciation rules out ‘gallach.’

\textsuperscript{a} NO193161, c.1212 Galthinan [published in error as Galthinan] (\textit{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).

\textsuperscript{a} Given as \textit{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 Gaelavore Island KLR-INV*\(^{52}\) 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 (OS 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

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*\(^{52}\) 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 *gailbhinn* 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 NS76656, 1755 *Drumgalloch* (*Roy* Map); Knocknagillan AUL-NAI NH890544, 1563 *Knooknagulue* (*ER* xix, 511); Knocknagaillich† ALE-INV @NH854087, 1691 (*Retours no. 112*); Masengalloch† DNY-STL NS7683, 1680 [sasine no. 6, 264v] (*Reid* 2009, 74).

*\(^{55}\) 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 (OS 4:49, 17:53)*\(^{56}\) or jutting into the sea,*\(^{57}\) or a source of stone.*\(^{58}\)

*\(^{56}\) *Knokningailliach† ALE-INV @NH854087, 1691* (Retours no. 112); *Achnagairn NH553449* 'field of the cairns' (*Taylor* 2002); *Drummy Fingallie† FOW-PER NN931235, 1454 *Drummy* (Inchaff. Chrs Map), monolith in a cairn mound NN927232 (Coles 1910, 84; *Canmore*, 26181); Killgalloch KKW-WIG NX228728, 1493 *Kilgalye* (*ER* x, 743), remnant stones of a probable circle NX222717 (*Canmore*, 62495) and cairns; Kingillie House KIH-INV NH559451, 1496 *Kyngeile* (*RMS* ii no. 2320), probably formed a davoch with Achnagairn NH553449 'field of the cairns' (*Taylor* 2002); Knockengailie DDR-DMF NS842065, 1858 *Knockenoblig Hill- Knockenoblig Hill* (*OSnb* 44:385 [cancelled]), Cairn Hill NS852070 was formerly topped by a cairn (*Canmore*, 46300); Knockin Gallstone† DLR-ELI @NT544806, boundary marker (Maxwell 1894, 70); Rashnagalloch CML-AYR NX216879, 1855 *Rashnagalloch* (*Rashmagalloch*) (1857 *OSnb* 16:106), site of Dochierney Cairn NX217878 with an extant standing stone (*Canmore*, 62513).

*\(^{57}\) Knockingalloch BFN+KPN-STL NS879099, 1595+1600 *Blairknokingilloch* (*ER*, 426) (*ER* xxiii, 527 index only).

*\(^{58}\) Knockingalloch BFN+KPN-STL NS879099, 1595+1600 *Blairknokingilloch* (*ER*, 426) (*ER* xxiii, 527 index only).
has developed), a prominent rock (including sea rocks), a monolith, or one of the plants termed gallan (probably the butterbur (sweet coltsfoot) species or willow-like trees). 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 gallan) 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|ghallan 'ragwort' is by false analysis as buadh|ghallan, but it is clear from DIL, under biathfallán, that it is buaghallan, 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.
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. The meanings are: a number of cairns, prominent rocks on land and growth of gallan-plants. It also appears as an adjective. 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,

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[^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 Gallanachy (RSS iii no. 301), in the original parish of Stoneykirk, 1549 (ER xviii, 481, etc.), ON 'field of stones'; Gallahan KKB-ARG NM827260, 1750 Galanich (Dorret Map), three duns (Canmore, 22942, 22948, 22954). Possible: Drimgalany† (unidentified) PER, 1500 (RSS i no. 454); Galdenoch LWT-WIG NW983635, 1539 Galloweche (RSS ii no. 3152).

[^66]: Galanaich† EDT-ROS NH664840, 1808 Galanich Croft (MacRae MS, 8), perched block (Watson 1904, 24).

[^67]: Allt na Gallanaich COM-PER NN686240, 1864 Allt na Gallanacht (OS 6" 1st edn); Allt na Gallanacht BQR+COM-PER NNS87243, 1864 (OS 6" 1st edn); Coille na Gallanacht‡ LAP-ARG[6th] NM8505387, 2004 (CELM 2004); Gallanacht COL-ARC[6th] NM213608, 1528 Gallanach (RMS iii no. 712), see MacEchern 1906, 333; A' Ghallanach† DSH-INV[6th] NG188483, 1878 Allt na Gallanacht (OSnb 4:73); Gallanacht KMG¹-ARG NR923906, 1541 Gallanach (RMS iii no. 2306), with probably transferred Gallanacht KMG² NR975994, 1878 (OSnb 81:78); Gallanacht KMR-ARG NR790963, 1856 Gallanach Bay (Admiralty 2326); An Gallanach SMI-ARG Heb (INV) NM408799, 1878 (OSnb 63:109).

[^68]: Allt na Buaille Gallanacht STY-ROS[6th] NB835491, 1852 Allt na Buaille Gallanacht (Allt na Buale Ga(a)nic) (OSnb 22:51, 144), probably referring to plants; Creag Ghallanach KMD-ARG NS001881, 1878 Creag Ghallanach (Creag na Gallanach) (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agricultural Unit</th>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
<th>With gen. pl.(^{49}) (gen. sg.) of ethnonym</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable 9:</td>
<td>ScG n.m. achadh 'field' : 8(^{29})</td>
<td>BNF, CAI, ELO, INV, MOR, ROS, STL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. ochdamh 'eighthland' : 1(^{21})</td>
<td>ABD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible [4]:</td>
<td>ScG n.m. achadh 'field' : [(2)(^{22})]</td>
<td>ARG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. cuithe 'cattle-fold' : [1](^{73})</td>
<td>ARG(^{Heb})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. gart 'enclosure' : [1](^{44})</td>
<td>ARG(^{Heb})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Auchyole\(^{†}\) KME-ROS marching with separate detached parts of Cromartyshire,\(^{71}\) 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.

\(^{49}\) Including attributive use of the ethnonym.
\(^{29}\) Achingale WAT-CAI, Achnagall\(^{†}\) TAI-ROS, Aikengall IWK-ELO, AUCHingalls\(^{†}\) CLN-BNF, AUCHingaw\(^{†}\) LRB-STL, AUCHnagall MDL-INV, AUCHnagallin\(^{†}\) CIA-MOR, AUCHnagaul ALN-ROS.
\(^{22}\) Auchtygall PHD-ABD.
\(^{27}\) Auchgyole KFN-ARG, Auchyole\(^{†}\) KFN-ARG.
\(^{22}\) Cuinagall\(^{†}\) KKE-ARG\(^{Heb}\).
\(^{22}\) Garnagaul\(^{†}\) (unidentified) Islay ARG\(^{Heb}\).
\(^{14}\) 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).
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. In the study there are only two other probable ethnonymic identifications, with the plural of ScG Albannach and ScG Frangach, and no tentative possibilities. The few others identified are with the plural of ScG n.m. cléireach 'cleric' (three instances) and ScG n.m. iasgair 'fisherman', and singular of ScG n.m. easbaig 'bishop' and ScG n.m. sagart 'priest'. It is striking that apart from the late iasgair-name, these refer to ecclesiastics. Achadh an 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 Achnaglereach† CLN-BNF.

Fig. 26 Goill-names with generics for defensive structures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Defensive Structure</th>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
<th>With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable 10:</td>
<td>ScG n.m. dùn 'fort': 67(3)</td>
<td>ARG, ARG16b, KCB, ROS, STL</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. caisteal 'castle': 1</td>
<td>ARG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27 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."

28 Achnybalenach† BAR-AYR, Auchenfranco§ LRT-KCB.

29 'The field of the clerics': Achnaclerach CON-ROS NH400656, 71479 Auchinaglerach (Watson 1904, 163), with Cnoc Achadh nan Clèireach NH405649 and Allt Cnoc nan Clèireach NH402640; Auchenclyre CML-AYR NX161851; Achadh na Glérec† (unidentified) ABD (Deer, 2).

30 ScG Achadh nan lasairean POR-INV16a (OS9, with ScG n.m. iasgair 'fisherman'), a.k.a. SSE Fisherhead, NG478430, is Seafield in 1857 (Admiralty 2498) and 1878 (OS 6' 1st edn) and not shown in 1824 (Thomson Map).

31 Achadh an Easbuig (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.

32 Dounagall† MRV-ARG, Dùn nan Gall TIR-ARG16b, Dùn nan Gall KKE1-ARG16b, Dùn nan Gall KKE2-ARG16b, Dùn nan Gall KDO-ARG16b, Dungald† LOE-ROS.

33 Dùn a’ Ghoidle JUR-ARG16b, Dunguile FTY-STL, Dunguile† KTN-KCB.

34 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 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*. Eight others have been identified, with the plural of ScG n.f. *bean* ‘woman, wife’, ScG n.m. *Muileach* ‘person.

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8 ScG *bean* ‘woman, wife’, ScG n.m. *Muileach* ‘person.
associated with Mull' and ScG n.f. *nighean* 'girl', and singular of ScG n.f. *nighean*, ScG n.f. *ban-óg* 'young female', ScG n.f. *óigh* 'virgin', ScG n.m. *famhair* 'giant' and ScG n.m. *iarla* 'earl'. All but one are in Argyll; four apparently belong to the maiden castle antiquarian naming-tradition, 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*.

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**Fig. 27 Goill-names with generics for fresh water**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
<th>With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable 15:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.m. <em>allt</em> 'burn' : (3)(2)90</td>
<td>ARG, INV, SUT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.m. <em>caochan</em> 'rill' : (1)91</td>
<td>NAI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.m. <em>neas</em> 'cataract' : (1)92</td>
<td>ARG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.f. <em>feith</em> 'bog channel' : 193</td>
<td>ABD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.f. <em>gil</em> 'rill' : 194</td>
<td>ROSHeb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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† MRV-ARG NR2106911, 'the fort of the girls' (coastal fort). Feature descriptions from Canmore, 60438, 39848, 37531 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-Óige KMR-ARG NM837049 (large hill-fort); Dùn na h-Oigh (for *h-Óigh*) SOE-ARG NR741090 (possible coastal fort); Dùn an Fhamhair KKC-ARG NR68044026 (rocky hillock); Dùn an iarla DSH-INV† NGS299459 (not in Canmore). The feature descriptions are from Canmore, 22842, 22830, 38687, 38561 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 *Finnygauld†* STD-ABD.

94 *Gil nan Gall* LCH-ROSHeb.
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 by 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

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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’ Ghail† 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' Ghaill† 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
<th>With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable 8:</td>
<td>ScG n.m. baile 'settlement' : 6102(1)</td>
<td>ABD, FIF, INV, KNR, ROS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. taigh 'house' : 1105</td>
<td>ARG Heb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible [3]:</td>
<td>ScG n.m. baile 'settlement' : [3]104</td>
<td>ANG, FIF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Balgoil‡ 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.

Balgall TAI-ROS marches with a detached part of Cromartyshire.105

Gallabhall 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, Balmagall TAI-ROS, Belnagauld STD-ABD, Gallabhall KIH-INV.
102 Belgoil‡ ULW-ROS.
103 Taigh nan Gall◊ KKV-ARG Hebr.
104 Balgall† CBE-FIF, Balgay‡ LIB-ANG, Ballingsall‡ 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 Gallabhal¿ 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†(a.k.a. Tobh†han 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.\footnote{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.ucbh.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](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Headland</th>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
<th>With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
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<tr>
<td>Probable</td>
<td>18:</td>
<td>ScG n.f. <em>àird</em> ‘projection’ : 5(^{111})</td>
<td>ARG, INV(^{Heb}), PER, ROS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. <em>gob</em> ‘headland point’ : (1)(^{112})</td>
<td>INV(^{Heb})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. <em>maol</em> ‘cape’ : 1(^{113})</td>
<td>WIG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. <em>rubha</em> ‘headland’ : 1(^{114})</td>
<td>ARG, ARG(^{Heb}), INV(^{Heb}), ROS(^{Heb})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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\(^{107}\) Balbarton]\(‡\) KGH-FIF, Balsusney]\(‡\) KDT-FIF.

\(^{108}\) ScG n.m. *aba* ‘abbot’ (Ballinabry ARG\(^{Heb}\), Balmaha WIG); ScG n.m. *bhiochar* ‘vicar’ (Ballivicar ARG\(^{Heb}\), Balvicar ARG\(^{Heb}\)); ScG n.f. *caileach* ‘nun’ (Baile nan Caileach SUS-INV\(^{Heb}\)); ScG n.m. *deòradh* ‘relic keeper’ (Ballindeor ARG); ScG n.m. *easbaig* ‘bishop’ (Balmagpieck INV); ScG n.m. *manach* ‘monk’ (Balvanich INV\(^{Heb}\), Balmanno PER); ScG n.m. *ministear* ‘minister’ (Bail-a’-Mhinister ROS); ScG n.m. *sagart* ‘priest’ (Balnagarty KCD, Ballintaggart PER, Balnagagg AYR). Possible: ScG n.f. *caileach* ‘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 NR93098 ARG (Colville & Martin 2009, 9).

\(^{109}\) ScG n.m. *bàrd* (Balbardie FIF, WLO, Balvaird ROS, AYR, PER); ScG n.m. *ceàrd* ‘tinker’ (Balanaguard PER); ScG n.m. *gobhainn* ‘smith’ (Balgowan ARG, Bal Gowman INV, PER, WIG, Balgowne INV\(^{Heb}\) x2, WIG, Balgownie ABD x2, FIF, Ballygowan ARG, Ballygowan BTE, ARG\(^{Heb}\), Balnagowan ARG\(^{Heb}\), Balnagown NAI, ROS x2, Pitagowan); ScG n.m. *saor* ‘wright’ (Balantyre PER); ScG n.m. *tàlllear* ‘tailor’ (Baile an Tàilling INV\(^{Heb}\)). This list should be considered indicative only.

\(^{110}\) Ballintua AKE-INV, Balvarran KRR-PER.

\(^{111}\) Àird Ghall]\(†\) SUS-INV\(^{Heb}\), Ardagaw]\(†\) AMN-ARG, Ardnamul \(\ddagger\) LGK-ARG, Ardnagaul KIL-PER, Aardinagul]\(†\) 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 KKE\(^{2}\)-ARG\(^{Heb}\), Rubha nan Gall KKE\(^{2}\)-ARG\(^{Heb}\). Rubha nan Gall KLE-INV, 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-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, 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, Aird Ghall† SUS-INVHeb, incorporates at its point Rubha Cam nan Gall SUS-INVHeb, 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

ARGHeb. A comparable name is SSE Foreigner’s Point ANR-FIF NT660992 on the Isle of May (OS28), 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.

Association of ScG n.f. àird with settlements should not be overstressed, however. The name Ardnagaul 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 Airds 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 àirdean 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-INV¹Hb 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-ARG¹Hb 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-INV¹Hb. 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-ARG¹Hb (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 Linne), the pairing of Rubha nan Gall Beag/Mòr TOY-ARG¹Hb (Loch Don), Rubha nan Gall NUS¹-INV¹Hb (Loch Euphort), Rubha nan Gall† NUS²-INV¹Hb (Loch nam Madadh), Rubha nan Gall STY-ROS¹Hb (Broad Bay).
¹¹⁷ Rubha Cam nan Gall SUS-INV¹Hb (with Àird Ghall† SUS) at the entrance to Loch a’ Laip, Rubha nan Gall NUS¹-INV¹Hb at the entrance to Loch Euphort, Rubha nan Gall NUS²-INV¹Hb at the entrance to Loch Portain, Rubha nan Gall Beag/Mòr TOY-ARG¹Hb 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-ROS¹Hb over the water in front of Tràigh Chuill NB465387.
¹¹⁹ Ardagaw† AMN-ARG (Loch Etive), Rubha nan Gall NUS¹-INV¹Hb (Loch Portain), Rubha nan Gall† NUS²-INV¹Hb (Lochmaddy), Rubha nan Gall KLE-INV (Loch Linne).
¹²⁰ Rubha nan Gall KKE¹-ARG¹Hb, Rubha nan Gall KKE²-ARG¹Hb.
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 isles (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 Hebr (INV) NM368910, 'the headland of the robbers', perhaps provides a parallel. On the southern tip of the island of Rùm, 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. By the end of the medieval period at least, this typically entailed small "by-boats" 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. 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 Hebr 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.

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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 "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

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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 KKN-ARG NR735754, Cùil an t-Salainn LBR-ROS NH172887 (a small bay formed by a headland), Leac an t-Siùcair KKV-ARG‡ NM310183, Port an t-Salainn JUR-ARG‡ NR499628 on the small Rubha na h-Acairseid, 'the headland of the anchorage', Port an t-Salainn KKE-ARG‡, Port an t-Salainn NKN-ARG NB697724, 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; Carn 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-Sàlainn 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-Sàlainn (OS 6° 1st edn; OS 10°) 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-Sàileir SSS-ARG NR817471, 'small enclosure of the salt-cellar' above Kilbrannan Sound and Rubha an t-Sàileir KLR-INV Heb NG431766, a headland on the Minch.

In the study there are no other probable ethnonymic identifications with àird-names; other references to human classifications do exist, but are very few in number. There are five rubha-names, two with ScG Sasannach (singular), one with ScG Frangach (plural), one with ScG Spàinneach (plural) and one with ScG Gàidheal (adjectival). Other references to human classifications are plentiful, but most commonly in the genitive singular. The genitive plural is much less attested, despite all eleven instances with ScG Gall being of this nature.

NG760299 are both hills above small bays; Creag an t-Sàlainn EDS-SUT NC232550 is a steep straight shoreline; Sgeir an t-Sàlainn NG856550 is a small skerry near an indented shoreline.

131 Indirectly only in Yngles Ardsnel! 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 NG428136 (Soay); pers. comm. William Leah, ex Soay, in 1992), and possibly Ardasar SLT-INV (Skye) with ScG n.m. màsair 'mace-bearer' or ScG n.m. 'bísa'ir 'executioner'. All three are coastal.

133 Rubber an t-Sàssannaich MRV-ARG, Rubha Sasannaich KBK-ARG, Rubha nam Frangach INA-ARG, Rubha nam Spàinneach BRR-INV, Rubha Gàidhealach KCR-ARG.

134 On OS5°, with ScG n.m. bàillidh 'factor', ScG n.m. banntrach 'widow, widow(er)', ScG n.m. bairdeasach 'burgess', ScG n.f. caileach '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. fear '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. sàrdseant 'sergeant'.

135 ScG n.m. bodach 'old man' (Rubha nam Bodach ARG); ScG n.m. bràthair 'brother' (Rubha nam Bràithrean ARG); ScG n.f. caileach 'old woman; nun; malign spirit' (Rubha Challieach ROS); ScG n.m. fear 'man, husband' (Rubha nam Fear ARG); ScG n.m. mèirleach 'robber' (Rubha nam Mèirleach ARG INV); ScG n.f. maighdeann 'maiden' in Rubha nam Maighdeannan is clearly figurative, referring to the sea rocks Macleod's Maidens DSH-INV NG242361.

136 In effect ten names, with Rubha nan Gall Beag TOY-ARG and Rubha nan Gall Mòr TOY-ARG probably sharing the specific, with contrasting adjectives.
### Hill entity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
<th>With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Probable</strong> 23:</td>
<td>ScG n.m. bàrr 'hill' : 1(^{137})</td>
<td>ARG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. càrn 'hill' : 2(^{138})</td>
<td>ARG(^{\text{Heb}}), INV(^{\text{Heb}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. cnoc 'hill' : 2(^{139})</td>
<td>ARG(^{\text{Heb}}), CAI+SUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. cnoc 'hillock' : 4(^{\text{Heb}})(1)(^{141})</td>
<td>ARG(^{\text{Heb}}), INV+ROS, INV(^{\text{Heb}}), LAN, SUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. creag 'rocky hill' : 5(^{142})</td>
<td>ABD, AYR, INV, MLO, WLO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. cruach 'stack-like hill' : (1)(^{143})</td>
<td>INV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. druim 'ridge' : 2(^{\text{Heb}})(1)(^{145})</td>
<td>ARG, INV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. màm 'hill' : (1)(^{146})</td>
<td>ARG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. mullach 'height' : 1(^{147})</td>
<td>ARG(^{\text{Heb}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. sgùrr 'conical hill' : 1(^{148})</td>
<td>INV(^{\text{Heb}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. tòrr 'heap-shaped hill' : (1)(^{149})</td>
<td>INV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Possible</strong> [3]:</td>
<td>ScG n.m. cnoc 'hillock' : [(2)](^{190})</td>
<td>KCB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. druim 'ridge' : [1](^{151})</td>
<td>KCB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{\text{Heb}}\), Càrn nan Gall KKM-ARG\(^{\text{Heb}}\).
\(^{139}\) Cnoc Mòr nan Gall\(^{\text{Heb}}\), Cnoc nan Gall FRR+HAL+SUT+CAI.
\(^{140}\) Cnoc nan Gall COO-ARG, Cnoc nan Gall FRR-SUT, Cnoc nan Gall\(^{\text{Heb}}\), Knock-na-Gaul\(^{\text{Heb}}\), KCV+KIT+ROS.
\(^{141}\) Knocklegoill EKB-LAN.
\(^{142}\) Cragingalt\(^{\text{Heb}}\), Craigengall TPH-WLO, Craigall\(^{\text{Heb}}\), Creag nan Gall AKE-INV, Creag nan Gall CRB-ABD.
\(^{143}\) Cruach a’ Ghoill AMT-INV.
\(^{144}\) Drimmagall NKN-ARG, Druim nan Gall\(^{\text{Heb}}\), KMR-ARG.
\(^{145}\) Druim a’ Ghoill KLE-INV.
\(^{146}\) Màm a’ Ghoill\(^{\text{Heb}}\), ARD-ARG.
\(^{147}\) Mullach nan Gall TIR-ARG\(^{\text{Heb}}\).
\(^{148}\) Sgùrr nan Gall POR-INV\(^{\text{Heb}}\).
\(^{149}\) Torgyle\(^{\text{Heb}}\), UGM-INV.
\(^{150}\) Knockgill\(^{\text{Heb}}\), 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,\textsuperscript{152} ScG n.m. cnoc 'hillock' ×1(×5),\textsuperscript{153} druim 'ridge' ×1(×1),\textsuperscript{154} sgùrr 'conical hill' ×1(×2)\textsuperscript{155} and tòrr 'heap-shaped hill' (×1);\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{157} plus eighteen with secular roles\textsuperscript{158} with a wide range of specifics, and ten with religious reference.\textsuperscript{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,

\textsuperscript{152} Barbrethan KML-AYR, Barnultoch INH-WIG.
\textsuperscript{153} Cnoc a' Ghàidheil\textsuperscript{i} (unidentified) Skye INV, Cnoc a' Ghàidheil KDO-ARG, Cnoc an t-Sasannaich ASY+LBR-SUT+ROS, Cnoc an t-Sasannaich KMR-ARG, Cnoc Fraing MDL-INV, Cnoc nan Sasannach CON-ROS.
\textsuperscript{154} Druim an t-Sasannaich\textsuperscript{v} LAP-ARG, Drumbreddan SOK-WIG.
\textsuperscript{155} Sgùrr an Albannaich AMT-INV, Sgùrr an t-Sasannaich AMT-INV, Sgùrr nan Sasannach GLL-ROS.
\textsuperscript{156} Tòrr an Albannaich GLE-INV.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{158} With ScG n.m. bancair ‘banker’, ScG n.m. bàrd ‘poet’, ScG n.m. breaabadair ‘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. iasgaine ‘fisherman’, ScG n.m. mèirleach ‘robber’ (plural), ScG n.m. muilear ‘miller’, ScG n.m. rìgh ‘king’, ScG n.m. saighdear ‘soldier’ ×2 (one plural), ScG n.m. sgalag ‘labourer’, ScG n. tacksman ‘tenant of a tack’ (hybrid; a.k.a. Craigallda\textsuperscript{j} 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’.
\textsuperscript{159} With ScG n.m. buidheach ‘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, plus a single cleric (all with genitive singular).

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 *Craighengall* 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. *Cragingalt*† 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 Scalann n Sasnish*† 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 OS are applied to hill entities or features, it is reasonable to assume

161 Creag a’ Chlèirich ABD.
162 Carn 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 NN066965 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 NNS67147 on Loch Lubnaig, Druim an t-Saighdeir FRR-SUT NG675432 above the road junction at Syre in Strathnaver, Glac

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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 OS with the often collective ScG n.m.
freiceadan 'guard, sentinel(s)'. 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.
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 Ardnaugail 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. A second
name with ScG là choimhead, 'two views', 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. saighdear
are in the genitive singular in eight out of the twelve names (with a plural variant for Coire an t-Saighdeir CRB-ABD).

an t-Saighdeir JUR-ARG 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 Ghóirnean and Glen Artyne, Sgùrr an t-Saighdeir LAG-INN NN471808, Srón an t-Saighdeir SMII-INV165 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 NG61594,
Cnoc Freiceadain REA-CAI ND012653, Meall an Fhreiceadain ARD-ARG NM483660, Meall an Fhreiceadain KIL-PER
NN393227, Sithean Freiceadain ROG-SUT NC699220, Tom an Fhreiceadain AMT-INV NG790023, Tom nam Freiceadain
FTL-PER NN512566, Uamh an Fhreiceadain GAI-ROS NG745735. Only Tom nam Freiceadain 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 là 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 là choimhead beside là 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. losgdadh, does not appear in any mapped name, but

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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. Deadh 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 Dibhaidh, Thomson Map; 1878 Deadh 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 Fhradhairc CIA-MOR NJ078350, Cnoc a[n] Fhradhairc STH-INV (1816) NG754261, Cnoc a[n] Fhradhairc (recte Fhradhairc) DSH-INV (1816) NG331414, Cnoc an Fhradhairc KIN-INV NN810892, Creag an Fhradhairc ARD-ARG NM627684, Tom a[n] Fhradhairc BVS-ROS (1816) NB394450, Tom a[n] Fhradhairc STY-ROS (1816) NB444825, Tòrr an Fhradhairc[;] KIN-ARG 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. bein '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. cruch 'stack-like hill' ×2, ScG n.m. druim 'ridge' ×2, ScG n.m. meall 'heap-shaped hill', ScG n.m. ruibha '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. goitrean 'crop enclosure', ScG n.m. lagan 'small hollow', ScG n.m. lochan 'small loch', ScG n.f. moine '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. Four other loisg-names also appear to suit a beacon interpretation. Two nearby heights above the coast of Stornoway parish in Lewis ROS are named Cnoc Loisg. One at NB470406 may be related to Cnoc an t-Solais STY-ROS, 'the hill of the light', a name which appears on OS mapping after the first edition applied to a new settlement just below Sìthean Strangoil STY-ROS (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'. 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), and in the name of the 164m hill and former settlement of Darloskine KCW-WIG. 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, 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.

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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 Losgainn 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. barr + 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 Barlaskin, L-och> Barlaskin (Roy Map), 1801 Barinluskan (Langlands Map), 1824 Barinluskan (Thomson Map), 1878 Barankloxgan (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 Dyroisken (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 dūr losgann 'water of the [sic] frogs', and by MacQueen (2008, 125) as dàire losgann '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 Losgainn (OS 6' 1st edn), 1915 Beinn na Losgainn (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 Cuiltaloskin BLA-PER NN791641; ScG n.m. gart 'enclosure' in 189m Gartloskin Hill SOE-ARG NR703138 from two former settlements (Gart-lòsgann, 'toad field', Gillies 1906, 23, 186, Colville & Martin 2009, 19); ScG n.m/f. lag 'hollow' in Lagloskin KKC-ARG NR726468; ScG n.m/f. linne 'pool' in 80m Lingloskin Hill KCM-WIG NW976679 (lìnn 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 (lìnn 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' is shown to incorporate both watch and warning functions. 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, but the nine northern names are all inland. There is some clustering in both, illustrated by six pairs of names in shared parishes; 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, being those most likely to contain the homonym ScG n.m. aingeal 'angel', the specific only appears in three names on OS, all with the generic ScG n.m. cnoc and in Argyll (mainland and Islay). On OS, however, are other instances of cnoc and, into Inverness-shire, with ScG n.m. tom. The hillock at NN007310 AMN-ARG is recorded

NS169780 (Dùn Logainn, Gillies 1906, xxii, 208) is presumed in Cannmore (40730) to be named from the 177m prominent hill feature Dunan NS164785, above the loch.

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.

ScG n.m. cnoc-faire 'alarm-post, watch-hill', with n.m. cnoc-air 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.

Beinn na Faire CAM-ARG NR603171, Càrn na Faire GCA-ARG NR662546, Cnoc na Faire COO-ARG NR407959, COO-ARG NR421789, KCH-ARG NR882658, KCN-ARG169 NR293744, KKB-ARG NM790270, KKB-ARG NM820238, KKM-ARG169 NR421988, KNN-ARG NR690785, KNN-ARG NR741897, SSS-ARG NR878568, SSS-ARG NR904602, Cnoc na Faire Mòr COL-ARG169 NR390937, Cnocan na Faire KMY-BTE NR946212, Tom na Faire LAP-ARG169 NM788361. Cf. Taigh na Faire HAR-INV169 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).

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 NH649937, Creag na Faire SNZ-INV169 NG364562, Tom na Faire KLE-INV NN118750 (OS19), Tòrr na Faire KCR-ROS NH467916.

In Colonsay & Oronsay ARG, Contin ARG, Creich SUT, Kilmory & Kilbride ARG, North Knapdale ARG and Saddell & Skipness ARG.

Cnoc nan Aingeal NUS-INV169 NF818605, Cnoc nan Aingeal KKV-ARG169 NM272237 a.k.a. Cnoc an t-Sìde (for Sìthein).

Cnoc Aingil KDO-ARG169 NR317511, Cnoc an Aingeil INA-ARG NN060046 and KMG-ARG NR850968.

Cnoc Aingil LAP-ARG169 NM863439, Tom Aingil KMY-INV NN307812.
with both ScG n.m. cnoc and ScG n.m. tulach. 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, two of ScG n.m. creagan, and one of ScG n.m. tom. There are, however, instances with generics not indicating elevation. The generics in names with ScG n.m. solas 'light' generally indicate the presence of an elevated platform. The principle exceptions are water-names, and Dwellly, 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, and the name is paralleled in three Gallowegian hill-names without association with river crossings. 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', ScG n.m. dùnan 'knoll' and ScG n.m. tòrr 'heap', along with the hill features ScG n.f. creag 'rock', ScG n.m. ràth 'mound' and probably ScG n.m. coire 'corrie'. However, the parish-name Resolis RSS-ROS

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188 Cnoc Aingil a.k.a. Tulach Aingil (Carmina ii, 222); location of 'Cnoc Aingil' confirmed, ex info. Brig. John M. MacPharlane, ex Taynunt AMN-ARG, in 2012.
189 Cnoc an Teine BRL-INV 16th NG364229, KKE-ARG 16th NM398456, KKE-ARG 16th NM398456, KKE-ARG 16th NM553470, KLO-INV NH469471, TOY-ARG 16th NM657419.
190 Creagan an Teine FRR-SUT NC797651, UIG-ROS 16th 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 16th NB144111.
193 Loch Uisge an t-Solais UIG-ROS 16th 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 the nature of the water might be referred to in some cases (without conclusive evidence given for any).
195 Barsolus BUL-KCB NX818627 and OLU-WIG NX286575, Barsolis Hill CMI-KCB NX751699.
196 Cnoc an t-Solais STY-ROS 16th NB477408.
197 Dùnan an t-Solais KDO-ARG 16th NR440520.
198 Tòrr Solais ARD-ARG NM495634.
199 Creag an t-Solais LDK-PER 16th NR983488, and probably underlying Solus Craggie KDN-SUT ND004189.
200 Ràth Solais (OS Rath-soluis) BRL-INV 16th NG364229.
201 Coire an t-Solais KKE-ARG 16th NM469519 may refer to a beacon site above it. It is tempting to relate Coire an t-Solais to Càrnain (for Càrnan) an Anmals 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, 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, and for ScG n.m. *solas* in Galloway, 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-ARG³leb, appears to have acquired a second, ethnonymic specific through borrowing from **Taigh nan Gall**◊ KKV-ARG³leb (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. *braideal, 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-ARG³leb NM646264 and KKB-ARG³leb NM806285, but there is no evidence with which to distinguish the meaning in either.

203 **Cragingalt**† SOL-MLO, **Criengell** TPH-WLO.

204 **Craigall**† CML-AYR in Carrick, and Barsoles BUL-KCB NX818627, Barsoles OLU-WIG NX286575, Barsolis Hill CMIC-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-INVHib on Ronay, but the proximity of Low-landers Chappel‡ NUS-INVHib, 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-ARGHib 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-ARGHib is a possible beacon-site. On the other hand, Càrn nan Gall BRL-INVHib would not make a good beacon-site, and may have been named by specific element borrowing (from Camas nan Gall BRL-INVHib), as may Sgùrr nan Gall POR-INVHib (from Sgeir nan Gall◊ POR-INVHib, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
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<th>Geographical distribution</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable 25:</td>
<td>ScG n.m. <em>bac</em> 'terrace' : (1)(^{205})</td>
<td>ROS(^{\text{Heb}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. <em>bealach</em> 'pass' : 3(^{206})</td>
<td>ARG, INV(^{\text{Heb}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. <em>buaile</em> 'stock fold' : (1)(^{207})</td>
<td>INV(^{\text{Heb}}) (figurative use)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. <em>coire</em> 'corrie' : 8(^{208}(2))^{209}</td>
<td>ARG, BNF, INV, ROS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. <em>creag</em> 'crag' : 2(^{210})</td>
<td>INV(^{\text{Heb}})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. <em>leac</em> 'declivity' : 1(^{211}(2))^{212}</td>
<td>ARG, PER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. <em>leacann</em> 'steep slope' : 1(^{213})</td>
<td>ARG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. <em>leargach</em> 'steep-slope place' : 1(^{214})</td>
<td>AYR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. <em>sròn</em> 'hill-spur' : 1(^{215}(1))^{216}</td>
<td>INV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. <em>staidhir</em> 'stair' : 1(^{217})</td>
<td>ABD (figurative use)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible [1]:</td>
<td>ScG n.m. <em>coire</em> 'corrie' : [(1)](^{218})</td>
<td>ROS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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\(^{205}\) *Bac a’ Ghoill* HAR-INV\(^{\text{Hib}}\).

\(^{206}\) *Bealach nan Gall* BRR-INV\(^{\text{Hib}}\). *Bealach nan Gall* NKN-ARG, *Bealach nan Gall* NKN-SKN-ARG.

\(^{207}\) *Buaile a’ Ghoill* SUS-INV\(^{\text{Hib}}\).


\(^{209}\) *Coire a’ Ghoill* GIL-ARG, *Coire a’ Ghoill* KCR-ROS.

\(^{210}\) *Craigenhall* RED-PER, *Creag Losgaidh nan Gall* HAR-INV\(^{\text{Hib}}\).

\(^{211}\) *Leac nan Gall* KCH-ARG.

\(^{212}\) *Leac a’ Ghoill* AFE-PER, *Leac a’ Ghoill* IVC-ARG.

\(^{213}\) *Leacann nan Gall* IVC-ARG.

\(^{214}\) *Leargaidh Ghabalta* 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-Sasannach* 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 mouth 228 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, Craigenhall 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. bard 'poet', ScG n.m. fear-bogha 'archer', ScG n.m. gadaiche 'thief', ScG n.m. greusaiche 'cobbler' (plural), ScG n.m. meirleach 'robber' (plural), ScG n.m. saighdear 'solder' ×2, ScG n.m. tăillear 'tailor'.
224 With ScG n.m. cléireach 'cleric', ScG n.m. sagart 'priest' ×6.
225 With ScG n.m. Siosalach 'member of the family Chisholm'.
226 With ScG n.m. balchan 'young boy' ×2, ScG n.m. balban 'dumb person', ScG n.f. bean 'woman, wife' (plural), ScG n.f. caileag 'girl', ScG n.f. caileach '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 s' 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\(^{\text{Heb}}\) 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 example\(^{231}\) of the warning function is unidentified Creag Losgaidh nan Gall\(^{\dagger}\) HAR-INV\(^{\text{Heb}}\), ‘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\(^{\dagger}\) BRR-INV\(^{\text{Heb}}\) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
<th>With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable 11:</td>
<td>ScG n.m. eilean ‘island’ : 6(^{234})(2)(^{235})</td>
<td>ARG, ARG(^{\text{Heb}}), INV, INV(^{\text{Heb}}), ROS, SUT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EG n.f. inis ‘island’ : 1(^{236})</td>
<td>Hebrides</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. innis ‘island’ : 2(^{237})</td>
<td>FIF, INV(^{\text{Heb}})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{231}\) 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. bazan ‘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\(^{\text{Heb}}\), Eilean nan Gall TNG\(^{-1}\)-SUT, Eilean nan Gall TNG\(^{1}\)-SUT, Elenyngill KKM-ARG\(^{\text{Heb}}\).

\(^{235}\) Eilean a’ Ghoiill KKV-ARG\(^{\text{Heb}}\), Eilean a’ Ghoiill LAP-ARG.

\(^{236}\) Innse Gall†; BGY-FIF, Innisgall† HAR-INV\(^{\text{Heb}}\).
Only three other probable ethnonymic identifications in the study, all being eilean-names, with ScG Èireannach (singular), ScG Lochlannach (adjective) and ScG Sasannach (originally singular). Other reference to human classifications in eilean-names is common, with thirty-nine identified in Gaelic orthography in the current toponymicon. Almost three quarters, twenty-eight, have occupational or religious specifics, subdivided into fifteen references to secular employment, nine to ecclesiastics and four to feudal roles. 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 tidal and a further one a headland, perhaps formerly a tidal island. Eilean nan Gall TNG¹-SUT, a.k.a. OSc Lowlandmens Yle, 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

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238 Eilean an Èireannach EDS-SUT.
239 Na h-Eileanan Lochlannach SUS-INV16th.
240 Eilean nan Sasannach KMV-INV.
241 The specifics of the eleven non-vocational names are ScG n.f. beann ‘woman, wife’ ×6 (five plural), ScG n.m. fear ‘man, husband’ (single), ScG n.m. gille ‘lad’ ×2 (both plural).
242 With ScG n.f. banarach ‘dairymaid’, ScG n.m. bard ‘poet’, ScG n.m. britheamh ‘judge’, ScG n.m. clachair ‘mason’ (plural), ScG n.m. clàrsear ‘harper’, ScG n.m. gobhainn ‘smith’ ×3, ScG n.m. greusaiche ‘cobbler’ (plural), ScG n.m. piobair ‘piper’, ScG n.m. pòirtair ‘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’ ×2, ScG n.m. easbaig ‘bishop’ ×2, ScG n.m. cràbhaiche ‘ascetic’, ScG n.m. naomh ‘saint’ (plural), ScG n.m. sagart ‘priest’ ×2.
244 With ScG n.m. baran ‘baron’, ScG n.m. morair ‘lord’, ScG n.m. rìgh ‘king’×2.
245 Eilean a’ Ghoill KKV-ARG16th, Eilean a’ Ghoill LAP-ARG, Eilean nan Gall KLE-INV, Eilean nan Gall NUS-INV16th, Eilean nan Gall TNG¹-SUT.
246 Eilean nan Gall KIT-ROS.
247 Recorded once, 1583−96 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-INV²Heb 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-INV²Heb also displays
these early characteristics, with a defended water-girt (though marine) islet. Innis is not otherwise attested on OS\textsuperscript{25} 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\textsuperscript{20}, 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).

<table>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Probable 9:</td>
<td>ScG n.m. bodha 'reef' : 2\textsuperscript{208}</td>
<td>INV\textsubscript{Heb}, ROS\textsubscript{Heb}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. cleiteadh 'natural rock pier' : (1)\textsuperscript{209}</td>
<td>BTE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. sgeir 'skerry' : 5\textsuperscript{208}(1)\textsuperscript{211}</td>
<td>ARG, ARG\textsubscript{Heb}, INV, INV\textsubscript{Heb}, SUT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible [2]:</td>
<td>ScG n.m. stac 'stack' : [2]\textsuperscript{202}</td>
<td>ROS\textsubscript{Heb}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 33 Gall-names with generics for marine features

There are only three other probable ethnonymic identifications in the study: two sgeir-names, with ScG Gàidheal (plural)\textsuperscript{253} and ScG Lochlannach (singular)\textsuperscript{254} and one bodha, with ScG Sasannach (singular)\textsuperscript{255}. Other reference to human classifications occurs in twenty sgeir-names in Gaelic orthography in the current toponymicon. Most are non-

\textsuperscript{208} Bogha nan Gall SMI-ARG\textsuperscript{Heb}(INV), Bogha nan Gall† UIG-ROS\textsuperscript{Heb}.
\textsuperscript{209} Cleiteadh a’ Ghoill KMY-BTE.
\textsuperscript{210} Sgeir nan Gall ASY-SUT, Sgeir nan Gall\textsuperscript{b} CAM-ARG, Sgeir nan Gall KCV-ARG\textsuperscript{Heb}, Sgeir nan Gall KKV-ARG\textsuperscript{Heb}, Sgeir nan Gall KPV-INV\textsuperscript{Heb}.
\textsuperscript{211} Sgeir a’ Ghoill GLE-INV.
\textsuperscript{212} 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\textsuperscript{Heb} NM043459 ‘old man’ and Stac an Fhir Mhaoil LCH-ROS\textsuperscript{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).
\textsuperscript{213} Sgeir nan Gàidheal LAP-ARG\textsuperscript{Heb}.
\textsuperscript{214} Sgeir an Lochlannach DSH-INV\textsuperscript{Heb}.
\textsuperscript{215} Bodha an t-Sasannaich STH-INV\textsuperscript{Heb}. 

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vocational names, with six occupational names and two religious specifics. 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. 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.

### Sepulchre

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
<th>With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable 3:</td>
<td>ScG n.m. càrn 'cairn' : 1</td>
<td>ABD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. cladh 'burial-ground' : 1</td>
<td>ARG Heb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. tobbta 'mound' : 1</td>
<td>CAI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Four other probable ethnonymic identifications in the study have ScG n.m. cladh as a generic, one with ScG Cruithneach, one with ScG Êireannach, and two with ScG Sasannach, 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.

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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. uaidreach 'haughty person'.
257 With ScG n.m. figheadair 'weaver' ×2 (one plural), ScG n.m. muillear 'miller', ScG n.f. nighean an rìgh 'princess, the king's daughter', ScG n.m. tairleir 'tailor', ScG n.m. usal 'gentleman, noble'.
258 With ScG n.m. claireach '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.

**Shoreline**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
<th>With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable 20:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.m. aonan 'cliff' : 1²⁶</td>
<td>Arg*Heb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.m. bàgh 'bay' : 1²⁶</td>
<td>Arg*Heb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.f. cairidh 'weir': 1²⁸</td>
<td>ROS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.m. camas 'bay': 7¹⁰¹(1)²⁷⁰</td>
<td>Arg, Arg<em>Heb, Inv, Inv</em>Heb, ROS, ROS*Heb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.m. caolas 'narrors': 1²⁷¹</td>
<td>ARG*Heb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.m. geodha 'creek': 1²⁷²</td>
<td>ROS*Heb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.f. laimrig 'landing-place': 1²⁷³</td>
<td>INV*Heb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.f. mol 'stony beach': (1)²⁷⁴</td>
<td>INV*Heb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.m. poll 'pool': 1²⁷⁵</td>
<td>INV*Heb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.m. port 'landing-beach': 3²⁷⁶</td>
<td>ARG, INV*Heb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScG n.m. sloc 'coastal pool': (1)²⁷⁷</td>
<td>INV*Heb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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266 Aonan nan Gall KDO-ARG*Heb.
267 Bàgh nan Gall JUR-ARG*Heb.
268 Corrynagaid* ULW-ROS.
269 Camas nan Gall BRL-INV*Hed, Camas nan Gall GLE-INV, Camas nan Gall GLL-ROS, Camas nan Gall KBK-ARG*Hed, Camas nan Gall KLE-INV, Camas nan Gall LBR-ROS, Camas nan Gall UIG-ROS*Hed.
270 Camas a’ Ghoill GAI-ROS.
271 Caolas nan Gall KCN-ARG*Hed.
272 Geodha nan Gall BVS-ROS*Hed.
273 Laimhrig nan Gall HAR-INV*Hed.
274 Mol a’ Ghoill HAR-INV*Hed.
275 Poll nan Gall NUS-INV*Hed.
276 Port Bealach nan Gall KKN-ARG (a.1878 Port na Gall), Port nan Gall ARD-ARG, Port nan Gall SSS-ARG.
277 Sloc a’ Ghallabhaich SMI-ARG*Hed(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 smaller\(^{278}\) 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. *maraire* '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\(^{16}\) and *Poll nan Gall* NUS-INV\(^{16}\) 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 Eireannach 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\(^{16}\).
\(^{282}\) With ScG n.f. *baisthearna* 'lady of rank', ScG n.m. *clàrsair* 'harper', ScG n.m. *iasgair* 'fisherman', ScG n.m. *maraire* 'seaman', ScG n.m. *mòr-thear* (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 *Cams nan Soithechean* (recte Soithichean) ASY-SUT NC011148, with the plural of ScG n.m. *soitheach* 'vessel'.
\(^{286}\) *Aonan nan Gall* KDO-ARG\(^{16}\). *Sloc a' Ghallabhaich* SMI-ARG\(^{16}\)(INV).
\(^{287}\) *Caolas nan Gall* KCN-ARG\(^{16}\). *Geodha nan Gall* BVS-ROS\(^{16}\). *Làimhrig nan Gall* HAR-INV\(^{16}\).
Sphere of influence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
<th>With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Probable 5:</td>
<td>ScG existing name 'Gall-associated':</td>
<td>CAI, INV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG suffix -achd 'province':</td>
<td>Lowlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG suffix -ibh 'dative plural':</td>
<td>CAI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m/f. tìr 'land':</td>
<td>INV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible [3]:</td>
<td>ScG existing name 'Gall-associated':</td>
<td>SUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m/f. tìr 'land':</td>
<td>WIG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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. The suffix is not applied to any other ethnicities, but can be applied to supra-ethnic cultural groupings such as Criosdachd '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

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288 Caadal naan Gàll HAL-CAI, Galcantray CRD-INV.
289 Galltachd CAI.
290 Gallaibh CAI.
291 Galltair GLE-INV.
292 Carranagaweis (unidentified) SUT, Galdchollochoyis KMA-PER.
293 Drumgaldert 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. rìgh '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 Ghailttir*, 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 *Flìonais nan Gall*, 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-
name was in fact probably an administrative one within Ardclach. At some point before completion of the county OSnb in 1871, the small district of Fleenas had been divided, with Fleenas-na-gaël 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).

**Fig. 37 Goill-names with generics for stones**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stone</th>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
<th>With gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Probable</strong> 3:</td>
<td>ScG n.f. clach 'stone': 1&lt;sup&gt;298&lt;/sup&gt;(1)&lt;sup&gt;299&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ROS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. leac 'slab': 1&lt;sup&gt;300&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>ARG&lt;sup&gt;301&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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<sup>302</sup>, on the other hand, is a natural landing-pier, and is probably linked to an event commemorated in two other Goill-names close by.<sup>301</sup> 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.<sup>302</sup>

<sup>297</sup> 1565 Ballygallantry, 1605 Balligalantrim (PNNI Antrim 1, 152).
<sup>298</sup> Clach nan Gall EDT-ROS.
<sup>299</sup> Clach Goil KCR+RSK-ROS.
<sup>300</sup> Leac nan Gall KCN-ARG<sup>301</sup>.
<sup>301</sup> Caolas nan Gall KCN-ARG<sup>301</sup>, Sgeir nan Gall KCN-ARG<sup>301</sup>.
<sup>302</sup> Unidentified Clach an Roman<sup>3</sup> 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 Fhrangais<sup>3</sup> TIR-ARG<sup>301</sup> (singular) is apparently a grave marker, whereas the motivation for Clachangaell<sup>3</sup> MLH-BNF (plural) is unclear.
**Terrain**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Probable</th>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
<th>With adj. or gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16:</td>
<td>ScG n.m. blàr 'open space' : 2303</td>
<td>INV, PER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. clais 'ditch' : 1304</td>
<td>PER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. cluain 'pasture' : 1306</td>
<td>AYR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. coille 'wood' : 1306</td>
<td>ARG, BNF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.? 'collach 'hazel wood' : 1307</td>
<td>PER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. dail 'meadow' : 2308(1)309</td>
<td>ARGHeb, AYR, INV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. glac 'hollow' : 1310</td>
<td>ARGHeb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. innis 'meadow' : 2311</td>
<td>FIF, INV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m/f. machair 'low-lying plain' : 1312 AM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. mòine 'peatbog' : 2313</td>
<td>ABD, FIF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. siuch 'narrow hollow' : 1314</td>
<td>INV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible</th>
<th>Incidences of generics</th>
<th>With adj. or gen. pl. (gen. sg.) of ethnonym</th>
<th>Geographical distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:</td>
<td>ScG n.f. dail 'meadow' : [(1)]315</td>
<td>ARG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.f. innis 'meadow' : [(1)]316</td>
<td>FIF, WIG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. lòn 'wet meadow' : [1]317</td>
<td>CAI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ScG n.m. monadh 'hill-pasture' : [1]318</td>
<td>KCB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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303 Blair-na-gaul‡ KIH-INV, Blaregal‡ AFE-PER.  
304 Glassingall DLE-PER.  
305 Glengall‡ AYP-AYR.  
306 Galcols‡ FRC-BNF.  
307 Galchollachoyes‡ KMA-PER.  
308 Dail Ghall JUR-ARGHeb, Dalgall‡ KWG-AYR.  
309 Dail a' Ghoill KLE-ARG(INV).  
310 Glac nan Gall◊ KKV-ARGHeb.  
311 Inchgall◊ KGH-FIF, Innis nan Galla LAG-INV.  
312 Machair Ghallta◊ AM.  
313 Mingall‡ PAL-FIF, Moniegall† CRB-ABD.  
314 Shunagall DRM-INV.  
315 Dailgoil CAM-ARG.  
316 Inchiguile‡ SOR-WIG.  
317 Loangall LAT-CAL.  
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\textsuperscript{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 Giac nan Gall KKV-ARG\textsuperscript{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.\footnote{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 Gchalita◊ ☼ 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\textsuperscript{(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

\footnote{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. Inter alia, 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. The others are an antiquarian, a figurative and two commemorative names.

**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 itself or to a neighbouring related settlement.

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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 Blair-na-Gàidheal LDK-PER.
322 Clais nan Cruineschaid ASY-SUT.
323 Mòine Fhlanrasach DRY+KPN+PMH-STL+PER.
324 Bad an t-Sasannaich AFE-PER, Dail an t-Sasunnaich† 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 Àird 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, estuarine fishing, marine fishing, iron making, marble quarrying, milling, peat extraction and trade.

327 Innis nan Galla LAG-INV.
328 Corrynagald† ULW-ROS.
329 Àird Ghall‡ SUS-INV(Heb), Ardagaw† AMN-ARG, Ardnagal LGK-ARG, Ardnagal† 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).
o **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 Ghalta* for the late medieval construct (McLeod 1999, 1) of the Lowlands. 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 Scotscelder. 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.

o **Intruders**, in names applied to points for warning by signal of incursions.

Typically, these are hill entities called *Creag nan Gall*, the first appearing on record in 1426, for *Craigengall* TPH-WLO. Commemorative names for such incursions can also be tentatively identified. 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.

o **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-
KCB and Knocklegoill EKB-LAN. Probably a late scholarly manifestation of such application is Innisgall‡ HAR-INV³⁴⁹.

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, Finngauld‡ 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-INV³⁴⁹ and Àird Ghall† SUS-INV³⁴⁹, Rubha nan Gall Beag TOY-ARG³⁴⁹ and Rubha nan Gall Mòr TOY-ARG³⁴⁹.

³³⁹ Others are Cairngall LON-ABD, Cnoc nan Gall COO-ARG, Eilean a’ Ghoill AMT-INV, Galcantray† CRD-INV, Camas nan Gall BRL-INV³⁴⁹, Geodha nan Gall BVS-ROS³⁴⁹, Gob a’ Ghoill HAR-INV³⁴⁹, Làimhrig nan Gall HAR-INV³⁴⁹.
Map 22
Goill: ongoing interaction
Probable ethnonymic place-names and motivations
Excluding possible names
Map 23
Goill: resource-names
Probable ethnonymic place-names

- Eilean nan Gall NUS
- Rubha nan Gall NUS¹
- Rubha nan Gall NUS²
- Rubha nan Gall NUS³
- Rubha nan Gall STY
- Taigh nan Gall KKV
- Tobar a' Ghoill SSS
- Àird Ghall SUS
- Ardgaw AMN
- Moniegall CRB
- Rubha nan Gall KKE¹
- Rubha nan Gall KKE²
- Rubha nan Gall KKE³
- Mullach nan Gall TIR
- Rubha nan Gall KKE¹
- Rubha nan Gall KKE²
- Rubha nan Gall KKE³
- Rubha nan Gall Mor TOY
- Ardinagail LCA
- Innis nan Gall KIT
- Allt a' Ghoill LAG
- Galcoh FRC
- Blair-na-gaul KIH
- Corrynagald ULW
- Ardnagal LGK
- Corrynagald ULW
- Ardnagal LGK
- Giengal FAYP
- Bedgall DFL
- Dalgall KWG
- Minigall FAL
- Innes nan Galla LAG
- Dal a' Ghoill KLE
- Ardagh AMN
- Rubha nan Gall Mor TOY
- Rubha nan Gall Mor TOY
Map 26
Goill: unknown motivations
Probable ethnonymic place-names
Excluding possible names
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OSc n.</td>
<td>Lawlandman</td>
<td>SUT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ScS n.</td>
<td>Lowlandman</td>
<td>ARG^Heb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE n.</td>
<td>Lowlander</td>
<td>INV^Heb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Map 27

Goill: Others

Lowlander's Leap NUS
Low-Landers Chappel NUS
Lowlandman's Bay JUR

Domain
Transit
Unknown
## 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Gossamer/Latinisation</th>
<th>Place Names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SE n. <em>Pole</em></td>
<td>FIF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SE n. <em>Indian</em> BTE, INV*Hebrew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>ScG n.m. <em>Innseanach</em></td>
<td>ARG, ARG<em>Hebrew, INV</em>Hebrew</td>
<td>SE adj. <em>Chinese</em> ELO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SE n. <em>Indian</em> ARG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SE adj. <em>Japanese</em> DNB, PEB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>SE n. <em>Saracen</em> LAN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1. Discounted as containing ScS n. *greek* ‘sandstone’ is Greesyke† LRB-STL NS8783, 1819 [sasine] (Reid 2009, 179).
2. *Egyptian Pot* FIN-ABD, *Egyptian Stripe* CAB-BNF.
4. *Poles’ Dump*† FAL-FIF.
9. *Chinese Bridge*† HAD-ELO.
10. *Indians’ Loch*† KKV-ARG*Hebrew*.
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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>interaction</th>
<th>Ongoing</th>
<th>Occasional</th>
<th>Superficial</th>
<th>not evidenced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Border</td>
<td>Domain</td>
<td>Resource</td>
<td>Transit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albanians</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britons</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruithnians</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumbrians</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flemings</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaels</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goill</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picts</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxons</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scots</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of overall</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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, to be taken with four similarly motivated Gael-names (albeit applied to generally bigger features). 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. 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.). 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, and comparison to hat and boat styles), Germans (perceived form), Highlanders (requirement of physical prowess), Irish "Paddy" (gateway marker), Japanese (garden design), North American Indians (perceived form), Romans (perceived form) and Swiss (house design).

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

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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<sup>ref</sup>, 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<sup>ref</sup>.
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<sup>ref</sup>.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Early to High Middle Ages</th>
<th>from c.1300 Late Middle Ages</th>
<th>from c.1560 Modern Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Albanians</td>
<td>Scotians ScG</td>
<td>Scotians ScG</td>
<td>Scots ScG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britons</td>
<td>British ON ScG</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>†British SSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruithnians</td>
<td>Picts EG</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>†Picts ScG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumbrians</td>
<td>British ON OE</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danes</td>
<td>East Scandinavians ON</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>†Scandinavians SSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>English OE OSc</td>
<td>Anglophone Scots OSc</td>
<td>English OSc ScS SSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flemings</td>
<td>Flemings OE</td>
<td>Flemings OSc</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>French BrB</td>
<td>French OSc ScG</td>
<td>French ScG SSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaels</td>
<td>Gaelophones EG</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Scottish Gaels ScG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goill</td>
<td>Scandinavians EG</td>
<td>aliens &amp; Anglophones ScG</td>
<td>aliens &amp; Anglophones ScG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>Hiberno-Norse ON EG</td>
<td>Irish OSc ScG, Scottish Gaels OSc</td>
<td>Irish ScG SSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Picts</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>trolls ON</td>
<td>trolls &amp; †Picts ScS SSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saxons</td>
<td>Northumbrian BrB OE</td>
<td>English ScG</td>
<td>English ScG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scots</td>
<td>Scotians ON OE</td>
<td>Scottish Gaels OSc</td>
<td>Scots ScS SSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welsh</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Romance-speakers OSc</td>
<td>Welsh SSE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.\textsuperscript{19} ScG \textit{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 \textit{Erisch}, but it is also found applied to Irish. \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{Albannach}. There is no clear dating of the names, but the impression – it can be no stronger from the available data – is that ScG \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{19} Gall-Ghaidhealaibh \textsuperscript{20} (e.g. Clancy 2008) and possibly Argyll \textsuperscript{20} (Jennings & Kruse 2009, 99).

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), 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).

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21 E.g. *Scotshblair*, 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 Scotshblair 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-wifis-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) and contrasted with a name referring to a modern Saxon (Mr Astley), and an isolated portion of an estate of Goill (Lethen estate in Aberdeenshire); in the Early or High Middle Ages, Saxon control over a maritime "border" island, fortification domain-names referring to Britons, a former Anglian settlement as a high status Cumbrian domain, the domain of a French colonist (Roger Francis), the fortification of Goill (associated with Robert the Burgundian) and in the Late Middle Ages, episcopal property of Scots (associated with the Bishop of Dunkeld), episcopal property of Goill (associated with the Bishop of the Isles), an island seat for an estate of Goill (associated with MacLean of Duart), a peatbog resource serving a royal hunting seat of Goill (associated with Robert II), and an isolated property of Goill (associated with the Stewarts). It is notable that all but the modern contrasting pair have an ethnonymic specific in the plural, 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

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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, Dumbrysten‡ 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 Scotorum† CRM-MLO.
33 Galltair GLE-INV.
34 Elenyngill† KKM-ARG
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) 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, to Saxons in some indeterminate military context, and to a Hebridean raider in Orkney, 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; also a subsequent garrison watch-point and a poacher who died while trying to escape capture. The hanging of raiders in 1689 is marked by a Highlander-name, and the defeat of an undated (and possibly folkloric) raid by mainlanders by a Goill-name. 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. Also operating outwith normal military structures was a force of Spanish Armada troops employed as mercenaries in 1588, but the Spaniards in the Jacobite rising of 1719 were acting on behalf of their government. French pirate ships or warships are recalled in a couple of names, and the sailors of a Dutch East Indiaman in

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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-Sasannach AFE-PER, Englishfield† CIE-ABD, Englishmen’s Den FEC-KCD, Field of the English† CRD-INV.
43 Toum Scalais n Sasnich† CRB-ABD.
44 Englishman’s Loup MGF-KCB.
45 Highlandmen’s Mossie GLS-BNFR
46 Bealach nan Gall† BRR-INV²⁶.
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-ARG²⁶b.
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). 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, with one Irish-name, and an Indian sailor and a Spanish-name for three Portuguese; a Manx vessel is mentioned, but it is not known how the crew fared. Death also comes to a stranded Englishman in Mull, if the tale of his eventual murder is to be believed, and for the workers who died while exploiting iron ore in Ross-shire. These, the several names associated with shore-camps for long-distance fishing, and the quarry-workers named as Goill and Saxons, 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.

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, 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; note also that those buried at Cladh nan Èireannach JUR-ARG were reportedly the victims of an onboard fever.
53 Geodha an t-Sasannaich UIG-ROS, Port an t-Sasannaich NKN-ARG, Rubha Sasannaich KBK-ARG.
54 Cladh nan Èireannach JUR-ARG.
55 Uaigh an Innseanaich HAR-INV.
56 Usighesn nan Spkinnteach BRR-INV.
57 Manxman’s Rock KMN-WIG.
58 Dail an t-Sasunnaich KKE-ARG.
59 Cladh nan Sasannach GAI-ROS.
60 Rubha an t-Sasannaich MRV-ARG, Taigh nan Gall KKV-ARG, Tobhta nan Sasannach KKV-ARG.
61 Frenchmen’s Row CAST-NTB.
62 American Monument KDO-ARG.

278
workers\textsuperscript{63} and Polish troops in the second;\textsuperscript{64} only one of these names has been added to OS mapping. Older names relate to trading by Goill, French and Dutch,\textsuperscript{65} illicit trading by Manxmen,\textsuperscript{66} droving by Highlanders,\textsuperscript{67} and the import of Highland labour and Welsh expertise.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{69}

Where they are considered dominant, a territorial name is not uncommon, as found from the Early or High Middle Ages for the Cruithnians,\textsuperscript{70} Cumbrians,\textsuperscript{71} English,\textsuperscript{72} Gaels,\textsuperscript{73} Picts,\textsuperscript{74} Saxons\textsuperscript{75} and Scots.\textsuperscript{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 Gaels\textsuperscript{77} and the Goill\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{79} These emic Gael-names are recorded from 1603, coincidentally in the same
year as the first recording of a name marking the Anglo-Scottish border. 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. 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), along with three Dumfriesshire Irish-names and two north-eastern Scoto-names understood as applying to late medieval remnant Gaelic communities resisting shift to the Scots; and in earlier medieval periods, three remnant Saxon communities resisting shift to the Cumbrians, and an English-name in the face of Scottish expansion. 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.
Appendix A: Abbreviations

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i) General abbreviations and symbols

Abbreviated Latin terms are not italicised, Latin terms written in full are.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>* *</td>
<td>in early forms, reported pronunciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>()</td>
<td>in early forms, form rejected by, or comment found in, the source; or, the date of transcription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABD</td>
<td>county code after 1889 boundary changes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>unattested form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.</td>
<td>in early forms, links abbreviated affix or generic to primary name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@</td>
<td>approximate grid reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>both apply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//</td>
<td>phoneme (see IPA, §ii below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>phonetics (see IPA, §ii below); or, original spelling not given in printed source; or, researcher’s comment or correction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\</td>
<td>amended omission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>identification insecure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>??</td>
<td>identification unlikely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>original source or author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~</td>
<td>article precedes the headname</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>in secondary names, affix or generic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>develops from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;</td>
<td>develops into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; &gt;</td>
<td>expanded abbreviation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>×</td>
<td>year falls between those given, inclusively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>×2</td>
<td>multiple occurrence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2×</td>
<td>double land unit, collectively named</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>◊</td>
<td>leads to; or, replaced by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>←</td>
<td>leads from; or, replacing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>·</td>
<td>divider between early forms from the same source in the same year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>†</td>
<td>obsolete (i.e. not reported in or after 1950); or, obsolete or deceased prior to, or at, the stated date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‡</td>
<td>obsolete as an attested primary name, but incorporated in an extant secondary name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⊙</td>
<td>covering, or covered, by numerous counties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>unique keys for headname, where name and locality code are repeated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Latin ante ‘before’ (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>affix Auld, or variation thereof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.k.a.</td>
<td>also known as, i.e. alias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abl.</td>
<td>ablativ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acc.</td>
<td>accusativ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj.</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anthro.</td>
<td>anthroponym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>art.</td>
<td>article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attrib.</td>
<td>used attributively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coll.</td>
<td>collective noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dat.</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dim.</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dtchd</td>
<td>detached part of parish or county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>affix East(er), or variation thereof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.C</td>
<td>early half of century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edn</td>
<td>edition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ex nom.</td>
<td>Latin <em>ex nomine</em> 'from a name', i.e. an existing place-name incorporated as an element in another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>feminine gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen.</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.</td>
<td>affix High, or variation thereof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hydro.</td>
<td>hydronym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loc.</td>
<td>locational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lt.</td>
<td>affix Little, or variation thereof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lt.C</td>
<td>late half of century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lw.</td>
<td>affix Low(er), or variation thereof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.C</td>
<td>middle of century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>masculine gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Md.</td>
<td>affix Mid(dle), or variation thereof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mk.</td>
<td>affix Meikle, or variation thereof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.?</td>
<td>noun, gender unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>no date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.f.</td>
<td>feminine noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>masculine noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.nt.</td>
<td>neuter noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.pl.</td>
<td>noun plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nom.</td>
<td>nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nr.</td>
<td>affix Nether, or variation thereof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nth.</td>
<td>affix North, or variation thereof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.</td>
<td>affix Over, or variation thereof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OS</td>
<td>Ordnance Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>Latin <em>post</em> 'after'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.p.</td>
<td>past participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pers. observ.</td>
<td>personal observation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pfx</td>
<td>prefix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prep.</td>
<td>preposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pres.p.</td>
<td>present participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rad.</td>
<td>radical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>repub.</td>
<td>republished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.a.</td>
<td>Latin <em>sub anno</em> 'under the year', i.e. as dated in the source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.l.</td>
<td>Latin <em>sine loco</em> 'without place', i.e. no stated publication-place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.n.</td>
<td>Latin <em>sub nomine</em> 'under the name', i.e. the headname under discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.v.</td>
<td>Latin <em>sub verbo</em> 'under the word', i.e. the headword under discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sfx</td>
<td>suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sth.</td>
<td>affix South, or variation thereof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.</td>
<td>affix Upper, or variation thereof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v.</td>
<td>Latin <em>vide</em> 'see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vb</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vel</td>
<td>Latin <em>vel</em> 'or rather', i.e. proposed amendment to source</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viz</td>
<td>Latin <em>videlicet</em> 'it may be seen', i.e. namely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vsn</td>
<td>version</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>affix West(er), or variation thereof</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ii) **IPA symbols and diacritics**

International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols and diacritics found in the study, with IPA number given where relevant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>IPA Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>phonetic transcription, giving the exact sound of a particular pronunciation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//</td>
<td>phonemic transcription, giving the broad features of speech sounds, allowing for variation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b 102</td>
<td>voiced bilabial stop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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iii) **Language codes**

Includes details of the notional periods employed by the study to classify a lexicon.

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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.

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**Four-letter codes (English registration districts)**

Codes for the 1881 Census registration districts covering Cumberland and Northumberland.

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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).

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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
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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.


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.


Grant MS: 'Some Caithness Place-names as Recorded by Dr James H. Grant from Native Speakers of MacKay Country Gaelic', list supplied to ÀÀ A Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba – Gaelic Place-Names of Scotland, by James H. Grant [a.k.a. Seumas Grannd], 13 Oct. 2008.


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 Ardmurcan 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 Ardmurcan 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).

NAS MS RHP3897/63: ‘Castle Parks and Castle Town of Braemar’, surveyor unknown, 1808 (see NAS MSS, above).

NAS MS RHP6104: ‘[Plan showing the drainage of Castlecary estate]’, by Alexander Black, 1851 (see NAS MSS, above).

NAS MS RHP11252: ‘Plan of lands of Dunipace’, surveyor unknown, 1838 (see NAS MSS, above).

NAS MS RHP11605: ‘Plan of intended road from Sheil House on Loch Dowich to Beauly’, by George Brown, 1795 (see NAS MSS, above).

NAS MS RHP11642: ‘Plan of the Road from the New Bridge of Inverness ... to the Confines of Ross shire’, by William Cuming, 1814 (see NAS MSS, above).

NAS MS RHP89887/17: '[Photocopy of volume of plans of barony of Ardgour, Argyll]
Inverscadale', by James Wingate, 1815 (see NAS MSS, above).

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 INVHeb: 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).
OSnb ROSHeb: Hebridean Ross-shire, 1848–52 (see OSnb, above).
OSnb ROX: Roxburghshire, 1858–60 (see OSnb, above).
OSnb SHE: Shetland, 1878 (see OSnb, above).
OSnb SLK: Selkirkshire, 1856–60 (see OSnb, above).
OSnb STL: Stirlingshire, 1858–61 (see OSnb, above).
OSnb SUT: Sutherland, 1871–74 (see OSnb, above).
OSnb WIG: Wigtownshire, 1845–49 (see OSnb, above).

Pringle MS: 'State of the Process of Valuation of the forfeited estate of Lochiell', 1761, held by the West Highland Museum (Fort William).


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.


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.


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 Cuan 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 Bhrealal, Skye, including the Small Isles and Sleat Sound, surveyed 1852–63, published 1863 (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.


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 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.

Black Map: *Black’s new large map of Scotland*, by Adam Black and Charles Black, 1862 (Edinburgh), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Blackadder Map: *Berwickshire*, by John Blackadder, 1797 ([Edinburgh]), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.


Braun & Hogenberg Map: *Edenburgum, Scotiæ Metropolis*, by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, c.1582 ([Cologne]), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Bruce Map: *A Plan of Loch Sunart &ct: become Famous by the Greatest National Improvement this Age has Prodiced*, by Alexander Bruce, 1733 ([Edinburgh]), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.
Burnett & Scott Map: *Map of the county of Sutherland made on the basis of the trigonometrical survey of Scotland in the years 1831, 1832*, by Gregory Burnett and William Scott, 1855 (Edinburgh), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland. With additional names and corrections by Hector Morrison, Inverness, 1853.

Cameron Map: *An exact map of Breadalbane in Perth Shire*, by G. Cameron, 1770 (s.l.), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Campbell Map: *A new and correct map of Scotland or North Britain, drawn from the most approved surveys*, by Robert Campbell, 1794 (London), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.


Edgar Map: *The Shire of Peebles or Tweeddale*, by William Edgar, 1741 (s.l.), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Edinodunensis Map: *Edinodunensis Tabulam*, by James Gordon, c.1647 ([Amsterdam?]), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Edward Map: *Angusia Provincia Scotiae sive The Shire of Angus*, by Robert Edward, 1678 ([Amsterdam]), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Dorret Map: *A general map of Scotland and islands thereto belonging*, by James Dorret, 1750 (London), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Faden Map: *A map of Scotland drawn chiefly from the topographical surveys of John Ainslie*, by William Faden, 1807 ([London]), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Forbes Map: 'Sutherlandshire', by William Forbes, 1820, at <maps.nls.uk>, held by the National Library of Scotland, Sutherland papers Dep.313/3600.


Forrest Map, 1816: *The county of Lanark from actual survey*, by William Forrest, 1816 (Edinburgh), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Forrester Map: *Map of the County of Edinburgh shewing the turnpike & statute labour roads in the County constructed for and under the direction of the County Road Trustees*, by William Forrester, 1850 (Edinburgh), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Fraser Map: 'Balbirnie and Other Estates in the County of Fife belonging to Lt. Gnl. Balfour', by James Fraser, 1836, held by Balbirnie House Hotel, Markinch.


Gordon maps, below, at <maps.nls.uk>, held by the National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS.70.2.10.

Gordon Map 5: '[A detailed map including Glenmore, Lochs Arkaig and Garry, and the river basins of the Nairn, Findhorn, and Spey]', by Robert Gordon, 1636×52 (see Gordon maps, above).


Gordon Map 11: 'The draught of Edera Cheules, lying betuix Strath-Navern and Assin, gathered out of Mr. Timothee Pont his papers, who travayled and descryved the same‘, by Robert Gordon, 1636 (see Gordon maps, above).

Gordon Map 18: 'Part of Ros', by Robert Gordon, 1636×52 (see Gordon maps, above).


Gordon Map 32: 'Formarten and part of Marr and Buquhan', by Robert Gordon, 1636×52 (see Gordon maps, above).

Gordon Map 33: 'Lower part of Bu[quhan]', by Robert Gordon, 1636×52 (see Gordon maps, above).

Gordon Map 34: 'Part of Aberdeen Shyre', by Robert Gordon, 1636×52 (see Gordon maps, above).
Gordon Map 35: '[A map of the coast from the River Ythan to Inverugie]', by Robert Gordon, 1636×52 (see Gordon maps, above).


Gordon Map 43: 'Glen Yla, Glen Ardle, Glen Shye, out of Mr. T. Pont's papers yey ar very imperfyt', by Robert Gordon, 1636×52 (see Gordon maps, above).

Gordon Map 50: 'Sterlinshyr & Lennox, Sterlingshyre, wt a part of the Lennox, and sum of Clydsdail.', by James and Robert Gordon, 1636×52 (see Gordon maps, above).

Gordon Map 52: 'Keanrosse-shyre descrybed', by James Gordon, 1642 (see Gordon maps, above).

Gordon Map 53: 'Fyfe Shire, MDCXLII = Fifa provincia noviter delineata', by James Gordon, 1642 (see Gordon maps, above).


Gordon Map 56: '[A map of the Clyde and Tweed basins]', by Robert Gordon, 1636×52 (see Gordon maps, above).

Gordon Map 58: 'A description of the province of the Merche', by Robert Gordon, 1636×52 (see Gordon maps, above).

Gordon Map 59: 'Cuningham [From the Clyde to Irvine]', by Robert Gordon, 1636×52 (see Gordon maps, above).

Gordon Map 60: 'Cuningham [From Irvine to the head of the Solway]', by Robert Gordon, 1636×52 (see Gordon maps, above).

Gordon Map 61: '[A map of the coast from Loch Ryan nearly to the head of Solway]', by Robert Gordon, 1636×52 (see Gordon maps, above).

Gordon Map 62: 'Nithsdail descryved according to Mr. Timothe Pont his papers', by Robert Gordon, 1644 (see Gordon maps, above).

Gordon Map 64: '[A small map of Eskdale and Liddesdale]', by Robert Gordon, 1636×52 (see Gordon maps, above).

Grassom Map: by John Grassom, at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Greenwood Map: Map of the County of Cumberland, by Christopher Greenwood and John Greenwood, 1824 (London).
Heathcote Map: *The Island of St Kilda from a Survey by J. Norman Heathcote, With additions from Admiralty Charts*, in a pocket in the book *St Kilda*, by Norman Heathcote, 1900, (London). Also in the Geographical Journal, 15, 142–4, opposite 204 (according to Coates 1990 q.v.).

Home Map 3: ‘Survey of Assynt’, by John Home, 1774, at <maps.nls.uk>, held by the National Library of Scotland, Sutherland Estates papers Dep. 313/3585.

Huddart Map Nth: *A New Chart of the West Coast of Scotland From the Point of Ardnamurchan to Cape Wrath*, North part, by Joseph Huddart, 1794 (London), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Huddart Map Sth: *A New Chart of the West Coast of Scotland From the Mull of Galloway to Dunan Point in Sky*, South part, by Joseph Huddart, 1794 (London), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.


Inchaff. Chrs Map: 'Map of Inchaffray and surrounding district', in *The Charters of the Abbey of Inchaffray*, eds William Alexander Lindsay, John Dowden and John Maitland Thomson, 1908, Scottish History Society, 1st series, 56.


Johnson Map, 1822: *Middle Part of Western Isles Inverness Shire*, by William Johnson, 1822 (Edinburgh), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Johnson Map, 1823: *Southern Part of Western Isles Part of Inverness Shire*, by William Johnson, 1823 (Edinburgh), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.


Knox Map, 1850: *Map of the Basin of the Tay, including the greater part of Perth Shire, Strathmore and the Braes of Angus or Forfar*, by James Knox, 1850 (Edinburgh), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Langlands Map: *This map of Argyllshire Taken from Actual Survey*, by George Langlands, 1801 (Campbeltown), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Laurie Map, 1763: *A plan of the County of Mid-Lothian or Shire of Edinburgh*, by John Laurie, 1763 ([Edinburgh?]), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.


Laurie Map, 1786: *A plan of Edinburgh and places adjacent*, by John Laurie, 1786 (Edinburgh), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Macfarlane Map: *Greenock and its environs*, by Andrew Macfarlane, 1842 (Glasgow), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.


Mathieson Map: *Map of St Kilda or Hirta and the adjacent islands and stacs (Inverness-shire)*, by John Mathieson with A.M. Cockburn, 1928 (London), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

Menzies Map: plan of Auchleeks estate, by Robert Menzies, 1830, held by the Clann Donntchaidh Society, Bruar. No public access to map (attempted 11 Sep. 2006).


Ortelius Map: *Scotiae tabula*, by Abraham Ortelius, 1573 (Antwerp), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

NLB Plan: plan by the Northern Lighthouse Board.

OS 1": Ordnance Survey map, one inch to the mile (Southampton), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

OS 6": Ordnance Survey map, six inches to the mile (Southampton), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

OS Town: Ordnance Survey town plan (Southampton), at <maps.nls.uk>, National Library of Scotland.

OS 10: Ordnance Survey 1:10,000 map (Southampton).

OS 25: Ordnance Survey 1:25,000 map (Southampton).

OS 50: Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 map (Southampton).

Pont (Gordon) Map 23: '[Pont’s map of Elgin and northeast Moray]' by Timothy Pont, 1583×96, at <maps.nls.uk>, Adv.MS.70.2.10, held by the National Library of Scotland. Previously ascribed to Robert Gordon.

Pont maps, below, by Timothy Pont, 1583×96, at <maps.nls.uk>, held by the National Library of Scotland, Adv.MS.70.2.9.

Pont Map 1: '[Durness and Tongue]' (see Pont maps, above).

Pont Map 2:1: '[Strathnaver]' (see Pont maps, above).

Pont Map 3:1: '[Eddrachillas]' (see Pont maps, above).

Pont Map 4: '[Wester Ross]' (see Pont maps, above).

Pont Map 6:1: '[Strath Spey]' (see Pont maps, above).

Pont Map 7:4: '[Strath Avon]' (see Pont maps, above).

Pont Map 8: '[Moray and Nairn]' (see Pont maps, above).

Pont Map 9:1: '[the Coast of Banff] (west)' (see Pont maps, above).

Pont Map 10: '[Buchan]' (see Pont maps, above).

Pont Map 11: '[Lower Deeside]' (see Pont maps, above).

Pont Map 12:2: '[Glen Lonan and Loch Etive (Muckairn)]' (see Pont maps, above).

Pont Map 14: '[Mid-Argyll; from Dunoon to Inverary and Loch Awe]' (see Pont maps, above).

Pont Map 17: '[Loch Lomond]' (see Pont maps, above).

Pont Map 26: '[Lower Angus and Perthshire east of the Tay]' (see Pont maps, above).
Pont Map 27: ‘[Strathardle, Glenshee and Glenericht]’ (see Pont maps, above).
Pont Map 29: ‘[Middle Strathmore]’ (see Pont maps, above).
Pont Map 32: ‘[The east central lowlands]’ (see Pont maps, above).
Pont Map 33: ‘[Renfrewshire]’ (see Pont maps, above).
Pont Map 34: ‘[Glasgow and the county of Lanark]’ (see Pont maps, above).
Pont Map 35: ‘[Nithsdale]’ (see Pont maps, above).
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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".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Part of speech</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
<th>Probable or possible ethnonymic names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BrB cair</td>
<td>n.f</td>
<td>homestead</td>
<td>Karramund Scotorum† CRM-MLO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BrB ‘cal</td>
<td>adj</td>
<td>hard</td>
<td>Caladal nan Gall HAL-CAI Scotscalder HAL-CAI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BrB can</td>
<td>adj</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>Galcantray CRD-INV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BrB ‘drum</td>
<td>n.m/f.</td>
<td>ridge</td>
<td>Drungwedyl (unidentified)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BrB duβr</td>
<td>n.m</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>Caladal nan Gall HAL-CAI Scotscalder HAL-CAI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BrB ‘glinn</td>
<td>n.m</td>
<td>valley</td>
<td>Glensax PLSawm SLKten Glensaxon WES-DMF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BrB ‘ir</td>
<td>art</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>Pennersaughs MLB-DMF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BrB penn</td>
<td>n.m</td>
<td>end or top place</td>
<td>Pennersaughs MLB-DMF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BrB strad</td>
<td>n.m/f.</td>
<td>broad valley</td>
<td>Strawfrank CST-LAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BrB treβ</td>
<td>n.f</td>
<td>settlement</td>
<td>Galcantray CRD-INV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG aird</td>
<td>n.f</td>
<td>point</td>
<td>Ardescoom Point† ARS-INV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG aier</td>
<td>n.m</td>
<td>coast.</td>
<td>Argyll ☼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG alt</td>
<td>n.m</td>
<td>cliff</td>
<td>Aldasan† DAI-AYRthb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG beith</td>
<td>n.f</td>
<td>birch(wood)</td>
<td>Fleming-Beath† BEA-FIF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG clár</td>
<td>n.m/nt.</td>
<td>plain, surface, land</td>
<td>Cruitheanchlár† ☼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG dub</td>
<td>adj</td>
<td>black</td>
<td>Durdy Inglis† KSP-PER Durdy Scot† KSP-PER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG dúin</td>
<td>n.nt</td>
<td>fort</td>
<td>Duncryne KMO-DNB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG -ib</td>
<td>dat. pl. ending</td>
<td>'amongst'</td>
<td>Gall-Ghaidhealaibh梭 Galloway梭</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG in</td>
<td>nom. sg. art</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>Cruitheanchlár ☼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG inis</td>
<td>n.f</td>
<td>island</td>
<td>Innse Gall梭 Incheruin BUC-STL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Form</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG pett</td>
<td>n.f.</td>
<td>estate</td>
<td>Pittscote CER-FIF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG rath</td>
<td>n.m/f.</td>
<td>earthen fort</td>
<td>Rathillet KLM-FIF, Rathliesbeag KLE-INV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EG tuath</td>
<td>n.f.</td>
<td>nation, territory</td>
<td>Cruithennuath† ☀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ln -ia</td>
<td>sfx</td>
<td>land of</td>
<td>Cumbria ☀, Picaviat† ☀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ln mare</td>
<td>n.nt.</td>
<td>sea</td>
<td>Mare Britannorum† ☀, Mare Frisicum† ☀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ln molendinum</td>
<td>n.nt.</td>
<td>mill</td>
<td>Scottie Molendinum† KSS-MOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ln saxum</td>
<td>n.nt.</td>
<td>large stone</td>
<td>Saxum Hiberniensium† KGL+PTM-FIF+KNR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OD by</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>village</td>
<td>Flimby COCK-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE botl</td>
<td>n.nt.</td>
<td>habitation</td>
<td>Irishbuttill† BUL-KCB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE cot</td>
<td>n.nt.</td>
<td>cottage</td>
<td>Walcot Burn TEM-MLO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE cynn</td>
<td>n.nt.</td>
<td>race, offspring, kin</td>
<td>Angelcynn† ☀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE ðéod</td>
<td>n.f.</td>
<td>region</td>
<td>Angelbōod† ☀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE feld</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>open or cultivated land</td>
<td>Inglefeld† PENR-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE 'hop</td>
<td>n.nt.</td>
<td>enclosed valley</td>
<td>Wauchope HOB-ROX, Wauchope LHM-DMF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE hyll</td>
<td>n.m/f.</td>
<td>hill</td>
<td>Wobrēthill† CAN-DMF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE land</td>
<td>n.nt.</td>
<td>land</td>
<td>Cumberland ☀, England ☀, Saxland† ☀, Scotland ☀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE mór</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>waste ground</td>
<td>Earsmortoun† MRT-DMF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE tūn</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>settlement</td>
<td>Cummercolstoun† HAD-ELO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE ‘þwīt</td>
<td>n.nt.</td>
<td>clearing</td>
<td>Ormathwaite COCK-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE wæð</td>
<td>n.nt.</td>
<td>ford</td>
<td>Scotwad† GGK+PMH-PER+STL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OE wudu</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>forest</td>
<td>Inglewood PENR-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON byr</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>settlement</td>
<td>Birkby BOOT-CMB, Birkby WIGT-CMB, Denbie DTN-DMF, Ireby WIGT-CMB, Scotby CARL-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON dalr</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>valley</td>
<td>Cummersdale CARL-CMB, Petta Dale NES+TWL-SHE, Petta Dale NMV-SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON ey</td>
<td>n.f.</td>
<td>island</td>
<td>Cumbræ ARO+CUM-BTE, Danna NKN-ARG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON fjall</td>
<td>n.nt.</td>
<td>hill</td>
<td>Pettigarths Field NES-SHE, Pettalæ† BRS-SHE, Sheaval Fiundan LCH+ROS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON gardr</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>yard</td>
<td>Pettigarths³ BRS-SHE, Pettigarths Field NES-SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON gerði</td>
<td>n.nt.</td>
<td>enclosure</td>
<td>Funzie Girt FET-SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON giá</td>
<td>n.f.</td>
<td>creek</td>
<td>Petti’s Geo WAS-SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON höfn</td>
<td>n.f.</td>
<td>harbour</td>
<td>Finnies Haven CAY-CAI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON Kolr</td>
<td>anthro.</td>
<td>given name</td>
<td>Cummercolstoun† HAD-ELO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON ‘lágr</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>low-lying ground</td>
<td>Bretallaughe† ☀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON land</td>
<td>n.nt.</td>
<td>land</td>
<td>Kumbraland†, Petland† ☀, Skotland† ☀, Paidland Vird NMV-SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON múli</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>projecting hill</td>
<td>Scotmill KCH-ARG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON -nna</td>
<td>gen. pl. art. sfx</td>
<td>the</td>
<td>Pettena Shaig† YEL-SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON skógr</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>wood</td>
<td>Briscoe WHTV-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON smuga</td>
<td>n.f.</td>
<td>narrow cleft</td>
<td>Pettasmog† UNS-SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON sætr</td>
<td>n.nt.</td>
<td>pasture land</td>
<td>Finnister NES-SHE Petester UNS-SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON teigr</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>paddock</td>
<td>Finstegr† FET-SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON varða</td>
<td>n.f.</td>
<td>beacon</td>
<td>Pettifirth BRS-SHE Paidland Vird NMV-SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON vatt</td>
<td>n.nt.</td>
<td>loch, lake</td>
<td>Petta Water DTG+TWL-SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ON vrá</td>
<td>n.f.</td>
<td>corner, neuk, nook</td>
<td>Cumbretrute-wra† PENR-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc bank</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>bank, slope</td>
<td>Archbank MOF-DMF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc &quot;birren</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>entrenched camp</td>
<td>Scottishbiryn† MON-ANG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc brig</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>bridge</td>
<td>Frankisbrige† PENR-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc burch</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>enclosed space</td>
<td>Inglisberrie Grange† PTT-LAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc burn</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>burn, stream</td>
<td>Scots Burn LEW-LAN Scots Burn LOE-ROS Scotburn KSS+RAF-MOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc but</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>separated ploughed ground</td>
<td>Scotsmen’s Butts† ALY-PER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc cot</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>cottage</td>
<td>Danyscottis† LUP-ABD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc crag</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>rock</td>
<td>Scotscaig FPC-FIF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc croft</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>smallholding</td>
<td>Scotspats-croft† EDI-MLO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc dyke</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>dyke, wall</td>
<td>Scots’ Dike CAN+LNGT-DMF+CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc fald</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>enclosure</td>
<td>Earsefeld† CUM-DMF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc feild</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>Inglisfield BOL+YES-ELO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc flat</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>level ground</td>
<td>Scots Flat† GRM-STL Sutherounflart† (unidentified) ELO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc gate</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>road</td>
<td>Erigisgait TRO-KCB Scotsgat† INB-INV Scot’s Road DLS+KNOMOR Scottis-mennis-gait† DDA-PER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc gill</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>gully, hollow</td>
<td>Arresgill LHM-DMF Earsgill HCR-DMF Normangill CRW-LAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc grange</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>farm with granaries</td>
<td>Inglisberrie Grange† PTT-LAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc hag</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>clearing</td>
<td>Earshaig KPI-DMF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc halch</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>haugh, river meadow</td>
<td>Earshaw LHM-DMF Scotch-haugh Burn FRD-KCD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc hall</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>mansion</td>
<td>Fleming Hall WHTV-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc hals</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>narrow feature</td>
<td>Fleming Halse† CARL-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc hill</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>hill, hillock</td>
<td>Scotstonhill SAB-MOR Fleminghill KMK-AYR Frango Hill KCM-WIG Frankie Hill MGF-KCB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc hole</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>hiding place</td>
<td>Scots Hole† MER-BWK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc hope</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>enclosed valley</td>
<td>English Kershope LNGT-CMB Scotch Kershope CSL-ROX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc hous</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>house; shed</td>
<td>Welshhouses† MAN-PEB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc ile</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>island</td>
<td>Lowlandmens Yle† TNG-SUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc kers</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>cress</td>
<td>English Kershope LNGT-CMB Scotch Kershope CSL-ROX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSc know</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>hillock</td>
<td>Norman Knowes† LBN-MLO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OSc</strong></td>
<td><strong>Part of Speech</strong></td>
<td><strong>Meaning</strong></td>
<td><strong>Examples</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| OSc land | n. | land; cultivation strip | Flemingis-land† KET-ANG  
Flemyland DLR-AYR  
Franksshelande† ( unidentified ) MLO  
Frenchland MOF-DMF  
Pictland ☼ |
| OSc law | n. | hill | Norman’s Law ABEthm-ABE-FIF |
| OSc lie | def. art. | the | English Mill STF-BNF(ABD)  
Erigait† TRO-KCB  
Frankisbrige† PENR-CMB  
Galcols† FRC-BNF  
Scotsis-patis-croft† EDI-MLO  
Scotsburn KSS+RAF-MOR  
Scotscraig FPC-FIF  
Scottis-raw† DDA-PER  
Scottsmill PHD-ABD  
Scotstoun NLS-PEB |
| OSc mark | n. | boundary or land mark | Denmark RED-PER |
| OSc miln | n. | mill | English Mill STF-BNF(ABD)  
Scotsmill BOY-BNF  
Scotsmill TUF-ABD  
Scottismannis Mylne† ALY-PER  
Scottismyll† LIN-ANG  
Scottsmill PHD-ABD  
Scots Mill† IKG-FIF  
Scotsmill KNL-ABD  
Scotsmill TQR-dtchd-PEB |
| OSc pat | n. | coal-pit | Scotsis-patis-croft† EDI-MLO |
| OSc pule | n. | pool | Scott’s Pool PHD+STF-ABD+BNF |
| OSc raw | n. | street of houses | Scottis-raw† DDA-PER  
Scotteraw† ( unidentified ) DMF |
| OSc reisk | n. | fen | Scottismannisrisk† RED-PER |
| OSc rig | n. | ridge, cultivated strip | Ear’s Rig KPJ-DMF |
| OSc se | n. | sea | Scots Sea† ☼ |
| OSc side | n. | shore, hillside | Ingliissyde† ☼ |
| OSc sike | n. | small stream | Erock GLN+WHT-WIG |
| OSc skelly | n. | seashore skerry | Englishman’s Skelly CRA-FIF |
| OSc strother | n. | bog | English Strother GLEN-NTB |
| OSc sutherland | adj. | southern | Southeran Hills† ALNW-NTB |
| OSc the | def. art. | the | Scotsisgait† GLA+AIRs+KGM-ANG  
Scott’s Dike CAN+LNGT-DMF+CBM  
Scots Sea† ☼  
Scotsmen’s Butts† ALY-PER  
Scottismannisrisk† RED-PER  
Scottis-mennis-gait† DDA-PER  
Scottismyll† LIN-ANG |
| OSc toune | n. | settlement | passim |
| OSc wath | n. | ford, fordable stream | Scottiswath† ANN+DOR+WIGT-DMF+CBM |
| OSc watir | n. | river, body of water | Scottewatre† CLA+FIF+MLO+PER+STL+WLO |
| OSc well | n. | well | Englishwells† DNS-BWK  
Wobrethills† CAN-DMF |
| OSc wod | n. | wood | Airswood WES-DMF  
Archwood JOH-DMF  
Welschewod† PCK-MLO |
| OW cair | n.f. | fort | Cair Brithon† DUM-DNB |
| ScG a'chadh | n.m. | field, farm | Achingale WAT-CAI  
Achnagall† TAI-ROS  
Achnyanbenach† BAR-AYR  
Aikengall IWK-ELO  
Auchenfranco LRT-KCB  
Auchingall† CLN-BNF  
Auchingaw KLR-ROS  
Auchnagall MDL-INV  
Auchnagallin CLN-BNF  
Auchnagaul ALN-ROS  
 Auchoyle† KFN-ARG  
Auchgoyle KFN-ARG  |
|------------------|------|------------------|------------------|
| ScG -achd | sfx | domain | Gàidhealtachd  
Galrachd  |
| ScG àird | n.f. | projection (topographic) | Àird Ghall† SUS-INV  
Ardagaw† ANM-ARG  
Ardinagal† LCA-ROS  
Ardnagall LGK-ARG  
Ardnagaul KIL-INV  
Yngles Ardnell† WKB-AYR  
Toward-Fleeming† DKM-ARG  |
| ScG àirigh | n.f. | shieling | Arinacrínachd APC-ROS  |
| ScG -ais | loc. sfx | place | Fleenas-na-gael ACL-NAI  |
| ScG allt | n.m. | burn, stream | Allt a’ Ghoill ALE-INV  
Allt a’ Ghoill LAG-INV  
Allt an Albannaich DUS-SUT  
Allt an t-Sasanaich DUS-SUT  
Allt na’ Gàill† FRR-SUT  
Allt nan Albannaich EDS-SUT  
Allt nan Albannaich LOE-ROS  
Allt nan Gàidheal ROG-ROS  
Allt nan Gall FRR-SUT  
Allt nan Gall MRV-ARG  
Alton Albany BAR-AYR  |
| ScG alt | n.m. | steep bank | Alt an Albannaich KDO-ARG  |
| ScG a’ | nom. fem. art. | the | Gàidhealtachd  
Galrachd  
Machair Ghallta  
Mòine Flannrasach DRY+KPN+PMH-STL+PER  |
| ScG an (t-) | nom. fem. art. | the | Leargasd Ghallta LGS-AYR  |
| ScG an | nom. masc. art. | the | Galltair GLE-INV  |
| ScG an (t-) | gen. masc. art. | the | Clach an Roman† ARD-ARG  
Teigh Franchich† COL-ARG  |
| ScG aonach | n.m. | steep-sided ridge | Aonach Shasuan KCH+LOR-INV  |
| ScG aonan | n.m. | cliff | Aonan nan Gall KDO-ARG  |
| ScG bac | n.m. | terrace, hollow | Bac a’ Ghoill HAR-INV  |
| ScG bad | n.m. | grove | Bad an t-Sasanaich AFE-PER  |
| ScG baile | n.m. | settlement | Balbarton KGH-FIF  
Balgoil ULW-ROS  
Ballingall KTT-FIF  
Ballingall LSL-FIF  
Ballingall ORW-KNR  
Balnagall TAI-ROS  
Balnacrus KDT-FIF  
Belnagauld STD-ABD  
Gallabhaile KIH-INV  
Balgall† CBE-ANG  
Balgay LIB-ANG  
Ballingall FAL-FIF  |
| **ScG bàrr** | n.m. | hill | Barbrethan KML-AYR  
Barnultoch INH-WIG  
Bàrr nan Gall SKN-ARG |
| **ScG beag** | adj. | little, small | Rathliesbeag KLE-INV  
Rubha nan Gall Beag TOY-ARG\[16\] |
| **ScG bealach** | n.m. | pass | Bealach nan Gall\[15\] BRR-INV\[16\]  
Bealach nan Gall NKN-ARG  
Bealach nan Gall NKN-SKN-ARG  
Bealach nan Spàinnteach GLL-ROS  
Port Bealach nan Gall NKN-ARG |
| **ScG beinn** | n.f. | hill, peak | Beinn an Albannaich ARD-ARG |
| **ScG blàr** | n.m. | open ground | Blair-na-gaul\[1\] KIH-INV  
Bùr nà Gàidheal LDK+LOR-PER  
Blàregh\[1\] AFE-PER |
| **ScG bodha** | n.m. | reef | Bodha an t-Sasannaich STH-INV\[16\]  
Bodha nan Gall SMI-ARG\[1\] (INV)  
Bogha nan Gall\[1\] UIG-ROS\[1\] |
| **ScG buaile** | n.f. | stock-fold | Buaille a' Ghooli SUS-INV\[16\] |
| **ScG bùta** | n.? | archery butt | Putan Sassenich\[1\] CRB-ABD |
| **ScG cachailleith** | n.f. | (temporary) gate(way) | Cachla na Gàidheal\[1\] COM-PER |
| **ScG cairein\[1\]** | n.f. | weir | Corrinnagal\[1\] ULW-ROS |
| **ScG caisteal** | n.m. | castle | Caisteal nan Gall\[1\] ARD-ARG |
| **ScG cam** | adj. | bent, awry | Rubha Cam nan Gall SUS-INV\[16\] |
| **ScG camas** | n.m. | bay, river bend | Camas a' Ghooil GAI-ROS  
Camas an Albannaich KBK-ARG\[1\]  
Camas nan Gall BRL-INV\[16\]  
Camas nan Gall GLE-INV  
Camas nan Gall GLL-ROS  
Camas nan Gall KBK-ARG\[16\]  
Camas nan Gall KLE-ARG  
Camas nan Gall LBR-ROS  
Camas nan Gall UIG-ROS\[16\] |
| **ScG caochan** | n.m. | rill, small stream | Caochan a' Ghooil CDR+MDL-NAI  
Caochantassanic\[1\] BLA+FTL+LOR\[1\]-ABD |
| **ScG caolas** | n.m. | narrows | Caolas nan Gall KCN-ARG\[1\] |
| **ScG capall** | n.m. | mare; horse; colt | Gleann Capall an Èireannach KDO-ARG\[1\] |
| **ScG càrn** | n.m. | cairn | Cairnrankie FRC-BNF  
Càrn nan Gàidheal\[1\] COM-PER |
| **ScG clach** | n.f. | stone | Clach an Roman\[1\] ARD-ARG  
Clach an t-Sasannaich NKN-ARG  
Clach Goil KCR+RSK-ROS  
Clach na Briton KIL-PER  
Clach nan Gall EDT-ROS  
Clachanga\[1\] MLH-BNF  
Clach a' Bhreatannaich LGK-ARG |
| **ScG cladh** | n.m. | burial-ground | Cladh nan Cruinneach\[1\] LAP-ARG\[1\]  
Cladh na Èireannach JUR-ARG\[1\]  
Cladh nan Gall\[1\] KKV-ARG\[1\]  
Cladh nan Sasannaich GAI-ROS  
Cladh nan Sasannaich NM-ARG |
| **ScG clais** | n.f. | ditch, groove | Clais nan Cruinneach\[1\] ASY-SUT  
Glassingall DLE-PER |
| **ScG cleiteadh** | n.m. | natural rock pier | Cleiteadh a' Ghooil KMY-BTE |
| **ScG cluain** | n.f. | pasture | Glengall AYP-AYR |
| **ScG cnoc** | n.m. | hill | Cnoc Mòr nan Gall\[1\] KKV-ARG\[1\]  
Cnoc nan Gall FRR+HAL-SUT+CAI  
Knock-na-Ghaol\[1\] KCV+KIT-INV+ROS  
Knockgill\[1\] CMF-KCB |
| ScG cnoc | n.m. | hillock | Cnoc a’ Ghàidheil† (unidentified) INV†b
Cnoc a’ Ghàidheil KDO-ARG†b
Cnoc an t-Sasannaich ASY+LBR-SUT+ROS
Cnoc an t-Sasannaich KMR-ARG
Cnoc Fraing MDL-INV
Cnoc nan Gall COO-ARG†b
Cnoc nan Gall FRR-SUT
Cnoc nan Gàidheal EKB-LAN
Knocklegoil EKB-LAN
Knockgyle GRN-KCB |
| ScG coille | n.f. | wood | Gallcoille† FRC-BNF
Gallchoille NKN-ARG |
| ScG coire | 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†b
Coire nan Gall KMD-ARG
Coire nan Gall KMV-INV
Coire nan Gall LAG-INV
Corrie Gaul† KCV-INV
Korynagald† IVV-BNF
Coire a’ Ghoill ALN-ROS
Coire na Seanagalla LAG-INV |
| ScG coirean | n.m. | small corrie | Coirein nan Spàinn teach GL-ROS |
| ScG “collach” | n.? | hazel wood | Galdchollachoyes† KMA-PEb
See Watson 1926, 378, 420, 482; McNiven 2011, 331. |
| ScG creag | n.f. | crag | Craigenhall RED-PER
Creag an t-Sasannaich KIL-PEb
Creag Loagaidh nan Gall† HAR-INV†b |
| ScG creag | n.f. | rock | Creag an t-Sasannaich TIR-ARG†b
Creag Rankie CAP-PEb |
| ScG creag | n.f. | rocky hill | Cragingalt† SOL-MLO
Craigengall TPH-WLO
Craiggall† CML-AYR
Creag nan Gall AKE-INV
Creag nan Gall CRB-ABD |
| ScG creagan | n.m. | outcrop | Creag nan Sasannaich GIL-ARG
Creagan an t-Sasannaich GAI-ROS
Creagan nan Gàidheal ROG-SUT
Creagan nam Frangach KKV-ARG†b |
| ScG cruach | n.f. | stack-like hill | Cruach a’ Ghoill AMT-INV |
| ScG cúil | n.f. | corner, neuk, nook | Culbratten PEH-WIG |
| ScG cuite | n.f. | stock-fold | Cuinagaul† KKE-INV†b |
| ScG dail | n.f. | meadow | Dail a’ Ghoill KLE-INV
Dail an t-Sasannaich† KKE-ARG†b
Dailghall† JUR-ARG†b
Dalgal† KWG-AYR
Dalgeil† CAM-ARG |
| ScG dioire | n.m./f. | grove, cluster | Dargodjel PEH-WIG
Dirvananie KCW-WIG |
| ScG drochaid | n.f. | bridge | Drochaid an Innseanaich ARD-ARG |
| ScG druim | n.m. | ridge | Drimnagall KKN-ARG  
|          |      |       | Druim a’ Ghoill KLE-INV  
|          |      |       | Druim an t-Sasannaich◊ LAP-ARG²⁶  
|          |      |       | Druim nan Gall KMR-ARG²⁶  
|          |      |       | Druim nan Sasannach AFE-PER  
|          |      |       | Drumbeddan SOK-WIG  
|          |      |       | Drumgaldar OLU-WIG  
|          |      |       | Drumwall GRN-KCB  
| ScG dùn | n.m. | fort   | Dounagal† MRV-ARG  
|          |      |       | Dumbarton DUM-DNB  
|          |      |       | Dumbretton ANN-DMF  
|          |      |       | Dumbryden COT-MLO  
|          |      |       | Dùn a’ Ghoill JUR-ARG²⁶  
|          |      |       | Dùn nan Gall KDO-ARG²⁶  
|          |      |       | Dùn nan Gall KKE-ARG²⁶  
|          |      |       | Dùn nan Gall KKE²-ARG²⁶  
|          |      |       | Dùn nan Gall TIR-ARG²⁶  
|          |      |       | Dungald† LOE-ROS  
|          |      |       | Dunultach KCH-ARG  
| ScG dùn | n.m. | heap-shaped hill | Dungoil FTY-STL  
|          |      |       | Dunguile KTN-KCB  
| ScG eas | n.m. | cataract | Eas a’ Ghàidheil ARD-ARG  
|          |      |       | Eas a’ Ghoill GIL-ARG  
| ScG eilean | n.m. | island | Eilean a’ Ghoill KKV-ARG²⁶  
|          |      |       | Eilean a’ Ghoill LAP-ARG  
|          |      |       | Eilean an Eireannach EDS-SUT  
|          |      |       | Eilean nan Gàidheal† TNG-SUT  
|          |      |       | Eilean nan Gall KIT-ROS  
|          |      |       | Eilean nan Gall KLE-ARG  
|          |      |       | Eilean nan Gall NUS-INV²⁶  
|          |      |       | Eilean nan Gall TNG¹-SUT  
|          |      |       | Eilean nan Gall TNG²-SUT  
|          |      |       | Eilean nan Sasannach KMV-INV  
|          |      |       | Eileanan Lochlannach◊ SUS-INV²⁶  
|          |      |       | Elenygill† KKM-ARG²⁶  
| ScG féith | n.f. | bog channel | Finnygauld STD-ABD  
| ScG fionn | adj. | white, bright | Sheaval Fiundan LCH²⁶-ROS²⁶  
| ScG fuaran | n.m. | spring | Fuaran an t-Sasannaich KLE-INV  
| ScG gart | n.m. | crop enclosure | Gartnagal† (unidentified) ARG²⁶  
| ScG geodha | n.m. | creek | Geodha an Albanaich† LCH-ROS²⁶  
|          |      |       | Geodha an t-Sasannaich LCH-ROS²⁶  
|          |      |       | Geodha an t-Sasannaich◊ UIG-ROS²⁶  
|          |      |       | Geodha nan Gall BVS-ROS²⁶  
| ScG gil | n.f. | rill, small stream | Gil nan Gall LCH-ROS²⁶  
| ScG glac | n.f. | hollow | Glac nan Gall◊ KV-ARG²⁶  
|          |      |       | Glac a’ Btreatannaich KMV-INV  
| ScG gleann | n.m. | glen, valley | Gleann Capall an Eireannach KDO-ARG²⁶  
|          |      |       | Glen Sassunn FTL-PER  
|          |      |       | Glenbertie WES-DMF  
| ScG gob | n.m. | headland point | Gob a’ Ghoill HAR-INV²⁶  
| ScG -ibh | dat. pl. ending | amongst, territory | Gallairbh◊ 52-CAI  
| ScG -in | loc. sfx | place | Durdy Inglis† KSP-PER  
|          |      |       | Durdy Scot† KSP-PER  
|          |      |       | Balgalli† CBE-FIF  
|          |      |       | Balgay LIB-ANG  
|          |      |       | Pitscottie CER-FIF  
| ScG innis | n.f. | haugh, meadow | Inchgall◊ KGH-FIF  
|          |      |       | Innis nan Gall LAG-INV  
|          |      |       | Inchigiuile† SOR-WIG  
| ScG innis | n.f. | island | Inchgall BGY-FIF  
|          |      |       | Innisgall HAR-INV²⁶  

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| ScG lag     | n.m.     | hollow            | Lag nan Gàidheal SOE-ARG |
| ScG laimrig| n.f.     | landing place     | Làimhri g nan Gall HAR-INV16b |
| ScG leac   | n.f.     | declivity          | Leac a’ Ghoill AFE-PER |
|            |          |                   | Leac a’ Ghoill IVC-ARG |
|            |          |                   | Leac nan Gall KCH-ARG |
| ScG leac   | n.f.     | slab              | Leac an Fhrangaich TIR-ARG16b |
|            |          |                   | Leac nan Gall KCN-ARG16b |
| ScG leacann| n.f.     | broad slope        | Leacann nan Gall IVC-ARG |
|            |          |                   | Leacann Sasannaich KMG-ARG |
| ScG leargach| n.f.    | steep-slope place | Leargaidh Ghallta LGS-AYR |
| ScG leathad| n.m.     | slope              | Leathad nan Cruineachd EDS-SUT |
| ScG linne  | n.f.     | pool               | Linne a’ Ghàidheil KCM+KDO-ARG16b |
|            |          |                   | Linne an t-Sasannaich KLE-ARG |
| ScG loch   | n.m/f.   | loch, lake, fjord, pool | Loch a’ Ghàidheil KKE-ARG16b |
|            |          |                   | Loch a’ Ghoill NUS-INV16b |
|            |          |                   | Loch Albanach KMG-ARG |
|            |          |                   | Loch nan Gàidheal KKV-ARG16b |
|            |          |                   | Loch nan Gall BVS-ROS16b |
|            |          |                   | Loch nan Gall FRR-SUT |
| ScG lòn    | n.m.     | wet meadow, stream | Loangall LAT-CAI |
| ScG losgadh| n.m.     | burning            | Creag Losgaidh nan Gall HAR-INV16b |
| ScG lùb    | n.f.     | river bend         | Lùb a’ Ghàill LAL-ROS |
|            |          |                   | Lùb nan Gall LCH-ROS16b |
| ScG machair| n.m/f.   | low-lying plain    | Machair Ghallta |
| ScG màm    | n.m.     | large round hill   | Màm a’ Ghoill ARD-ARG |
| ScG mol    | n.m.     | cape (topographic) | Maol nan Gall KMN-WIG |
| ScG mòine  | n.f.     | peatbog            | Mingall FAL-FIF |
|            |          |                   | Mòine Fhlanrasach DRY+KPN+PMH-STL+PER |
|            |          |                   | Moniegall CRB-ABD |
| ScG mol    | n.m.     | stony beach        | Mol a’ Ghoill HAR-INV16b |
| ScG monadh | n.m.     | hill pasture, massif | Munwhall GRN-KCB |
| ScG mòr    | adj.     | big, great         | Cnoc Mòr nan Gall KKV-ARG16b |
|            |          |                   | Rathad Mòr nan Gàidheal AAR+LUS+RHU-DNB |
|            |          |                   | Rathad Mòr nan Gàidheal INB+KIH-INV |
|            |          |                   | Rubha nan Gall Mòr TOY-ARG16b |
| ScG mullach| n.m.     | height             | Mullach nan Gall TIR-ARG16b |
| ScG na (h-)| nom. fem. art. | the | Na h-Eileanan Lochlannach SUS-INV16b |
| ScG nam    | gen. pl. art. | the | Auchenfranco LRT-KCB |
|            |          |                   | Clach na Briton KIL-PER |
|            |          |                   | Rubha nan Frangach INA-ARG |
|            |          |                   | Creagan nam Frangach KKV-ARG16b |
|            |          |                   | Sheaval Fiundan LCH16b+ROS16b |
|            |          |                   | Sloc nam Frangach BRR-INV16b |
| ScG nan    | gen. pl. art. | the | passim |
| ScG òban   | n.m.     | small bay          | Òban an Innseanaich NUS-INV16b |
| ScG ochdamh| n.m.     | eighthland         | Auchtrygall PHD-ABD |
| ScG peighinn| n.f.    | pennyland          | Penalbanach KKE-ARG16b |
|            |          | Measure of land.   | Auchenfranco LRT-KCB |
| ScG poll   | n.m.     | pool               | Poll nan Gall NUS-INV16b |
| ScG Port | n.m. | landing place | Port an Duitsich COO-ARG
Port an t-Sasannaich NKN-ARG
Port na Gael SSS-ARG
Port nan Gall ARD-ARG
Port nan SSS-ARG
Port nan Spàinnteach ARD-ARG |
| ScG Port | n.m. | shieling | Port Ghàidheal† FTL-PER |
| ScG raon | n.m/f. | field | Rune Pictorum† RAF-MOR |
| ScG rathad | n.m. | road | Rathad Mòr nan Gàidheal† AAR+LUS+RHU-DNB
Rathad Mòr nan Gàidheal† INB+KIH-INV |
| ScG rubha | n.m. | headland | Rubha an t-Sasannaich MRV-ARG
Rubha Cam nan Gàidheal KGK-ARG
Rubha Ghàidhealach KKN-ARG
Rubha Ghàidhealach KGK-ARG
Rubha nam Frangach KKK-ARG
Rubha nan Gall KEE-ARG
Rubha nan Gall KEE-ARG
Rubha nan Gall KLE-ARG
Rubha nan Gall NUS-INV
Rubha nan Gall NUS-INV
Rubha nan Gall STY-ROS
Rubha nan Gall Mòr TOY-ARG
Rubha nan Gall Beag TOY-INV
Rubha nan Gall Mòr TOY-ARG
Rubha nan Spàinnteach BRR-ARG
Rubha Sasannaich KKK-ARG |
| ScG sean | adj. | old | Côr na Seanagalla LAG-INV |
| ScG Seumas | anthro. | given name | Uamh Sheumais an Innseanaich◊ KKV-ARG |
| ScG sgeir | n.f. | skerry, sea rock | Sgeir a’ Ghoill GLE-INV
Sgeir an Lochlannaich† (unidentified) INV
Sgeir nan Gàidheal LAP-ARG
Sgeir nan Gall ASY-SUT
Sgeir nan Gall CAM-ARG
Sgeir nan Gall KKN-ARG
Sgeir nan Gall KEE-ARG
Sgeir nan Gall KEE-ARG
Sgeir nan Gall KLE-ARG
Sgeir nan Gall NUS-INV
Sgeir nan Gall NUS-INV
Sgeir nan Gall NUS-INV
Sgeir nan Gall POR-INV |
| ScG sgùrr | n.m. | conical hill | Sgùrr an Albannaich AMT-INV
Sgùrr an t-Sasannaich AMT-INV
Sgùrr nan Gall POR-INV
Sgùrr nan Spàinnteach GLL-ROS |
| ScG siuch | n.m. | narrow hollow | Shunagal◊ DRM-INV |
| ScG slic | n.m. | coastal pool | Sloc a’ Ghallabhaich SMF-ARG
Sloc nam Frangach BRR-INV |
| ScG sron | n.f. | hill-spur | Sròn a’ Ghoill KMM-INV
Sròn Albannaich KCH-ARG
Sròn nan Gall KMV-INV
Stronynalbynchy KMG-ARG |
| ScG stac | n.m. | sea-stack | Staca nan Gall LCH-INV
Staca nan Gall UIG-ROS |
| ScG staithir | n.f. | stair(s) | Stair na Gall CRB-ABD |
| ScG staingneach | n.f. | threshold | Stairsneach nan Gàidheal DDY-MDL-INV |
| ScG taigh | n.m. | house | Tàigh nan Gall KKK-ARG
Tàigh an t-Sasannaich TIR-ARG
Teigh Franchich COL-ARG |
| ScG tir | n.m/f. | land | Galltair GLE-INV |
| ScG tobar | n.m/f. | well | Tobar a’ Ghoill SSS-ARG
Tobar na Danich CIA-MOR
Tobarraigh CAM-ARG |
<p>| ScG tobhta   | n.m. | mound       | Toftingall WAT-CAI   |
| ScG tobhta   | n.f. | standing ruin | Tobhta nan Sasannahch◊ KKV-ARG†* |
| ScG toll     | n.m. | hole        | Torrow—Fleeming† DKM-ARG |
| ScG tom      | n.m. | hillock     | Tom an t-Sasannahch DUL-PER |
| ScG tòrr     | n.m. | heap-shaped hill | Torgyle UGM-INV |
| ScG uaigh    | n.f. | grave       | Uaigh an Inneasaigh HAR-INV†* |
| ScG uamh     | n.f. | cave        | Uamh Sheumais an Inneasaigh◊ KKV-ARG†* |
| ScS aire     | n.   | gravelly beach | Hollander's−AYRe NMV-SHE |
| ScS brig     | n.   | bridge      | Canadian Brig◊ CRB-ABD |
| ScS burn     | n.   | stream      | Englishman's Burn KKK-KCB |
| ScS cove     | n.   | cave        | Pikie's Cove CHM-BWR  |
| ScS craig    | n.   | rock        | Craig Roman BGE-PER  |
| ScS croft    | n.   | smallholding | Highlandman's Croft ORD-BNF |
| ScS da       | def. art. | the | Pettasmog† UNS-SHE |
| ScS den      | n.   | narrow ravine | Englishmen's Den FEC-KCD |
| ScS dub      | n.   | pool        | Englishmen's Dub KEL-KCB |
| ScS dyke     | n.   | wall        | Danes Dike CRA-FIF  |
| ScS fauch    | n.   | fallow field | Norman Faughs† PCR-ABD |
| ScS gairden  | n.   | garden      | American Gairdens◊ CRB-ABD |
| ScS garth    | n.   | enclosure   | Pickigarth◊ NNR-SHE  |
| ScS geo      | n.   | creek       | Englishman's Geo FET-SHE |
| ScS hammer   | n.   | rock ledge  | Highlandman's Hamar WRY-ORK |
| ScS haugh    | n.   | meadow      | Highlandman's Haugh CAP-PER |
| ScS heuch    | n.   | steep bank  | Picardy Heught† INC-ABD |
| ScS hill     | n.   | hill        | Scotch Hill BLE-MOR  |
| ScS hill     | n.   | hillock     | Danes Hill† MAY-AYR  |
| ScS hole     | n.   | small bay   | English Hole WRY-ORK  |
| ScS hoose    | n.   | house       | Pict's House◊ WAS-SHE |
| ScS hoosie   | n.   | small house | Pict's Housie◊ GTG-ABD |
| ScS how      | n.   | tumulus     | Saxon Howe AUG-PER  |
| ScS howe     | n.   | hollow      | Picts Howe LOC-ABD  |
| ScS knuckle  | n.   | protuberance | Knocklegoil EKB-LAN  |
| ScS knowe | n. | hillock, knoll | English Knowe† BELL-LNGT-NTB-CMB | Highlanders’ Knowe CAV-ROX | Highlanders Nose† KLE-INV | Hollander’s Knowe LWK-SHE | Pict’s Knowe TRO-KCB | Scotch Knowe CSL-ROX | Norriesknowe† CER-FIF | Scot Knowe SST-SHE |
| ScS lake | n. | coastal pool | Manxman’s Lake KRB-KCB |
| ScS law | n. | hillock, mound | Frenchlaw† WHI-BWK | Scotlaw LGS-AYR |
| ScS law | n. | rounded hill | Irish Law DLR-AYR | Norrie’s Law LAR-FIF | Welshie Law YAR-SLK |
| ScS loan | n. | passage | Highlandman Loan CRF-PER |
| ScS loc | n. | loch, lake | Dutch Loch WAS-SHE | Indians’ Loch© KKV-ARG | Picts’ Loch† LWK-SHE |
| ScS loup | n. | leap | Englishman’s Loup MGF-KCB | Highlandman’s Loup MOF-DMF |
| ScS *mossie | n. | small bog | Highlandmen’s Mossie GLS-BNF (ABD) | Diminutive of ScS n. moss. |
| ScS muir | n. | common | Americanmuir‡ MSM-ANG |
| ScS ness | n. | promontory | Picts Ness DTG-SHE |
| ScS neuk | n. | corner, nook | Englishman’s Neuk BLD-KCD | Frenchman’s Neuk AGK-PER |
| ScS park | n. | enclosure | Picts’ Park© GTG-ABD | Roman Camp Park† FAK-STL | Roman Park FKG-PER | Roman Park MLR-ROX | Danepark SYM-AYR | French Park† LRB-STL |
| ScS pot | n. | pool | Egyptian Pot FIN-ABD |
| ScS quoy | n. | enclosure | Pickaquoy KSO-ORK | Pickasquoy© BIH-ORK |
| ScS rickle | n. | loose dyke | Paddysrickle© CRW-LAN |
| ScS rig | n. | ridge | Highlandman’s Rig MGF-KCB |
| ScS ring | n. | stone circle, prehistoric circle | Picts’ Ring© GTG-ABD |
| ScS road | n. | track | Highlandman’s Road RHU-DNB | Scot’s Road DLS-KNO-MOR |
| ScS shiel | n. | hut | English New Water Shiel BET/BERW-NTB |
| ScS spout | n. | narrow channel | Englishman’s Spout KNO-MOR |
| ScS stane | n. | stone | Fikiestane CHK-BWK |
| ScS strip | n. | tree belt | Japanese Strip LUS-DNB |
| ScS stripe | n. | small stream | Egyptian Stripe CAB-BNF |
| ScS syke | n. | rill, small stream | Briton Sike ECK-ROX | Englishmen’s Syke© GAS-SLK |
| ScS tail | n. | attached land | Pictail SAD-ORK |
| ScS toyn | n. | settlement | Frichton FOW-PER | Fikieston Burn SAN-DMF | Scotton town ECH-ABD |
| ScS var | n. | bog | Sletland dialect. See Jakobsen 1936, 172. | Pétvarg† WAS-SHE |
| ScS wall | n. | well | Britton’s Walls† STM-DMF | Roman Well† BCN-WLO |</p>
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<td>ScS water</td>
<td>n.</td>
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<td>n.</td>
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<td>SE bay</td>
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<td>SE bridge</td>
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<td>SE buttress</td>
<td>n.</td>
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<td>Highlander Buttress SMI-ARG¹⁵¹⁴ INV</td>
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<td>SE cabin</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>rudimentary dwelling</td>
<td>Swiss Cabin Wood EDD-PEB</td>
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<tr>
<td>SE camp</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>encampment</td>
<td>Canadian Camp CRB-ABD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Danish Camp/WHTV-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Roman Camp UPH-WLO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Roman Camp Park† FAK-STL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Roman Camp Wood CLD-PER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Roman Camp Wood TQR-PEB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Romancamp Gate BLE-MOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE cap</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>cap, head-dress</td>
<td>Dutchman’s Cap KKE-ARG¹⁵¹⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE cave</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>cave, cavern</td>
<td>Gipsies’ Cave CRO-ROS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gipsies Cave DUF-MOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gipsy Cave LWT-WIG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Romans’ Cave CRB-ABD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE chapel</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>chapel, non-Presbyterian church</td>
<td>Low-landers Chappel† NUS-INVT¹⁵¹⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE close</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>enclosure</td>
<td>Norman-WIGT-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Norman Close† COCK-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE clump</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>grove</td>
<td>Highlandman’s Clump ODR-ABD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE cottage</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>cottage, small house</td>
<td>Dutch Cottage GOL-SUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Roman Cottage† ARH-PER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swiss Cottage BLE-MOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE crag</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>rock</td>
<td>Norman Crag PENR¹-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Norman Crag PENR²-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE dale</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>portion of land</td>
<td>Irish Dales† BELF-NTB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE dam</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>reservoir</td>
<td>Englishman’s Dam† LRB-STL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE ditch</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>ditch</td>
<td>Pict’s Ditch SEL-SLK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE dump</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>rubbish tip</td>
<td>Poles’ Dump† FAL-FIF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE face</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>Indian’s Face CUM-BTE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE field</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>field</td>
<td>Englishfield† CIE-ABD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Field of the English CRD-INV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Frenchfield PENR-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Picťfield BDY-PER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE flat</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>level ground</td>
<td>French Flat CHARL-CMB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE ford</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>ford</td>
<td>Englishman’s Ford† MEN-ANG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Highlanders’ Ford† TUF-ABD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotchman’s Ford MEN-ANG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotchman’s Ford RTHB-NTB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotsman’s ford KCO-ABD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE garden</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>garden</td>
<td>Japanese Garden STB-PEB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE gate</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>gateway</td>
<td>Romancamp Gate BLE-MOR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE grave</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>grave</td>
<td>Gipsies Grave0134 GBA-ELO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hollanders’ Grave NMV-SHE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swedish Man’s Grave† DNH-SUT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SE hall</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>large house, mansion</td>
<td>Scotch Hall HEXH-NTB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| SE hill n. | hill | Daneshill ALNW-NTB  
Frankhill†-WIGT-CMB  
German Hill DRZ-PEB  
Germanhill BUL-KCB  
Roman TOW-ABD  
Roman Hill MON-ANG  
Drumbarton Hill TUF-ABD |
|----------|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| SE hole n. | cave | English Hole WRY-ORK  
Picts Holes† WHTV-CMB |
| SE hole n. | pool | Dane’s Hole KNO-MOR |
| SE house n. | house | Dutch House MPK-AYR  
Picts’ House GTG-ABD  
Pict’s Houses ALF-ABD  
Cairnrankie Houses FRC-BNF  
Wellshouses† MAN-PEB |
| SE how n. | mound | Frankhishow† COCK-CMB  
Pickthowe†-WIGT-CMB  
Pict-How PENR-CMB  
Pictowe† PENR-CMB |
| SE land n. | land, ground | Dutchmansland† DPC-STL  
Dainelandes† WHTV-CMB  
Earsland† ALNW-NTB |
| SE leap n. | leaping-place, place leapt | Dutchman’s Leap LWK-SHE  
Lowlander’s Leap† NUS-INV|
| SE meadow n. | meadow | Scotchmeadows HEXH-NTB |
| SE milestone n. | milestone | Paddy’s Milestone† DAI-AYR |
| SE mill n. | mill | Dutch Mills† AYP-AYR  
Frenchmill† CPS-STL |
| SE monument n. | monument | American Monument KDO-ARG  
Paddy’s Monument ALNW-NTB |
| SE mount n. | mound | Irish Mount WCA-MLO  
Paddy’s Mount ALNW-NTB |
| SE oak n. | | |
| SE of prep. | of | Field of the English CRD-ABD  
Geo of Newfinnamie UNS-SHE  
Scotston of Kirkside SCY-KCD  
Scotston of Usan CRG-ANG |
| SE park n. | enclosure | Picts’ Park† GTG-ABD  
Roman Camp Park† FAK-STL  
Roman Park FGK-PER  
Roman Park MLR-ROX  
Danepark SYM-AYR  
French Park† LRB-STL |
| SE pier n. | pier | Dane’s Pier SSY-ORK |
| SE plantation n. | plantation | Paddy’s Plantation KMN-WIG |
| SE point n. | headland | Gipsy Point KRB-KCB  
Ardlescroon Point† ARS-INV |
| SE pool n. | loch | Dutch Pool† DNR-SHE |
| SE pool n. | pool | Highlandman’s Pool CAE-DMF  
Paddy’s Pool DRZ-PEB |
| SE rig n. | ridge | Flamiggs COCK-CMB |
| SE rock n. | rock, skerry | Frenchman’s Rock BOR-KCB  
Frenchman’s Rocks KCN-ARG  
Highlandman’s Rock† LAP-ARG  
Irishman’s Rock HAB-INV  
Manxman’s Rock BOR-KCB  
Manxman’s Rock KMN-WIG  
Welshman’s Rock SMI-ARG |
| SE row n. | street of houses | Frenchmen’s Row CAST-NTB  
Paddy Row OMN-ROX |
| SE shiel n. | shieling hut | Scotch Shields† LNGT-CMB |
| SE stank n. | pool | Ducht Stank† COCK-CMB |
| SE stone | n. | stone, rock | Picardy Stone INC-ABD, Roman Stone◊ COM-PER, Paddy’s Stone ABR-ABD |
| SE the | def. art. | the | passim |
| SE town | n. | town, settlement | Englishtown LNGT-CMB, Scotstown ARD-ARG |
| SE umbrella | n. | umbrella | Highlandman’s Umbrella◊ GLW-LAN |
| SE vale | n. | valley | Danevale CMI-KCB |
| SE view | n. | outlook | Scot’s View† COCK-CMB |
| SE walk | n. | walking route, path | Highlandman’s Walk† DAI-AYR |
| SE wall | n. | wall | Britton Wall† ☥-CMB+NTB, Picts Wall† ☥-CMB+NTB, Roman Wall◊ ☥-CMB+NTB |
| SE water | n. | loch, lake | Petta Water DTG+TWL-SHE |
| SE way | n. | road | English New Water Shiel BET/BERW-NTB |
| SE well | 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, Norrieswell† CER-FIF |
| SE wood | 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 work | n. | defensive structure | Pict’s Ditch◊ SEL-SLK, Pictswork KHP+SEL-SLK |