

P-CELTIC IN SOUTHERN SCOTLAND AND CUMBRIA:
A REVIEW OF THE PLACE-NAME EVIDENCE
FOR POSSIBLE PICTISH PHONOLOGY

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How should we categorise the P-Celtic language or languages spoken in North Britain during the first millennium AD?¹ Kenneth Jackson in his classic study *Language and History in Early Britain* demonstrated that in the first half of the millennium a fairly homogeneous form of P-Celtic, to which he gave the name British, was current throughout the island at least as far north as the Forth (Jackson 1953, *passim*, but presenting his overall view in the opening pages, 1–12). Following radical changes to that language at all levels from phonetic to syntactic, the earliest detectable dialectal differences began to appear. Initially, a difference arose between what he termed South-West Brittonic, the ancestor of Cornish and Breton, and West Brittonic, the ancestor of Welsh and, presumably, of its kindred language in the north. To the latter he gave the name Cumbric, a choice that reminds us of the affinity between this northern language and Cymraeg, Welsh, as well as of its particular historical association with the territory and kingdom that emerged into history in the second half of the tenth century as *Cumberland* or *Cumbria*.²

So far, so good. It evidently followed from Jackson's formulation that the language in the area with which this paper is concerned, from the Forth and Loch Lomond south to Hadrian's Wall and the parts immediately south of its western extent, was in the seventh and eighth centuries a form of West Brittonic, evolving thereafter into Cumbric. The assumption that the latter was

¹ This paper has benefited greatly from meticulous constructive criticism and helpful suggestions from Dr Oliver Padel and Dr Simon Taylor. The opinions it puts forward and any errors or confusion it still contains are however entirely those of its author.

² Though 'Cumbric' carries the risk of identifying a linguistic community with a political entity. It must be emphasised from the outset that no necessary correlation can be assumed between, on the one hand, the territories of the kingdoms of Alclud, Strathclyde and Cumbria (none of whose extent and boundaries can in the view of the present writer be defined at any date without resort to very speculative guesswork), and, on the other, the areas in which the Cumbric language or its predecessor(s) were current at any given date. Similar caveats, as I shall argue, apply to the use of 'Pictish'. See below in this section, and in the Conclusion. Note that, for the purposes of this study 'Cumbria' comprises the historic county of Cumberland, along with Westmorland north of Shap Fell (the Barony of Westmorland), but not the southern part of Westmorland (the Barony of Kendal) or Lancashire-over-Sands, which are included in the post 1974 county of Cumbria.

a language closely akin to Old Welsh has scarcely been questioned by historical linguists or place-name scholars since Jackson's monumental publication.³

However, Jackson himself quickly complicated the picture with his contribution to Wainwright's symposium, *The Problem of the Picts* (1955). His seminal article (in the true sense of that over-used adjective) reviewed the evidence for the language spoken during the first millennium, especially the fifth to ninth centuries, in those parts of eastern Scotland north of the Firth of Forth associated with historically evidenced kingdoms and archaeologically identifiable material cultures that can properly be called Pictish. On the basis of personal names recorded in historical and epigraphic sources and a brief though insightful discussion of place-names, he argued that the Pictish language was Celtic, and P- rather than Q-Celtic, but that it differed in certain significant respects from the Brittonic he had analysed in such detail in *Language and History* – in particular (and this was crucial to his case) in respect of certain phonological features, where divergences between early Brittonic (British) and the ancestor of Pictish must (according to the chronology painstakingly worked out in that work) have arisen at a very early date, possibly soon after the P/Q differentiation, and more definitely by the third century AD.⁴ Because of this, he proposed a new, second branch of insular P-Celtic as the ancestor of Pictish, giving it the name Pritenic, based on the ethnonym **Priteni*, ancestor of Welsh *Prydyn* 'the Picts, Pictland', which he saw as a northern variant of **Pretani*, the ancestor of Welsh *Prydain* 'Britain'.⁵

This was a very important step forward, but there were some unfortunate consequences. Firstly, it is regrettable that Jackson never developed his case in any more substantial publication. As he wrote himself (1955, 149) 'Such *in brief* are the five classes of evidence ...' (my italics); he never returned to examine the evidence any more fully.⁶ The crucial phonological features are summarised and discussed in five and a half pages of notes appended to the paper, and these remain fundamental to any consideration of the issues, but,

³ Padel 2013, 120–21.

⁴ A view endorsed by Koch 1982–83, 214. See below under P-Celtic Long Vowels and Celtic Single *s* and Sibilant groups.

⁵ Jackson 1955, 158–60. The relationship between **Pretani* and *Britanni* is however a problem that Jackson dismisses rather lightly.

⁶ With regard to the place-name evidence, Jackson 1953 examined that for northernmost England in some detail, it being the main basis for his conclusions regarding Cumbric, though his view of the historical context for that language was greatly elaborated in Jackson 1963. In 1955, apart from his discussion of *pett* (146–48), his treatment of toponymy is limited to a single paragraph (148–49); although he references Watson 1926 chapters XI and XII, he does not examine any of the relevant names cited in those chapters and does not engage with any phonological issues arising from the records of those names.

even allowing for the relative paucity of evidence, they hardly compare with the 435 pages of meticulously detailed analysis of the phonology of Brittonic (including Cumbric) in Part II of *Language and History*.

Secondly, he raised in the article the question of a possible non-Celtic, even non-Indo-European, language, or at least some ceremonial register, being in use among the Picts. This has received a good deal of scholarly attention in the past 60 years, but it has contributed nothing to our understanding of P-Celtic Pictish and hardly anything to the interpretation of place-names, even in the Pictish heartland.⁷

Thirdly, he left us with a linguistic map of the north on which Pritenic evolving into Pictish was current north of the Forth, West Brittonic evolving into Cumbric to the south (Jackson 1955, 130). Taken literally (as it frequently is), it implies that the P-Celtic of Lothian had more in common with that of Dyfed than it did with that of Fife.⁸ We can be sure that Jackson did not intend such an absurd inference, but again he never returned to clarify or examine in more nuanced detail what followed from his proposals, nor has it been much questioned by historical linguists since.

A fourth, conceptual and terminological, problem complicates this geographical awkwardness. Although Jackson demonstrated that the variant of P-Celtic he named 'Pritenic', evolving into Pictish, probably diverged from Brittonic at an early date, he omitted to propose any generic name for this variant to correspond with the umbrella term 'Brittonic'. In treating of P-Celtic in the rest of Britain in *Language and History*, he used the term 'British' to refer to the more-or-less homogeneous language prior to the sixth century, after which time it began to evolve into Breton, Cornish, Welsh and Cumbric, but he also used 'Brittonic' as a generic term for insular P-Celtic (at least south of the Forth), represented by British and all its successor tongues. His use of 'Pritenic' in the final sentence of his 1955 paper seems *prima facie* to correspond to his use of 'British', implying a specific language directly ancestral to Pictish prior to the sixth century. Yet the case he has presented implies that the differentiation between this northern variant of P-Celtic and Brittonic began a

⁷ See Isaac 2005 on the possibility of some non-Indo-European language surviving in the far north into the first millennium, as a quite separate language from the P-Celtic of the Picts. Other considerations of the question have concentrated on the possible epigraphic evidence.

⁸ As I have pointed out previously, James 2009a, 142, and see above, footnote 2. The danger of identifying linguistic with political boundaries (and of assuming we can be at all sure where either lay) must be emphasised. The difficulties it may give rise to are exemplified on the one hand by Taylor's assertion that it is 'not a problem' to assume that the P-Celtic of Lanarkshire was British (2011, 68: the name Lanark itself is not without problems, see Lenition and Spirantisation, below), and on the other by his wrestling with the liminal linguistic identity of Clackmannanshire (*ibid.*, 68–70).

great deal earlier. If so, it cannot be assumed that subsequent developments in the northern variant occurred in lock-step with those in the south. Again, he does not suggest that any dialectal subdivisions arose in the north comparable to those from the sixth century onwards in Brittonic, though given the size and topography of the country north of the Forth and Loch Lomond, the linguistic homogeneity he implied, and subsequent scholars have assumed, is surely questionable. His last-moment introduction of the term 'Pritenic' seems to beg a great many questions and gives rise to more confusion than clarity.⁹

Moreover, Jackson implies a direct genetic and cultural, as well as linguistic, correspondence between the people referred to as *Priteni* and the *Picti*.¹⁰ In the absence of adequate evidence we cannot assume that all of the people living north of the Forth in the first half of the first millennium, and who are (by Jackson's definition) to be numbered with the *Priteni*, spoke a language directly ancestral to Pictish, nor should we assume that the features Jackson identified as distinctive, which would have emerged as different from Brittonic before the sixth century, were uniquely peculiar to 'ancestral Pictish'. We have to allow for the possibility that some or all of these features occurred more widely in the P-Celtic of the northern Britain, even south of the Forth, and Jackson himself may have had in mind a more widespread language or range of dialects of which Pictish is the sole descendant for which we have significant evidence.

Indeed, considering Jackson's statement in the context of all that has gone before, he may actually have intended us to understand 'Pritenic' as a *generic* term for all manifestations of this set of linguistic variants at any date, corresponding to his use of its sister-word 'Brittonic'. Such a concept, and a name for it, are certainly required if we are to move beyond the misleading simplicity of 'Pictish to the north, Cumbric to the south', and of 'British and Pritenic before the sixth century, Neo-Brittonic (becoming Cumbric, Welsh, Cornish and Breton) and Pictish thereafter.' But such a generic term needs to be used within a conceptual

⁹ In a note added to the 1980 reprint of the 1955 publication (175–76), he further complicated matters. After noting developments in the archaeology of late prehistoric Scotland between 1955 and 1980, and expressing (justified) scepticism regarding some interpretations of the findings, he declared, 'All the same, the archaeological picture of early Scotland ... is somewhat less clear than it appeared to be in 1953 ... and the question whether the Pritenic of Pictland was merely a northern dialect of the Pritanic/ Brittonic spoken further south, or a less closely-related Gallo-Brittonic one, had best be left open at present.' He gave no linguistic reason for this apparent change of view.

¹⁰ As the previous note indicates, Jackson was influenced by the archaeological opinions of his time, with their assumptions of a simple relationship between genetic continuity, material culture, ethnicity and language. Chadwick 1949, in particular, is an important key to Jackson's assumptions about the Picts (I am grateful to Dr. Padel for pointing this out, and for sight of his draft contribution to a forthcoming publication on Chadwick edited by M. Lapidge); see also Forsyth 2000.

framework that avoids any prior assumptions as to whether this set of variants constituted a language or dialect, or what its geographical boundaries may have been. Unless and until convincing boundaries can be drawn on purely linguistic evidence, we should not erect them on the basis of assumptions derived from the very fragmentary archaeological and historical evidence. I shall return to this question of terminology, but first I need to review how the issues that it entails have been addressed by others since the publication of Jackson's paper.

Leaving aside those who pursued the quarry of non-Celtic Pictish, subsequent scholars have paid rather little attention to Jackson's phonological case. The main exception is Koch's discussion in the course of a major article (1982–83) in which he argued that the cascade of Brittonic sound changes that Jackson dated to the late fifth to sixth centuries must have been well under way a good deal earlier. With regard to P-Celtic in the north, Koch largely endorsed Jackson's findings, though with some reservations and modifications concerning points of detail.

More widely influential than Koch's has been the work of Nicolaisen, who took up Jackson's brief observations regarding P-Celtic place-name elements to be found in the Pictish territories and developed the case for a Pictish toponymic vocabulary (1996, 2001 ch. 8, 2007). This line of enquiry has been taken further by Taylor (2011), paying particular attention to the distinction between elements that were demonstrably used by Pictish speakers to form diagnostically P-Celtic place-names and ones that were adopted by Gaelic speakers and used in forming names which must properly be regarded as Gaelic.¹¹ Nicolaisen however noted that nearly all the elements he had identified as Pictish also occur in place-names south of the Forth, a point examined the present writer in 2009 and fully demonstrated in the comprehensive gazetteer accompanying Taylor 2011.¹² It was on the basis of this toponymic observation that Nicolaisen

¹¹ Though, as he points out (2011, 72), where words of Pictish origin were apparently used by Gaelic speakers only as place-naming elements, it is impossible to be sure whether names involving such elements were Gaelic formations or partly-gaelicised Pictish names, or, indeed, one may add, whether the Gaelic speakers necessarily understood the meanings of such words, e.g. **carden* in the several Kincardines (see under Lenition and Spirantisation and note 247, below). Likewise, names formed with elements which would have been homonyms in Pictish and Gaelic could be from either language (*ibid.*, 73–74).

¹² The distinctive form **cuper* 'confluence', is peculiar to a limited region in southern Pictland (Taylor 2010, 283, 2011, 84, 2012, 347), but see below under Early Celtic Short Vowels, with note 101, for Cumbric **cumber*. Like **carden* in the preceding note, **gronn* 'bog' and **pett* 'portion of land' are more common in the north-east, having been adopted into Gaelic and apparently used there in some distinctive senses in the post-Pictish period, but **carden* occurs south of the Forth in one or two probable P-Celtic formations (see note 247), **gronn* once and **pett* twice in Gaelic-adopted forms (Taylor 2011, 77–80, 101–04 and 2012, 217–25, 321–22, 392–94; see also James 2009a, 150–54).

expressed the view (2001, 219) that ‘Pictish, although not simply a northern extension of British (or Cumbric), should rather be called a dialect of Northern Brittonic¹³ or of Brittonic in general and not a separate language’, and this view has tended to prevail over the past 40 years, so we have, for example, Woolf (2007, xiv) using the phrase ‘Pictish British’, presumably implying that Pictish is a species of British or Brittonic.

But it is important to note that Nicolaisen neither paid attention to Jackson’s phonological argument for the distinctiveness of Pictish, nor did he deploy Jackson’s concept of Pritenic as a hypothetical ancestral form.¹⁴ Now the question whether Pictish was a dialect or a language may well be in the realm of angels dancing on pinheads, though if, as has been said,¹⁵ ‘a language is a dialect with an army’, Pictish was indubitably a language in the seventh to ninth centuries.¹⁶ But however we may define it, it is important not to lose sight of Jackson’s *prima facie* case, that there was a phonologically variant form of P-Celtic, or at least a significant cluster of phonological variants, current in northern Britain from an early date. If, as Nicolaisen, Taylor and the present writer have demonstrated, toponymic preferences were fairly similar either side of the Forth,¹⁷ we need to set aside our presuppositions concerning linguistic geography (and certainly any assumptions about their relationship to political geography) and consider how far the evidence for these phonetic peculiarities extend south of that boundary.

Which brings us back to the point that, for the sake of conceptual clarity, we need a generic term to refer, mainly adjectivally, to that group of distinctive phonological features that are abnormal in West Brittonic but occur, according to Jackson, in Pritenic/Pictish, and which may have been shared in the speech of some P-Celtic speakers south of the Forth. To call them ‘Pictish’

¹³ It should be noted that Nicolaisen does not, here or elsewhere, define ‘Northern Brittonic’. For Jackson’s apparent openness to Nicolaisen’s view by 1980, see note 9, above.

¹⁴ With the unfortunate side-effect that the term ‘Pictish’ is now regularly used to refer to the pre-Gaelic or pre-Norse language(s) spoken throughout Scotland north of the Forth, in particular the Highlands and Islands (Western and Northern). P-Celtic they probably were, they might well have shared some of the features of Pictish, or have differed in other ways from Brittonic, but to call them ‘Pictish’ (let alone to refer to the inhabitants as ‘Picts’ and their culture as ‘Pictish’) gives a seriously misleading impression of the amount we can reasonably claim to know on the basis of the very scanty evidence.

¹⁵ By the Yiddish linguist Max Weinreich quoting an anonymous member of a lecture audience, if Wikipedia is to be believed.

¹⁶ As Bede thought, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (hereafter HE) I.1. Taylor 2012, 149, uses a similar geopolitical definition: ‘To the north and east [of the territories presumably ruled from Al Clut] it is called Pictish as opposed to British because it developed into the dominant language of the kingdom of the Picts.’

¹⁷ See note 12, above.

in that geographical context would obviously be misleading; 'Pictish' should be reserved for the P-Celtic of historical Pictland. As I have explained above, Jackson's coinage 'Pritenic' is problematic too: his argument implies a generic concept, but the way he introduced the term has led most readers to infer a specific sense, limited in space and time to what might just as well be called 'proto-Pictish'.¹⁸ To avoid such ambiguity, I shall use 'Northern' as shorthand for 'Northern P-Celtic', without prejudging in any way the possible spatial or temporal distributions of such features. I emphasise that I do not intend to set up 'Northern P-Celtic' as an alternative name for a hypothetical language or dialect, it is only a label for the set of features identified by Jackson 1955, wherever they may be found.

The aim of the present paper is simply to review the evidence for these Northern features in place-names south of the Forth as far as the Cheviots and the western end of Hadrian's Wall, a review which, given the lack of detailed place-name surveys for most of the region can be no more than a preliminary study. It will, as I have indicated, be based on Jackson's account of the phonology of Pictish appended to his paper (1955, 161–66), comparing it with his detailed analysis of the phonology of Brittonic, especially West Brittonic (1953, part II *passim*). Again, as I have observed, the former can only be regarded (as Jackson himself surely intended) as a set of very provisional hypotheses to be tested as further evidence becomes available. And it must be acknowledged from the outset that such records as are currently available in published form, or are likely to come to light in future, all post-date the final extinction of Cumbric (by the third quarter of the twelfth century at the very latest), often by several centuries, and that they reflect the efforts of scribes of varying linguistic background to transcribe names that had already been modified, both at the point of transfer and by subsequent developments within the respective languages, in the usage of both Gaelic and early Scots speakers. Any conclusions must therefore remain very tentative.

Nevertheless, this review may provide some guidance for those researching place-names between the walls, and for others with an interest in the question, on what kind or kinds of P-Celtic they may expect to find exemplified, what linguistic concepts they will need to apply to the toponymic evidence, and how their findings may contribute to a more sophisticated understanding of what was unquestionably a very complex linguistic history.

¹⁸ Jackson, 1955, 160, refers to the *Priteni* as 'the Gallo-Brittonic element among the proto-Picts'.

EARLY CELTIC SHORT VOWELS AND VOWEL AFFECTION

As we consider aspects of the phonetic system or systems of Northern P-Celtic, it is important to bear in mind that the quantity system inherited by early Brittonic (Jackson's 'British') from early Celtic, and substantially from later Indo-European, was radically transformed towards the end of the series of major changes that is assumed to have affected all forms of insular P-Celtic¹⁹ around the middle of the first millennium AD. Jackson dated what he called the New Quantity System to around 600 (1953 §35, 340–44), though Sims-Williams (1990, 250–58), argued that the change was more complex and occurred over a longer time-span, and that it was completed early in the sixth century.²⁰ Whatever the date, it needs to be noted that, so far as Northern P-Celtic is concerned, it is and can only be an assumption. Whether the change occurred at the same time throughout the island, with identical consequences in all areas and linguistic varieties, is a question that cannot be answered on the basis of the scanty evidence. In any case, in the discussion that follows, our starting point will be the early Celtic/British quantity system that preceded this development, although changes (especially in the vowel systems) initiated before the New Quantity System continued to affect phonemes modified by that change.

A significant distinction which Jackson noted between West Brittonic and Northern P-Celtic (1955, 161) is the absence of final *i*-affection from the latter. For example, early Celtic *-uCj-* became *-üC* in late British (late 5th to early 6th century) and *-iC* (probably by the mid 6th),²¹ but this seems not to have occurred in the Northern variant, or, if it did, it occurred later.²²

This is illustrated in forms we find for the important place-name element **brinn*²³ 'hill'. *i*-affected **brinn* is likely to be present in Yeavinger, with Yeavinger Bell NTB,²⁴ and some place-names with *P-* may also reflect

¹⁹ Jackson 1955 makes no explicit reference to the quantity system of Pictish; by implication, he seems to assume that the same development affected P-Celtic north of the Forth.

²⁰ A view now questioned by McCone, who favours a seventh century date, see Padel 2013, 144 n17.

²¹ Jackson 1953 §§155–76, esp. 169, but note that Sims-Williams 1990, 245–47, and 2003, 282–83, argues for a 'considerably earlier' date for final *i*-affection.

²² See Koch 1982–83, 216.

²³ IE **bhreu-* + *-s-* > eCelt **brus-* + *-njo-* > Br **brunnjo-lā-* > OW (*Book of Llandaf*) *brinn* > MW *brynn* > W *bryn*, Corn *bren*, eBret *bren*; Prit **brunn*, **brenn*. See Taylor 2011, 84–85.

²⁴ *Ad Gefrin* (except BL Cotton Tiberius C ii *Ad Gebrin*) HE II.14. Mawer 1920, 221, + *gaßr-* forming a compound 'goat-hill' with soft mutation; less likely as second element would be *-hint* 'path' or the suffix *-in*: see Hope-Taylor 1977, 15. This seems to be mistakenly included as an example of **bren* (see below) by Taylor, 2011, 97.

Brittonic **brinn*, with initial devoicing and in most cases, *-ri-* metathesis, such as Pirn (Stow) MLO,²⁵ Pirn (Innerleithen) PEB,²⁶ Pirnie (Maxton) ROX,²⁷ Pirnie Braes (Pencaitland) ELO,²⁸ Pirnie Lodge (Slamannan) STL,²⁹ *Pryncado* (Stow) MLO,³⁰ Pirntaton (Stow) MLO,³¹ Primrose (Preston) BWK³² and Primrose (Jarrow) DRH,³³ both with Primrose Hills, and Printonan, East and West, (Eccles) BWK,³⁴ though all these might contain **prenn*, of which more anon.³⁵

Although Jackson (1955, 162) rejects *Brun Alban* in *De Situ Albanie* as an error for *Druim*, there may be some evidence for an unaffected form **brunn* alongside **brinn*: Barnweill (Craigie) AYR,³⁶ Burnswark (Hoddom) DMF,³⁷ *Cambrun* (Edinburgh) MLO,³⁸ Trabroun (Gladsmuir) ELO,³⁹ and Trabrown

²⁵ *Pryn* 1463. Nicolaisen 2001, 212, Dixon [1947] 2011, 367.

²⁶ 'Formerly *Pren*', Watson 1926, 351.

²⁷ Watson 1926, 367. This and the next three examples all have a suffix, either *-īg*, or *-ōg* gaelicised as *-aich*, or *-in* or plural *-öü*. All lack any published records of early forms.

²⁸ Watson 1926, 351.

²⁹ *Purnylodge* on Roy's map, c. 1755. Reid 2009, 31.

³⁰ *Sic* 1474, latest record *Pirncader* 1771 on Armstrong's map; Dixon [1947] 2011, 368. Maybe + *-cadeir* 'chair', but the recorded forms are inconsistent; and see discussion of *cadeir* in BLITON.

³¹ *Prenatoune* 1479. Dixon [1947] 2011, 368–69. *-tī[y]* 'cottage, outbuilding', + Scots *-toun*.

³² Watson 1926, 351.

³³ No published record of early forms. Both Primroses may be + *-rōs*, in these cases meaning 'high ground, upland pasture'. However, early forms are lacking, and Primrose (Dunfermline) FIF, with consistent records beginning with *Primros* 1150 × 52, raises doubts, they may be places where primroses flourished; see Taylor 2006, 357. Note also that Primrose MLO, = Carrington, is from the family name of the Earls of Rosebery (Dixon [1947] 2011, 111), originating from Primrose in Dunfermline; they also had landholdings in BWK, Primrose there might be a similarly transferred name.

³⁴ *Primtanno* Blaeu, *Prentonon* Retours. Watson 1926, 351. ? *-*tonnen* 'unbroken land' or 'leyland, grass pasture'.

³⁵ Pirniehall (Kilmarnock) DNB lacks any published reference in toponymic literature and may well contain an adjective from Scots *pirn* 'bobbin', which, in combination with Scots *hall*, would form a humorous place-name referring to a weaver's house. There is another Pirniehall in the parish of Roxburgh ROX (Simon Taylor, pers. comm.).

³⁶ *Berenbouell* c. 1161 × 77, *Burnwele* 1441. Taylor 2011, 84 and n36. Both Scots *burn* 'stream' and 'barn' are likely to have influenced it; see note 54, below.

³⁷ *Burniswerk Hill* 1541. Neilson 1909, at 39 n6, Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 54–55, s.n. Birrenswark [+ OE *-weorc* > 'work']; see Halloran 2005 and 2010, implying an originally simplex **Brunn*, interpreted by Northumbrian OE speakers as a personal name. The fraught question of the location of *Brunanburh* need not detain us here.

³⁸ *Sic* 1264 × 88; *Cameron* or similar frequently 1475–661; Dixon [1947] 2011, 290, and see Taylor 2011, 84.

³⁹ Watson 1926, 359–60, giving no early forms.

(Lauder) BWK.⁴⁰ A difficulty with these is that, rather than **brīnn*, they might involve its cognate *bron* ‘breast’, topographically ‘hill’.⁴¹

Moreover, Jackson also observed (1955, 161) that ‘[i]t seems that *u* had a certain tendency to become *e* or *i* ... [a]ll this may mean that *u* was sometimes advanced and lowered to some sort of *e* or unrounded *ö*-sound,⁴² or advanced to a kind of *ü* ... it occurs in monosyllables and in final and non-final syllables.’ He considered that this was a late development in Pictish, as *u* is found in personal names in the Irish sources which may reflect earlier (6th–7th century) Pictish. However, Koch (1983, 216) notes *kon* for *kun* even in Ptolemaic place-names, perhaps implying a still rounded but centralised vowel [ø], and such a sound may be represented by *o* in *Iodeo* in XCIX/B24 in *Canu Aneirin*, corresponding to Bede’s *Giudi* [*Urbs*] HE I.12.⁴³ The form **bren*[*n*] which seems to have been widespread in Pictland (Taylor 2011, 84–85) is presumably from **brunn*, reflecting this *u* > *e* tendency.⁴⁴

Names in our region where **bren*[*n*] may be evidenced might begin with the region (eventually, kingdom) name *Bernicia*. Jackson (1953, 701–05) derived this from **bern* (presumably feminine, cf. the Goidelic cognates), an otherwise unrecorded P-Celtic cognate of Middle Irish *bern* > *beárna*, also *bearn* in place-names, ‘gap, breach or chasm’; in Goidelic place-names, the reference is generally to a narrow pass or defile.⁴⁵ For *Bernicia* he proposed this cognate with a suffix *-accjā-*, implying an ethnic name **Bern-acci-*.⁴⁶ He says (1953, 705) “‘The land of mountain passes’ ... is a very good description of the

⁴⁰ *Treuerbrun* c. 1170. Watson 1926, 359. The formation with **trev-ir-* is likely to be a late, Cumbric one, see James 2011, 74–75.

⁴¹ *Bronn* is another derivative of IE **bhreu-* ‘swell’, see note 23, above; Padel 1985, 31 and 32, observes confusion in Cornish place-names between Cornish **bren* and *bron* ‘breast’, and at *ibid.*, 33, lists Trebrown (x2) CNW under *bron*, and Taylor 2011, 84, suggests that the OIr cognate of *bron*, *brú*, could have similarly influenced *brīnn*/*bren*. See also note 44, below.

⁴² By ‘an unrounded *ö*-sound’ Jackson presumably meant a central vowel on the same level as [e] and [o], i.e. [ɘ]. It might be worth considering whether the form *-guist* in Pictish personal names, which Jackson (1955, 166) sees as a morphological peculiarity (see Morphology, below), may reflect a fronted *-ü* in a context where the presence or absence of *i*-affection would not be a relevant consideration.

⁴³ See the note on this *awdl*, B² 27 in his numbering, in Koch 1997, and cf. *Deor* for *Deur* and other instances in personal names and other words in *Canu Aneirin*, though (as Dr Padel has kindly pointed out to me) we find this and related phonemes spelt with *o* rather than *u* elsewhere in Old Welsh with no northern connections (Jackson 1953, §67 (6), 419–21).

⁴⁴ Though it must be noted that *e* does occur well to the south in England, notably at Malvern WOR (with metathesised **brenn*); see also note 41, above.

⁴⁵ Scottish Gaelic *beárn*, Manx *baarne*, see Watson 1926, 123, and McKay 1999, 20 and 149.

⁴⁶ On *-cc-* in the suffix see below under Lenition and Spirantisation.

Pennines', but the early heartland of Anglian *Bernicia* seems to have lain chiefly north-east of the Pennines, straddling the Cheviots, and it is in any case a matter of opinion whether either the North Pennines or the Cheviots are 'lands of mountain passes'; narrow gaps typical of Goidelic *bearnai/bearnan* are rare in both ranges.⁴⁷ Breeze (2009) argues on the basis of Middle Irish and Gaelic literary uses that *bern* could have referred to a vulnerable gap in a battle-line, and that the **Bern-acci-* could have been warriors who prided themselves on forcing or exploiting such breaches, though surely their enemies would have taken the warning not to present such opportunities! All of which suggests that a metathesised form of **bren[n]* may merit consideration.

**Bren[n]* is probably the generic in Knorren Beck and Fell CMB,⁴⁸ probably an early compound form, and may be the specific in *Roderbren* (Tarbolton) AYR.⁴⁹ Barnego (Tarbolton) AYR is on record as *Brenego*,⁵⁰ and other names beginning 'Barn-' may have originated with metathesised **bernn* gaelicised to **bàrr an* or *bàrr na-*, or have been influenced by Scots/English 'barn': examples include Barnaer (Old Luce) WIG,⁵¹ Barnbogle (Dalmeny) WLO,⁵² Barncluth (Hamilton) LAN⁵³ and Barnweill (Craigie) AYR.⁵⁴

With initial devoicing, common in southern Scotland as well as in Pictland,

⁴⁷ The only one I know of that might possibly qualify is the Hartside Pass CMB, between Alston in South Tynedale and Melmerby in the Eden Valley. Several high passes in the Lake District are, by contrast, impressive narrow gaps.

⁴⁸ *Knauren* c. 1195. Ekwall 1928, 231–32, Armstrong et al. 1950, 19. + **cnou-* 'nuts, nut-trees', forming a compound with soft mutation. Cf. possibly Noran (or Noren) Bank WML (Patterdale) Smith 1967, II.226 (I am grateful to Mr A. Walker for bringing this to my attention).

⁴⁹ *Sic* 1177 × 1204. For the first element, see note 143, below. As a name phrase with the definite article *-ir-* it is probably a formation of the Cumbric period (James 2011, 74–75). Nicolaisen (2001, 213) counts the specific as a feminine **prens*, see below, but scribal *e* for *i* cannot be ruled out.

⁵⁰ *Sic* 1177 × 1204. Nicolaisen 2001, 213, again treats this as **prens*; again the same scribe may have substituted *e* for *i*, though the later *-ar-* favours *-er-*. The specific, again with definite article, is **i gov* 'of the smith'.

⁵¹ *Barnawyr* Blaeu. Maxwell 1930, 27: the specific might be an ancient watercourse name from a root **ag-* 'move forcefully, drive', + *-r-*; see Jackson 1953 §75, 440–44, on the possibility of **ajr* > **awir*; but alternatively this may be Scottish Gaelic **barr an àir* 'the hill of slaughter', or with a verbal noun from the homophone *àr* 'plough'.

⁵² *Barnebugale* 1361 × 62. A. Macdonald 1941, 4–5, and note Padel's comment (1985, 34) favouring **brens* here; the specific is **büge:l* 'herdsman'.

⁵³ Watson 1926, 352, counting it as **prens*, see below; the specific is the river name Clyde.

⁵⁴ *Berenbouell* 1177 × 1204. Nicolaisen 2001, 213, counts it as **prens*, see below, and Taylor 2011, 84 and n36; see also note 36, above. The specific is either **büge:l* 'herdsman' as in Barnbogle, or **büval* 'feral ox', see Breeze 2006a, and note 86, below.

**bren[n]* would become **pren[n]*, falling together with **prenn* ‘tree, timber’.⁵⁵ Names that are relatively well-documented show fair consistency in their early forms, at least insofar as *P-/B-* are distinguished, though the evidence is often sparse and late. If we are dealing with a regional dialectal feature, such variation between, but standardisation within, the forms of individual names would not be unexpected. I have listed above some names with *Prin-* or *Pirn-*: even these could have been formed with **prenn* rather than **brinn*. Those that may reflect Northern **brenn* include Plenderleith (Oxnam) ROX,⁵⁶ Prendwick NTB,⁵⁷ *Prenteineth* (Loudon) AYR,⁵⁸ and Traprain (East Linton) ELO.⁵⁹

Another element which may show alternation between Brittonic *i*-affected and the Northern unaffected form of *e* is **mig*/**meg* ‘bog, marsh or boggy stream’.⁶⁰ However, we should note an apparently *i*-affected form at Migdale RNF (Kilmacolm),⁶¹ and we do not find any forms reflecting **mug*, only the

⁵⁵ See Taylor 2011, 96–97.

⁵⁶ *Prendrelath* 1296. J. S. M. Macdonald 1991, 31 + **trev-* ‘farm’ [+ ON *-hlaða* ‘barn’]: Macdonald favours *bryn* here: ‘Roxburgh dialect occasionally substitutes “p” for “b”. The interpretation is supported by the topography’, loc. cit.

⁵⁷ *Prenderwyk* 1256. Mawer 1920, 160. + *-trev-* is possible, but other recorded forms do not support this. + OE *-wīc* ‘homestead, hamlet, specialised farm’ added in a secondary formation.

⁵⁸ *Sic* 1179 × 89. Watson 1926, 204 n1 and 352. ? + an ancient stream name of the **tā-n*-family, **Tanad* (cf. R. Tanat MTG/DEN), perhaps influenced by ScG *teineadh* ‘fiery’. Watson *ibid.*, 352, seems to see this as a Gaelic formation, with *prenn* adopted into local Gaelic, but the meaning would presumably have been opaque, otherwise it would have been replaced with *crann*.

⁵⁹ *Trepren* 1335. + **trev-*. *Brīn[n]* would be topographically appropriate, but early forms favour *-prenn*. A compound formation with **trev-* as specifier is unlikely, especially as there is no trace of lenition. This seems to be the only case where *-prenn* is the second element, but cf. *Roderbren*, above.

⁶⁰ The Indo-European root seems to be *(s)*meug*/*k-* ‘slip, slippery’, which would have led to an early P-Celtic long vowel *o:*, and the issue is complicated by Welsh *mign*. GPC treats *mig* as an elided form of *mign*, but the regular occurrence of **mig*/**meg* in the north suggests a zero-grade, short vowel, form **mug-* with a suffix causing *i*-affection in Brittonic, **muc-jā*. This, rather than an exceptional stress shift, might have influenced the development of late Br **mūcīnā-* > **mūgen* > **mīyn* instead of > ***mōgen* > ***mī:gen*. Place-names in southern Scotland that might possibly contain **mīyn* can only be distinguished from ScG *min* ‘level plain, field’ if the location is conspicuously boggy, if then; Mennoch Water (Sanquhar) DMF, Mossminning (Lesmahagow) LAN and Barmeen (Kirkcowan) WIG are possible cases (but Mennoch, *Minnoch* 1660, could well be ScG *mèineach* ‘abounding in ore or mines’, as suggested by Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 116).

⁶¹ Along with several Mig-names north of the Forth, even another Migdale in SUT: Taylor 2011, 89.

Northern modified form **meg*.⁶² South of the Forth this occurs in water-related names: Meggs Myre (Slamannan) STG,⁶³ Meggats Wheel (Falkirk) STL,⁶⁴ Meggat Water, with Megdale (Westerkirk), DMF,⁶⁵ and Megget Water SLK (to St Mary's Loch).⁶⁶ On the other hand, Brittonic i-affection of *a* is shown in the river name *Glein* in *Historia Brittonum* 56 < **Glanjo-*; this Arthurian battle-site is sometimes identified as the R. Glen NTB, Bede's *fluuius Gleni* HE II.14 (Jackson 1953 §161, 589⁶⁷).

In **pebil* < **papiljo-*, 'tent, bothy', later used collectively for '(the usual site of a) camp, shieling etc.',⁶⁸ we may see either what Jackson terms 'double affection' (1953 §164, 591–92), final i-affection of *a* in the first syllable via the *i* of the penultimate, or internal i-affection, which, as he shows, was a separate development occurring in proto-Welsh in the seventh century (1953 §§170–76, 604–18, cf. Sims-Williams 2003, ‡57, 184–90). He does not mention absence of internal affection as a Pictish feature. Affected *a* > *ei* (or, by internal i-affection, *e*) is seen in **pe[i]bil*, which is likely to underlie Peebles,⁶⁹ Pibble, with Pibble Hill, (Kirkmabreck) KCB,⁷⁰ Dalfibble (Kirkmichael) DMF⁷¹ and

⁶² But note also **mēg-*, a falling-together in Celtic of two Indo-European roots **h₃meigh-* and **h₃meigh-*, meaning respectively 'drizzle, mist' and 'urinate', which could have given Pritenic **mēg*, see Jackson 1955, 161.

⁶³ *Meggs Mayre* 1684. Reid 2009, 41. + ON *mýrr* > 'mire'.

⁶⁴ *Sic* 1797. *Ibid.*, 40–41. This and the next three have the suffix *-*ed*. 'Wheel' is presumably from a ScG len. gen. sg. *phùil* 'of a pool', see Watson [1904] 2002, 36.

⁶⁵ *Megdale sic* 1376, *Meggat Water Megot* 1542. Watson 1926, 375, Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 134.

⁶⁶ *Megot* 1509. Watson 1926, loc. cit. *Meggetland* (Edinburgh) MLO, Dixon [1947] 2011, 145, might be named from a lost watercourse, but a personal name is more probable.

⁶⁷ See also *ibid.*, §181 at 630, on the form *Glene* in the *OE Bede*. Full records for the name are in Ekwall 1928, 177.

⁶⁸ Lat *pāpiliō* 'butterfly' > VLat *papiliō*, adopted as Br **papiljo-* > MW *pebyll* > W pl. *pebyll*, singularive *pabell*; OIr *pupall* > Ir *puball*, ScG *pubull*. On the meaning see James 2011, 93 and n190. On the implications of the intervocalic *-b-* see *ibid.*, 71–72. For a distribution map, see Barrow 1998, fig. 2.6, 64 (but delete Paphle, which is misplaced in FIF but should be in KNR, and is from Scots *poffell/paffel* etc. 'small piece of land', S. Taylor pers. comm.).

⁶⁹ *Pobles* c. 1124, *Pebles* c. 1126. Watson 1926, 383: (+ Scots plural *-is*): presumably this was a 'camp' or place where a large number of bothies were erected. Given the location and the later importance of the fair here, an ancient seasonal livestock market might well be implied. Nicolaisen's inclusion of this among place-names 'which were originally names of natural features' 2001, 226, is baffling.

⁷⁰ *Pibbil* Blaeu. Maxwell 1930, 223. For objections to Maxwell's suggestion of ScG **pobull*, see James 2011, 72 n89.

⁷¹ Watson 1926, 383. + **dōl* 'water-meadow, haugh', discussed below under P-Celtic Long Vowels.

Mosspebble (Ewes) DMF.⁷² However, if Papple (Garvald) ELO,⁷³ Cairnpapple Hill WLO,⁷⁴ and Foulpapple (Loudon) AYR,⁷⁵ involve **pebil*, the back vowel is unlikely to reflect a singulative form⁷⁶ and suggests absence of either double or internal i-affection in at least some parts of the north. However, they are not well-documented and either Gaelic or Scots words or phonetic influence can be adduced in alternative etymologies.⁷⁷

Absence of final i-affection might be a consideration in the difficult case of the Nanny Burn NTB (near Bamburgh), if this was **nantjo-* formed on *nant-* 'valley'.⁷⁸ However, if it was **nantjōn-*, its adoption from Brittonic into Old English could have been in the earliest phase of Northumbrian settlement during the 6th century, later than Old English i-mutation,⁷⁹ but earlier than West Brittonic internal i-affection. Alongside it, we should note the distinctively northern, though not specifically Pictish, occurrence of *nent* in stream names. These again raise the possibility of a northern Brittonic hydronym **nantjo-* or **nantjōn-*, or alternatively *nent* might in some cases preserve an i-affected nominative plural form.⁸⁰ They include, beside the River Nent CMB (also a settlement name in Alston parish),⁸¹ Enterkin Pass (Durisdeer) DMF and Enterkine (Tarbolton) AYR,⁸² *Nenthemenu* (Upper

⁷² *Mospebil* 1506. Watson 1926, 378, Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 42. + *meyes-* 'open land', later 'field'. A sheiling is likely here.

⁷³ Not a hill-top site, so perhaps another gathering/trading place.

⁷⁴ *Kerneppapple* 1619. A. Macdonald 1941, 3, Wilkinson 1992, 17–18, or else an OE 'inversion compound' with adopted *carn-* + **papol* 'pebble'.

⁷⁵ A similar form might also underlie Pauples Hill (Penninghame) WIG, Maxwell 1930, 222, and see MacQueen 2008, 17. + Scots plural *-is*, probably 'sheilings' here.

⁷⁶ The MW plural was *pebylleu* < **pebilōu* (+ *-ōū*, see Evans 1964 §30c, 29–30), but *pebyll* was apparently used collectively, 'camp', becoming plural in Modern Welsh, with *pabell* as a reconstructed singulative.

⁷⁷ See James 2011, 72 n86, on the possibility that the *e* was lowered in Scots to *a*.

⁷⁸ *Nauny* 1245. Mawer 1920 s.n., Ekwall 1928, 298. For internal i-affection, see Jackson 1953 §174(2), 612. Note that Coates, in Coates and Breeze 2000, 366, lists this stream name as 'ancient', not Celtic. Cf. R. Nanny in Ireland.

⁷⁹ And assimilation of Brittonic *nt* > *nb*, Jackson 1953 §§107–08, 502–08, and below under Assimilation of Nasal Consonants.

⁸⁰ See Ekwall 1928, 319–20, s.n. Pant. Raising of *-a-* to *-e-* before the dental group *-nt* by English speakers, or reduction to *-ə-* in low stress where **nent* is the generic, are possibilities, but note the 12th c. documentation of *Nenthemenu*, *Sechenent* and *Tranent*, favouring preservation of Cumbric forms, see James 2011, 87–88.

⁸¹ *Sic*, as location name, 1314. Armstrong et al. 1971, 22 (also 175 and 178).

⁸² Both possibly + *-i[r]-* + **can[d]* 'white', **cant* 'boundary', or a stream name of the **cē:n* type, in which case the definite article may be incorrect.

Denton) CMB,⁸³ *Sechenent* CMB (a lost field name in Midgeholme)⁸⁴ and Tranent ELO.⁸⁵

Inflectional *-i* marked the genitive singular and the nominative and accusative plurals in the prolific *-o-* class of masculine nouns, and this caused final *i*-affection in Brittonic, producing distinctive plural forms some of which survive into Modern Welsh. Absence of affection in Northern P-Celtic would presumably have left plurals unmarked, motivating the analogical use of various suffixes, as happened quite widely in the Brittonic languages too. It is hard to be very sure how general *i*-affected plural forms are in place-names between the walls, but evidence for such Brittonic forms might be seen in Barnweill (Craigie) AYR,⁸⁶ Blanyvaird (Penninghame) WIG,⁸⁷ Beith AYR,⁸⁸ *Dercongall* (= Holywood) DMF,⁸⁹ Dalmeny WLO,⁹⁰ Drumelzier PEB,⁹¹ *Dunpender* (= Traprain Law, Prestonkirk) ELO, along with Drumpellier (Old

⁸³ *Sic*, *Lanercost Cartulary* 9 etc. Ekwall 1928, 301. The specifier is the local place-name Temon (Armstrong et al. 1950, 81), maybe originally a stream name with the ancient root **tā-* + *-mayn*, or *din-* 'fort' with the same specifier (Breeze 2006b, 330, proposing **nent-* *-i[r]-* + *-*mīn-* 'bush, scrub', ignores Temon). The final syllable is either the plural suffix *-öü* or ME *-howe* 'height'.

⁸⁴ *Sic*, *Lanercost Cartulary* 189–90 etc. Armstrong et al. 1950, 73, Ekwall 1928, 355, + **sīch-* 'dry'.

⁸⁵ *Trauernent* c.1127. Watson 1926, 360, + **trev-* 'farm'. *-nent* here could be an archaic genitive singular, 'of a valley', see below, or a lost stream name.

⁸⁶ Possibly with **vūveil* the lenited *i*-affected plural of **būval* 'feral ox', + **brīn[n]-* or **prenn-*: see Breeze 2006a, but **bügeil* 'herdsman' is also possible. On the first element, see note 54, above.

⁸⁷ Maxwell 1930, 43 + **blajn-* 'summit, valley-head' + definite article *-i[r]-* + **barð* 'bard', or the plural form **beirð*, gaelicised as *a' bhàird* in the lenited genitive singular.

⁸⁸ A plural form of **bayed* (m.) 'boar'; cf. *kat ygoet beit* (Williams 1968, XI.24) in the *Book of Taliesin*; this has been speculatively identified with either Beith AYR (ibid., 125) or Bathgate WLO (Breeze 2002; on this name see Watson 1926, 342), but it cannot be regarded as reliable evidence for either.

⁸⁹ *Sic* in *Book of Melrose*. Watson 1926, 169. **Dār* normally indicates a single oak-tree, but the specifier here may have been the plural *deri* found in the *Book of Llandaf*.

⁹⁰ *Dunmanyn* 1214. Watson 1926, 104, 354 and 515 n104, Macdonald 1941, 3–4. This is a difficult name, see note 303, below.

⁹¹ Watson 1926, 421: *din/dūn* (see under P-Celtic Long Vowels, below) + *-*medel-wīr* 'reapers', perhaps metaphorically 'warriors', with the plural of *wīr* 'man'.

Monkland) LAN,⁹² the Eildon Hills ROX,⁹³ *Penteiacob* PEB (= Eddleston),⁹⁴ and Penveny (Stobo) PEB,⁹⁵ though most of these lack early documentation and are doubtful.

Aber ‘confluence of a lesser stream with a greater, estuary’⁹⁶ shows what appears to be a distinctive Pictish form, apparently from an Indo-European o-grade variant **bhor*, in the early spelling *Abbordobir* for Aberdour in the *Book of Deer*,⁹⁷ Adomnán’s *Stagnum Apor[i]cum*, presumably Lochaber INV (Watson 1926, 78), and *Aporcrosan* for Applecross Ross in the *Annals of Tighearnach* s.a. 731. *eborcurni*<*c*> for Abercorn WLO in the (inferior) Namur manuscript of Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica* at I.12 is the only hint of such a form on the south of the Forth. On the other hand, Carriber WLO, *Karibyr* 1282,⁹⁸ may contain a plural or a preserved genitive singular of this word; it might perhaps be compared with *Eperpuill* in the 11th century Irish life of St Berach, Aberfoyle PER, though that probably shows Gaelic influence.⁹⁹ If these indicate that the

⁹² *Dunpendyrlaw* ELO Blaeu, *Dunpelder* LAN 1545. Watson 1926, 345, Drummond 1987, 3 and 11: either may be a name transferred from the other. On the generic + *din/dün*, see under P-Celtic Long Vowels, below.

⁹³ *Aeldonam* 1128. J. S. M. Macdonald 1991, 7 and 40. It might include a plural form **eil* of **al*, which Watson 1926, 32–33, saw as a cognate of Old Irish *ail* ‘rock’, alternatively **eil* ‘wattle fence or structure’, but Old English *æled* ‘fire’ or *ælēte* ‘desert, empty place’ (+ OE *-dün* ‘hill’) are also good possibilities.

⁹⁴ Watson 1926, 135, 354: the spelling may indicate a plural of **tī[y]* ‘cottage, hut, outbuilding’, **pen-tei*, with final stress, which might suggest adoption into Northumbrian OE before the Cumbric accent shift (see Jackson 1953 §§206–08, 682–89), but note that the shift may not have immediately affected a transparent compound, the plural ‘in compounds is generally *-tyeu*’, Evans 1964 §30, 27, i.e. + the plural suffix *-öü*. On the dating of this name, see James 2011, 76.

⁹⁵ Watson 1926, 354 + **vejni*, lenited plural of **majn*, see note 303, below. The lenition here implies an early compound formation here, perhaps with an appellative usage, ‘end-stones’, marking the extremity of a boundary, see Higham 1999 at 90–91, or cf. MnW *penfaen* ‘headstone of a grave’. See below for Redmain and *Lanrekereini*.

⁹⁶ IE **h₂ed-*, **bher* > eCelt **ad-*, *bero-* > eBr **adbero-* > lBr **abbero-* > OW (*Book of Llandaf*) *aper* > M-MnW *aber*, ‘no evidence’ for this word in Cornish (Padel 1985, 333), but *aber* in Breton place-names; the nearest Goidelic equivalent is eCelt **eni-bero-* > OIr *in[d]ber* > Ir, ScG *inbhear*, also *inbhir* from the locative-dative or nominative plural form, and Gaelic *i[o]nbhar* from a verbal noun form (Calder 1923, 13, 73, 264) **bhor* (see below), Mx *inver*; cf. Lat *adfero*.

⁹⁷ Watson 1926, 454, 458 and 465, Jackson, 1972, p. 30. See also Koch 1982–83 at 214–16, and Taylor 2011, 83.

⁹⁸ A. Macdonald 1941, 58, + **cair-* ‘defended place’.

⁹⁹ Watson 1926, 225, Koch 1982–83, 217. ScG *eabar* ‘swamp, marsh’ may be involved, at least as an influence. See McNiven 2011, 183.

plural (and maybe genitive singular) form in the P-Celtic of the Forth Valley was **ebir*, it shows Brittonic double i-affection of **ad-beri-*, not of **-bori-*.

The related **cumber* is also ‘confluence’,¹⁰⁰ the semantic base and possible religious associations being similar to those of *aber*, the only distinction might be that *con-* was used where the two watercourses were more or less equal in size. The Pictish form of this element **cuper* (apparently restricted to Angus, east Perthshire and Fife) shows a distinctive development, with loss of nasality and voice, so that *-nb-* > *-pp-* > *-p-*, and preservation of rounding in the vowel of the first syllable.¹⁰¹ A handful of names in the Solway basin show (in their early and modern forms) *-u-* in the first syllable, suggesting a Cumbric **cumber*, higher and more rounded than its Welsh equivalent *cymer* and comparable in that respect to Pictish **cuper*.¹⁰² they include Cummertrees DMF,¹⁰³ Gillcumber Head (Winton) WML,¹⁰⁴ and Longcummercattif (Holme Low) CMB.¹⁰⁵

As to ‘fossilised’ Brittonic genitive singular forms showing final i-affection, they are as rare in name phrases between the walls as elsewhere. Koch 1983¹⁰⁶ lists eight from our region that show no such traces, but possible examples are Tranent ELO¹⁰⁷ and *Lanrekereini* (Dalton) CMB.¹⁰⁸

P-CELTIC LONG VOWELS

Early Celtic *ā* became Brittonic *ō* in the late fifth to early sixth century, and Proto-Welsh *au* in the eighth, and eventually *aw* in stressed monosyllables, otherwise *o*, in Modern Welsh.¹⁰⁹ Jackson suggested that *ā* may have been preserved in

¹⁰⁰ IE **ko[m]-* + *-bher-* > eCelt **con-bero-* > Br **combero-* > OW *cimer* > MW *cymer* (also *cemmer*) > W *cymer*, Corn **kemer*, **camper* (in place-names, Padel 1985, 48), Bret *kember*; Pritenic **cuper*; OIr *combor* > MÍr *commar* > Ir *cumar*, ScG *comar*.

¹⁰¹ See Taylor 2010, 283 anent Cupar, and 2012, 347, also note 12, above.

¹⁰² OW *cimer* > MW *cymer* (also *cemmer*) and comparable to Pictish **cuper*.

¹⁰³ *Cumbertres* 1204 and 1207 favours a Brittonic origin; see Breeze 2005, suggesting + *-tres* ‘strife, tumult’ as a hydronym, but *cōmbrōy* ‘Cumbrians’ might be involved, see note 309, below.

¹⁰⁴ Smith 1967, II 29; see also note 209, below.

¹⁰⁵ Armstrong et al. 1950, 293 + OE *lang-* > ‘long’: see Coates in Coates and Breeze 2000, 283.

¹⁰⁶ Koch argues that such ‘fossils’ may never really occur anywhere, but it is difficult to believe that the specifics are plural in examples like Pentrich DRB (cf. OIr *Cenn Tuirc*, with a definite genitive singular) or Ceinmeirch DEN.

¹⁰⁷ See above, with note 85.

¹⁰⁸ *Lanercost Cartulary* 49 + **lanerc-* ‘an enclosure from former waste’ (see below under *Lenition and Spriantisation* with note 258) + definite article *-i[r]-*? + *-rieini-* ‘young women’ (see below under *Loss of Celtic Final Syllables*, with note 305).

¹⁰⁹ Jackson 1953 §§9–11, 169, cf. Sims-Williams 2003 ‡18, ‡60, and on the dating, *ibid.*, 280–81.

Pictish, but he was doubtful (1955, 161). He discussed **pōr* (m.) ‘pasture’ or ‘cropland’,¹¹⁰ though, as the origin of this word is obscure, we cannot be sure it is an example of Celtic *ā*. He noted (loc. cit.) that this was adopted into Scottish Gaelic as *pòr*, *pùir*, implying Northern, like Brittonic, **pōr*.¹¹¹ However, we might have evidence of unraised and unrounded Northern **pār*¹¹² in four rather mysterious place-names across Lothian and RNF, apparently of identical origin: Pardivan (Whitecraig) ELO,¹¹³ Pardivan (Cranston) MLO,¹¹⁴ Pardovan (Linlithgow) WLO,¹¹⁵ Parduvine (Gorebridge) MLO,¹¹⁶ and *Perdovingishill* (unlocated) RNF.¹¹⁷ In any case, the generic is not certain: this group of names may contain a form related to Welsh *parth*, which is probably from the oblique cases of Latin *pars*, *part-*, presumably meaning ‘portion of land’ in some sense (in Modern Welsh fairly broad: ‘area, district, region’).¹¹⁸ The meaning of the specific is also obscure; the formation may have been an appellative, perhaps a ‘piece of low-lying land’ or ‘land with deep soil’.¹¹⁹

A better-attested element is Brittonic **dōl* (f.) ‘water-meadow, haugh’¹²⁰

¹¹⁰ ?Br **paro-*, or Latin *pars*, > OW(*Book of Llandaf*) *-paur* (verb), *pory* (verb) > M-MnW *pawr* (also *parlas*, *porfa*), *pori[o]* (verb) etc.), Corn **peur* (possibly in place-names, Padel 1985, 184), Bret *peur*; adopted from Pritenic into Gaelic as *pòr*, *pùir* (see Jackson loc. cit.). In the Brittonic languages, these words refer to ‘pasture, grazing land’, but Gaelic *pòr* means ‘seeds, grain, crops’, so Jackson (1972, 44, 68–69) considers that the Pictish word meant ‘cropland’.

¹¹¹ See also Taylor 2011, 105.

¹¹² Possibly showing the shortening in pretonic syllables suggested by Jackson in a note appended to the 1980 reprint of Jackson 1955, 176.

¹¹³ *Pardauarneburne* 1144. Watson 1926, discussing this group, 372–73.

¹¹⁴ *Sic* 1773. Dixon [1947] 2011, 112, not mentioned by Watson 1926.

¹¹⁵ *Parduvin* 1124, *Purdewyn* 1296. A. Macdonald 1941, 62.

¹¹⁶ *Pardivin* 1773. Dixon [1947] 2011, 112.

¹¹⁷ *Perdovingishill* 1478. Watson 1926, 372.

¹¹⁸ Lat *part-* (oblique forms of *pars*, or possibly a cognate early Celtic root) adopted as Br **parto-* > OW *pard*, *part*, *parth* > M-MnW *parth*; OCorn *-bard*, *-barb* (in compounds), OBret *parth* > MBret *parz* (but also MBret *perz* > Bret *perzh*); OIr *-cert* (in *descert* ‘southern part’, see DIL s.n.), also adopted from Britt as MIr *pairt* > Ir *páirt*, ScG *pàirt*, Mx *paart*. See Jackson 1953 §148, 570–71, §150, 572–73, Falileyev 2000, 127, and Taylor 2010, 256–57 on Parbroath (Creich) FIF (misplaced by Watson 1926, 373, in Forfarshire = ANG). Gaelic *pòr* occurs frequently as a name-phrase specific north of the Forth, but apparently never as generic, see Taylor 2012, 473, reinforcing the case for *parth* here.

¹¹⁹ See Wilkinson 2002 at 140 n7.

¹²⁰ The root IE **dholh*_a > eCelt **dālā-* is associated with concavity, in place-names generally ‘valley’. However, it seems to have fallen out of use in SW Brittonic and to have survived only in West Brittonic, with the above meaning, and apparently in Northern P-Celtic; see GPC s.n., Armstrong et al. 1950, 55, Taylor 2012, 355. There may however have been semantic influence from the cognate ON *dalr* > ME *dale* ‘valley’ on usage in the North, complicated by the Scots homonym *dale* ‘portion of land’ < OE *dāl*, and its Goidelic cognate *dāl* ‘division (usually of people – sept or tribe)’ which falls together with *dail* in oblique forms (see Taylor

Dól is very common in Wales as generic or specifier, the number of individual names containing this element in Archif Melville Richards amounting to several hundreds. The word was apparently adopted from Brittonic and/or Northern P-Celtic as early Gaelic *dol*, *dal* > *dail*, so the Northern form may have been **dāl*.¹²¹ Between the walls, this element is almost invariably Dal- (*Dollerline* (Askerton) CMB¹²² being the only exception), which could reflect Northern **dāl*, though in most cases a wholly Gaelic etymology is possible, and, even where the specific is Brittonic, the generic may have been influenced by Gaelic or Northern English/Scots. Possible examples include: Dalavan Bay (Kirkmabreck) KCB,¹²³ *Dalewascumin* (Denton) CMB,¹²⁴ Dalfibble (Kirkmichael) DMF,¹²⁵ Dalgarnock (Closeburn) DMF,¹²⁶ Dalgleish (Ettrick) SLK and Dalgliesh, Nether, (Maybole) AYR,¹²⁷ Dalkeith MLO,¹²⁸ Dalleagles

2012, 349). Note that Watson frequently uses ‘dale’ for Gaelic *dail*, though he points out that the geographical distributions of ON *dabr* and Gaelic *dail* are more or less exclusive (1926, 415), so adoption of the P-Celtic word is more likely. In the Solway region, **dōl*, *dail* and *dābr* did co-exist, but the Celtic words are of course more likely to be in first position as name-phrase generics, the Scandinavian (or Middle English/Scots) in final position. Gaelic *dail* is also common in Ayrshire and Galloway and occurs throughout southern Scotland (Watson 1926, 414), usually with Gaelic specifiers, but in few cases a gaelicised form of a former Brittonic name may be suspected: see, for example, Dalgleish, below.

¹²¹ Cf. Jackson 1955, loc. cit., and see idem 1953 §9, 290–92, also the etymological discussion in Rivet and Smith 1979 at 340. For the distribution of **dāl/dail* in Pictland, see Nicolaisen 1996, 26, and Taylor 2011, 85, 88, 103. Of particular interest is the number of names in Pictland formed with Gaelic *dail*- plus a saint’s name (S. Taylor, pers. comm.). This suggests that Northern **dāl* might have been adopted specifically as a term for a piece of church land (again, semantic influence from Scots *dale* ‘portion’, might have been involved, see note 120, above); possible examples in the south are Dalorrens (Ettrick) SLK and *Dalquongale* (= Holywood) DMF, *sic* in the Aberdeen Breviary, but *Dergunngal*, *Darcungal* etc. in *Melrose Liber* (Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 59); see also note 129, below.

¹²² Armstrong et al. 1950, 55 + preposition *-ar-* + river name Lyne.

¹²³ Maxwell 1930, 103 + *-*avon* ‘river’, or else ScG **dail-abhainn*.

¹²⁴ *Sic* in the Lanercost Cartulary, + personal name *-[G]wascolman* ‘devotee of Colmán’ (probably C. of Lindisfarne and Inisbofinn, but see Macquarrie 2012, 336–37).

¹²⁵ Watson 1926, 383. + **pebil* ‘tent, bothy’, see above under Early Celtic Short Vowels. gaelicised to **dail*-leniting *-p-*.

¹²⁶ Watson 1926, 449 + *-*carn-* ‘heap of stones’, or *-*garn-* ‘shank, shin’, + adjectival suffix *-ōg*, or else + ScG *-*gàirneach*; whichever was the case, it was presumably a stream name, cf. R. Garnock AYR.

¹²⁷ Watson 1926, 138. Both + *-*glē:ss* ‘watercourse’, or (as Watson suggests) ScG *glais* ‘grey-green’ perhaps replacing Cumbric *-[g]las*.

¹²⁸ *Dalkeid* c. 1142, *Dolchet* c. 1144. Watson 1926, 382 + *-*cē:d* ‘woodland’ (see under Lention and Spirantisation, below). Dalkeith may have been associated with Keith, the mediaeval forest and barony to the east (*Forrest of Kyth* Blaeu); at least the settlement name could have been influenced by that of the territory; see note 224.

(New Cumnock) AYR,¹²⁹ Dalreagle (Kirkcubbin) WIG,¹³⁰ Dalorrens (Ettrick) SLK,¹³¹ Dalry AYR,¹³² Dalry MLO,¹³³ St John's Town of Dalry KCB¹³⁴ and Dankeith AYR (Symington).¹³⁵ However, among all these, only Dalkeith is sufficiently well-documented from a reasonably early date to allow for much confidence; most could equally well have Gaelic origins.

Descendants of early Celtic **rātis* 'rampart' have a complicated history in P- and Q-Celtic languages. The normal development in Brittonic should be to **rōd*.¹³⁶ None of the instances south of the Forth is unproblematic. As in Argyll, but in contrast to Pictland, ScG *ràth* seems very rare or absent, but names apparently formed with this element show both *a* and *o*. Among those with *a* are Ratho MLO,¹³⁷ and *Penratho* ELO,¹³⁸ with more doubtfully Muckra

¹²⁹ + **egle:s* 'the Church' as an institution (and landholder), or 'church building', or else ScG **dail eaglaise*. A possible relict of an early church estate, see MacQueen 2005 at 169 n13, and James 2009b at 145–46 n32 (suggesting that **dōl-egle:s* might be equivalent to OE **eclēs-halh* 'detached or reserved portion of an ecclesiastical estate', as in Eccleshall STE, Horovitz 2005, 243, and Ecclesall YOW, Smith 1961, I.192) and cf. note 121, above.

¹³⁰ *Derregil* 1499. Maxwell 1930, 103, MacQueen 2008, 22–23: this might be similar in origin to Dallegles, but with the definite article *-ir-*. Maxwell proposes ScG **deargail* 'spot of red or cultivated land', MacQueen **doire-riaghail* 'oakwood of the **Riaghail*, a river name presumably meaning 'straight'.

¹³¹ *Deloraine* 1486. Watson 1926, 417. The specifier might be a personal name, speculatively that of the 6th century ruler *Urβayen* > *Urien*, but ScG **dail-Odbráin*, commemorating St Odhrán of Iona, is more plausible, making this an example to be added to Taylor's **dail-* + saint's name formations, see note 121, above.

¹³² Watson 1926, 144. This is presumably named from the Rye Water, unless that is a back-formation; cf. R. Rye YON, Smith 1928, 5, Ekwall 1928, 349, and possibly Ryburn YOW, Smith 1961, VII.136.

¹³³ *Sic* 1306 × 29. Dixon [1947] 2011, 124.

¹³⁴ Maxwell 1930, 103. Both Dalry KCB and MLO might be + **wriug* 'heather' replaced by Gaelic *-fhraoich*; **riy* 'king' replaced by Gaelic *-righ* is unlikely: **riy* was superseded in the Brittonic languages at an early date by other words, notably *brenin*; and modern pronunciation with [-rai] favours **dail-fhraoich*.

¹³⁵ *Dalkeith* 1530 × 31, Taylor 2011, 87, so presumably the same in origin as Dalkeith, above.

¹³⁶ Which presumably underlies MW *rawt* > W *rhawd* 'host, troop' (raised by local chieftain, a semantic development from 'rampart' > 'fort' > 'chieftain's residence' > 'estate'); the word was apparently adopted from Brittonic into Old-MIr as *rāth* 'ring-fort' > eG *rāth*, Mx *raath*, and re-adopted from MIr into MW as *rath* > W *rhath*. It is cognate with Latin *prātum* 'meadow'. Taylor (2011, 107, and 2012, 477) refers to a 'Pictish' form **roth*, but the Pictish form would either have been the same as Brittonic, **rōd*, or (following Jackson 1955, 161) possibly **rād*; **roth* would be a Scottish Gaelic form influenced by **rōd*, and probably more correctly **ròth*.

¹³⁷ Dixon [1947] 2011, 349–50: *Ratheu* c. 1258. The suffix is probably plural, there are two notable hill-forts in this parish (J. G. Wilkinson, pers. comm.).

¹³⁸ Lost, Watson, 355 + *pen-* 'head, end', and again a plural suffix.

(Ettrick) SLK,¹³⁹ Muckraw (Torphichen) WLO¹⁴⁰ and *Carraith* (Stow) MLO.¹⁴¹ *O* is documented in Rattrra (Borgue) KCB, *Rotrow* in Blaeu's atlas,¹⁴² *Roderbren* (Tarbolton) AYR,¹⁴³ and Romanno (Newlands) PEB.¹⁴⁴

Bede's *Peanfabel* Kinneil (Bo'ness and Carriden) WLO¹⁴⁵ is of great interest in relation to the linguistic situation in the Forth valley in the seventh and eighth centuries. It should have *ā* in the second element, whether P-Celtic **wal*¹⁴⁶ or Old Irish *fál*. Jackson (1955, 165) suggests that *-abe-* may imply palatalisation of *-l* (see below under Palatalisation), but it might alternatively indicate some distinctive vowel quality or diphthongisation in whatever form of P-Celtic it represents. It is a very perplexing form.

Certain early Celtic long vowels originated from Indo-European diphthongs. Jackson tentatively suggested that Early Celtic *ē:* from Indo-European *ei*, which

¹³⁹ Watson 1926, 138. + *moch-* 'swine', but could be ScG **mucrach* '[place] of swine'.

¹⁴⁰ Watson 1926, 147, Macdonald 1941, 96–97. *Mukrath* 1386. More certainly + *moch-* 'swine'.

¹⁴¹ Dixon 2011, 372–73, *sic* 1594, ? + *cair-* 'fort', perhaps in the sense 'stockade' of a *rād* = 'chieftain's estate', but this seems an odd combination of elements. Cf. perhaps Carrath, Great and Little, (Murton) WML, Smith 1966, II.104 (I am grateful to Mr. A. Walker for pointing this out to me, but it is unrecorded before the 1859 OS map). *Carraith* stands alongside *Carthow* which may be the same name + OE *-hōh* 'spur'.

¹⁴² Watson 1926, 364, Maxwell 1930, 233. Cf. Rattray in ABD and PER. A P-Celtic compound appellative **rōd-dreß* signifying 'farm of a chieftain's fort', i.e. 'demesne', may have been current before being applied as a place-name. Breeze 2003, 162–63, explained correctly that Middle Welsh *rhath* 'ring-fort' cannot be relevant here, being a borrowing (back) from Middle Irish, but overlooked the fact that the word must have remained current in Brittonic to become MW *rawt* (see n136, above); he also overlooked the research by Aidan MacDonald 1982 showing the influence of the Pictish word on Gaelic usage in eastern Scotland. He proposed for the first element the intensive prefix *rō-*; 'chief farm' would carry much the same significance.

¹⁴³ See note 49, above. Breeze 2006a proposes *rið* 'ford' here.

¹⁴⁴ Watson 1926, 153–54. *Rothmanaic* c.1160 (see note 137, above, for **roth*) + *-manach* 'monk' (singular for plural, cf. Padel 1985, 156). A major hill-fort overlooks the settlement, which became a grange of Holyrood Abbey (Hall 2006, 157), though after the extinction of Cumbric.

¹⁴⁵ + **pen[n]* here 'end', replaced by ScG *cenn-*. On the forms *Peanfabel*, *Penneltun* HE I.12 and *Pengual*, *Cenail*, *Historia Brittonum* (hereafter HB) 23, see Jackson 1955, 143–44, 161 and 165, and Nicolaisen 2001, 211–12 and 219–20. For later developments, refer to Watson 1926, 346–48, and A. MacDonald 1941, 30–31. See also under Palatalisation, below.

¹⁴⁶ M-MnW *gwal* 'wall' and Corn *gwal* (in place-names, Padel 1983, 114). OW *gual* implies a long-vowel form **wālā-*, which may be a lengthened grade cognate of eCelt **walo-/ā-* 'strong, powerful' seen in OW *gulat* > M-MnW *gwlad*, OCorn *gulat*, OBret adjective *guletic* 'country, land', and in British and Gaulish personal names; it is cognate with Lat *valeo* 'I am strong'. Usage in the Celtic languages may have been influenced by Latin *vallum*, either directly or (in the North) via Anglian OE *wall* (itself probably from a West Germanic adoption of the Latin word: Campbell 1959 §143, 55–56, and §539, 212).

became late British φ^i by the sixth century,¹⁴⁷ and West Brittonic *ui* in the second half of the seventh,¹⁴⁸ remain unchanged in Pictish.¹⁴⁹ The only possible hint of this in a place-name in southern Scotland is the river name Dee KCB.¹⁵⁰ However, this could reflect Old English adoption either of Northern **dē:w*, as in the Aberdeenshire Dee, or of West Brittonic **dē:w* as in the North Wales and Cheshire Dee.¹⁵¹

Indo-European *oi* became early Celtic φ -, which became British \bar{u} by the third century,¹⁵² neo-Brittonic \bar{i} by the mid-sixth, unrounding to Old Welsh \bar{i} .¹⁵³ According to Jackson, in Pritenic *oi* remained diphthongal until the sixth century, becoming φ - by the early eighth and \bar{u} by the early ninth.¹⁵⁴ This development from early Celtic φ - < *oi* seems not to be evidenced in northern place-names, but the early Celtic diphthongs *au*, *eu* and *ou* became early British φ - in the late first century, falling together with each other and with φ - < *oi*, sharing the same trajectory thereafter.¹⁵⁵

Celtic *-au-* was present in **Alaunā-*, origin of the hydronyms Aln NTB,¹⁵⁶ Ayle Burn NTB¹⁵⁷ and Ellen CMB.¹⁵⁸ By the time these names were adopted by Northumbrian English speakers, it would (according to Jackson 1953 §22(3)) have been **Alīn* in Brittonic, but (according to Jackson 1955, 162) it may in the North have been **Alaun* developing to **Alō:n*. However, we cannot

¹⁴⁷ Jackson 1953 §28, 330–35; Sims-Williams 2003 †24, 83, only reporting ‘no inscriptional evidence’, but idem 1990, 254, argues for an earlier date, see *ibid.*, at 191 and note 1167, and my next note.

¹⁴⁸ SW Brittonic *oi*. 1953 §28, 330–35, Sims-Williams 2003 †58, 190–96. On Pritenic *-eit-* < *-ekt-*, see under Early Celtic Spirants, below.

¹⁴⁹ Jackson 1955, 162, but he notes evidence for *ui* or *ue* in the 7th-century Pictish ruler’s name *Ueda*.

¹⁵⁰ *Δηούα* Ptolemy. Rivet and Smith 1979, 336–37.

¹⁵¹ Jackson noted no distinctive development of early Brittonic φ - (< early Celtic *ai*), which was diphthongised φ^i by the 6th century, and > φ^i in the early to mid-8th: it occurs in *mē:l* ‘bare, bald’, common in hill names, such as Mell Fell, Great and Little (Hutton) CMB, Armstrong et al. 1950, 212, and probably in Carmyle LAN (Watson 1926, 367) + **cair-* ‘fort’ or **carn-* ‘cairn’, gaelicised as *An Càrn Maol*. It is also in **cē:d* ‘wood, woodland’, for examples see below under Lenition and Spirantisation, with note 221.

¹⁵² Jackson 1953 §22 (2 and 3), 314–17, Sims-Williams 2003 †10 and †12, 23.

¹⁵³ Jackson *ibid.*, Sims-Williams *ibid.*, †35, 105–06.

¹⁵⁴ Jackson 1955, 162 (by \bar{o} he presumably meant long close φ -) and 165, Koch 1982–83, 215–16.

¹⁵⁵ Jackson 1953 §18, 305–07, §22(1), 312–14, §22(3), 315–17; Sims-Williams 2003 †8 and †12, 23, †35, 105–06.

¹⁵⁶ *Alaivon* (genitive) in Ptolemy; English records begin with Bede’s *Alne* HE IV.28. Mawer 1920, 4, Ekwall 1928, 5, Rivet and Smith 1979, 245.

¹⁵⁷ *Alne* 1258. Mawer 1920, 9, Ekwall 1928, 5.

¹⁵⁸ *Alne* 1171 × 75 [14th century]. Armstrong et al. 1950, 13.

draw any inference as to the vowel's quality at that date, as Northumbrian English speakers soon reduced or elided it. On the other hand, Brittonic *lūich* < **leuco-lā-* 'bright, shining', as a colour term 'white',¹⁵⁹ may show Northern *o*: in Lochar Water, with Glenlochlar (Balmaghie) KCB¹⁶⁰ and Lochar Water, with Lochar Moss DMF.¹⁶¹ Logie Braes (Torphichen) WLO¹⁶² might also show such vocalism, in contrast with the nearby Luggie Burn.¹⁶³

The early records of the river name Clyde, from Tacitus and Ptolemy to Adomnán and Bede, are important witnesses for the development of early

¹⁵⁹ IE **leuk-* > eCelt **leuco-lā-* > Br **l̥o:co-lā-*, cf. OW *lou-* > M-MnW *lleu* 'light', OBret *luc-luh-* > MBret *lu-*; OIr *lóch* > Ir, ScG *luach*; cogn. Lat *lucēo* 'I shine', *lux* 'light', *lūcus* 'sacred grove', Gmc **lauχ-* > OE *lēah* 'open or cleared ground in woodland' (see Gelling and Cole 2000, 237–42), and cf. WGmc **lauχ-tam* > OE *lēoh* > 'light', Gk *leukós* 'white', Sanskrit *rucati* 'shines'. But note the zero-grade **luk-* > eCelt **luco-lā-* > eMnW *llug* and OIr *loch* > Ir *loch*, earlier ScG *lōch*, all meaning '(shining, reflective) black'. The latter might be present in, or have influenced, some hydronyms: see King 2005. Another related word that might possibly occur in place-names is early Celtic **leucco-lā-* > Br **l̥o:cco-lā-* > neo-Britt **lūch* > M-MnW *lluch* 'bright, shining', also 'lightning'. The cult of the deity *Lugos* (MW *Lleu*, Ir and ScG *Lugh*) is sometimes invoked in connection with such hydronyms: on the cult of *Lugos* see Ross 1967, 319–24, Green 1992, 135–36, MacKillop 1998, 270–72, 274–75. However, the supposed relationship between the deity name and the root **leuk-* is problematic: see Falileyev 2010, 23.

¹⁶⁰ Maxwell 1930, 149 s.n. Glenlochlar, giving ScG *luachair* 'rushy', which is possible, though the Gaelic homonym, cognate with **leuc-ārā-* is too, as is Brittonic *luch-* (W *lluch*) 'marshy or brackish water' + the adjectival suffix *-ar* frequently occurring in river names. Lochar must anyway be compared with Lugar Water AYR: Watson 1926, 433, and Jackson 1948, 57, associated the fort name *Leucaro* with the latter. However Rivet and Smith 1979, 388–89, accepted Jackson's revised opinion (1953, 688 n2) that this was on the R. Loughor GLA, deriving the latter from a 'by-form' **Luccarā-*: see also Pierce 2002, 33–34 and Owen and Morgan 2007, 302. All the same, Lugar, and Lochar, could still be from **Leucarā-*. To complicate matters further, Rivet and Smith 1979, 389–90, propose the Roman fort at Glenlochlar as the site of Ptolemy's *Loukopibia*, *Loukopiabia*. Following Jackson 1953, §18(3), 307 n1, they read this as **Leuc-owjā*, latinised **Leucovia*. However *Locatrebe*, *ibid.*, 394–95, is another candidate for the Glenlochlar fort name, and see Hill 1997, 27, on the possibility that **Leucovia* might have been Whithorn; more recent archaeological investigation has confirmed that the Isle of Whithorn was a prominent, high-status site.

¹⁶¹ Presumably identical in origin to the above, and the same considerations apply; *luachair* 'rushy' or *luchar* 'marshy stream' are more appropriate.

¹⁶² A. Macdonald 1941, 96, probably + suffix *-ico-* > *-ig*.

¹⁶³ In Lewis 1846, II, 552 s.n. (I am grateful to Mr J. G. Wilkinson for this reference). That must be compared in turn with Luggie Water LAN/DNB (Watson 1926, 443–44), and cf. the Welsh river name *Llugwy* CRN etc. (Owen and Morgan 2007, 294). These could alternatively be < **leucovia* (see above, note 160), but *Loukopibia* was a *pólis* of the *Novantae*, so unlikely to be associated with either Luggie. **Logaich* < early ScG *log* 'pit or ditch' is a possible alternative, at least for the wee burn in Torphichen.

Celtic *-ou- in Brittonic.¹⁶⁴ Bede's *Alcluiþ* might seem to imply the same diphthong *ui* < Early Celtic *ɛ*: (cf. Modern Welsh *chwyd* 'hurdle', the river name Clwyd), but given the earlier and subsequent evidence his *-ui-* must surely represent the regular West Brittonic *ū*. In contrast, Cluden Water, with Lincluden, (Terregles) KCB, having the same root as Clyde, seems to conserve a reflection of a Northern back vowel *ū* rather than *ī* in a locality where a case can be made for P-Celtic place-naming as late as the 10th century (see James 2011, 64, 81–83 with n143).¹⁶⁵

Surprisingly Jackson does not discuss the diphthongs in *-u* under the heading *Celtic Diphthongs* (1955, 162), but observes in connection with Ochil (ibid., 165) that 'the *ch* in *Ochil* is very likely due to Brittonic intermediaries, and ... if this is so the British of this region developed the original *ou* of **ouxelo-* to *ō* and not to *ū* as in Brittonic'.¹⁶⁶ This implies that, like the Northern descendant of *oi*, the vowel remained as *o*:, and did not develop to *ū* until later (if at all), in which case (notwithstanding the consonant *ch*) the vowel should be considered Northern rather than 'regional British' in character. If correct, this would support Jackson's case for the distinctiveness of Northern P-Celtic from Brittonic from a very early date, but the vagaries of subsequent treatment of this vowel in place-names by Gaelic, Scots and English speakers make it hard to place much confidence in the claim that *ou* developed to *ō* and not to *ū*.

Ancient examples in the north of **ūchell*/**ochel* 'high'¹⁶⁷ include *Uxelum*,

¹⁶⁴ Rivet and Smith 1979, 309–10, and see Watson 1926, 7, 44, 71, Jackson 1953 §18(2), 306–07, and Nicolaisen 2001, 229, Isaac 2005, 195. The former district name Auckland DRH, if it is not a transferred name, is identical to *Alclūd* and implies that the Brittonic name for the river later given the Scandinavian name Gaunless was **Clūd* (Watts 2002, 10, 48).

¹⁶⁵ Maxwell 1930, 74, 196; at 74 he quotes a line from the poem in praise of Gwallawg in the Book of Taliesin (Williams 1968 XI.9), referring to slaughter of 'Picts' (*peithwyr*) *ym pen coet cledyfein* 'at the wood-head of *Cledyfein*', associating this, and by implication *clytwyn* in line 10 of the same poem, with Cluden. However, Williams, ibid., 121, shows *clytwyn* to be a personal name, and lists *cledyfein* as the plural of *cledyfan* 'dagger, short sword' in his glossary, ibid., 152. Cluden Water may have been earlier *[*G*]weir, as in the parish name Troqueer through which it flows, see James 2011, 65.

¹⁶⁶ On intervocalic *-ks-* in early Celtic, Brittonic and Pritenic, see Jackson 1955, 137, and below under Lenition and Spirantisation.

¹⁶⁷ IE **h₄up-s-* > eCelt **ouks-* + *-elloā-* > eBr **o:ch'elloā-*, Gaul *Uxel-* in personal names > lBr **ūchelloā-* > M-MnW *uchel*; ?Pritenic **okel* or **ogel*. See Jackson 1953, §22, 312–17 §121 at 529 and §126, 536–40, and Taylor 2011, 89, 92–93, 94–95. *Uchel* occurs quite often as first element in compounds (e.g. in the place-name **huel-gos* > Hugus CNW, Huelgoat in Brittany, Padel 1985, 135, and more widely, ibid., 237). Compounds like Ochiltree may perhaps signify settlements originally associated with annual stock movements. Such adjective + noun compounds may not necessarily be early, and in any case, they could have remained in use as appellatives for several centuries, see James 2011, 73–74.

perhaps the fort at Ward Law DMF,¹⁶⁸ and *Uxelodunum*, the Roman cavalry base at Stanwix CMB.¹⁶⁹ Both have *U-*, but this does not rule out **o*; classical sources are likely to reflect information transmitted via speakers of British rather than any Northern variant. Surviving examples include the trio, Ochiltree AYR,¹⁷⁰ Ochiltree (Penninghame) WIG¹⁷¹ and Ochiltree (Linlithgow) WLO.¹⁷² The lower vowel **o*: seems to be evidenced in all these, though early forms for Ochiltree WIG and WLO vary between *o* and *u*. A few other names might incorporate the prefix *ūch-* ‘higher’, though they are still more doubtful, as the relevant vowel would have been unstressed in all cases: *Crachoctre* (Coldingham) BWK may involve *-*ūch-trev*,¹⁷³ and this or *-*ūch-tī[y]* are just possible in Currochtrie, High and Low, WIG,¹⁷⁴ Garrochtrie (Kirkmaiden) WIG,¹⁷⁵ Kirroughtree (Minigaff) WIG¹⁷⁶ and Terrauchtie (Troqueer) KCB.¹⁷⁷

It would be reasonable to suppose that the underlying phonetic processes for *o*: > *ū* > *ū* > *ī* were associated with those driving the fronting and unrounding

¹⁶⁸ Rivet and Smith 1979, 483–84.

¹⁶⁹ Rivet and Smith 1979, 221 and 483.

¹⁷⁰ *Ugheltre* 1304 (not clear whether this is Ochiltree AYR) Watson 1926, 209, Nicolaisen 2001, 216.

¹⁷¹ *Uchiltre* 1506. Watson 1926, 35, 209, Maxwell 1930, 218, Nicolaisen 2001, 216–17, MacQueen 2008, 12.

¹⁷² *Ockiltre* 1211 × 14, Macdonald 1941, 61. Ogilface WLO *Oggelfast* 1165 × 1214, Watson 1926, 378, Macdonald 1941, 97, might be another, formed with **-mayes* ‘open land’ with lenition, but I am advised by Mr Guto Rhys that Brittonic **ogel* ‘steep edge, precipice’ is more likely here. See note 298.

¹⁷³ Unlocated, but *Crachoctre Strete* ran from near Reston BWK toward Oldhamstocks ELO (M. A. Fenty, pers. comm.). The first element might be *cre:g* ‘craig, prominent rock’, but it is obscure. Breeze 2000 at 125–26 proposes **crachōg-trev* ‘scabby farm’. *Crachawg* as a derogatory term for pieces of land etc. is recorded in Welsh in GPC, but only from the 14th century, and not at all in AMR. Moreover, such a compound formation raises suspicion: while compounds like **ocheldrev* and **nūwōdrev* are likely to have been in use as common nouns, that is improbable in this case, and, while pre-positioned adjectives may have been more common in Old and Middle than in Modern Welsh, and are normal in early compounds, we do not find forms suffixed with *-ōg* in first position.

¹⁷⁴ *Le duae Currochtyis* 1492. Maxwell 1931, 101–02, suggesting Gaelic *ceathramh-* ‘quarterland’ or *currach-* (*sic*) ‘bog’ + *-uachdar* ‘upper’ or *-Ochtradb* (= Uhtred, see note 176, below, but this was probably outwith the domain of Earl Uhtred), while MacQueen 2005, 10, offers Gaelic *cōrr-* ‘out-of-the-way, remote place’ + *-ochdamb* ‘eighth part (of a davoch)’.

¹⁷⁵ *Garrachty* Blaeu. Maxwell 1930, 143, adjacent to Currochtrie and likely to be associated if not identical in origin, with **cair-* replaced by Gaelic *garbh-*.

¹⁷⁶ *Caruthre* 1487. Maxwell, 1930, 174, but Maxwell, and Brooke 1991, 319, both see the name of Earl Uhtred of Galloway here; it overlooks the Cree estuary, the probable boundary of his territories.

¹⁷⁷ *Traachty* 1458. Maxwell 1930, 258.

of the long vowel $\bar{u} > \bar{u} > \bar{i}$,¹⁷⁸ and so, if Jackson was right in inferring that the former development was retarded in the north, we might hypothesise that the latter would likewise have been delayed. *Din* ‘fort’,¹⁷⁹ early Celtic **dūno-* > British **dūno-* > *din* by the mid-fifth century.¹⁸⁰ If *Dyunbaer*, in the early 11th century manuscript of *Vita Wilfridi* (38), reflects Stephen of Ripon’s own spelling, it would be one of the earliest uses of ‘y’ by an anglophone writer. If it (and the rather later manuscript variant *Dyn-*) represented eighth century pronunciation as $-\bar{u}-$, it could indicate that unrounding of the vowel had not (yet) occurred (see Jackson 1953 §23(2), 319–21¹⁸¹). This could imply another Northern P-Celtic feature.

If **dūn* had retained a rounded vowel in the north to a later date, it would certainly have been liable to confusion with Old Irish *dún* as early as the seventh century, if we accept the presence of Goidelic-speaking clerics in the area of Dunbar at that time,¹⁸² and to eventual replacement by Gaelic *dún*, as well as to phonetic influence from Old English *dūn*, while interaction among the three languages may have complicated the semantics of the words in each language still further. Gaelic *dún*, in its turn, is often confused with *druim* ‘ridge’.¹⁸³ Taylor (2011, 73) classes Gaelic *dún* in his category of ‘false friends’, Gaelic elements whose meaning in place-names seems to have been influenced by a Pictish cognate’ (ibid. 72, 105), and his observation regarding place-names with that element in Pictland is equally applicable south of the Forth (so ‘P-Celtic’ might be preferred to ‘Pictish’ in his definition): ‘Many of these are in historical Pictland, and, while the historical and archaeological record makes it likely

¹⁷⁸ Jackson 1953 §15, 302–03, Sims-Williams 2003 ‡16, 42–48.

¹⁷⁹ Maybe from an Indo-European root with the diphthong *-eu-*, but IE etymology is very uncertain: see Mallory and Adams 2006 §13.1 at p. 223, Sims-Williams 2006, 12–13 with notes 57 and 59, ibid., 73–74 and map 12.2, Falileyev 2010, 18, Rivet and Smith, 1979, 275, and Jackson 1982, 33.

¹⁸⁰ Or **dūno-*, see Jackson 1953 §23, 317–21. OW (Book of Llandaf) *din* > M-MnW *din*, Corn **dyn* (in place-names, Padel 1985, 84), OBret *din*; O-MIr *dún*, ScG *dùn*, Mx **dun* (possibly in a place-name, see Broderick 2006, 101–02); cogn. WGmc **tūnaz* > OE *tūn* ‘farming settlement’ > ‘town’; Gaulish *dūno-* may have been adopted as Low WGmc **dūn* > OE *dūn* ‘hill’, but see Gelling and Cole 2000, 164, and Sims-Williams 2006, 13 n59.

¹⁸¹ Jackson’s discussion gets into unnecessary difficulties over the question of $[\bar{u}]$ in Northumbrian Old English of Stephen’s time: it certainly was present (see Campbell 1959 §199, 78–79, §288, 122, and §315, 132), but Stephen would probably have been taught the phonetic significance of Greek *Υ* as used in loanwords in Latin in the course of his monastic education.

¹⁸² Cf. Watson 1926, 135.

¹⁸³ See under **drum** in BLITON. Old English *dūn* often falls together in final unstressed position with *denu* ‘valley’, see Gelling and Cole 2000, 167, but as **dūn/*dīn* is apparently not found in second position in Scottish place-names, that is unlikely to affect any in our region.

that several of these were occupied in the Pictish period, it is usually assumed that the generic element is Gaelic, and that the names were therefore coined by Gaelic speakers. I would argue, however, that it is just as likely that many of them were coined by Pictish speakers, and, in those cases, that the second (specific) elements represent either adaptations or replacements made by Gaelic speakers.' (ibid., 73¹⁸⁴).

Between the walls, Din Fell (Castleton) ROX, may show the Brittonic unrounded *dīn*, but early forms are lacking, and Dinley and Dinlaybyre nearby, both with *Dun-* in 16th-century records,¹⁸⁵ might be related to this hill name. Several other place-names now have *Din-* but in unstressed first position where the vowel quality at the time of formation cannot be sure, and several show variation between *-i-* and *-u-* in the records (where the possibility of scribal misreading of minims must always be borne in mind): Dinduff (Kirkcolm) WIG,¹⁸⁶ Dinmont Lair ROX,¹⁸⁷ Dinwiddie (Ettleton) ROX,¹⁸⁸ Dinwoodie (Applegarth) DMF,¹⁸⁹ Tantallon ELO,¹⁹⁰ Teindside (Teviothead) ROX.¹⁹¹ Others, with *u*, could either be Brittonic influenced by Scottish Gaelic, or be Northern P-Celtic or Scottish Gaelic in origin, and so fall into Taylor's category of 'false friends': Duncarnock RNF,¹⁹² Duncow (Kirkmahoe) DMF,¹⁹³

¹⁸⁴ Note also Taylor's reference here to Watson 1926, 233, and see also Taylor 2012, 360.

¹⁸⁵ *Dunley* 1508, *Dunleybire* 1584x85. Watson 1926, 372, ? + locative suffix *-le*, but 16th-century forms for these favour OE **dūn-leah*: Watson loc. cit., J. Macdonald 1991, 13.

¹⁸⁶ MacQueen 2005, 79. Perhaps + *-duß*, early recorded forms show *-u-*.

¹⁸⁷ Watson 1926 loc. cit. + *-mōniū* 'upland, hill-pasture', + Scots *lair* 'fold'. However this may contain Scots (and northern English) *dinmont* 'wether (castrated ram) between first and second shearing'; that word is recorded as *dinmult* 1202, indicating Gaelic *mult* 'wether' as the second element, though the first is obscure, a P-Celtic compound might underlie it, but probably not one involving *dīn*. See Taylor 2012, 662 with n15, and cf. *Drumdynmond* (Wemyss) FIF, Taylor 2006, 580-81.

¹⁸⁸ *Dunwedy* 1504. Watson 1926, loc. cit. Both this and Dinwoodie DMF have *Dun-* in the earliest records, but the specific is likely to be P-Celtic *-wī:δ-* 'a wood, woodland'. + suffix *-jo*.

¹⁸⁹ *Dunwithy* 1194. Watson 1926 loc. cit., Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 5; see previous note.

¹⁹⁰ *Dentaloune* or *-onne* on the Gough Map 1355x66 favours *dīn-*. The specific might be *-tāl-* 'brow, front, end' + suffix *-on*, or *-ceyn* 'back, ridge'; Ross 2001, 208 offers Welsh *talgan*, translating this as 'high front or brow'; Dorward 1995, 45, proposes *talgwn* < **tāl-gant* 'high frontier'.

¹⁹¹ *Theynsyde* 1393. J. Macdonald 1991, 38. With devoiced initial, influenced by Scots *teind* 'tenth, tithe' (+ OE *-side* > 'side'). There is a hill-fort here, but the derivation remains doubtful. An alternative might be a lost river name of the 'Tyne' type < **ti-*, perhaps an earlier name for the R. Liddel, or one derived from OE *denu*, cf. R. Dean MLO.

¹⁹² + *-*carn-* 'cairn, rocks' + *-ōg*, or else Gaelic **dūn-carnach*.

¹⁹³ *Duncol* 1250. Watson 1926, 183 and 422, Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 73 + *-*coll* 'hazel', or else the Gaelic equivalent, **dūn-choll*.

Dundreich PEB,¹⁹⁴ *Dunduffel* (? = Dun Daugh, New Monkland) LAN,¹⁹⁵ Dundyvan (Old Monkland) LAN,¹⁹⁶ Dunree (Cassilis) AYR,¹⁹⁷ Dunscore DMF,¹⁹⁸ and Duntarvie, with Duntarvie Craig, (Abercorn) WLO.¹⁹⁹ Certainty is impossible with regard to the original vowel quality, or even the language of origin, in any of these individual cases, but overall the variation in forms is similar to that found north of the Forth, and Taylor's observations are likely to be relevant to our region too.

CELTIC SEMI-VOWELS

Early Celtic *w* survived into neoBrittonic, but had become *gw* by the late eighth century in both the west and south-west dialects (Jackson 1953, §45, 367–68, §49, 385–94, Sims-Williams 2003 ¶66, 211–14). Jackson (1955, 163) suggested that *w* remained unchanged in Pictish, though it is very difficult to be sure that *u* or *v* in the early records do not represent **gw*.

Watcarrick DMF,²⁰⁰ and *Wedale* MLO/ROX (if this contains **wei-*, an ancient hydronymic element that might preserve an earlier name for the Gala Water),²⁰¹ show no trace of the velar, but this is just as likely to reflect adoption into Northumbrian Old English before the late eighth century as any distinctive Northern characteristic.²⁰² Those that do are interesting as evidence

¹⁹⁴ + **drich* 'aspect, outlook', gaelicised if not Gaelic **dùn-dreich* in origin; see Taylor 2012, 356–57.

¹⁹⁵ Drummond 1987, 3–4. + **dūv-* 'black' + OE *hyll* > '-hill', but gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin.

¹⁹⁶ *Dundovan* 1587. *Ibid.*, 11 ? + *-dūvīn* 'deep, depth', gaelicised, + *-jo-* causing double i-affection giving **dūvīn*: see Wilkinson 2002 at 140 and note.

¹⁹⁷ Watson 1926, 199. ? + **rīy* 'king', but probably Scottish Gaelic **dùn-rìgh*.

¹⁹⁸ *Dunscore* 1220. Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 28 + *-iūgor* 'fortification, rampart'.

¹⁹⁹ *Duntarvyne* c1320. Watson 1926, 36, 147, A. Macdonald 1941, 16 ? + **tervīn* 'boundary', or a lost stream name formed with **tarw-* 'bull', gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin.

²⁰⁰ Assuming this is **wīō* '[a] wood' + **carreg* 'rock, rocky place'.

²⁰¹ But Dixon [1947] 2011, 55 and 436, sees OE *wēod* 'weed' (an uncommon element in English place-names, but occurring in Weddicar CMB); Dr Taylor (pers. comm.) suggests OE **wēoh*, in the weak oblique form **wēon* 'holy, holy place, shrine', often with heathen associations (Smith 1956, 254, Gelling 1978, 158–61. *Vallis doloris*, an interpretation by an early 13th-century scribe at Sawley Abbey implying OE *wā* or *wēa* 'woe', is interesting but improbable.

²⁰² Indeed, there seems to have been resistance to adopting [gw] in names from the Brittonic languages even in later Old and early Middle English. Dr Padel observes 'in east Cornwall place-names containing words beginning with *gw-* always appear with *W-* simply, never with *Gw-* ... it is only in areas where Cornish was spoken after c. 1300 that the *Gw-* appears, even though it must have been pronounced thus in east Cornwall. It seems that English-speakers didn't like initial *gw-* (though perfectly happy with *qu-*). So also in Wales (English Wentdoog, Welsh Gwynllwg; Wonastow; etc.). I assume that this probably applies all the way north as well: compare *Cwespatrik*, with different sound-substitution.'

for the development in Cumbric: Quair Water, with Traquair, (Innerleithen) PEB,²⁰³ Troqueer KCB,²⁰⁴ Guelt AYR, Guiltree AYR, R. Gelt CMB²⁰⁵ and Gelt Burn NTB, with Geltsdale Forest where both rise, Gogar MLO and STL,²⁰⁶ and Govan RNF.²⁰⁷

ASSIMILATION OF NASAL CONSONANTS

Jackson (1953 §§111–12, 508–13, cf. Sims-Williams 2003 ‡22, 73–83) saw assimilation whereby *mb* > *mm* and *nd* > *nn* as a change common to all Brittonic dialects, beginning ‘by the end of the fifth century but not complete before the end of the sixth, and in the Cumbric area probably not before the second half of the seventh’, while acknowledging that the evidence ‘is confusing and rather contradictory’.²⁰⁸ He makes no comment on assimilation in the context of Pictish, but it is striking that the important names Cumberland and Cumbria, as well as the Scandinavian-named islands of Cumbrae, show *-mb-* in **Cömbroi* ‘*Cumbril Cymry*, fellow-countrymen’.²⁰⁹ Cam Beck CMB < **cambōg* ‘bent, crooked’ does too;²¹⁰ Cambois (Bedlington) NTB,²¹¹ Old

²⁰³ *Treverquyrd* in Inquisition of David c. 1124. Watson 1926, 360.

²⁰⁴ *Trevere* 1319. Maxwell 1930, 261.

²⁰⁵ *Sic* c. 1210 in *Lanercost Cartulary*. Armstrong et al. 1950, 14; see also Ekwall 1926, 170, for this group.

²⁰⁶ *Goger* MLO 1214×49 and 1233, Dixon [1947] 2011, 352; *sic* 1588, Reid 2009, 40.

²⁰⁷ *Guen* c. 1134, Forsyth 2000, 30; possibly *Ovania* in *Historia Regum* attr. Symeon of Durham, see Breeze 1999. The very problematic group Torquhan (Stow) MLO, Troquhain (Kirkmichael) AYR, Troquhain (Balmaclellan) KCB, and Troughend (Otterburn) NTB, might be added to this leet if the second element is *-*winn* ‘bright, white’, though lenition after feminine **trev-* should have prevented velarisation.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 511, but see Sims-Williams 1990, 245, and 2003, 283, arguing for an earlier date of onset.

²⁰⁹ See note 309; perhaps also in Gillcumber Head (Winton) WML Smith 1967, 29, but there is no documentation before the 19th century; see also note 104, above.

²¹⁰ *Camboc* 1169; *Lanercost Cartulary* 1 etc., Armstrong et al. 1950, 7, with Kirkcambeck (Askerton) CMB, *ibid.*, 56, but note *Camokhill* 1485, *ibid.*, 92, Cam Beck YOW, Smith 1961, VI.5, is probably named from Cam Fell, and that may be OE *camb* or ON *kambr* ‘comb’, as there is a prominent craggy ridge. However, the Cumbric etymology is more plausible for the CMB stream; contrast Cammock Beck (St Cuthbert Without) about 20 miles further south in CMB. Barrow 1998, 38, treats Cammo (Barnton) MLO as a scotticised form of Scottish Gaelic **camusach*; it could be Brittonic in origin, but the assimilation could reflect Gaelic influence.

²¹¹ *Cammes* c. 1040 [12th century] Mawer 1920, 38; influenced in its development by OE *-hūs* > ‘house’, and in spelling by French *bois* ‘(a) wood’. However Coates 2000, 257–58, considers that this is likely to be (monastic) Old Irish in origin.

Cambus (Cockburnspath) BWK,²¹² Cambuslang LAN,²¹³ and Cambusnethan LAN²¹⁴ have all been seen as Goidelic in origin, with an epenthetic *-b-*, but an unassimilated P-Celtic form from **camb-asto-*, Welsh *camas*, should certainly be considered.²¹⁵ Lindisfarne shows unassimilated *-nd-*,²¹⁶ though Nanny Burn NTB nearby, if it is from **nantjo-*, does show assimilation of Brittonic *nt* > *nh*.²¹⁷ The possibility of reintroduction of the stops in these syllabic-boundary consonant groups by English/ Scots or Gaelic speakers cannot be ruled out, and, given Jackson's own reservations about the evidence, we can only infer cautiously that the progress of these sound-changes in the north of Britain may not have been as consistent as, or contemporary with, developments further south.

LENITION AND SPIRANTISATION

A series of sound changes affected all the insular Celtic languages during the middle centuries of the first millennium AD that had in common the spirantisation (becoming fricative) in certain contexts of what had formerly been stops (plosives), and also in the Brittonic languages the voicing of consonants that had formerly been voiceless. Such changes occurred at different times, in different phonological contexts and with different outcomes in the various languages. An important sub-group of such changes shared by all the Brittonic languages is referred to by Jackson and other Celtic scholars as 'lenition', though it is important to recognise that lenition on the one hand was part of a wider range of related developments, and on the other was itself a complex of changes not necessarily occurring in lock-step simultaneity.²¹⁸

One aspect of lenition entailed the voicing of intervocalic stops:²¹⁹ early Celtic *-VtV-* became neoBrittonic *-Vd-* in the second half of the fifth century (Jackson

²¹² *Aldcambus* c.1100. Watson 1926, 138, considers it 'doubtless' Scottish Gaelic. 'Old' might be + *alt-* 'height' or Scottish Gaelic *allt* 'burn', but OE *ald* > 'old' is likely, probably to distinguish from Cambois, above. Again, influenced by OE *-hūs* > 'house'.

²¹³ *Camboslang* 1296. Watson 1926, 202.

²¹⁴ Watson 1926, 202. + personal (perhaps saint's) name *-Nejthon*; Scottish Gaelic **camus-Neachtain* is possible, but the name *Nejthon* has strong Pictish and North British associations, and see under Early Celtic Spirants, below, especially notes 280 and 281.

²¹⁵ In Cameron MLO, the following *v* (lenited *b*, see below) would have assimilated the *b*. Name phrases with *-linn* 'pool, stream' would have assimilation of *-mbl-*, Camelon Lane (Balmaghie) and Camling (Carsphairn) KCB, both Maxwell 1930, 57, are possible examples, but they could well be Gaelic **cam-linne*, **cam-an-lòin*.

²¹⁶ Jackson 1953 §112 (2), 511–13.

²¹⁷ Jackson 1953 §§107–08, 502–08, and see above under Early Celtic Short Vowels.

²¹⁸ See Sims-Williams 1990, 223, and idem 2003, 48, arguing that lenition of voiced stops was earlier than that of voiceless ones.

²¹⁹ Also stops before *n* or *l*.

1953, §§131–42, 543–61, Sims-Williams 2003 ‡17, 48–55). Jackson saw no difference in respect of this change between Brittonic and Pictish, stating that ‘the probability that Pictish had in fact a system of lenition, doubtless applying to all lenitable consonants, seems established by the history of *g*, where it clearly had it’ (1955, 163, referring to Pictish personal names like *Onuist*).²²⁰

However the common element **çē:d* ‘wood, woodland’²²¹ does show a range of abnormal developments in the north. In Scots and northern English this final consonant would normally have been devoiced, but it seems to have become in some cases a fricative *-θ* at an unknown date.²²² Forms with *-th* do occur well to the south of Cumbria, in south and central Lancashire,²²³ and Cubbin (1981–82) has argued that such forms represent a dialectal variant in Brittonic rather than a Middle English development, though this is by no means certain. But, in any case, the Scots form *keith* seen in names associated with the Barony of Keith ELO,²²⁴ Dalkeith MLO,²²⁵ Dankeith (Symington)

²²⁰ I know of no toponymic evidence for or against Jackson’s statement regarding lenition of *-g-*.

²²¹ Apparently from a root **kait-* shared by Celtic and Germanic, early Celtic **caito-* > British and Gaulish **çē:to-* > Old Welsh *coit* > Middle and Modern Welsh *coed*. Cognates are OCorn *cuit* > MCorn *co[y]s* > Corn *cos*, OBret *cot*, *coet* > MBret *koed* > Bret *koad*; Gmc **χaiþiz* > OE *hæþ* > ‘heath’, ON *heiðr*. For the development of the diphthong, see Jackson 1953 §27(2B and 3), 327–30. In the examples cited below, the occurrences of *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey* for Brittonic *ēi* are of interest, see note 151, above. In origin, probably ‘wild country, forest (in the medieval sense)’, but in the Brittonic languages, ‘woods’ (as a collective noun), i.e. a substantial tract of fairly dense woodland. Distributed widely in England (Gelling and Cole 2000, 223–24), Cornwall (Padel 1985, 66–68), Wales (Owen and Morgan 2007, xxxv), and Scotland (Nicolaisen 2001, 220–21) including Pictland (Watson 1926, 381–82, Taylor 2011, 86–87). Some concentrations of names with this element are of interest as evidence of early-medieval woodland, for example in western ELO and in Cunninghame RNF.

²²² It is possible that Bede’s *Alcluiþ*, HE I.1 shows the same variant, although *ui* appears to reflect a Brittonic vowel, see under P-Celtic Long Vowels, above.

²²³ They include Culcheth, Penketh, Tulketh, Dinkley, Winckley and Worsley, all historically in Lancashire. There is also Werneth CHE, **wern-eto-* (> neoBritt **werned*) ‘alder’, and possibly Penrith, if this is **penno-ritu* (> neoBritt **penrið*, ? > **-rið*) ‘the head of the ford’. The ford was at Eamont Bridge, a good mile SE of the prominent bluff on which Penrith Castle stood, so the sense of *penn* here might be ‘above’, but a lost watercourse name from a different root might be involved rather than *rið*.

²²⁴ Upper and Lower Keith, Keith Marischal, *Keith Hundebey* (= Humbie), Keith Water (Watson 1926, 382), and probably Dalkeith MLO; see notes 128, above, and 241, below. The forest tract implied by the Barony of Keith lay between (what later became) East and Mid-Lothian.

²²⁵ Watson 1926, 382. + **dōl-* ‘haugh’, possibly ‘portion of land’; see under P-Celtic long vowels, above. Absence of lenition here is probably due to the influence of the neighbouring Barony of Keith (see the preceding note, and Pencaitland, below); this tract may well have extended as far west as the river South Esk.

AYR,²²⁶ the Forest or *Ferret* of Keith (Largs) AYR,²²⁷ and Inchkeith (Lauder) BWK,²²⁸ may represent a separate development, perhaps Northern P-Celtic *-d* > *-ð*, subsequently devoiced by Scots speakers, or it may reflect a gaelicised final consonant, or else a sporadic feature of Scots.

However, *-th* also occurs pretty consistently in names from the Lanercost Cartulary in the Barony of Gilsland in north-east Cumberland: *Glascaith* (Askerton or Kingwater),²²⁹ *Glasketh* (lost; possibly not the same place as *Glascaith*),²³⁰ *Cumquethil* (unlocated),²³¹ *Lanrequeitheil* (Burtholme),²³² and *Quinquaythil* (Walton, ? = Nickies Hill);²³³ and these should probably be considered in association with the ‘keiths’ of southern Scotland. The Lanercost records date from soon after the foundation of the Priory in the mid-1160s, and may even reflect Cumbric speech still in use at that time,²³⁴ allowing little space for the intervention of Scottish Gaelic or Scots.

On the other hand such forms are seemingly absent from Carrick, Galloway²³⁵ and Dumfriesshire, and examples with *-t*, reflecting regular lenited *-d* devoiced by Scots/northern English speakers, occur throughout southern Scotland and Cumbria; they include Bathgate WLO,²³⁶ Cathcart RNF,²³⁷

²²⁶ Identical in origin to Dalkeith? Taylor 2011, 87.

²²⁷ Watson 1926, 382.

²²⁸ Watson 1926, 382. + **inis-* ‘island, dry land in a generally marshy area’.

²²⁹ *Lanercost Cartulary* 153, and see Todd 2005, 93; + *glās-* as a stream name.

²³⁰ See Todd, loc. cit.

²³¹ *Lanercost Cartulary* 260 + *cumb-* ‘hollow, bag-shaped valley’ [+ OE *-hyll*]: this might be the same as *Quinquaythil*, below, and note 233.

²³² Armstrong et al. 1950, 72, *Lanercost Cartulary* 149: ? + **lanerc-* ‘enclosure from woodland or scrub’; alternatively a personal (saint’s?) name *Judhael* might be involved; see also note 259, below.

²³³ *Lanercost Cartulary* 224, 259–63. The first element is obscure, perhaps Middle Irish/early Scottish Gaelic *cenn-* replacing **pen[n]-* as in Kincaid, below (note 242), or **cejn-*, but a personal name *Gwengad* may be involved (+ OE *-hyll*). Culgaith CMB, Armstrong et al. 1950, 184, the southernmost Cumbrian **cē:d*, is an outlier, some 20 miles south of Hadrian’s Wall.

²³⁴ See James 2011, 86–88.

²³⁵ Unless Dunragit WIG, *Dunregate* 1535, Watson 1926, 156, is an example. It might be associated with the problematic *Reget*, which in turn might be **rag-* or *rō-ged*. The problem with any proposal invoking *-cē:d* in this much-debated territorial name is that there is no sign of its developing to *-coed*. It is not impossible that a mediaeval Welsh poet ‘revived’ a long-lost name from an old manuscript, failing to recognise its etymology, but such a suggestion raises issues of controversy concerning the origin and antiquity of the verses attributed to Taliesin. For a review of attempts to locate Rheged, see Breeze 2012; on the futility of such speculations, see contributions by Haycock, Padel and Clancy in Woolf 2013.

²³⁶ *Batket* 1153 × 65. Watson 1926, 381–82, A. Macdonald 1941, 80–81, + **bayeð-* ‘(domesticated) boar’; perhaps **bayeð-ged* was a compound appellative.

²³⁷ *Kerkert* 1158, *Katkert* 1165 × 73. Watson 1926, 366–67 + river name Cart, probably from the root **carr-* ‘stone, hard’ plus a suffix.

Clesketts, with Cleskett Beck, (Farlam) CMB,²³⁸ unlocated *Coitquoit* PEB,²³⁹ Penniquite Burn (Dalmellington) AYR,²⁴⁰ and Pencaitland, with Penkaet Castle (Fountainhall) nearby, ELO,²⁴¹ these last two being associated with the Barony of Keith. Possible cases with lenited *-d* not devoiced are Kincaid STL,²⁴² Knockcoid (Kirkcolm) WIG,²⁴³ and Knockycoid (Colmonell) AYR.²⁴⁴ The variety in recorded forms and eventual outcomes of names with **c̥:d* admits of no simple explanation, dialectal variation in Northern P-Celtic may well have been involved, but so also were varied developments when these names were adopted by Scottish Gaelic and Scots speakers.²⁴⁵

Voiced stops underwent lenition, in the form of spirantisation (becoming fricative) between vowels and also after *r* (Jackson 1953, §72(2), 433). Thus early Celtic *-rd-* became neoBrittonic *-rð-* during the second half of fifth century,²⁴⁶ but Pritenic *-rd-* unchanged (Jackson 1953, 164). This seems to be the case with the obscure **carden*, corresponding to Middle Welsh *cardden* ‘enclosure, enclosed place’ of some kind.²⁴⁷ Jackson (1955, 148, see also Nicolaisen 2001,

²³⁸ *Claschet* c.1245. Armstrong et al. 1950, 9 and 84 + **clas-* ‘monastery, mynster’, **cl̥:ss-* ‘channel’, *glās-* ‘greyish blue/green’, or **gless* ‘small stream’.

²³⁹ + ?-; perhaps **cnuc[h]-* ‘hillock’, cf. Knockcoid, below.

²⁴⁰ M. Ansell, pers. comm. A rounded vowel is implied, cf. Knockcoid, below, and note 243.

²⁴¹ *Penketland* 1296. Watson 1926, 355. + **pen[n]-* ‘head, end’ + *-*lann* ‘clearing in former scrub or woodland’; note that *coedlann* is a compound appellative in Middle – Modern Welsh meaning ‘copse’ or ‘orchard’, and this might be involved in this place-name, perhaps (as Watson implies, loc. cit.) a monastic possession. However, Penkaet may well have been the primary name, referring to a location at the ‘end/head’ of the extensive tract of woodland implied by Keith.

²⁴² + **pen[n]-* ‘headland, end’, replaced by early Gaelic *cenn-*: cf. Pencaitland and notes 224 and 241, above. It is interesting that landholdings neighbouring Kincaid are named Kinkell (Scottish Gaelic *ceann na coille*, cf. Watson 1926, 397) and Woodhead, essentially the ‘same’ name in three languages (P. Kincaid, pers. comm.).

²⁴³ Watson 1926, 381 (mislocated in KCB). If this is P-Celtic **cnuc[h]-coid*, *-oi-* implies a rounded vowel when it was adopted by Scottish Gaelic speakers, see James 2011, 64, but also the next note.

²⁴⁴ + **cnuc[h]-* + definite article *-i[r]-*, cf. Knockcoid; however these could be Scottish Gaelic **cnoc-coimhid*, **cnoc a' choimhid*, ‘watch-hillock’, see Clancy 2012, 90.

²⁴⁵ Jackson’s footnote, 1953, 552–23, addressing the problems of interpreting orthographic representation of dental and other consonants in the mediaeval Brittonic languages, is important, and Nicolaisen’s discussion of the significance of *th* in mediaeval Scots orthography, 2001, 13–17, is also relevant.

²⁴⁶ Perhaps rather earlier than the voicing described above, Sims-Williams 2003 ‡17 at 48.

²⁴⁷ MW *cardden*. The etymology may involve IE **kagb-*, cf. Welsh *cae*, but it is a very obscure word, there are no known cognates. For review of the discussion between Nicolaisen and Breeze regarding its meaning, see James 2009a, 150–51. As Taylor (2011, 101–02) observes, its meaning may have been modified by Scottish Gaelic speakers, though as it apparently only occurs as a specific with Gaelic generics, it may have been for them a meaningless district name; see notes 11 and 12, above.

204, and *idem.*, 1996, 25–27 and map III) regarded the use of **carden* in place-naming as a feature of Pictish, and (*ibid.*, 164), he explained *-rd-* as an example of the non-lenition of voiced stops after *-r-*. However, it was apparently adopted by Scottish Gaelic speakers as a place-naming element (Taylor 2011, 101–02) and its pronunciation, as well as its meaning, may have been modified in their usage. The only reasonably certain example of this element outwith Pictland is Cardross DNB.²⁴⁸

Voiceless stops after liquids were affected by a later spirantisation in West Brittonic,²⁴⁹ dated by Jackson to the mid- to late sixth century.²⁵⁰ For example, early Celtic *-rc-* became neoBrittonic *-rχ*, but Pictish *-rk* remained unchanged according to Jackson 1955, 164. Thus we have **lanerc* or **lanrec* ‘small (cleared, and possibly enclosed) area of (former) scrub, waste, fallow or wooded land’.²⁵¹ The examples from the north mostly show non-spirant *-rc*. The cluster of names with this element in and around the middle Irthing valley in north-east Cumberland, recorded mainly in the *Lanercost Cartulary* (Todd 1997), is of particular interest. Jackson argued, in 1953 §149, 571–72, that the absence of spirant lenition from these names may indicate that *-rk* > *-rχ* occurred later or not at all in northern Brittonic/Cumbric (assuming as he did that these names were adopted by Northumbrian English speakers on their arrival, again in the late sixth century). However, this begs several questions, and his later opinion on the similar feature in Pictish (1955, 164) suggests an alternative view that these names may reflect much later colonisation of the district by settlers from further north (though not necessarily from Pictland): see James 2008, 200, and *idem* 2011, 87–88.²⁵² In any case, the substitution of */χ/* with */k/*

²⁴⁸ *Cardinross* 1208×33. Watson 1926, 353. + *-*rōs*, here ‘promontory’. Nicolaisen (1966, 24), puts this ‘on the fringe of Pictland’, astonishingly ignoring its proximity to the British capital at Dumbarton. Cardross MLO is named after Lord Cardross, see A. Macdonald 1941, 22. Note also that Brooke 1991 cites *Karden* 1240 for Cardoness (Anwoth) KCB.

²⁴⁹ Jackson has ‘*when Geminates or after Liquids*’, but I find no examples among place-names between the walls involving geminates apart from *cc* > Brittonic *χ*, Pritenic *k*, on which see the last part of this section.

²⁵⁰ Jackson 1953 §§148–49, 570–72, but Sims-Williams 1990, 219, 248, and *idem* 2003, 254, argues that the relative, and so the absolute, chronology for this change is impossible to determine on the basis of inscriptional evidence (discussed in *idem* 2003 ‡43, 139–41).

²⁵¹ Br **landā-* + *-arcā-* > OW (*Book of Llandaf*) *lannerch* > M-MnW *llannerch*. The suffix *-arcā-* may be diminutive, cf. early Modern Welsh glosses *llan* = Latin *area*, *llannerch* = *areola* (see GPC, and Williams 1952). If so, and assuming a secular sense for *lann*, the meaning would be more or less as above. The common interpretations, ‘clearing, glade’ may over-emphasise the woodland connotations.

²⁵² On the metathesised *-rec* shown in several recorded forms, see James 2011, 87 n172.

could well have occurred in English.²⁵³ They include Lanercost,²⁵⁴ Lanerton,²⁵⁵ *Lanrechaithin* (Burtholme),²⁵⁶ *Lanrecorinsan* (Brampton?),²⁵⁷ *Lanrekereini* (Nether Denton),²⁵⁸ and *Lanrequeitheil* (Burtholme).²⁵⁹ Other names with this element are Lanark,²⁶⁰ Barlanark (Shettleston) LAN,²⁶¹ Caerlanrig (Teviothead) ROX²⁶² and Drumlanrig (Thornhill) DMF.²⁶³

Similarly, early Celtic *-rt-* became neoBrittonic *-rθ*, but remained unchanged in Pictish (Jackson 1953 §§148–49, 570–72, and 1955, 164, and Sims-Williams 2003 ¶43, 139–41). This is illustrated by *perth|pert* ‘bush’ (singular or collective), so ‘thicket’ and, with human management, ‘coppice’ or ‘hedge’.²⁶⁴

²⁵³ Dr Padel has pointed out to me that in Cornwall *-rk* continued to be the standard sound substitution in names borrowed down to the 10th to 12th centuries.

²⁵⁴ *Lanrecost* 1169. Armstrong et al. 1950, 71 + personal (hypocoristic) name **Q̄st*, see James 2011, 88.

²⁵⁵ *Sic*, also *Lanreton* in *Lanercost Cartulary* 56, 62 etc. (+ OE *-tūn*).

²⁵⁶ Armstrong et al. 1950, 72, *Lanercost Cartulary* 6 and note + *-*ejthin* ‘gorse, furze’, see below. Note the *-ch-* in this record of c. 1170, probably representing *-k-* (as it does regularly in Domesday Book, 1186), and replaced by *-c-* or *-k-* in subsequent records.

²⁵⁷ *Lanercost Cartulary* 28 ? + *-i[r]-* ? + *-*iñis-* ‘dry land in a marshy area’ + *-an-*: see Breeze 2006b at 326.

²⁵⁸ *Lanercost Cartulary* 49. Note that this is not a variant of *Lanrechaithin* as stated in Armstrong et al. 1950 at 72: see Todd 2005 at 93 and 102 n37. ? + *ir-* ? + *-*iūn* (plural of **oyn* ‘lamb’, see Breeze 2006b, 326), or + *-*rieini* ‘young women’, see under Morphology, below, with note 305.

²⁵⁹ Armstrong et al. 1950, 72, *Lanercost Cartulary* 149 ? + *-*c̄ç:d-*, see above, + OE *-hyll* (A. Walker, pers. comm.), or + personal (saint’s?) name *-Judhael* (**jūð* ‘warlord’), see note 232, above, and Breeze 2006b, 326.

²⁶⁰ Watson 1926, 356.

²⁶¹ Watson 1926, 356. + **bayeð-* ‘boar’; on the first element, see note 236, above.

²⁶² Watson 1926, 368, J. Macdonald 1991, 6, + *cair-* ‘fort, defended site’ or ‘stockade’. Macdonald prefers OE **lang-bryc̄g*, as ‘long ridge’ is appropriate here; if this is correct, the addition of *cair-* must be attributed to post-Northumbrian Cumbric speakers. However, [-*ŋ*(h) r-] > [-nr-] is not a regular development between Northumbrian Old English and early Scots.

²⁶³ + **drum-* ‘ridge’. Note that records for *Panlaurig* BWK confirm that this was not *-*lanerc* but involves a stream name with **lavar* ‘speaking, talkative’.

²⁶⁴ IE ?**k^wr-* (zero-grade of **k^wer-*) > eCelt **k^wer-s-tā-* > Br, Gaul *pertā-* > OW (*Book of Llandaf*) *perth* > M-MnW *perth*, Corn **perth* (in place-names, Padel 1985, 183); OIr *ceirt* ‘apple-tree’; cogn. Lat *quercus* ‘oak-tree’, and cf. Gmc **furχō-* > OE *furh-* > ‘fir’, Sanskrit *parkatī* ‘peepul-tree’. On the etymology, which is controversial, see Mallory and Adams 2006 §22.2, 371–74, and Hamp 1980–82, 85. Whatever its precise origin, it clearly belongs in the family of Indo-European **k^wr-* words associated with wood and trees, with more distant connections with words to do with cutting, perhaps via **k^wer* ‘cut’ in the sense of ‘do, make, build’.

**Pert* occurs pretty generally south of the Forth, albeit with some variation (e.g. in early forms for Partick and Larbert). Again, these cases might indicate that lenition of *-rt* occurred later in Cumbric, or not at all, as Jackson argued (1953 §149, 571–72), but they may reflect the influence of later migration, or modification by English/Scots speakers.²⁶⁵ Nevertheless, those formed with suffixes (perhaps originally as stream names) are likely to be early: Partick RNF,²⁶⁶ Parton (Thursby) CMB²⁶⁷ and Perter Burn DMF.²⁶⁸

Most of the dithematic names with *pert/perth* could be proper compounds or phrasal formations. The distinguishing mark of a proper compound should be initial lenition of the second element (Evans 1964, §19, 15), but even where early forms are available, this is rarely recorded consistently. Moreover, even if **lann-bert[h]* or **pant-bert[h]* were compounds, they may have remained current as appellatives: *Dumpert* (Muiravonside) STL,²⁶⁹ *Lampart* (Haltwhistle) NTB,²⁷⁰ *Lampert Hills*, with *Lambertgarth*, (Farlam) CMB,²⁷¹ *Larbert* STL,²⁷² *Panbart Hill* (Dunbar) ELO,²⁷³ *Pappert Hill* DNB, *Pappert Hill* LAN and *Pappert Law* SLK,²⁷⁴ *Pouterlampert* (Castleton) ROX²⁷⁵ and *Solpurt* CMB.²⁷⁶

²⁶⁵ Note the variation between *et* and *eth* for the Cumbric plural morpheme *ið* in *Rosurageth*, *Rasuraget* (Gilsland) CMB, Armstrong et al. 1950, 103, *Lanercost Cartulary* 1 etc. (**rös-uragið* ‘women’s moor’). Both show devoicing, but preservation of spirantisation was evidently optional.

²⁶⁶ *Perdeyc* c. 1136. Watson 1926, 386. With early Middle Scots [ɛr] > [ar], + *-ig* or *-og*, gaelicised *-eich*: possibly an earlier stream name.

²⁶⁷ *Pertane* 1277. Armstrong et al. 1950, 156 + *-an*: again, maybe a stream name. Note that Parton in Allerdale, *ibid.*, 426, is probably a transferred name. Parton KCB, *Portoun* 1426, Maxwell 1930, 221, could well be, as Maxwell says, Scottish Gaelic *portán*, the ‘little landing-place’ of the ferry here across the Dee; Brookes 1991, 302, proposes OE **pearr-tūn*, referring to **pearr* as ‘territorial division’, which suits her hypothetical reconstruction of Northumbrian-period ethno-linguistic geography, but it is a questionable interpretation, see Smith 1956, 60.

²⁶⁸ Watson 1926, 357, see also Nicolaisen 2002, 211. + *-ar*.

²⁶⁹ *Sic* 1669. Reid 2009, 32 + **din-* ‘fort’.

²⁷⁰ + **lann-* ‘enclosure from woodland or scrub’. This place is close to the Lampert Hills, see next note.

²⁷¹ Armstrong et al. 1950, 85. *Lambertgarth* obviously suggests the Anglo-Norman personal name *Lambert*; at least this probably influenced the place-name.

²⁷² *Lethberth* 1195. Watson 1926, 357, Reid 2009, 30–31. + **led-* ‘half’ or ‘broad’, or **l̥e:d-* ‘pale, grey’.

²⁷³ *Sic* 1573. Watson 1926, 374. + **pant-*, with loss of *-t*: as **pant* is masculine, lenition implies a proper compound, ‘valley-thicker’.

²⁷⁴ All Watson 1926, 357. The absence of lenition would imply that these are phrasal formations, ‘valley with a thicker’.

²⁷⁵ J. G. Wilkinson, pers. comm. + **polter-* ‘upland stream’ + **lan[n]-*, cf. Lampert Hills, above.

²⁷⁶ *Solpurt* 1246. Armstrong et al. 1950, 107 ? + **sulu-*, see below under Celtic Single *s*. Early forms vary between *-b-* and *-p-*, so it could be either a compound, ‘wood with a view’, or phrasal ‘wood-view’.

This ‘second spirantisation’ also affected unvoiced geminate consonants. Jackson (1955, 164) observed absence of this in the, subsequently much-discussed, element **pett*, the Pictish equivalent of Welsh *peth*, with the sense of ‘portion of land’. However, this was adopted from Pictish into early Scottish Gaelic as *pett*, referring in particular to a division of a former ‘multiple estate’ (Taylor 1997, 5–22, idem 2011 77–80, 103–05).²⁷⁷ Examples south of the Forth are all name-phrases formed with specifiers that are definitely or probably Gaelic, and, in view of Taylor’s findings, they should be ascribed to the period of maximum Gaelic influence in the region, the 11th–12th centuries: they cannot be regarded as evidence of Pictish-speaking inhabitants or settlers at any earlier date, nor as evidence that this word was used as a place-name element (or even necessarily existed) in northern Brittonic.²⁷⁸

On the other hand, while Jackson (1955, 164) found ‘no certain evidence’ regarding *-kk-* north of the Forth, Bede’s *Bernicia* might imply Northern *k*, though *-ch* in *Birneich*, *Historia Brittonum* 61 (in London BL MS Harley 3859), and *Breneich* in *ibid.*, 56 and 63, reflects the Brittonic development *cc > χ*.²⁷⁹

EARLY CELTIC SPIRANTS

Early Celtic *-χt* became Brittonic *-jθ* in the late sixth or early seventh century, (Jackson 1953 §60, 407–11, Sims-Williams 2003 ‡51, 178–80). Jackson suggests (1955, 164–65) that in Pictish it may instead have become *-it*, but place-names south of the Forth show no trace of such a development. He adduces (1955, 145, 164, 173–74) the Pictish ruler’s name spelt by Bede HE V.21 as *Naiton*, corresponding to Gaelic *Nechtán*,²⁸⁰ but the element **nejth*

²⁷⁷ See also Nicolaisen 1975, 3–4 and map 3b, idem 1996, 6–17, idem 2001, 195–204 and map 17, and Barrow 1998, 55–56.

²⁷⁸ The only case where the specifier could theoretically be Brittonic is Pittendreich MLO ? + def. art. *-i[n]-* + *-*driχ* ‘outlook, favourable position’, but probably Scottish Gaelic **na driche* or **an dreacha*; see Taylor 2012, 356–57, referring to ‘at least thirteen instances’ of this formation.

²⁷⁹ See under Early Celtic Short Vowels, above, regarding *Bren-*.

²⁸⁰ Cf. NEITANO recorded in a lost inscription from Peebles (MacAlister 1945–49, no. 2025). The personal name **Nechtano-* > Pictish *Nebhton*, ? Cumbric or Pictish *Neitano* > *Neithon* (Irish-influenced *Nec(h)tan*), Middle Welsh *Nwyth(y)on*, was a popular personal name among Christian rulers and churchmen in the North; for discussion see Watson 1926, 211, Jackson 1953 §60, 407–11, 708 (note to 410), also idem 1969, 48 n1, Thomas 1994, 178, 182 n31, Coates and Breeze 2000, 97–99, and Sims-Williams 2003 ‡51 at 179 and notes 1088–89, the last declaring that ‘NEITANO is likely to be a Pictish form’.

‘washed, purified’²⁸¹ seen in that name shows no trace of the Northern forms in place-names between the walls that might contain it. They include the Nethan Water LAN,²⁸² Carntyne LAN²⁸³ and *Plendernethy* (Ayton) BWK,²⁸⁴ the personal name occurs in Cambusnethan LAN and Nenthorn BWK.

Likewise, among the watercourse names with **lejth* ‘damp, moist’,²⁸⁵ only Leet Water BWK²⁸⁶ might offer any evidence for Northern *-it*, but it could well be OE *læte* > ‘leat’ (Smith 1956, II, 11–12), at least this has probably influenced the name. Records for the Water of Leith, WLO/MLO, with Leith town and Inverleith MLO, very generally show *-th*, though the earliest is *Inuerlet* c. 1128.²⁸⁷ Leithen Water, with Innerleithen PEB,²⁸⁸ Linlithgow WLO,²⁸⁹ and

²⁸¹ IE **neig^w-t-* > eCelt **nicto-lā-* > Br **neyto-lā-*; OIr *necht* > Ir, ScG *nighte*, Mx *nieet*; cogn. Gk (*a*)*niptos* ‘(un)washed’, Skt *nikta-* ‘washed, purified’ See Mallory and Adams 2006 §22.9, 389–90, and, for developments in Brittonic, Jackson 1953 §60, 407–11. The etymology is problematic, as IE **g^w* normally gives eCelt *b:* **g^wt* may have become *gt* and been generalised through verbal forms (e.g. OIr *nigid* ‘washes’). The root is verbal, ‘to wash, to cleanse’, the form with *-t* being the past participle.

²⁸² *neithan* 12th century. Watson 1926, 210–11. R. Nith DMF. Watson 1926, 27, 55, 514, is probably Ptolemy’s *Noovio-* with the root **novijo-* ‘new, fresh’, Rivet and Smith 1979, 428.

²⁸³ + **carr-* ‘rock’; **nejthan* could be a stream name or a personal (saint’s?) name here, but see *ejthin*, below.

²⁸⁴ ? + *blajn-* + *-i[r]-* or *-trev-* + **nejth-ig*, gaelicised **neitheach*, perhaps a lost stream name (J. G. Wilkinson, pers. comm.). Note that *Poltverneth Burn* (Falstone) NTB, Mawer 1920, 160, is probably an error for *Poutreuet*, arising from confusion with *Polterheued* and Powterneth Beck, both nearby in CMB.

²⁸⁵ ?IE(NW) **leg-* + past participial *-t* > eCelt **legto-lā-* > MW *lleith* > W *llaith*, MCorne negative *av-lethis* ‘dried, hardened’, M-MnBret *leizb*; OIr *legaid* ‘melts, dissolves’; possibly cf. OE **læc[ç]*, **lēc[ç]* etc. in place-names (see Smith 1956, II.10) > northern English and Scots *lache*, *leche* etc. ‘marsh, boggy stream’, and OE **læccan* ‘moisten, irrigate’ > ‘leach’ (see OED under vb²). The etymology is controversial. For IE(NW) **leg-* see Mallory and Adams 2006 §22.11 at 394. Alternatively a vowel-grade variant of IE **loku-* (cf. Welsh *lluch* ‘marshy lake’), or of IE **[s]lei-* (cf. **lę:β* ‘slippery, smooth’, see James 2010) could be involved. Whatever the etymology, the semantic range of the verbal root is around ‘dissolve, drip, melt, ooze’, so this participial adjective means something like ‘damp, moist’. On the significance of the rarity of any trace of the velar in *-gt-* > *-xt-* see Sims-Williams 1990, 242, but note that he may underestimate the quantity of names adopted into Old English with this phonology: besides all the ‘Leith’ hydronyms, there are those from *ejthin* and *nejth*, nor is it certain that the velar was voiced.

²⁸⁶ In *Lethame* c. 1230, *Letham* c. 1200 (1434). Nicolaisen 2002, 29.

²⁸⁷ Dixon [1947] 2012, 129; cf. *ibid.*, 77, 131. *-let* c. 1130. Cf. R. Leith WML, unless this is a back-formation from OE *hliþ*, ON *hliþ* ‘slope, hillside’. Leyden (Kirknewton) WLO, Dixon [1947] 2011, 144, A. Macdonald 1941, 27 + *-an*, or + OE *-dūn* ‘hill’, is on the Water of Leith, to which the name probably refers, but *lidan* ‘broad, wide, flat’ is formally possible

²⁸⁸ Watson 1926, 471. + suffix *-an*.

²⁸⁹ A. Macdonald 1941, 53–54. + **cöü* ‘hollow’, + *linn-* ‘pool’ in secondary formation, or else *-le:d-* ‘pale, grey’.

Carleith (Duntocher) DNB,²⁹⁰ all show Brittonic *-ith* for *-jθ*. Likewise *eithin* ‘furze, gorse, whin’²⁹¹ may be in *Carnethyn* in the Inquisition of King David, which is probably Carntyne LAN,²⁹² and in *Lanrekaythin* (Burtholme) CMB:²⁹³ both imply *θ* by *th*, and the latter fairly definitely *-jθ*.

CELTIC SINGLE S AND SIBILANT GROUPS

Early Celtic *s-* became a lightly sibilant *Σ-* in early British, and neoBrittonic *h-* in the late sixth century (Jackson 1953 §115, 517–21, Sims-Williams 2003 ‡44, 142–46, 284); Pritenic *s-* remained unchanged according to Jackson (1955, 165, and cf. Koch 1983, 216). The only place-name element between the walls that appears to preserve initial *s-* of Celtic origin is the obscure noun **sulu* ‘view, prospect’, occurring in Solport CMB²⁹⁴ and Soutra MLO.²⁹⁵ A verbal noun from *syllu* is recorded as *swll* in W. Owen Pughe’s Dictionary (1803, II.43), cf. also Modern Welsh *syllw* ‘attention, notice, observation’. The precise etymology is uncertain, but it must be associated with Breton *selle* ‘see’ and Old Irish *sellaid* ‘sees, perceives’ with its verbal noun *sell* ‘glance’ (also ‘iris of an eye’). The preservation of *s-* may imply adoption from Irish into both Welsh and Cumbric. Whatever the reason, though **sulu* may be a form peculiar to the north, the initial *s-* is not distinctively Northern.

We have seen²⁹⁶ that the vowel in the first syllable of *Ochil* appears to reflect a Northern development from early Celtic *ou*. However, as Jackson pointed out

²⁹⁰ *Cair-* ‘fort’ plus a lost stream name?

²⁹¹ IE **h₂ek₂-sti-n-* > eCelt **actinā-* > Br **axtinā-* > OW (*Book of Llandaf*) *eithin* > M-MnW *eithin*, OCorn singulative *eythinen* > Corn *eithin*, OBret *eithin*; Mlr *aiteann* > ScG, Mx *aiteann* (ScG also *aitionn*); cf. Lat *acus* ‘needle’, *ācer* ‘sharp’, Gmc **axus*, **axis* > OE *ēar* (Northumbrian *ahher*, *ehher*, see Campbell 1959 §224, 95, ON *ax*) > ‘ear’ (of grain), Gk *akōké* ‘point, sharp edge’, *akúotas* ‘awn’ (cf. Gmc **ax-n-* > ON *agn*, late OE *ægn* > ‘awn’), *akhné* ‘chaff’. See Jackson 1953 §60, 407–11, especially 410, and §173, 609–11. The Indo-European root **h₂ek₂-* implies ‘pointed, pricking’, as shown by the various related words. The Celtic word generally has meanings as above, though in Scottish Gaelic usually ‘juniper’.

²⁹² Probably + **carn-* ‘cairn’. *Carned*, with similar meaning, + diminutive *-in* is an alternative possibility: the form *Carnethyn* in the Inquisition of David, if this is Carntyne, might suggest a long vowel in the final syllable, but its preservation in low stress, whether by late Cumbric, early Gaelic, or Scots speakers, would be surprising. A further possibility would be a lost stream name *-nejth-an*, see above, as specifier.

²⁹³ Armstrong et al. 1950, 72, *Lanercost Cartulary* 6 and note + **lanerc-*: see Jackson 1953 §60 at 410, but also discussion of **lanerc*, above.

²⁹⁴ *Solpert* 1246. Armstrong et al. 1950, 107 + **pert[h]*, see above.

²⁹⁵ *Soltre* 1153 × 65. Nicolaisen 2002, 217 + **tre[v]* ‘farm’. Breeze 2000 at 76, suggests that this element is present + **dīn-* in *Dinsol yn y Gogledd* in *Culhwch ac Olwen* (ed. Bromwich and Evans 1992, 567n). He speculatively identifies this with Soutra.

²⁹⁶ Under P-Celtic Long Vowels, above.

(1955, 165), the spirant *ch*, representing χ , is the normal Brittonic reflex of early Celtic *ks* (from the first half to middle of the fifth century, Jackson 1953 §126, 536–40²⁹⁷). In fact, the history of this sibilant group in northernmost Britain is obscure (the river names Oykel and Lossie offering problematic examples), but the *Ochil* place-names either side of the Forth illustrate the intimate co-existence of Brittonic and Northern characteristics in the P-Celtic dialects of this liminal region.²⁹⁸

PALATALISATION

As mentioned above under P-Celtic Long Vowels, Jackson 1955, 165, suggests that palatalisation of *-l* might be evidenced in the final syllable of *Peanfabel* Kinneil (Bo'ness and Carriden) WLO.²⁹⁹ However, it seems that the second element, *-wāl* has been influenced by Old Irish *fál*. Moreover, even if *-el* reflects a P-Celtic pronunciation with palatal *-ɹ*, this could have been a (transient?) feature in Brittonic (see Jackson 1953 §158, 583–86). It might alternatively imply some distinctive vowel quality or diphthongisation in Northern P-Celtic.

LOSS OF CELTIC FINAL SYLLABLES AND SYNCOPE OF COMPOSITION VOWELS

Jackson dates the elision (syncope) of composition vowels in compounds to the mid-sixth century in Brittonic (1953, §§191–95, 644–51) and second half of sixth century in Pritenic (1955, 166); Sims-Williams (1990, 255, and 2003, ‡38, 115–32, 285) considers that the change may have occurred in Brittonic

²⁹⁷ Thus the Brittonic development in *Saxo* 'Saxon' as adopted from Latin was to **Saxs* > Welsh *Sais*. Sims-Williams 2003 ‡14, 23–34, is critical of Jackson's reasoning (1953 §180, 624–28) concerning *-χs* in final syllables, but does not dissent from Jackson's account of the intervocal development. However, Glensax PEB (Watson 1926, 356) and Pennersax (Middlebie) DMF (ibid., 180, 396, Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 94), are likely to show the influence of *Saxo* used for 'Englishman' in medieval Latin, reinforced by 'Saxon' in Scots/English, while Glensaxon (Westerkirk) DMF (ibid., 356), paired with Glenbarton nearby (Langholm, ibid., 184, misplaced 'in Annandale'), is probably early Gaelic **Glenn-Sacsan* alongside **Glenn-Bretan*. So, *pace* Jackson, none of these throw any reliable light on the chronology of this development or on any dialectal variation in Northern P-Celtic. I am grateful to Dr Peadar Morgan for information and helpful thoughts on these names.

²⁹⁸ A further problem is presented by Ogle Burn ELO (Oldhamstocks/Innerwick), Ogle Linn DMF (Johnstone), and Ogilface WLO (Watson 1926, 378, A. Macdonald 1941, 97; + *-mayes* 'open land, field' with lenition): see Taylor 2011, 89, 91–93, 95. **Ogel* < eCelt **ocelo-lā* 'promontory' may be the source of these; if **ūchel-* is involved, it raises the question of *-g-* < *-ks-*.

²⁹⁹ See note 145, above.

as early as the second half of the fifth century.³⁰⁰ I know of no place-name evidence between the walls that throws any light on this, i.e. none that shows any surviving trace of the composition vowel.³⁰¹

Jackson also treats under this heading the loss of Celtic final syllables (apocope),³⁰² but he sees that as a more or less simultaneous development in Brittonic and Pritenic. Plurals are marked by final *-i* causing affection in Penveny PEB³⁰³ with *meyni* 'stones', a plural of *mayn* surviving in Modern Welsh as *meini*,³⁰⁴ and in *Lanrekereini* (Dalton) CMB apparently formed with **rieini* 'maidens',³⁰⁵ plural of **rīyayn*, but these are presumably analogical formations comparable to *meiri* 'stewards' and *seiri* 'craftsmen' (Evans 1964, 30), not fossilised etymological inflections.

MORPHOLOGY

Jackson 1955, 166, notes early Celtic *-gust* apparently > Pictish *-guist* in both nominative and genitive forms of personal names, but whether this is a phonological or inflectional feature is unclear, and I know of no comparable forms in place-names between the walls. Again, *-ui-* might indicate some distinctive vowel quality or diphthongisation in Northern P-Celtic.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁰ See also Koch 1982–83, 227–28.

³⁰¹ Syncopated *Cetreht* for Catterick in the OE Bede is our nearest evidence in space and time.

³⁰² Jackson 1953 §§177–82, 618–33, Sims-Williams 2003 ‡37, 109–14, 284. For criticism of Jackson's relative chronology for apocope and syncope, see idem, 1990, 245–47.

³⁰³ Watson 1926, 354. Dalmeny WLO, *Dunmany* 1214. Watson 1926, 104, 354, 515 n104, Macdonald 1941, 3–4, is a very puzzling name. Perhaps + **mejni*, plural of **majn* 'stone', but it does not show forms with *-meny* until 1587. Alternatively, perhaps it involves a saint's or other personal name (Taylor's discussion of Kilmany FIF, Taylor 2010, 456–57, should be taken into consideration). The territorial name *Manau* cannot be ruled out: Watson's and Macdonald's rejection of this possibility implies greater certainty than seems justified regarding the boundaries of that territory.

³⁰⁴ Plural forms of this word vary in Middle Welsh, with *mein* alongside *meini* (the normal Modern Welsh form), see Padel 1985, 261.

³⁰⁵ **Rīyayn* originally meant 'princess'. A genitive singular of **rīyayn* 'princess, maiden' (Welsh *rhian*), **rieini* < **rīyeiyni*, is implied by the princess's name **Rieinmelth* (for *Riimmelth* in the London, BL MS Harley 3859 genealogy, see Jackson 1953 §38(A1), 351–53). On the basis of this, a nominative plural form, **rieini* < **rīyaynijās*, might also be surmised. I am grateful to Mr. A. Walker for this suggestion, but for an alternative proposal in Breeze 2006b, see note 258, above, and see also under Early Celtic Short Vowels, with note 108.

³⁰⁶ See note 42, above.

CONCLUSION

The evidence is tenuous and exiguous, and any inferences must remain highly tentative until much fuller documentation is available of the place-names of southern Scotland and Northumberland. Even then, it has to be acknowledged that records for place-names in southern Scotland, including those cited in the present paper (and those cited by Jackson in his discussions of Cumbric and Pictish in 1953 and 1955), are very scanty before about 1200, and the earliest records for many names are considerably later. Future research may reveal earlier sources for some individual names, but it is unlikely that the overall picture will be greatly transformed.

Moreover, caution will always be needed in using such evidence to reveal the fine-tuning of dialectal features of a language that had become extinct before the date of even the earliest those records. As I have emphasised throughout, even if they are correctly identified as P-Celtic, all the names discussed in this survey have been transferred from one language to another at least once (some maybe twice or more), and in most cases will have been subject to further modifications within the adoptive languages, before their earliest attestations. Alongside the necessary place-name surveys, further work is needed to reconstruct the developing phonologies of both early Gaelic and of Scots in southern Scotland, and especially to clarify the sound substitutions that occurred when Gaelic or gaelicised names were adopted by Scots speakers. On this basis, it may become a little more possible to understand the processes occurring when P-Celtic names were adopted, either directly into Older Scots or into early Gaelic and subsequently into Scots. Nevertheless, given that the names themselves are our only witness to the nature of P-Celtic in our region, reaching back to the original phonology will always be a step into the unknown.³⁰⁷

Nonetheless, I would argue that evidence already available is sufficient to suggest that the form, or range of forms, of P-Celtic spoken between the Forth and Hadrian's Wall in the first millennium AD may not have been purely West Brittonic. It may have incorporated some distinctively Northern features, including some apparently shared with Pictish as described in Jackson's (1955) tentative notes, and it possibly possessed other characteristics not shared by the language that evolved into Old Welsh. It follows that scholars undertaking place-name surveys in our regions will need to be aware of the phonological characteristics and historical development of both Brittonic, as analysed

³⁰⁷ A further complication that should not be overlooked is the possibility that names were given by people who had migrated from other regions, whose dialect of P-Celtic was not the same as that of their neighbours: see James 2008, 201–03, and *idem* 2010, 87–93.

in depth by Jackson 1953, and of Pritenic/Pictish, as outlined by the same scholar 1955, along with the contributions of later authorities, notably Koch 1983 and Sims-Williams 1990 and 2003.

Jackson's proposal that Pritenic/Pictish was a distinct branch of P-Celtic, separated from, though remaining closely related to, Brittonic from an early date soon after the P/Q differentiation, remains a valid hypothesis, at least until his case is disproved. It of course needs critical examination and refinement as toponymic evidence accumulates, but the important phonological distinction should not be abandoned in favour of a vaguely defined dialectal difference based only on lexical continuity in place-name elements between Pictland and regions to the south.

On the other hand, it is clearly unhelpful to go on thinking of Brittonic/Cumbric and Pritenic/Pictish as mutually exclusive linguistic categories bounded geographically by the River Forth. As I put it in an earlier article, 'we would do much better to think in terms of a northern P-Celtic continuum, in which the isoglosses between Pritenic and Brittonic lie not in a neat plait along the Forth but in a luxuriant and shifting tangle across southern Scotland and even northern England' (James 2008, 142–43).

The evidence I have reviewed indicates that Northern features are to be found in place-names outwith the territories of the historically-attested Pictish kingdoms. People speaking languages that were predominantly Northern in character were probably among the people labelled *Picti* by the Romans, but the two categories were not necessarily co-terminous (Forsyth 1997, 18). If we are to continue using 'Pictish' as a name for a language, it would be best to reserve it strictly for the form of Northern P-Celtic spoken in historical Pictland, between the Firth of Forth and Easter Ross, in the sixth to ninth centuries, and not to employ it in referring to the poorly evidenced or purely hypothetical pre-Gaelic or pre-Norse languages of the Highlands and Western and Northern Islands, or to Northern features in place-names south of the Forth. As to 'Pritenic', as a name for a specific language it seems an unnecessary and misleading coinage; unless it can be accepted as a generic term for Northern P-Celtic, it may as well be dismissed as a redundant synonym for proto-Pictish.

Regarding the P-Celtic language, or range of dialects, spoken between the Forth and Hadrian's Wall, it is probably still safe to regard it as basically Brittonic in character, though showing a range of Northern characteristics. But again, we would do well to restrict our use of Jackson's term 'Cumbric', reserving it for the language more or less contemporary with Old Welsh, which was spoken in the heartland of the territories likely to have been ruled from Dumbarton at the time of the fall of that citadel in 870; that is to say, we can

tentatively use that name for the language of Lennox, Strathkelvin and Clydesdale in the ninth century.³⁰⁸ After that date, it would appear that this language was revived or reintroduced in surrounding regions, most notably south Kyle, Carrick and what became Galloway, in the basins of the Solway and the upper Tweed, and in the hill country of the central Border and Southern Uplands from Geltsdale in the north Pennines as far as the Moorfoots and Lauderdale. Cumbric apparently remained in use in those areas from the early 10th century into the 11th, and perhaps in some parts well into the 12th century; as I have argued (James 2011), a substantial proportion of P-Celtic place-names in those areas may well date from that ‘Cumbric’ period. During that time, too, the linguistic, ethnic and cultural affinity between the *Cumbri* of the north and their ‘fellow-countrymen’, *Cymry*, of Wales acquired a new ideological importance,³⁰⁹ and the matter of the Old North came to be incorporated into the compost whence burgeoned the medieval Welsh culture of literary legend and imaginative history. But it must be remembered that, to speakers of Old Welsh, the Cumbric language, while doubtless intelligible, would probably have sounded as a broad dialect, marked by several exotic, Northern features.

All the same, as names for languages, ‘Pictish’ and ‘Cumbric’ carry a great weight of non-linguistic baggage that can all too easily cause confusion. It might be a better discipline for place-name scholars, and less misleading for non-specialists, if such terms could be expelled altogether from toponymic discourse, as they imply that we know much more than we really do, or probably ever shall. Cautious use of ‘Northern P-Celtic’ as an adjective would reflect more accurately what we reasonably can assume, though care should be taken that even that non-committal label for a range of distinctive features is not reified and raised to the status of a dialect or even a language.

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³⁰⁸ Noting my caution in note 2, above.

³⁰⁹ On **com-brogi* > **cōm[b]roj* see James 2008, 188–91.

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