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The status of Latin in Roman Britannia, how widely it was spoken, whether in some parts it may have replaced British as the common vernacular, and for how long and where it may have remained in use after the end of Roman rule, are all questions that are topics of lively current debate.<sup>1</sup> Attention has focused, to a substantial and understandable extent, on the evidence from and for the lowland, ‘civil’ south and east of the province. However, a controversial view of the influence of Latin on the British language of the highland, ‘military’ north and west has been put forward in a succession of papers by Peter Schrijver.<sup>2</sup> And even in southern Scotland, the presence of fifth- and sixth-century inscribed stones commemorating laypersons in a Latin apparently having vernacular characteristics, raises tantalising questions.<sup>3</sup> Such topics are outwith the expertise of the present writer and, while the evidence presented may contribute a little to those discussions, the main purpose in bringing it together is to inquire further into the nature of the Brittonic language of the north, addressing the question, how similar to, or different from, the West Brittonic dialect that evolved into Old Welsh that language might have been.

The presence by the time of the earliest substantial records of the Welsh language of quite a wide range of words adopted from Latin is well recognised. Jackson (1953, 78–80) gives a list of nearly 300 Latin words (not counting personal names) that were present in the Brittonic languages by the 12th century. Not all are attested in Welsh, though most are, and Jackson declares them to be ‘only a fraction of the whole’, though as they are mainly nouns, with a few adjectives, they probably represent a fair sample of potential place-name elements. But can we assume that a similar wealth of Latin vocabulary found its way into the related language north of Hadrian’s Wall? In attempting to identify

1 Surveyed and critically examined, by Parsons 2011.

2 Summarised in Schrijver 2007, 166–67. His proposals for the impact of Latin on Brittonic entail a substantial movement of British Latin-speaking refugees from the south and east of the former province into the ‘highland’ west in the immediate post-Roman period, triggering the cascade of major sound-changes that affected Brittonic during the fifth and sixth centuries. Such a population movement seems unlikely beyond Hadrian’s Wall, yet (while there were probably some dialectal differences, see James 2013), the major changes such as apocope, syncope and lenition affected northern P-Celtic between the Walls (ancestral Cumbric), and even north of the Forth (Pritenic > Pictish), much as they did West and South-West Brittonic. For further reservations, see Parsons, *ibid.*, 118–36.

3 See, for example, Forsyth 2009, 33–34 and 36–37.

and interpret Brittonic place-names in the north, we naturally turn for possible elements to the Welsh language as represented by the citations in the *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (GPC), but it is well to bear in mind that the earliest of these are typically from Middle Welsh legal or literary sources, products of a culture with a different context and history from that of Yr Hen Ogledd. With regard to words of Latin origin, particular caution is needed: the types and amount of contact with the Roman-ruled south were of course different in the first half of the first millennium AD, and even the ecclesiastical influences that introduced a further tranche of Latin loanwords in the subsequent centuries were by no means identical. So it may be helpful to review just how much, or how little, we can adduce from the place-name evidence in the present, admittedly still far from comprehensive, state of scholarly knowledge.

#### ETHNIC NAMES

We begin with two names that P-Celtic- and Germanic-speaking peoples gave to themselves, but which were taken up the Romans and modified in Latin forms which went on to influence the indigenous forms of those names.

##### *\*Brithon*<sup>4</sup>

*\*Pritanoi*, the name the P-Celtic speaking people of the island gave to themselves, may have referred to some kind of body decoration, ‘ornamented, tattooed’,<sup>5</sup> though any such origin was probably long forgotten by the time the word was used in the earliest historical sources. It underlies the re-formed Middle Welsh plural *Prydein* that became Modern Welsh *Prydain* ‘(Great) Britain’.

Romans would presumably have heard the form *\*Pritanoi* used by the Brittonic-speaking people of southern Britain to refer to themselves. This was adopted as Latin *Britanni* (medieval Latin *Brittani*), and, influenced by this Latin usage, later Roman-British forms seem to have been *\*Brit[t]anoi*, *\*Brettanoi*. From these, a new formation in Insular Latin, *Brittones*, underlies Middle–Modern Welsh *Brython* ‘Briton’.<sup>6</sup> *\*Brettanoi* would underlie the Old Irish (plural) *Breitan*, Middle Irish *Breatan* > Modern Irish *Breathain* and

4 The orthographic conventions used for P-Celtic forms are based on those used by Jackson 1953, with some adjustments dictated by the limitations of present-day word-processing programs.

5 IE ?\**k<sup>w</sup>r-* (zero-grade of *\*k<sup>w</sup>er-* ‘make, cut’) -*t-* > eCelt *\*prīt-* + *-ano-* > eBr *\*Pritano-*. For the possible IE root, see Mallory and Adams 2006 §22.2, 371–74. On the etymology and developments in the Latin and Greek adopted forms, see Rivet and Smith 1979, 39–40 and 280–82. The (possibly coincidental) Latin sense of *Picti*, ‘painted people’, is of course a wholly different matter.

6 And Cornish *Brython*.

Scottish Gaelic *Breatan*[n] ‘Britain’,<sup>7</sup> also Manx *Bretyn* ‘Wales’, along with Old English (plural) *Brettas* and Old Norse (plural) *Bretar* (people perceived as) ‘Britons’, as well as the English name for the island.

A dialectal variant *\*Pritenoī*<sup>8</sup> may have been used fairly widely in the north, coming to be reserved for the people identified as *Picti*<sup>9</sup> as the ethnic and political geography beyond the Antonine Wall developed during the fourth–seventh centuries. This form underlies the Middle Welsh *Prydyn* ‘Pictland’, vaguely understood and often confused with *Prydein*,<sup>10</sup> as well as the Old to Middle Irish singular *Cruithen*, plural *Cruithin* or *Cruithni* > Irish and Scottish Gaelic *Cruithne*. These Goidelic forms are generally taken to refer to (people perceived as) ‘Picts’, though this should be regarded with caution, especially with reference to parts of Scotland well furth of Pictland, and to the *Cruithni* in Ireland.<sup>11</sup>

Place-names referring to Britons in the north were almost certainly all given by others.<sup>12</sup> The citadel of *Dùn Breatann*, Dumbarton, and the probable boundary-stone, *Clach nam Breatann* in Glen Falloch DNB,<sup>13</sup> are Scottish Gaelic names for landmarks in the territory of the Britons of the Clyde. Apart from these, names given by non-Britons are likely to have referred to folk who, at the time they were so named, were distinguished by neighbours of a different ethnicity as ‘Britons’ in some sense, not necessarily linguistic. Whether such groups were Brittonic-speaking at the time the name was given, rather than ‘Britons’ by ancestry or some other distinctive property, and whether they were indigenous relict populations or (descendants of) later migrants is an open question. Other names probably involving Gaelic *Breatann*<sup>14</sup> include Balbrethan (Maybole) AYR with *\*baile-* ‘farm’,<sup>15</sup> Barbrethan (Kirkmichael) AYR,<sup>16</sup> with *\*bàrr-* ‘hill’, Culbratten (Penninghame) WIG,<sup>17</sup> with *\*cùil-* ‘nook,

7 Watson 1926, 15 and n1.

8 < early Celtic *\*prīt-* + *-eno-*.

9 See note 5, above and *\*pejth* in James 2014a.

10 See Haycock 2013, 10 and 32 n47 on *Prydyn* in medieval Welsh literature, especially the prophetic genre.

11 See Jackson 1955, 158–60.

12 Morgan 2013, 31, finds no names in Scotland or the border counties formed with *\*Brithon*.

13 Watson 1926, 15. Morgan 2013, 37.

14 But note that most of these have generics which could have replaced Brittonic cognates: **barr**, **drum**, **din**, **glinn**, **lech**, see under each of these in James 2014a; Balbrethan could have had *bàrr-* (see above), for Culbratten see note 17, below. On the Gallovidian surname MacBratney, from Gaelic *Breatannaich*, with Bratney Wall (Kirkinner) WIG, see Morgan 2013, 33.

15 Watson 1926, 15.

16 Watson 1926, 191 and 362, Morgan 2013, 37.

17 Maxwell 1930, 27, MacQueen 2008, 23, Morgan, 2013 37, but see discussion under *\*cùil* ‘hut’ and *\*cùil* ‘narrow’ in James 2014a.

hollow', Drumbreddan WIG (Stoneykirk) WIG,<sup>18</sup> Drumbretton (Annan) DMF,<sup>19</sup> and Drumbrydon (Woodhall) MLO,<sup>20</sup> all with either \**druim*- 'ridge', or \**dùn*- 'fort' (cf. Dumbarton), and Glenbarton (Westerkirk) DMF<sup>21</sup> with \**gleann*- 'glen'. Legbranock LAN (now in East Kilbride) is \**leac-Breatnach* 'British slab', perhaps a marker like *Clach nam Breatann*.<sup>22</sup>

It is doubtful whether any place-names north of Hadrian's Wall can be derived from OE *Brettas* or ON *Brettar*; Morgan 2013, 34, considers *Wobrethills* (Canonbie) DMF 'unlikely', but *ibid.*, 36, notes *Bretalaughe* CMB/DMF? as possibly referring to 'what later became the Debatable Lands'.<sup>23</sup>

Although *Brithon* does not occur in any Brittonic place-name formations in the north (and is doubtful anywhere else), the corresponding forms in the Goidelic languages, and in Old English and in Scandinavian, make it likely that it was current among Britons in the north as it was further south. However, north of Hadrian's Wall, it may well have co-existed with some unrecorded form akin to *Prydein* or *Prydyn*.

#### \**Sachs*

\**Sachs* was the Britons' name for an Englishman even in the north. It is uncertain whether the Celtic forms were acquired from Germanic or vernacular Latin speakers using the Latinised form *Saxo[n]*-, adopted as late British \**Saxso*-;<sup>24</sup> in any case, it would have become \**Sejs* by the late sixth century.<sup>25</sup> Jackson's view<sup>26</sup> that the preservation of /χs/ in northern place-names implies a slightly later date

18 Maxwell 1930, 117, MacQueen 2002, 91, Morgan 2013, 37.

19 Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 2, Morgan 2013, 37. East and West Bretton (Annan) DMF probably reflect a back-formation from Drumbretton (Dr Morgan, pers. comm.).

20 Dixon 2011, 160–61, Morgan 2013, 37.

21 Watson 1926, 184, mislocates this 'in Annandale'; it is in fact in upper Eskdale and appears also as *Glenbertle*, see Morgan 2013, 37. I am grateful to Dr Morgan for information and documentation about this place and the neighbouring Wauchope, which is probably OE (Anglian) *Wala-hop* '(remote, closed-off) valley of Welshmen (= Britons)'. See also Glensaxon, below.

22 See *lech*- 'slab' in James 2014a.

23 See Morgan 2013, 31–32 and 36, for names possibly involving these elements in CMB south of the Wall, see James 2008, 191–93, for possible examples in WML, LNC, YWR and DRB, and Parsons and Styles 2000, 26–28, for examples throughout England. On Bede's usage (mainly *Brettones*, but in HE I also *Brittani*), see C. C. Smith 1979, 1.

24 Germanic \**Saxso[n]*-; it may well be related to \**saxsan* > OE *seax* 'knife, dagger'.

25 MW *Seis* > W *Sais*, MCorn \**Sejs* (in pers. ns, Padel 1985, 208) > Corn *Zowz* (from pl. *Zowzon*), MBret *Saus* > Bret *Saoz*; see Jackson 1953 §126, 536–40, and §157, 581–83. The Goidelic forms are MlR *Sacsa* > Ir *Sacsa[nach]*, G *Sasannach*, on which see Morgan 2013, 112 and 114–20.

26 Jackson 1953, 540.

for its development to /js/ overlooks the strong possibility that it was preserved, or restored, as /ks/ under the influence of English and ecclesiastical Latin; if so, the form *Sax* may well be a late, Cumbric, usage in the names Glensax (Peebles) PEB<sup>27</sup> and Pennersax (an early parish, subsequently in Middlebie) DMF.<sup>28</sup> Both of these imply a landholder, not necessarily resident, regarded as in some sense a 'Saxon' in a district where, at the time the name was given, this was exceptional, and together they confirm that this term was current in Brittonic, even in 'Anglian' Northumbria.

What appears to be the Brittonic plural form is seen in Glensaxon (Westerkirk) DMF.<sup>29</sup> However, here it suggests a population perceived as 'Saxons' in contrast to the 'Britons' of Glenbarton nearby, and both these names were most probably given by a third party: Gaelic speakers. In that case, Glensaxon is an anglicised form of early Gaelic (Middle Irish) *Glenn Sacsan*,<sup>30</sup> though it too confirms that Englishmen were perceived as 'Saxons'.

#### GENERAL ADOPTIONS FROM LATIN

It is generally recognised that the Celtic group of languages has a relatively close affinity with the Italic group, of which Latin is overwhelmingly the best documented, though it is a question of controversy whether common features between the two groups reflect descent from a common ancestral language distinct from other contemporary Indo-European linguistic groups, mutual influence due to geographical proximity, or a combination of both factors.<sup>31</sup> There are consequently, as we shall see, some Brittonic elements where it is uncertain whether they were always part of the Celtic word-stock, or were adopted from Italic (perhaps in the form of early Latin) at some stage in the Early Celtic period (i.e. before the P/Q differentiation, dated towards the end of the first millennium BC).

In many cases, the historical context of the meaning makes a Latin origin wholly or reasonably certain, because they reflect practices in such fields as military works, the use of natural resources, building, technology or administration, likely to have been introduced (whether into early Celtic or Brittonic) by the Romans, and of course those from ecclesiastical Latin are in no doubt. But, as is generally the case with adoptions from one language to

27 Watson 1926, 356, Morgan 2013, 114; + *glinn-*, gaelicised or anglicised.

28 Watson 1926, 180 and 396, Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 94, Morgan, loc. cit.; + *penn-ir-* 'the headland of the Saxon'.

29 Watson 1926, 356, Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 133, Morgan 2013, 114; the Brittonic plural forms are \**Saxsones* > \**Saxson* > W *Saeson*, Corn *Zowzon*, Bret *Saozon*. See note 25, above.

30 On this form see Morgan 2013, 111, though he treats Glensaxon as Brittonic, *ibid.*, 114.

31 Russell 1995, 1.7, 18–20.

another, especially when the source language is perceived as having a higher status than the receiving one (as was surely the case with Latin in relation to the Celtic languages from a date well before the Roman invasion of Britain), there are some borrowings for which there is no motivation clearly discernible to the modern enquirer.

*\*bas*

An example of the complexity of such cases is the Modern Welsh adjective *bas* 'shallow'. Bazard Lane, a stream name in New Luce WIG, is likely to contain this element,<sup>32</sup> a *lane* being in Galloway Scots a 'slow-moving, shallow stream' (from Gaelic *lèana*). Like the English adjective 'base', it is from a Latin word *bassus*. This word, or maybe a different but homophonous one, is recorded in late Latin sources, but with the meaning 'thick, fat'.<sup>33</sup> However, Isidore, writing between about 615 and 630, uses *bassus* in the sense 'shallow';<sup>34</sup> by that time it had probably already been adopted as British *\*basso-/ā-* to become neoBrittonic *\*bas*, surviving as such in both Welsh and Breton, and evidenced in Cornish place-names.<sup>35</sup> Isidore associates it with *bacceā* 'basin', which itself may be of Celtic origin, though unlikely to have any real connection with *bassus*; however it does suggest the possibility that *bassus* had been introduced, possibly in a Christian liturgical context, as an adjective appropriate for a shallow vessel.

*\*wag*

A similarly perplexing case is the Latin *vacuus* 'empty, vacant'. This must have been adopted from a vernacular Latin variant *\*vacus* to become British *\*vaco-/ā-*, neoBrittonic *\*wag*, Old Welsh *guac*, Modern Welsh W *gwag*, Cornish *gvak* and Breton *gwak*.<sup>36</sup> The borrowing would have occurred when Latin was a spoken, and vernacularised, language in at least part of Britannia, and the original context may well have again involved vessels or containers, whether in trade, domestic or ritual use.<sup>37</sup>

Troax (Lendalfoot) AYR was probably *\*trev-wag*, at some time an

32 + early Celtic *\*-aro-/ā-* > O-MnW-*ar*, an adjectival suffix frequently occurring in river names: see Watson 1926, 431–33 and Rivet and Smith 1979, 389.

33 Souter 1949 s.v.

34 Isidore, trans. Barney et al., 2010, *Etymologies* XIII, xix.

35 Padel 1985, 18.

36 Falileyev 2000, 63.

37 Voicing (lenition) of *-c-* would have occurred in the second half of the fifth century (Jackson 1953 §142, 560–61), but the sound would have been substituted even if the word was adopted later than this.

‘unoccupied, vacant farm’.<sup>38</sup> I have argued that *trev*- name-phrases of this type in south-west Scotland are likely to date from the time when older territorial units were giving way to more compact landholdings, probably the 10th to 11th centuries, by which time *\*gwag* (corresponding to Old Welsh *guac*) would have been current in Cumbric.<sup>39</sup>

In these two cases it is impossible to be sure whether we have Celtic words or ones adopted early from Latin; if they were Celtic, their meaning would presumably have been similar to that of their Latin close cognates.

#### MILITARY WORKS

While some words may have reached the P-Celtic languages of Britain before the Roman conquest of the south and invasions of the north, and a few may even have passed between early Italic and Celtic dialects at much earlier date, it is reasonable to suppose that the first major source of Latin additions to the vocabulary of the north would have been the Roman military occupation of the Wall Zone and neighbouring areas, with two major invasions, followed by ongoing military, diplomatic and economic intervention in the regions north of Hadrian’s Wall, especially as far as the Antonine Wall.

#### *\*mūr*

Roman building and engineering, mainly military in the north, undoubtedly made an impression on Celtic-speaking people. It is appropriate that one fairly good candidate for a borrowing from Roman military usage into the Brittonic north of Hadrian’s Wall is *\*mūro-*, from Latin *mūrus*, becoming *mūr* from neoBrittonic onwards.<sup>40</sup> *Mur*, used for a ‘wall’, more specifically a substantial stone one, occurs fairly frequently in Welsh place-names listed in *Archif Melville Richards* (AMR), though not in any of the major names listed in Owen and Morgan 2007.

We may find this element in Pennymuir ROX (Oxnam),<sup>41</sup> on the Anglo-Scottish Border. Perhaps this was an early boundary name with *\*pen[n]-* in the sense of ‘end’.<sup>42</sup> There are substantial Roman and other earthworks here, though

38 Watson 1926, 362. Padel 1985, 113, suggests *gvak* was ‘perhaps used as a nickname’ in Boswague CWL, and the same may be true of Troax, but he is probably thinking of the sense ‘weak’ that seems peculiar to Cornish. The Scots plural *-is* was added later than 1549, when the earliest surviving record is *Trowag*.

39 James, forthcoming.

40 MnW *mur*, not recorded in Cornish, MBret *mur*; O-MnIr *mūr*, G *mūr*.

41 Watson 1926, 354, J. Macdonald 1991, 31.

42 On *pen* in names associated with boundaries, see Higham 1999, 67–68 and 70–71; on the (probably late Cumbric) formation with the definite article, James 2011, 74–75 and 95–96.

the only upstanding stone structures appear to be drystone dykes (including the Border Wall) of unknown antiquity. Carmuir STL (Larbert),<sup>43</sup> the site of a Roman fort immediately north of the Antonine Wall, is a more doubtful case, *Kermor* 1310<sup>44</sup> suggesting Cumbric *mōr* ‘great’ as the second element.

While there are no phonological grounds for dating the adoption of this element to the Roman period rather than later, given its general application to stone walls with no particular ecclesiastical associations, it seems reasonable to regard this as a word picked up from the Romans.

### *\*gwal*

The more general Welsh word for ‘wall’, *gwal*, is probably Celtic. The Indo-European verbal root *\*welh<sub>x</sub>-* ‘be strong, exercise power’ certainly existed in *o*-grade form in Celtic, as *\*walo-/ā-* occurs adjectivally in several British personal names such as those of the *Cynwal* and *Dyfnwal* kinds;<sup>45</sup> one such name, *\*Luguwalo-*, apparently underlies *Luguvalium*, Carlisle CMB.<sup>46</sup> A lengthened form of the same root, i.e. *\*wālā-*, probably underlies *gwal*.<sup>47</sup> However, the meaning of this and corresponding words in other Celtic languages is likely to have been influenced by Latin *vallum*,<sup>48</sup> either directly or via Northumbrian Old English *wall*, which itself is probably from a West Germanic adoption of the Latin word.<sup>49</sup> The meaning of *vallum* was primarily ‘fence’, but as defensive palisades were typically set on top of embankments, the meaning extended to linear embankments like the Antonine Wall and the predecessor of Hadrian’s Wall,

43 Watson 1926, 370, Reid 2009, 31; + *cair-* ‘fort’ (+ Scots plural *-is*, referring to Easter and Wester Carmuir). Seemingly similar names in eight parishes in Wales (AMR) are generally spelt as Cae’r Mur, though *\*Caer Mur* might possibly be the origin in some cases.

44 From John Reid’s ‘Material for a place-name survey of East Stirlingshire’, <<http://www.spns.org.uk/resources09.html>>.

45 Cf. *\*wal-atā-* > OW *gulat* > M-MnW *gwlad*, OCorn *gulat*, OBret adjective *guletic* ‘country, land’. Latin *valeo* ‘I am strong’ is cognate. For examples in Continental place-names, see Falileyev 2010, 33.

46 + deity name *Lugo-* + suffix *-jo-*: Jackson 1948 s.n., idem 1953, 226, idem 1963, 80–82, idem 1970, 76, Rivet and Smith 1979, 402, also *ibid.*, 265 s.v. *Bannovalium*. For the phonological development of this name in Brittonic, see Jackson 1953 §172, 607 and §175, 616; for its modification to become Carlisle CMB see Armstrong et al. 1950, 40–41, Jackson 1953 §41, 362 n1 and §208, 688 n1, and under **cajr** in James 2014a. Breeze 2002 also sees this element in *Vindobala*, the fort at Rudchester NTB, preferring the Ravenna form *Vindovalala*, but see Rivet and Smith 1979, 500 for objections to this.

47 OW (and Cumbric/Pictish) *gual*, Corn *gwal* (in place-names, Padel 1985, 114) and O-MnIr *fāl*, G *fāl*, Mx *faal*.

48 < IE *\*walso-* ‘post, stake’ (Mallory and Adams 2006 §13.2, 227), which might be < *\*welh<sub>x</sub>-s-* but its relationship with that root is uncertain. A Germanic element directly < *\*walso-* survives in English ‘gunwale’.

49 Campbell 1959 §143, 55–56, and §539, 212, Green 1998, 213.



and later to monastic *valla*, as well as to masonry walls, especially the most conspicuous of all, Hadrian's.

Two or three names in the north associated with boundaries are formed with \**wāl*, ancestor of *gwal*, qualifying *pen-*, presumably in the sense of 'end'. In the case of Kinneil (Bo'ness and Carriden) WLO,<sup>50</sup> near the east end of the Antonine Wall, we know that *pen-* was replaced by early Gaelic *cenn-*; the early documentation of this place-name is of great interest in relation to the linguistic situation in the Forth valley in the seventh–eighth centuries.<sup>51</sup> Penielheugh (Crailing) ROX may preserve a similar formation,<sup>52</sup> and *Penwhail* (Girthon) KCB<sup>53</sup> might be another example, though of course neither of these need date from the Roman period.

### \**pont*

Lat *pont-*, in oblique forms of *pons* 'bridge', was adopted as British \**pontā-* to become *pont* from neoBrittonic onwards,<sup>54</sup> referring initially perhaps to a Roman-style masonry bridge unlike the Celtic \**brīwo-/ā-*,<sup>55</sup> but replacing that as the general term in all the Brittonic languages. It occurs in Penpont DMF,<sup>56</sup> formed with a combination of elements that is common in Wales and Cornwall.<sup>57</sup> Penpont is on an old routeway from the uplands to the west that joins a probable Roman route up Nithsdale near Thornhill to the east; as A. D. Anderson (2010, 106) says, 'whether Roman or not, a bridge existed near Penpont from early times'. \**Pen-pont* was presumably also the origin of Kilpunt (Kirkliston) WLO,<sup>58</sup> where *pen-* was again replaced by early Gaelic *cenn-*, evidenced as *Kenpunt* c. 1200 onward; this was subsequently confused with *cil-*, and so anglicised as *Kil-* from 1467 on. However, while it is close

50 Watson 1926, 346–48, Macdonald 1941, 30–31.

51 On the forms *Peanfabel*, *Penneltun* in Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* I<sub>12</sub>, and *Pengual*, *Cenail* in *Historia Brittonum* 23 see Jackson 1955, 143–44, 161 and 165, and Nicolaisen 2001, 211–12 and 219–20.

52 Watson 1926, 354, J. Macdonald 1991, 17 (+ Scots *-heuch* 'steep bank'); but note Macdonald's reservations. *Painchellhill* in Blaeu's Atlas indeed raises doubts, though as Macdonald points out, diphthongisation of the vowel in 'pen' occurs in other names in ROX. She also observes 'there is no connection with the Biblical Peniel' (Gen 32:30), but that could have influenced the early modern development. See also under **pen[n]** in James 2014a.

53 Maxwell 1930, 223; it seems to survive now as Penfold Moss at the southern end of the parish, near the parish boundary with Borgue (later Kirkandrews).

54 Sic in the Book of Llandaf, O-MnCorn *pons*, O-MnBret *pont*.

55 Falileyev 2010, 12.

56 Watson 1926, 356, Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 107–08, Anderson 2010, 106–07.

57 Padel 1985, 180, Owen and Morgan 2007, 371, and 381 for Pen-y-Bont; several more in AMR.

58 Watson 1926, 348, Macdonald 1941, 43.

to the no doubt ancient route from the Clyde through to the Forth (now the M8 motorway), the existing settlement is (as Macdonald 1945, 43, points out) not near to any known ancient bridge or any substantial watercourse, the Brox Burn being the closest. At Pontheugh (Cockburnspath) BWK<sup>59</sup> there is again no bridge, and no reason to suppose there ever was one. Brittonic *pant-* ‘hollow, valley-bottom’ is likely here, and not impossible at Kilpunt.

*\*cair*

*Cair*, an ‘enclosed, defensible site’, might be derived from a distinctive British usage of Latin *quadra* ‘square’. That word occurs in later Latin, though in mathematical contexts, there being no indication that it was ever used for an architectural ‘quad’, never mind a fort or parade ground. An etymology based on *\*cag-*, the early Celtic root of Welsh *cae* ‘field’ is equally possible,<sup>60</sup> but the fact that there is no trace of either *\*cadrā-* < *quadra* or *\*cagrā* from the *\*cag-* root in names recorded in Classical sources leaves the question open.

Whatever its origin, several names with this element in the north are sites of Roman forts or other military works (e.g. Cardurnock CMB, Carleith (Duntocher) DNB, Carlisle CMB, Carmuir (Falkirk) STL, Carriden WLO, Carvoran (Greenhead) NTB, Carzield (Kirkmahoe) DMF, Castlecary (Falkirk) STL, Cramond MLO, Kirkintilloch DNB), while others are, or are close to, hill-forts or other prehistoric defences (e.g. Caerlanrig (Teviothead) ROX, Cardrona (Traquair) PEB, Carfrae (Lauder) BWK, Carwinley (Arthuret) CMB, Carwinning (Dalry) AYR). Indeed, wherever this element occurs as a simplex, or with a specifier indicating an elevated position, distinctive colour, presence of wild creatures etc., the possibility of an ancient defensive site is worth exploring.

However it does not necessarily follow that such names were given at an early date, nor that *cair* was used as a major habitative element any earlier than, say, *trev*. Such terms were probably current synchronically and may indicate a difference in function rather than antiquity.<sup>61</sup> So, while *cair* might be of Latin origin, and is associated in one of its usages with Roman sites, it can hardly be compared with OE *caester*, definitely from Latin *castra* and very largely reserved

<sup>59</sup> Watson 1926, 348.

<sup>60</sup> IE(NW) *\*kagh-* + *-r-* > eCelt *\*cagrā-* > IBr *\*cayrā-* > OW *cair* > M-MnW *caer*, Corn *\*ker* (in place-names, Padel 1985, 50–54), Bret *kêr*. See Padel, loc. cit., for references.

<sup>61</sup> *Cair* sites in the Solway region, apparently lacking trace of any substantial defences, are likely to be ‘stockade-farms’ or prototypic ‘green villages’ of the Cumbric period (Jackson 1963, Barrow 1973, 65–66, James 2011, 79–81). Taylor 2011, 100–01, takes a similar view of comparable place-names in southern Pictland and considers that *cair* was adopted into Gaelic and Middle Scots toponymy, at least in that region.

for Roman towns and other sites with substantial Roman remains (Parsons and Styles 2000, 158–62).

*\*stre-*, *\*striw-*

Some element of the form *\*stre-* or *\*striw-* may underlie the first part of the very obscure place-name Stirling. It could have been adopted from Latin *struo* ‘I arrange, construct’. That is likely to have been the case with Middle to Modern Welsh *ystryw* ‘stratagem’ and also Middle Welsh *ystre* > Welsh *ystref* ‘dwelling’ (the Modern Welsh form being influenced by *tre[v]*). Alternatively it may be from British Latin *\*strua* ‘fence-post, paling’ from the same verbal root, or even from late Latin *striga* ‘military camping-ground’. Either *strua* or *striga* is probably the source of Middle to Modern Welsh *ystre* in the sense of ‘border, boundary, embankment’, which fell together with *ystre* in the sense of ‘dwelling’.<sup>62</sup> So, even if the first element in Stirling was *\*stre-* or *\*striw-*, the meaning is far from certain. As to the second element, it might have been the lenited form of *melin* ‘golden, yellow’, or of the personal name *Belin*.<sup>63</sup> However an early Celtic hydronym from same Indo-European root<sup>64</sup> could be involved in a formation such as *\*striw-linn*, perhaps implying a shallow, vegetation-filled pool below the rock. And a Gaelic form involving *sruth* ‘stream’, for example a diminutive *\*sruthailin*,<sup>65</sup> is also possible.

*\*pebil*

With *\*pebil* we come to a word of reasonably certain Latin origin, and probably military associations. Latin *pāpiliō* means ‘butterfly’, but the Vernacular Latin word *papiliō*, perhaps soldiers’ slang, is recorded from early third century onward.<sup>66</sup> It was used for ‘tent’ and for the wide range of temporary buildings used in classical and medieval times. It was adopted as Br *\*papil-*, which

62 See Jackson 1953 §44, 375–76, and §46(3), 372–73.

63 See A. O. Anderson 1990, 1.150.

64 Probably PrIE IE *\*ster[h<sub>3</sub>]*-; cf. also Lat *sterno* ‘I strew’, *strāmen* ‘straw’, *strātum* ‘bed’; Gmc *\*strawja-* (< IE zero-grade *\*st<sub>r</sub>-*) > OE *strēa[w]* > ‘straw’, *strewian* > ‘strew’, Gk *strōma* ‘straw, bedding’, Saṅskrit *stariman* ‘something spread out, bed’ (but note that Gmc *\*stramaz* > OE *strēam* > ‘stream’, ON *straumr*, is < IE *\*sreu-*, so not related to *struo* etc.). On the development of the initial on-glide in West Brittonic, see Jackson 1953§119, 527–28; it was present by the 9th century, but its origins in neoBrittonic are unclear. There is slender evidence for a Celtic hydronym in Breton *ster* ‘stream’, but this could be from Lat *æstuarium* > OFr *estier* ‘canal’; no cognate is known in West Brittonic.

65 Suggested by Dr Peadar McNiven at a meeting of the Scottish Place-Name Society, Stirling, 02.11.13. Modern Gaelic *Sruilea* is probably a reinterpretation, either *\*sruth-lach* ‘laughter-stream’ or *\*sruth-lann* ‘blade-stream, see Watson 2002, 61–62; it is unlikely to help in explaining the origin, though it again implies a hydronym.

66 Souter 1949 s.v, Latham 1980 s.v.

evolved to give the Welsh analogical plural form *pebyll* ‘camp’.<sup>67</sup>

In Welsh place-names, AMR shows some 10 examples;<sup>68</sup> it seems to be unknown in Cornwall or Brittany. In place-names in the north, it would be likely to refer to temporary bothies used in connection with summer grazing (or, rather, to the sites where these were regularly erected) – either shielings in the hills, or assembly places where livestock was gathered together (and traded) in spring and autumn.

The intervocalic *-b/-* shows lenition,<sup>69</sup> implying that the word was current in Brittonic by the sixth century, but the consonant would have been adopted as a fricative in earlier Northumbrian Old English, it is unlikely that it would have been treated as a stop before the ninth century.<sup>70</sup> I have argued (James 2011, 71) on these phonological grounds that these names are unlikely to have been formed earlier than the tenth century, and, on the basis of landscape history, that large-scale transhumance was a feature of the Cumbric period, the tenth and eleventh centuries, so, although this word was probably current in the P-Celtic of the north from the late Roman period, its use in place-names is considerably later.

Peebles<sup>71</sup> was presumably a ‘camp’ or ‘place where a large number of bothies were erected’. Given the location and the later importance of the fair here, a very early seasonal livestock market might well be implied. Papple ELO (Garvald)<sup>72</sup> is likewise not a hill-top site, so perhaps a gathering place. At Pauples Hill WIG (Penninghame),<sup>73</sup> Pibble, with Pibble Hill, KCB (Kirkmabreck),<sup>74</sup> Cairnpapple

67 OIr *pupall* > Ir *puball*, G *pubull*. The MW plural was *pebylleu* < \**pebilōu* (+ *-ōü*, see Evans 1964 §30c, 29–30), but *pebyll* was apparently used collectively, ‘camp’, becoming plural in Modern Welsh, with *pabell* as singulative.

68 See Owen and Morgan 2007, 87, for Cilybebyll GLM. This figure does not include six examples of Babel in AMR (and one of Babel!) as an 18th or 19th century chapel name referring to the biblical Tabernacle, see Owen and Morgan 2007, 20.

69 See note 38, above.

70 See Jackson 1953 §135, 553–54, Campbell 1959, chapter X, especially §530, 210, §545–46, 214–16, §565, 219–20.

71 Watson 1926, 383; + English/Scots plural *-s*. Nicolaisen’s (2001, 226) inclusion of this among place-names ‘which were originally names of natural features’ is baffling.

72 Internal *i*-affection, according to Jackson (1953 §§170–76, 604–18, cf. Sims-Williams 2003 #57, 184–90), was a separate development occurring in proto-Welsh (and so in West neoBrittonic) in the seventh century. *I*-affected \**pebil* is likely to underlie Peebles, Pibble, Dalfibble and Mosspebble. Jackson 1955 does not mention absence of internal *i*-affection as a Pictish feature, but in Papple, Foulpapple and possibly Pauples Hill, the *-a-* is unlikely to reflect a singulative form, and suggests absence of internal *i*-affection in at least some parts of the north, unless they have Goidelic *popull*, see James 2013, 42, and note 76, below.

73 Maxwell 1930, 222, MacQueen 2008, 17. The *-s* implies, interestingly, that the name was heard as a plural by English/Scots speakers.

74 Maxwell 1930, 223, but the location would favour a shieling.

Hill WLO<sup>75</sup> and Mosspebble DMF (Ewes),<sup>76</sup> shielings are more likely.<sup>77</sup>

*\*mīl*

Lat *mīlia* ‘thousands’ was adopted as British *\*mīliā-* to become Welsh *mil*,<sup>78</sup> nowadays meaning ‘thousand’ (and falling together with *mil* ‘soldier’), but in earlier usage probably ‘thousands, a great number, host’. It has been proposed by Breeze (2000) in Carmyle LAN (Old Monkland) + *cair-* ‘fort’ or *carn-* ‘cairn’. If this is *Caruil* in the Inquisition of David (see Durkan 1986, 279 and 290), it shows the lenition which would be expected with either of these, absent from the present-day form. But Carmyle is gaelicised as *An Càrn Maol* ‘the bald cairn’, and Brittonic *\*carn-voel* could have preceded this: *mę:l* > *moel* is a well-attested Brittonic element in the north.

In this category, then, *mūr* may have a claim for an adoption from Roman military usage into the Brittonic of the north. The same may be true of *pont*, though at Penpont and Kilpunt (if that is a *pont*) the bridges and the usage may have been monastic. *\*Pebīl* is well attested; it must have been picked up at a relatively late date, perhaps by men from the north serving as *foederati* in Rome’s disintegrating empire. Semantic influence from *vallum* might have affected the use of *gwal*. *\*Mīl* is only a possibility. Both *cair* and *\*stre-/striw-* are in the realms of abstruse philology, anything approaching certainty is impossible with them.

EXPLOITATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

A handful of topographic terms in the place-naming vocabularies of the Brittonic languages are of Latin origin, reflecting the adoption of Roman techniques for exploiting natural resources. Examples in the lands between the Walls are few and far between.

*fōntōn*

While there were surely words in early Celtic for springs and wells, including ancestors of Gaelic *fuaran* and *tobar*, it is striking that derivatives of Latin *fontāna* almost entirely replaced them in the P-Celtic languages, both for

75 Macdonald 1941, 3, Wilkinson 1992, 17–18.

76 + *mayes-* ‘open land, field’.

77 Though for Pibble Maxwell suggests ‘place of assembly’, associating it (and Welsh *pabell*) with OIr *popull* < Latin *populus* (see McKay 1999, 55 and 112), and this could be relevant to others too. For Cairnpapple, an ‘inversion compound’ formation + OE *papol* ‘pebble’, as suggested by A. Macdonald 1941, 3, is not impossible.

78 M-MnCorn *mŷl*, M-MnBret *mil*; O-MnIr *mile*, G *mile*, Mx *milley*.

natural sources and for dug wells. It became Old Welsh *fontaun*, Middle Welsh *finnaun*, now *ffynnon*.<sup>79</sup> Mossfennon (Glenholm) PEB<sup>80</sup> is reasonably likely to be *\*mayes-finnōn* ‘spring-field’, *\*finnōn* reflecting a late Cumbric form, close to that in Middle Welsh. *Trarynzeane* (Cumnock) AYR is more tricky: Watson<sup>81</sup> took it to be *\*trev -i- finnōn* with lenition of *f*, but this would be abnormal in Brittonic; perhaps this mutation, and the palatalisation indicated by *-ynze-*, arose in Gaelic pronunciation.

*Fōntōn* may have been adopted into Old English as *funta*, but Gelling (1978, 83–86) sees that as a direct adoption from British Latin *\*funtā < fontis*, at least in the south, where it may refer specifically to wells with artificial structures. However, this is unlikely to apply to the Font Burn NTB;<sup>82</sup> this seems to represent either a unique Brittonic adoption of Latin *fons*, *fontis*, or an anglicised form of Brittonic *fōntōn* influenced by later Old English *font* ‘baptismal font’.

### *\*coch*

The scarlet or blood-red dye made in countries around the Mediterranean from galls on the kermes oak, *Quercus coccinifera*, would have come to the attention of Celtic-speaking people from an early date. Greek *κόκκος* ‘berry, gall’ was adopted metonymically in Latin as a name for the colour, and as an adjective *coccum* it was adopted in Roman-British as an adjective *\*cocco-lā-*, *coch* in Welsh from the Book of Llandaf onwards.<sup>83</sup>

In insular and continental place-names it typically refers to the colouring of water, soil or rocks by ferrous elements. It is very common in Wales, Owen and Morgan 2007 list some 20 examples, many more can be found in AMR.<sup>84</sup> In the north it probably occurs in the river name Coquet NTB,<sup>85</sup> and it is one of numerous possibilities for the first element in the very obscure name Gogar,

79 Also SW neoBritt *\*funtōn* > OCorn *funten* > Corn *fenten*, OBret *funton* > Bret *feunteun*. See Jackson 1953 §11, 295, §204(4), 678, and §205, 681.

80 Watson 1926, 378.

81 *Ibid.*, 360.

82 Mawer 1920, 38, Ekwall 1928, 160.

83 MCorn *cogh* > Corn *cough*. See Jackson 1953 §145, 565–66, and §147, 569–72, but note also Sims-Williams 2003 †42, 134 and refs.

84 Less so in Cornwall, where *ruth* is the preferred term for ‘red’, see Padel 1985, 68.

85 With Coquet Island NTB; Mawer 1920, 52, Ekwall 1928, 93, + adjectival suffix *-ed.*, subsequently re-formed as OE *\*cocc<sup>2</sup>-wudu* ‘cock-wood’; see Cox 1974–75, 19. Note also, just south of Hadrian’s Wall, Cocken DRH (Chester-le-Street), apparently named from a stretch of the River Wear; suffixed *\*coch-in* may be preferable to Watts’s (2002, 27) suggestion invoking the OE personal name *Cocca*, weak genitive singular *Coccan*, plus a lost generic such as *-ēa* ‘river’.

both in Midlothian (Ratho)<sup>86</sup> and in Stirlingshire (Denny).<sup>87</sup> ‘Cock’ is common in hill names;<sup>88</sup> it is generally OE *cocc*<sup>1</sup> ‘hillock or heap’<sup>89</sup> or *cocc*<sup>2</sup> ‘cock’ (in place-names, usually a game-cock of some kind),<sup>90</sup> though in some cases it might replace a similar-sounding Brittonic or Gaelic element. Cockpen MLO<sup>91</sup> and Cockcrossen KCB (Tongland)<sup>92</sup> both have Brittonic generics,<sup>93</sup> but Scots *cock-* from *cocc*<sup>2</sup>, added to a Celtic name, is still more likely.

*\*luin*

In Modern Welsh, *llwyn* is a ‘thicket of small trees and bushes, an area of low woody and shrubby growth’. It may be from Latin *lignum*,<sup>94</sup> but an alternative etymology, invoking the Indo-European root *\*leuk-* (‘bright, clear’, cf. Old English *lēah* ‘clearing’), plus a root determinative *-n-*, becoming early Celtic *\*lugno-*, was proposed by Jones (1953), and supported, with a preferable *\*lucno-*, by Russell (1985). Either would have become *\*luin* (*luhyn* in the Book of Llandaf), but so would *\*le:n* from Latin *lignum*. If Lenzie, with Lindsay Beg, DNB (East) preserves an anglicised form with both *-e-* and palatalised *-n-*, i.e. *\*[lɛːn]*, it supports the derivation from Latin.<sup>95</sup> Still, if Lenzie really is an anglicisation of a pre-700 neoBrittonic form *\*le:n*,<sup>96</sup> the implications for historical geography are striking.<sup>97</sup>

*\*mōlin*

Late Latin *molīna*, as the word for the water-powered mill introduced by the

86 Dixon 2011, 352–53.

87 Watson 1926, 210, Wilkinson 1992, 17, Reid 2009, 40. See under *\*cog*, *cor*, *garth* and *\*wo-gerð* in James 2014a. It may have been primarily a stream name, Gogar Burn in Denny, a lost one in Ratho.

88 Notably in Carrick, see Maxwell 1930, 75.

89 Smith 1956, I.103–04, Parsons 2004, 143–44.

90 Smith 1956, I.104, Parsons 2004, 145–47; the OE personal name *Cocca* may also be a source of confusion, cf. note 85, above.

91 Dixon 2011, 149.

92 Maxwell 1930, 75.

93 Cockpen has *-pen* ‘headland’, Cockcrossen *-rōs-* ‘upland pasture’ + suffix *-an* or *-in*.

94 > British Latin *\*lejnum*, adopted as Roman-British *\*lejno-* > late British *\*le:no-* > neoBritt *le:n* > OW *luhyn*, pl. *loinou*, > MW *llven* > W *llwyn*; Corn *\*lon* (in place-names, Padel 1985, 153), OBret *loin*.

95 Note too that Catterlen CMB, Armstrong et al. 1950, 182, has early forms (1158 etc.) with *-leng*; it is presumably *\*cadeir-le:n* ‘chair-shaped hill with a thicket’.

96 Jackson 1953 §28, 330–35.

97 But see Drummond 2014, 306–08 for an alternative explanation.

Romans, was adopted as late British *\*molīnā-* to become Welsh *melin*.<sup>98</sup> It is rare in the north, but may be present in Molendinar Burn RNF (Glasgow) (Watson 1926, 386), though the second element is obscure. *Mellingdenor* in Jocelin's life of St Kentigern is a *locus*, not a stream name, but it might refer to the mill after which the burn was named. A Gaelic origin, or at least influence, cannot be ruled out.

*\*calch*

The Romans' use of calcareous sand in making mortar and plaster for their masonry walls and cement for their floors would have motivated the adoption of Latin *calx*, *calc-* as British *\*calco-*, Modern Welsh and Cornish *calch*.<sup>99</sup> It occurs fairly frequently in field names and other 'minor' names in Wales, where the reference is either to calcareous rock or to sites where it was processed for lime, cement and plaster, or else to fields where lime or marl was spread.<sup>100</sup>

The only putative evidence for this element north of Hadrian's Wall, or indeed anywhere north of Wales, is in Middle Welsh genealogical references to a certain 'Man of the North' named Katrawt from a place named *calch uynid* 'calcareous upland'. Skene's view that this was Kelso ROX was accepted (uncharacteristically!) by Watson (1926, 343), though Jackson (1955, 83) was a lot more doubtful. The name Kelso<sup>101</sup> is formed with the Old English (Anglian) borrowing from the Latin *calc-*, qualifying *-hōh*, 'hill-spur', cf. *C(h)alce(n)ho* Cambs. Kelso is toponymically isolated, it seems (to judge from Williamson 1941) to be the only example of OE *calc* in Scotland, nor does it occur anywhere in England north of Yorkshire. As Cole in her full discussion of this element (1986–87)<sup>102</sup> shows, *calc* and West Saxon *cealc* > 'chalk' are associated with areas of chalk or Magnesian Limestone; other than at Kelso, it is not found in areas of Carboniferous Limestone or earlier calcareous rock, even in the North Pennines where limestone is a major component of the bedrock. The Chalkheugh at Kelso is indeed a spur of calciferous rock overlooking the Tweed, and a fine example of a *hōh* as described by Gelling and Cole 2000, 186–88, but it is less clear whether it suits any of the range of meanings of *mōnið*, which normally refers to more substantial hills and/or extensive tracts of upland pasture. In the absence of any other evidence for Brittonic *\*calch* in the north, the

98 The status of the plural *melinou* in MS Angers 477 is uncertain, it could be OBret; otherwise, M-MnW *melin*, O-MCorn *melin* > Corn *belin* (Padel 1985, 160), OBret *molīn* > MBret *melin*, *millinn-* > Bret *milin*, Vannetais dialect *melin*; see Jackson 1953, §157, 581–83, §166(2), 595–96, §171, 605, Falileyev 2000, 112.

99 Modern Cornish spelling *kalx* in Padel 1985, 36. Adopted from Brittonic as OIr *cailc* > Ir, G *cailc*, Mx *kelk*.

100 For an apparently solitary example in CWL, *odencole* 'lime kiln', see Padel, loc. cit..

101 *Calchou* 1126, *Calcheo* 1128, *Kelcou* 1158, *Calcho* 1166, Macdonald 1991, 24, Ross 2001, 120.

102 See also Parsons and Styles 2000, 125–27.



location of *calch uynid* is best regarded as unknown, and the currency of \**calch* in the P-Celtic of the north not proven.<sup>103</sup>

In this section, then, we must conclude that evidence for the influence of Roman exploitation of natural resources is very limited. *Föntōn* is reasonably certain at Mossfennon, though of course the name need not be early. *Coch* is confirmed by the river name Coquet, but otherwise is much less common than in Wales. *Lwīn* (if that is from *lignum*) is doubtful. *Mōlin* is conspicuous by its absence, unless it be in Molendinar Burn and Jocelin's *Mellingdenor*. \**Calch* is, on the shoogly basis of *calch uynid*, not proven. On the other hand, the range of Latin-origin words in this class that occur in Welsh place-names is not great; *aur* (*aurum*) 'gold' is one example, gold is found in modest amounts in the Lowther Hills, but while *aur* occurs in a few Welsh place-names there is no reflection of it in the north.<sup>104</sup>

#### BOUNDARIES AND UNITS OF LAND

A number of Latin words relating to boundaries, land-divisions and landholdings found their way into Welsh, though in general, if they were adopted in the north, they are more likely to date from the early Christian period or later than under Roman influence. But, again, their presence is far from certain.

#### *fin*

Latin *finis* 'boundary' was adopted into West Brittonic to become Old Welsh *fin* in place-names in the Book of Llandaf, and in *finnant* 'boundary glen' in *Annales Cambriae* s.a. 848; the Modern Welsh spelling is *ffin*.<sup>105</sup> A compound \**fin-tre[v]*, which also occurs in the Book of Llandaf, should be considered as a possibility for Fintry STL. We know from early records that Fintray ABD is a gaelicised form from Pictish \**can-trev* 'white farm',<sup>106</sup> and the same may apply here (and to Fintry ABD and Fintry ANG), but the Fintry Hills are part of the Forth/Clyde watershed, the boundary between West Dunbartonshire and Stirlingshire runs along the Campsies on the southern edge of the parish, and the settlement lies where the direct route from Glasgow to the Fords of Frew crosses the Endrick Water, so it may well have been a 'boundary-farm' between the lands ruled from Dumbarton and Stirling.<sup>107</sup>

103 Parsons and Styles, op. cit., 126.

104 See Conclusion, below, for *caws*.

105 Corn *fin* Bret *fin*; see Padel 1985, 98, on toponymic usage in both CWL and Wales.

106 Watson 1926, 364, also Nicolaisen 2011, 322

107 If so, it would be a 'loose' compound formation, without lenition of /t/, so not necessarily early.

*\*cöfin*

Latin *confinium* ‘(common, shared) boundary’, vernacular Latin *\*cofinium*, was adopted to become Middle Welsh *cyffin*.<sup>108</sup> It has been suggested for Giffen AYR, originally preceded by a definite article *i-* causing lenition and subsequently elided;<sup>109</sup> compare Gyffin CRN, where Owen and Morgan (2007, 185) observe: ‘Although the def. art. *y* caused the lenited Gyffin, it has not featured in later usage, but the form was perpetuated by the persistent use of *i* ‘to’ and *o* ‘from’ in speech.’

*\*tervîn*

Lat *terminus* ‘boundary-mark’ was adopted to appear as Old Welsh *termin*, Modern Welsh *terfyn*.<sup>110</sup> In place-names, it means simply ‘boundary’. It might be relevant in Duntarvie, with Duntarvie Craig, WLO (Abercorn),<sup>111</sup> Patervan PEB (Drumelzier),<sup>112</sup> and *Polternan* CMB (Brampton, = Castle Beck, Naworth),<sup>113</sup> but all of these are susceptible to other explanations. Duntarvie is more likely to involve Gaelic *\*tarbhaidh*, perhaps a lost stream name, or simply an epithet for the fort, though a lost Brittonic stream name *\*tarw-ed* ‘bull (water)’ might be in the background. Patervan and *Polternan* are perhaps both *\*pol-tervîn*, with *pol* in the sense of ‘upland stream’,<sup>114</sup> cf. Pwllterfyn (Eglwys-Bach) DEN; however, either may involve the interestingly localised stream-naming term *\*polter*, which seems to have been in use in areas of Cumbric-speaking settlement in the 10th to 11th centuries as a term for an upland beck,<sup>115</sup> with *nant* ‘valley bottom’ as specifier.

*\*lîm*

Latin *lîmen* ‘threshold, lintel’, or *lîmes* ‘boundary, limit’, putatively adopted into British to become neoBrittonic *\*lîm*, was proposed by Coates (2003–2004) as the etymon for the district name Lyme down the western side of the Peak District in Lancashire, Cheshire and Staffordshire, and extending west into

108 Bret *keffin*, not recorded in Cornish. For Latin *-nf-* > *-f-* see Jackson 1953 §102, 495–96.

109 By Guto Rhys, see Clancy, 2008a, 101 n1.

110 Cf. Mlr *termonn*. See Falileyev 2000, 146, and the discussions of Tarvin CHE in Ekwall 1928, 392, and Dodgson 1972, 281.

111 Macdonald 1941, 16.

112 No early records known.

113 Armstrong et al. 1950, 8; the record perhaps preserves the former name of the Castle Beck.

114 Barrow cited by Todd 2005, 92 n29, in discussing *Polternan*.

115 Ekwall 1928, 330–31, Armstrong et al. 1952, 487, James 2008, 201.

Shropshire. Although there is no evidence for such an adoption, this seems a more satisfactory explanation than others previously proposed. Limerig STL<sup>116</sup> is close to the southern boundary of Stirlingshire, which runs through the Black Loch, and in the parish of Slamannan which is the southernmost trace of the ancient territory of Manaw, so it might possibly contain \**lim-*, with Scots *-rigg* ‘ridge’ added later.

*plē:v*

The oblique form of Latin *plebs* ‘the common people’, *plēb-*, was adopted as British \**plebo-* to become Middle Welsh *plwyv*, Modern Welsh *plwyf*.<sup>117</sup> *Plebs* came to be used in Christian terminology for a congregation; in Continental usage it was a unit within a *pāgus*,<sup>118</sup> and so eventually a ‘parish and its inhabitants’. Its derivatives have that sense in Modern Welsh, Cornish and especially Breton, where *ploue* occurs in place-names and is an important term for ‘parish, local community’.<sup>119</sup> However in Cornwall,<sup>120</sup> Wales and the north, it is relatively rare as a place-name element, and does not necessarily bear any specific ecclesiastical, legal or administrative sense; it might have indicated common land. It occurs in a ninth to twelfth century Cumbric form \**pluiū* in Plenploth MLO (Stow),<sup>121</sup> with *blain-* ‘summit’, ‘head of a valley’, ‘limit, remote part’. It is close to areas of hill-grazing and to what became the parish boundary, so it may have referred to common land or to a territorial unit that preceded the parish.

\**pōwe:s*

Latin *pāgensēs* meant ‘people of a *pāgus*’,<sup>122</sup> which may have been used specifically of a Celtic territorial unit, a ‘canton’,<sup>123</sup> or it may have referred more loosely to a rural area, so *pāgensēs* may just be ‘countrymen, rustics’. In Continental usage, it was applied sometimes to the territory of a *civitas*, sometimes to a smaller

116 Reid 2009, 42–43. Compare also Limb Brook and Hill, on the border between Deira and Mercia: Cameron 1959, 11, Smith 1961, 7.131, James 2010, 83, but see also *ibid.* 81–83 for discussion of river names of the ‘Lyme’ type.

117 Jackson 1953, 89.

118 See \**pōwe:s*, below, and Quentel 1973.

119 OCorn *plui* > MCorn *plu* > Corn *plēw*, OBret *pluiū* > MBret *ploue* > Bret *ploue*.

120 See Padel 1985, 187 s.n. *plu*.

121 Watson 1926, 355, Dixon 2011, 369; *-ploif* 1593 implies that this was adopted into Scots from a ninth to twelfth-century Cumbric form \**-pluiū*. It is identical to Blaen-Plwyf CRD, though that seems to be a modern formation, see Owen and Morgan 2007, 36.

122 Adopted as late British \**pōyē:sēs*; see Jackson 1953 §75(7) at 443–44, also *ibid.*, 91 and §46(6), 373–74, and Sims-Williams 2003, †18 at 62 and 66, †25 at 85, and †80 at 226 n1418.

123 See Quentel 1973.

district, and in Wales from the 12th century, *powys* was used for a *cantref* (see also *\*pl̥:v*, above). There is no evidence for it acquiring in Britain any association with *pāgani* in the sense of ‘heathens’. It is presumably the origin of the Welsh kingdom name *Powys* and might have been used as a territorial term in the north. However, matters are complicated by the fact that with reduction of the pretonic vowel, *\*pōwe:s* had fallen together by the seventh century with *\*powe:s* meaning ‘quiet, peace, rest’;<sup>124</sup> that word is only recorded in West Brittonic in the compound *poguisma* (*\*powisva*) ‘place of rest’, with some religious connotation, perhaps a wayside shrine.<sup>125</sup>

One or other of these may be present in Possil Rnf (Cathcart).<sup>126</sup> At *Pouis* ROX (Castleton)<sup>127</sup> with an early Christian inscription in the vicinity some religious usage may be implied, and Posso PEB (Stobo)<sup>128</sup> is again not far from the locations of early Christian inscriptions, so might be another *poguisma*.

### *\*pōr, \*parth*

Latin *pars, partis* might be the source of two different words in the Celtic languages relating to land-use and/or landholding; both have quite complex histories and both probably occur as place-name elements well to the north of the Antonine Wall.<sup>129</sup> The nominative *pars* may have been adopted as British *\*pāro-* to underlie Old Welsh *por-*,<sup>130</sup> Middle to Modern Welsh *pawr*.<sup>131</sup> It was adopted from northern P-Celtic into Gaelic as *pòr, pùir*.<sup>132</sup> In the Brittonic languages, derivatives from *\*pōr* refer to ‘pasture, grazing land’, but Gaelic *pòr* means ‘seeds, grain, crops’, so Jackson (1970, 44 and 68–69)<sup>133</sup> considers that the word meant ‘cropland’ in Pictish. However, the fact that this element occurs quite frequently in Pictland but only doubtfully south of the Forth reinforces philological reservations regarding a Latin origin. On the other hand,

124 Br *\*powe:so-* > OW(*Book of Llandaf*) *poguis-*, MCorn *powes-*, Old-MBret *powes* > Bret *pauouz*; ?cognate Lat *quiēs*.

125 The association of *poguisma* in the Book of Llandaf with the saint’s name *Dewi* (David) implies such a connotation.

126 Watson 1926, 383 ? + nominal/locative suffix (later sometimes diminutive) *-el*, or, less likely, OE *-hyll*.

127 Watson 1926, 383.

128 Watson 1926, 383.

129 See Taylor 2012, 473.

130 Seen in the Book of Llandaf in the verb *pory* (MnW *pori[o]*) and in compounds as *paur*.

131 Also compounds *parlas, porfa* etc. Br *\*paro-* > 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 1955, 161).

132 Watson 1926, 376–77, Jackson 1955, 161, idem 1972, 44 and 68–69, Taylor 2011, 105.

133 See also Taylor 2012, 473.

we can say with a little more confidence that Latin *part-*, in the oblique forms of *pars*, was adopted as British *\*parto-*, becoming *parth* ‘portion of land’ from neoBrittonic onwards.<sup>134</sup>

Five place-names across Lothian and RNF are apparently of identical origin. Pardivan ELO (Whitecraig),<sup>135</sup> Pardivan MLO (Cranston),<sup>136</sup> Pardovan WLO (Linlithgow),<sup>137</sup> Parduvine MLO (Carrington),<sup>138</sup> and *Perdovingishill* RNF (lost).<sup>139</sup> Their first element is not certain. Although Watson’s treatment of place-names with ‘Par-’ north of the Forth<sup>140</sup> was superseded by Jackson’s, his suggestion that in these names it is a form related to *parth* should not be dismissed. Alternatively, *\*pār*, a Pictish (or, as I would prefer, Northern P-Celtic) variant of *\*pōr*,<sup>141</sup> is not impossible south of the Forth,<sup>142</sup> though whether it would have meant ‘cropland’ or ‘pasture’ we cannot know. The second element is probably *-duvn*, an adjective meaning ‘deep’, but the meaning of the name-phrase as a whole is obscure.<sup>143</sup> Altogether, the status of both *\*pōr* and *\*parth* in the territory between the Walls remains very dubious.

*\*peth*

The Welsh word *peth* ‘piece, portion’ is undoubtedly of Celtic origin.<sup>144</sup> Well known and widely discussed among Scottish place-name scholars, Pictish *pett*, adopted into early Gaelic as *peit*, had the specific sense of ‘portion of land’, in particular a division of a former ‘multiple estate’.<sup>145</sup> It occurs very frequently

134 Other forms in OW include *pard*, *part*, *parth*. OCorn *-bard*, *-barh* (in compounds) > Corn *par*, OBret *parth* > MBret *parz* (but also MBret *perz* > Bret *perzh*); the Goidelic cognates are MÍr *pairt* > Ir *páirt*, G *pàirt*, Mx *paart*. See Jackson 1953 §148, 570–71, §150, 572–73, and Falileyev 2000, 127, also Taylor 2012, 256–57, on Parbroath (Creich) FIF (misplaced by Watson 1926, 373, in Forfarshire = ANG).

135 Watson 1926, 372–73.

136 Dixon 2011, 190.

137 Watson 1926, 372–73, A. Macdonald 1941, 62, Wilkinson 1992, 29.

138 Watson 1926, 372–73, Dixon 2011, 112.

139 Watson 1926, 372, Wilkinson 1992, 29.

140 Watson 1926, 372.

141 As suggested by Jackson 1955, 161.

142 See James 2013, on ‘Pictish’ features in place-names south of the Forth.

143 *Duvn* might have borne some cosmological significance in early Celtic world-views, perhaps associated with cultic offerings to powers of the underworld, see Wilkinson 2002, 140 and n7, and discussion under **duβin** in James 2014a.

144 Br, Gaul *petti-* > OW *-ped-* (*Book of Llandaf*) *peth* > M-MnW *peth*, Corn *pyth*, *pe(y)th*, MBret *pez* > Bret *pezh*, Vannetais dialect *péh*; OIr *cuít* > Ir, G *cuid*, Mx *cooid*; also Prit *pett* adopted as G *peit*, anglicised *pit[t]*-. See Falileyev 2000, 128, Watson 1926, 408, Jackson 1955, 148 and 164, Nicolaisen 2001, 195–204. The Indo-European etymology, ? IE *\*k<sup>w</sup>esd-* > eCelt *\*k<sup>w</sup>etti-*, is very doubtful, for lack of convincing cognates.

145 Taylor 1997, 5–22, idem 2012, 217–25.

(generally with Gaelic specifiers) in place-names in historic Pictland, between the Firth of Forth and the Dornoch Firth, with very few outliers.

Jackson (1955, 164) saw the non-lenition of *-tt* as a Pictish feature, and its use as a place-name element as diagnostic of Pictish presence.<sup>146</sup> He drew attention to Latin *petia* [*terrae*], apparently from a Gaulish cognate of *pett*, \**petiā-*, which is also the origin of French *pièce* whence English ‘piece’,<sup>147</sup> and suggested that the use of this word for a unit of land in Pictish and Gaulish, but not in any of the Brittonic languages south of the Forth, might hint at a relationship between Pictish and Gaulish, even migration from Gaul to northern Britain.<sup>148</sup>

This suggestion has been generally discarded in recent scholarship, but the question it raises deserves consideration. A more likely reason for the distinctive Pictish use of *pett* for a unit of land may have been the influence of ecclesiastical Latin usage in Pictland; i.e. *petia* was the favoured term for a land-unit in (some influential centre of) the church in Pictland and Pictish speakers equated it with what happened to be its cognate, their word *pett*. In view of the overwhelming predominance of Gaelic toponymic formations, this was probably a relatively late development in Pictish, not long before the rise of Gaelic, and may well have been associated with Latin usage in the context of changes in landholding during that period of transition.

However, 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,<sup>149</sup> 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. The only case where the specifier could theoretically be Brittonic is Pittendreich MLO,<sup>150</sup> with the definite article *-in-* and \**-drīch*, but *drych* in Modern Welsh is simply the verbal noun ‘sight’, its status as a place-name element is doubtful; given the frequency of the ‘Pittendreich’ name-

146 See also Wainwright 1955, Nicolaisen 2001, 195–204 and map 17, idem 1975, 3–4 and map 3b, idem 1996, 6–17, and Barrow 1998, 55–56.

147 In 12th-century Anglo-Latin, it was *petā* ‘allotment of turbarry’, which entered Middle English as *pete* > Modern English ‘peat’. Adopted, probably from Middle Welsh into Middle Irish, it was *pīt* ‘ration, allocation of food or drink’, perhaps influenced by the unrelated Vernacular Latin \**pietantia* ‘pittance’, in monastic diet ‘light breakfast’. This element might possibly be present, + *cors-*, in *Corstopitum* Rivet and Smith 1979, 322–24; see Richmond 1958, 140n, but also under *corō* and *riđ* in James 2014a.

148 See also Nicolaisen 2001, 196.

149 See also James 2013, 65.

150 Dixon 2011, 280–81.

phrase north of the Forth, it is much more likely to be Gaelic, with *-na driche* or *-an dreacha* meaning ‘favourable, usually southerly, aspect.’<sup>151</sup>

Place-name evidence for Latin-origin words for boundaries in our region is at best tentative. *\*Fīn* is an arguable possibility at Fintry, *\*cōfīn* a stronger likelihood at Giffen, *tervīn* might be relevant at Duntarvie, Patervan and *Polternan*, though other etymologies are possible. Hypothetical *\*līm* is an interesting consideration at Limerig.

Two terms for units of land are reasonably secure: *\*plē:v* is confirmed by Plenploth, though whether it refers to an administrative or tenurial unit, to common land, or to something else, is less certain. *\*Powe:s* is likely to be evidenced in Possil, *Pouis* and Posso, though again the meaning is uncertain, and falling together with the unrelated Celtic word meaning ‘peace, rest’ suggests a possible hagiological significance. *\*Pōr*, *parth* and *peth* present a range of difficulties, and the presence of any of them in our region is doubtful.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL

A substantial proportion of the Latin loanwords in Brittonic languages listed by Jackson are, unsurprisingly, associated with the Church, and a good many more can be confidently ascribed to items, activities and concepts introduced by the clergy and monastic orders during the early Middle Ages. A fair number of ecclesiastical terms occur as place-name elements in Wales and Cornwall; given the archaeological, epigraphic and documentary evidence for the presence of the Church in the lands between the Walls from at least the early sixth century, we might expect this to be similarly reflected in the toponymy.

#### *\*egle:s*

Greek *ἐκκλησία* was adopted as Latin *ecclesia*, in British Latin *\*eclesia*, and this was taken into British as *\*ecle:sjā-* to become *eccluys* in the Book of Llandaf, Modern Welsh *eglwys*.<sup>152</sup> It was adopted from neoBrittonic into Old Irish as *eclais*, becoming Irish and Gaelic *eaglais*, and it occurs in Old English place-name formations as *\*eclēs*.

This word, in its Brittonic, Goidelic and (especially) Old English manifestations has been the subject of much scholarly discussion, full references will be found in Hough 2009 and James 2009. In her paper, Hough argued

151 See Watson 1926, 413, and Taylor 2008, 99–100, idem 2009, 252, and idem 2012, 356–57, where he refers to ‘at least 13 instances’ of this name-formation.

152 Corn *eglos*, Bret *iliz*. On the phonology see Jackson 1953 §28, 335, §61, 412, and §137, 557.

convincingly against the view that the word was adopted into Old English vocabulary in general; from the point of view of English speakers, it was simply a word they heard used by the Britons to refer to particular places, whether or not as an actual place-name (though Hough concurs with Barrow's view that it was one). In my own contribution, I argued further that the principal meaning in the time of initial contact between Celtic and English speakers would not have been a 'church (building)' but a 'Christian community', in the fifth to seventh century context, an early monastic community, and that in referring to places, it would have indicated both the home of such a community and its landholding (James 2009, 129–30).

So, at Eccles BWK,<sup>153</sup> \**egle:s* may well have been, from the point of view of the pagan Angles, just an unintelligible British name for a desirable piece of real estate. Other simplex 'Eccles' incorporated into post-conversion Northumbria may or may not have passed into Anglian Church control, but the name only tells us they were former British Church estates (i.e. by the early seventh century, not necessarily, as Barrow supposed, from the Roman period, or even the fifth to sixth centuries). This would apply to *Eggles* STL (= St Ninians),<sup>154</sup> and Eccles DMF (Penpont).<sup>155</sup>

Ecclefechan (Hoddom) DMF,<sup>156</sup> if it was Brittonic \**egle:s-vechan* with the lenited feminine form of *bīchan*, may have been a relatively 'small' portion of an extensive Church landholding, perhaps associated with the (British predecessor of the Anglian) monastery at Hoddom. However, a Gaelic formation, \**eclais Féchin* commemorating one of the Irish saints of that name, is an alternative possibility.<sup>157</sup>

One more name possibly formed with \**eclēs* and an Old English generic (which again might or might not have replaced a Brittonic simplex \**Egle:s*)

153 Watson 1926, 153, and see Barrow 1973, 28–32, idem 1983, 5, and James 2009, 130–31. Eccles Cairn ROX (Yetholm)/NTB (Kirknewton) border (+ Scots/ English 'cairn') may be a trace of another such estate, perhaps significantly in the vicinity of the Northumbrian royal centre at Yeavinger.

154 See Barrow 1983, 6, MacQueen 1998, 39–53, and James 2009, 127–28; possibly Gaelic in origin, but there is no other evidence for *eclais* as a simplex place-name. Both Brittonic/Pritenic and Northumbrian Old English are possible here.

155 James 2009, 137. Regles Tower MLO (Penicuik), Watson 1926, 153, Dixon 2011, 63, might have been + \**ir-egle:s*, but this is 'doubtful' according to Barrow 1983, 3; a Gaelic descendant of OIr *reiclēs* 'recluse's cell, oratory' is possible, Watson 1926, loc. cit.

156 Watson 1926, 168, Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 55.

157 Less likely still would be *-Vechan* as an otherwise unknown Brittonic female saint's name. See Taylor 1998, 4, James 2009, 136.



is the very intriguing Eaglesham RNF.<sup>158</sup> The generic *hām* is the usual term for ‘estate, substantial landholding’ in early Old English toponymy, and \**eclēs-hām* could have been ‘the estate called “*Eclēs*”, or perhaps it was understood as ‘church estate’. It might have been paired with Cunninghame AYR if this was \**cyninge-hām* ‘king’s estate’.<sup>159</sup>

Two place-names in our region are likely to reflect the later use of Latin *ecclesia* and Cumbric \**egle:s*<sup>160</sup> for ‘church building’. In *egglesbreth* STL (= Falkirk), spellings with *-t[h]* could preserve a P-Celtic form \**egle:s-vreith* ‘multicoloured church’, still current in the area even in the late 11th to early 12th centuries.<sup>161</sup> Terregles KCB<sup>162</sup> is certainly \**trev-ir-egle:s*; both *trev-* and the formation with the definite article point to a date no earlier than the 10th century.<sup>163</sup> It might be a Cumbric calque on the Anglo-Scandinavian *kirkejuby*, very important at that time in toponymy south of the Solway.

158 + OE *-hām* ‘farming settlement, estate’; see Hough 2009, 121 n16, James 2009, 137–38, and idem 2010, 123–24.

159 Eaglesfield DMF is almost certainly a transferred name associated with the Smith family from Eaglesfield CMB (who used Eaglesfield as a male christian name); for the latter see Armstrong et al. 1950, 378, and James 2009, 135–36 and 144 n16. For Ecclaw BWK (Duns) see *ibid.*, 131: the absence of any trace of *-s-* makes this a doubtful example.

160 Or \**egluīs*, we cannot be sure of the vocalism of the second syllable by the ninth to eleventh centuries in the north.

161 Nicolaisen 2011, 60–73, Reid 2009, 32–36. Nicolaisen sees spellings with *-t[h]* as miscopyings with *-t* for Goidelic *-c*, but his apparent assumptions, that P-Celtic had been extinct and Gaelic in regular use in this part of the Forth valley for up to three centuries before the earliest records (*Historia Regum* and *Historia post Bedam*), are questionable, even if we agree with him in rejecting the view that these incorporate eighth century annals. Whether P- or Q-Celtic, lenition is only shown in the form *eaglesuret* (Melrose Chronicle 1185 × 98); elsewhere, *-b-* probably represents [v]. If any or all of the early spellings do reflect a P-Celtic form, the vowel, whether *e*, *i*, or *y*, represents [ei]; this is quite possible in the context of transcription. Nicolaisen acknowledges, *ibid.*, 68, ‘a reasonable possibility of an earlier Cumbric name’, and a Cumbric or Pictish name transmitted directly or via Gaelic to speakers of early Scots could underlie any of the 12th-century forms. See also Reid, *loc. cit.*

162 Watson 1926, 359, MacQueen 1953–54 and idem 2005, 28–29 and 57–58. More doubtful cases are Bareagle WIG (Old Luce); MacQueen 2002, 69, gives this Gaelic form, \**bàrr na h-eaglaise* associating it with Glenuce Abbey, but in *ibid.*, at 96, and in *St Nynia* (3rd edn, 2005), 28–29 and 135, he implies Brittonic *egle:s*; see also James 2009, 139–40 and n34. Dalleagles AYR (New Cumnock) is Gaelic \**dail eaglaise* but might be compared to English \**eclēs-halh*, Eccleshall YWR and Ecclesall STF. Dalreagle WIG (Kirkinner) Maxwell 1930, 103, MacQueen 2008, 23, is probably Gaelic and not formed with *-eglais*. Formations with (probable) saints’ names are likely to be Gaelic, see Taylor 1998: Eaglescairn ELO (Bolton) Barrow 1973, 10–13, Ecclesmachan WLO Macdonald 1941, 47–48, Barrow 1973, 9, *Eglismalesoch* LAN (Carluke), Watson 1926, 196, and *Eglismonichto* MLO.

163 James 2009, 146 n37 and idem, forthcoming 2014.

*\*bassaleg*

Greek βασιλικόν was adopted (with gender change) as Latin *basilica*, used of a large, rectangular public hall, typically built alongside the forum in cities of the western Roman Empire. Such buildings were widely adopted or imitated as churches from the time of Constantine onward. In Continental usage, *basilica* came to mean a ‘major church, possessing relics of a saint’,<sup>164</sup> but it is doubtful whether this distinction was observed in Insular Latin, and there is so far no archaeological evidence of any attempt at ‘basilican’ church architecture in Britain before the stone-building campaigns of Wilfred and Benedict Biscop.<sup>165</sup> On the other hand, the word seems to have been used of especially grand churches, or simply as a rhetorical variant for *ecclesia* in the sense of ‘church building’.<sup>166</sup> The root relationship with Greek *basileús* ‘king’ would have been known to literate clergy at least from the circulation of Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologies* (XV.iv.9), by the mid-seventh century, so ‘royal church’ is a possible interpretation.

If *basilica* was taken into West Brittonic before the seventh century, it should have been subject to internal i-affection. The absence of this in *Bassalec* in the Book of Landaf, Bassaleg MON,<sup>167</sup> has led Parsons<sup>168</sup> to favour Irish introduction here (*bassalec*, Modern Irish *baisleac*), and the same may well apply in the case of Paisley RNF, for which Watson<sup>169</sup> favoured a Goidelic origin. In Ireland, Baslick MNG and Baslikane/*Baisleacán* KRY are likely to be very early, even fifth century, foundations,<sup>170</sup> so perhaps Paisley records a trace of an Irish ecclesiastical presence at a date well before the general gaelicisation of Strathclyde.<sup>171</sup> However, the presence of the word in the Brittonic of the region cannot be inferred with any confidence.

*\*cōr*

Gk χορός was adopted as Latin *chorus* and possibly thence as British *\*cōr-* to

164 Knight 1999, 142.

165 Thomas 1981, 142, and Blair 2005, 65–73.

166 See *egle:s*, above, and Brown 1999, 360.

167 T. Roberts 1992, 41.

168 Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland Conference 2012.

169 Watson 1926, 194, and see idem [1904–1905] 2002, 54.

170 Doherty 1984.

171 The devoicing of initial *b-* would probably have occurred in Brittonic usage. Medieval forms with *-t[h]* are probably scribal miscopyings. A proposal *\*pasgel-* ‘pasture’ + *\*-lethir* ‘slope’ (perhaps *\*-led* ‘broad’ would be better) reported in Ross 2001, 172; but *pasgell* is not attested in Welsh before 1707 (GPC), and would require miscopying of *-t* as *-c* and subsequent replacement by *-k* in the 1296 form *Passelek*.

become Welsh *côr*<sup>172</sup> ‘choir’. The metonymic use for the *chorus* as part of a church building is found in Insular Latin from the 11th century, though in Welsh only from the 13th. As church architecture and liturgical practices developed, it came to refer loosely, as did English ‘quire’, to the chancel and to the sanctuary within the chancel, as well as the space occupied by the singing choir. The extended east end or chancel is a feature of Gothic architecture, no earlier than the 12th century in England or Scotland, the move of the choir into the chancel a still later development, mainly in non-monastic churches, and chancels only became free-standing structures after the Reformation, when they were either the sole parts of churches to remain in use, ‘in quires and places where they sing’ (*Book of Common Prayer*), or else as ‘bare, ruin’d choirs’ (Shakespeare *Sonnet 73*).<sup>173</sup>

This casts doubt on Breeze’s (2000) perception of this element in Carmunnock LAN,<sup>174</sup> in the sense of a (free-standing?) chancel, which even in very late Cumbric would be architecturally and liturgically anachronistic. The first element might be *cor* ‘enclosure’, possibly monastic, but the form *Cormannoc* 1177 in the Paisley Register is not decisive, other early records show *Car-* suggesting *cair* ‘fort’. The second element could be *\*mönach*, but on that element see below.

*\*crois*

Latin *crux*, British Latin *\*crox*, may have been adopted as British *\*croys* to become Old Welsh *crois* in the Book of Llandaf, Modern Welsh *croes*.<sup>175</sup> In place-names, it refers primarily to a monument of wood or stone in the form of, carved with, or surmounted by, a cross. Metaphoric extension to ‘crossing-place’ or ‘place lying across (a boundary etc.)’ is common in Welsh and the

172 Corn *cür*, M-MnBret *cor*. However GPC regards *côr* as a native word.

173 The difficult Welsh place-name Corwen MER has been interpreted as *\*côr-faen* ‘sanctuary stone’, (Owen and Morgan 2007, 98, see also 260–61 for late-recorded Llangorwen CRD), referring to a possible menhir incorporated into the building, but this rests on a misunderstanding: *côr* means ‘sanctuary’ in the liturgical sense of the sacred space around the altar, not in the wider sense of ‘place of refuge’.

174 Watson 1926, 196 and 367.

175 OCorn *crois*, MBret *\*croes* (in place-names), *croas* > Bret *kroaz*; O-MIr *crois* > Ir *crois*, G *crois* (note also *cròsg* and, in place-names *\*crasg-*), Mx *crois*; MIr *crois* adopted as ON *kross*, thence as late OE *crois* > ‘cross’. Note also the parallel development: Lat *crux* adopted (by more ‘correct’ speakers of Latin) as Br *\*cruχs* > neoBrittonic *\*crujs* > M-MnW *crwys*, OCorn *\*cruus* > Corn *crois* (see Padel 1985, 72–73). See Jackson 1953, 86–87, §5, 274, and §§126–27, 535–40, and Sims-Williams 2003 †14, 23–24. Again, the Latin origin is not certain.

Goidelic languages, though doubtful in Cornish.<sup>176</sup> In any case, confusion with Gaelic *crois* or \**crasg* ‘crossing-place’, as well as with the Brittonic elements *cors* ‘reeds, rushes, sedge’, and \**cras* ‘parched (land)’, and the impossibility (very often) of knowing whether a cross once stood at any particular place, make confident identification and interpretation generally difficult.

A few places may be formed with *crois* and an adjectival suffix. Corsick (Smailholm) ROX<sup>177</sup> might have *-īg* in its diminutive sense, or be an English formation with *-wic*; Corsock KCB (×2: New Abbey and Parton)<sup>178</sup> might likewise be suffixed with *-ōg*, perhaps ‘crossing place’, but *cors* could be appropriate at both places; *Tercrosset* (Kingwater) CMB<sup>179</sup> may have been another \**crois-ōg*, with *torr-* added in a secondary formation.<sup>180</sup> Cases where a cross or a crossing, or even both, could have been present include Drumcross (otherwise *Crosston*, Bathgate) WLO<sup>181</sup> with \**drum-* ‘ridge’, or Gaelic \**druim-crois*; Glencorse MLO (Penicuik)<sup>182</sup> and Glencorse DMF (Closeburn)<sup>183</sup> are both topographically crossing-places, though whether Brittonic \**glinn-crois* or Gaelic \**gleann croiseach* is indeterminable; Glencrosh DMF (Glencairn)<sup>184</sup> is closer to the Gaelic but could still be Brittonic in origin.

### \**clas*

Latin *classis*, oblique *class-*,<sup>185</sup> was adopted with change of gender to become Welsh *clas*.<sup>186</sup> The root sense of *classis* is ‘summoned, called up’, so used of a group assembled or conscripted for a specific purpose – a military unit, a fleet, a school form. In early ecclesiastical Latin it was used of monastic communities. As adopted into (West) Brittonic, its meaning extended by metonymy to the

176 Examples in Wales, with page references to Owen and Morgan 2007, include Bwlch-y-groes PMB 60 (‘a fairly common name for such a location’, 333 s.n. Mynydd Bwlch-y-groes BRC), Cefn-y-groes GLM 78, Croes-lan CRD 103, Croesyceiliog CRM 104, Llwyn-y-groes 296, Pen-y-groes ×2, CRM and CRN 383, Tan-y-groes CRD 457, Tŷ-Croes CRM 481 (also ‘cross-shaped house’ YM), Tyn-y-groes CRN 482. All these are reported to be at crossroads with no known standing crosses, though of course there may have been in the past. For doubt regarding such usage in CWL, see Padel 1985, 72–73.

177 Macdonald 1991, 35.

178 Maxwell 1930, 79.

179 Armstrong et al., 97.

180 Breeze 2006, 330, argues for *crojs* here, but Coates in Coates and Breeze 2000, 284, favours \**cras* ‘parched, bare land’.

181 Watson 1926, 146, Macdonald 1941, 83 and 87.

182 Watson 1926, 145, 486.

183 Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 15.

184 Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 47.

185 Jackson 1953 §151, 574 n1.

186 Apparently not found in Cornish or Breton, but cf. Ir *clas* ‘(monastic or church) choir’.

buildings and precincts of monasteries, perhaps influenced by the, unrelated, *clausa* ‘enclosure, close’, and/or by *cleis* (Modern Welsh *clais*) in the sense of ‘enclosing ditch, monastic *vallum*’. By the eighth century in Wales, *clasau*, rather like English *mynsteras*, seem to have been recognised as mother churches of extensive territories.<sup>187</sup> However, while *clas* occurs quite frequently in place-names in Wales, it is only in the name of one parish, Y Clas-ar-Wŷ (= Glasbury) RDN;<sup>188</sup> to judge by entries in AMR, *clas* almost invariably stands as a separate word in the Welsh records, either as a simplex (Glasbury is usually just Y Clas) or as generic in a name-phrase that has not become firmly established as a toponym.

As a place-name element in the north, it is hard to distinguish from a number of other Brittonic or Goidelic elements, but there are a few places where it is a plausible candidate. An interesting group of names in south-west Scotland includes Glaisterlands (×2, Rowallan and Kilmaurs) AYR, Glaisters (Kirkpatrick Durham) KCB,<sup>189</sup> and Rig o’ the Glasters (New Luce) WIG. Welsh *clasdir* is ‘church land, glebe’ (it is a place-name in Nyfer PMB<sup>190</sup>); *\*glās-dīr* ‘grey-green land’, or the Gaelic equivalent *\*glas-tīr* are of course possible, but the compound formation favours a Brittonic origin, and *\*clas-dīr* could have been assimilated to *\*glas-tīr*. Clesketts (Farlam) CMB,<sup>191</sup> just north of the Wall, appears to be formed with neoBrittonic *-cē:d* (Welsh *coed*). A loose compound ‘church-wood’ might have been current as an appellative. The earliest record, *Claschet* c. 1245 (Lanercost Cartulary) favours *\*clas-*, but the name may originally have belonged to Cleskett Beck, so *\*gleis* with initial devoicing, ‘stream’ (Modern Welsh *glais*), or *glas* ‘grey-green’ as a river name, likewise devoiced, are possible alternatives. At Clashmahew (Inch) WIG<sup>192</sup> the saint might be *\*Mōha*, Machutus, cf. *Lann Mocha* in the Book of Llandaf. Llandaf’s Machutus is traditionally identified with *Maclovius*, St Malo of Brittany;<sup>193</sup> whether or not the saint at Clashmahew is the same, the generic has been gaelicised to *\*clais-* ‘a ditch’ (cognate of *cleis* mentioned above), or perhaps *\*glais* from *eaglais*, and the first syllable of the name has been interpreted as *-mo-* ‘my’. Also in Wigtownshire, Clashmurray

187 Pryce 1992, 41–62, Petts 2009, 172–73.

188 Owen and Morgan 2007, 167.

189 Maxwell 1930, 146.

190 AMR.

191 Armstrong et al. 1950, 9 and 84.

192 Maxwell 1930, 71, MacQueen 2002.

193 See Taylor 2009, 71–72, on the (retrospective) association of Machutus with Lesmahagow LAN, and on evidence for his cult in Scotland elsewhere, MacQuarrie 2012, 381–82.

(Kirkcolm) is perhaps Gaelic \**clais-* or \**glais-Mhuire*, but it could have been originally \**clas-Meir*, St Mary's.<sup>194</sup>

\**log*, \**logōd*

Lat *locus* 'place' was adopted as British \**loco-* to become Old Welsh *loc* > Middle Welsh *lloc*.<sup>195</sup> In the Brittonic languages the meanings follow fairly closely those that developed in Insular Latin: firstly, probably (as in Gaul), 'the burial-place of a holy person', then 'consecrated ground', then 'religious house', and eventually 'chapel'.<sup>196</sup> Secular senses proved generally more dominant in the Goidelic languages and the word fell together in Scottish Gaelic with *lag* 'hollow'. Nevertheless, in eastern Scotland north of the Forth, 'Logie', ?\**log-īn*, is an important element in parish- and other names (Clancy 2008b, 307–08), but it does not occur further south, and although Latin *locus* occurs on two or three early Christian inscribed stones in southern Scotland,<sup>197</sup> there is no certain evidence for *log* as a place-name element between the Walls. One possible example is Lochmaben DMF, very probably *Locus Maponi* in the Ravenna Cosmography.<sup>198</sup> This is formed with the Celtic deity name *Maponus*; for the generic Rivet and Smith favour \**luch* 'marshy lake', though Padel (1985, 151) sees the British ancestor of *log*. For Loquhariot (Borthwick) MLO Breeze (2003), suggests \**log-wored*, the specifier being either an appellative, 'succour, deliverance, salvation', or an (otherwise unknown) saint's name, but the several

194 Maxwell 1930, 71.

195 McCorn \**lok* (in Luxulyan CWL, Padel 1985, 151–52), MBret *lok*; OIr *loc* > Ir *log*, G *lag*, Mx *lagg*; see Falileyev 2000, 106.

196 *Lok* is common as a place-name element (though not otherwise) in Brittany, where it is associated with minor chapels, and is probably not early. Padel, loc. cit., sees Luxulyan as 'an outlier of the Breton distribution', and (while it is hard to distinguish \**llog* in recorded forms from *lloc* 'pen', *lluch* 'pool', or *llech* 'slab'), there seem to be few if any convincing examples in Wales. On Bede's use of *locus* (for Lichfield STF), see J. Campbell 1979, 35.

197 CIIC515 (Yarrowkirk) SLK: early-mid sixth century IN LOCO ..., the burial-place of two PRINCIPES, lay Christian aristocrats; CIIC519 (Whithorn) WIG: late sixth to early seventh century, IN LOGI (or LOCI) ... PETRI APVSTOLI may indicate the dedication of the monastery, the stone probably stood by the old road from Whithorn to the Isle of Whithorn, possibly marking a burial-ground and/or the entrance to the monastic precinct. (Craig 1997, 616–17); CIIC2024 (Peebles), lost and undated: LOCVS SANCTI ... EPISCOPI, presumably marking the burial-place and/or religious house of a saintly bishop (the transcription of the third word as NICOLAI is almost certainly anachronistic, amendment of this to NINIAMI is exceedingly speculative). See Jackson 1953 §9, 291, and Sims-Williams 2003 #17, 49 and n174, for discussion of phonological issues arising from these, and *ibid.*, 363 for the dates; see also Thomas 1998, 122–23, on the significance of *locus* in these inscriptions.

198 Rivet and Smith 1979, 395.

12th century forms all have *-wer[t/d]* as the second syllable; it seems a far-fetched etymology.

The nominalised participial *locāta*, British Latin *\*logāda*, adopted as British *\*logādā-* to become Welsh *llogawd* might also occur. In Insular Latin, it was probably a ‘piece of land set aside’ in some sense,<sup>199</sup> and in Modern Welsh *llogawd* is ‘something partitioned off’, but in Middle to early Modern Welsh one sense of the adopted word is ‘monastery’, though when this usage developed, and whether it was contemporary with or later than the use of *log* in that sense, is unknown. I have suggested (James 2011) that Barlocco, with Barlocco Isle (Borgue) KCB, and Barlocco (Rerrick) KCB with Barlocco Bay and Barlocco Heugh,<sup>200</sup> may be *\*barr-logōd* ‘hill on monastic land’. The close proximity of Barlocco (Borgue) to the early Christian site on Ardwall Isle (Thomas 1967) may be significant,<sup>201</sup> as may be the presence of another possible *logōd* in Arlecdon CMB,<sup>202</sup> just across the Solway Firth in the north-westernmost corner of Roman Britannia, where Coates (CVEP, 285) proposed *ar-logōd*, a place ‘opposite or beside land belonging to a monastery’ (+ Old English *-denu* ‘valley’).<sup>203</sup>

*\*mönach, \*manach*

Gk *μοναχός*, originally a ‘solitary, hermit’, was adopted as Latin *monachus*, and thence as late British *\*monacho-* to become Welsh *mynach* ‘monk’.<sup>204</sup> *\*Mönach* was probably a more ‘correct’ form than vowel-harmonised *manach*,<sup>205</sup> though the preservation of *-lχl* even in the latter reflects ‘learned’ influence.<sup>206</sup>

199 Cf. Ælfric’s *Glossary* 115.21 *locatus: behyring* ‘lease, letting’.

200 Maxwell 1930, 26,

201 Though Gaelic *bàrr locha* ‘hill by a small loch’ would also be appropriate here, but not at Barlocco (Rerrick), where there is no trace of any loch and the bedrock is porous. At the latter, there is no known trace of any early Christian site either, but there is abundant evidence for long continuity of settlement around Auchencairn nearby, and Hestan Isle in Auchencairn Bay (the parish name Rerrick is ON *\*breyr-vik* ‘cairn bay’) would have been a prime location for an early monastic settlement.

202 Armstrong et al. 1950, 335.

203 Perhaps this was associated with the monastery of St Bees, which probably originated as an Irish foundation in the 10 century, named after the Irish St Bega (possibly seventh century), and which held land in this parish in the later Middle Ages. Ekwall 1960 s.n., followed by Armstrong et al., 335, proposed OE *\*earn-lacu* ‘eagle-stream’, but note Warts’s doubts, 2004 s.n. I am grateful to Mrs. Mary Todd for information about this village.

204 And the comparable forms in Cornish, *manah*, Breton *monac’h, manac’h*, O-MnIr, G *manach*, Mx *managh*.

205 Jackson 1983, 83; cf. OW(*Book of Llandaf*) plural *meneich*.

206 Jackson 1953 §62, 412.

‘In place-names, the singular seems to stand for the plural’ (Padel 1985, 156); indeed, it generally indicates a possession of a monastery. We may have this word in three northern place-names: Barmulloch RNF is gaelicised but perhaps not Gaelic in origin in view of *-monoc* in 12th-century forms.<sup>207</sup> It might possibly have been Cumbric *\*bod-[i]-mönach*. Romano (Newlands) PEB,<sup>208</sup> could have been Cumbric *\*rōd-[i]-mönach* rather than Gaelic *\*ràth-manach*, with *rōd-* here meaning ‘estate’.<sup>209</sup> This was a grange of Holyrood Abbey from the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century, and Newbattle Abbey held land here at the Reformation, but a ‘Celtic’ monastic property may have preceded it.<sup>210</sup> The first element in Carmunnock LAN,<sup>211</sup> has been discussed above; whatever the correct interpretation, the second could still be *mönach*, but alternatively *bannōg* ‘hilly’ or *mannōg* ‘spotted’.<sup>212</sup>

Of the place-name elements explicitly associated with the church, *\*egle:s* is clearly the best-attested adoption, though precisely what it meant and what its use in place-names tells us about Christian presence at different times during its currency remain matters for debate. On the other hand, *\*bassaleg* at Paisley RNF may well be an early Irish introduction; *\*crois* is hard to distinguish from its Gaelic equivalent or other possible elements; *\*cōr* can be dismissed.

Of the specifically monastic terms that occur in Welsh place-names, *\*clas* is a possibility in several places, but far from certain in any; its uncertain status and meaning in Welsh toponymy add to the doubt, and the possibility that *cleis* (Modern Welsh *clais*) might have contributed to its use for a ‘monastic enclosure’ complicates matters further. *\*Logōd* is no more than a speculative possibility in the two Barlocos KCB, *\*mönach* rather than Gaelic *manach* might have been present at Barmulloch RNF, Romano PEB and Carmunnock LAN.

207 Recording a grant of Malcolm 1V 1153 × 65.

208 Watson 1926, 153–54.

209 ECelt *\*rātis* > Br, Gaul *\*rātis* > MW *rawt* > W *rhawd*, Bret *-ret* (in a compound); 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*; cognate Lat *prātum* ‘meadow’. See Jackson 1970, 78, and Rivet and Smith 1979, 443–44. For the etymology, see Mallory and Adams 2006 §11.3, 179 and 181, Falileyev 2000, 136–37, and idem 2010, 28. For Continental examples, see Sims-Williams 2006, 98–101. The basic meaning is ‘earthen rampart’, thence ‘fortified enclosure’. In Wales and Pictland, the term came to be used for the home of a chieftain, and thence for a district or ‘multiple estate’ administered from a chieftain’s fort, influencing Gaelic usage; Aidan Macdonald 1982, T. James 1998, 106–08, Taylor 2011, 107–08, and idem 2012, 477.

210 See Watson 1926, loc. cit., Durkan 1986, and Hall 2006, 157.

211 Watson 1926, 196, 367.

212 *Mannog* occurs in historical forms of topographic place-names in three parishes in Wales (AMR), though in none of these is the sense ‘spotted’ certain, *maenog* ‘stony’ may be involved.



Overall, then, the range of overtly ecclesiastical elements to be found in northern P-Celtic place-names is pretty small; only one certain, up to five more just possible.

#### METAPHORICAL USES IN TOPOGRAPHIC NAMES

A more miscellaneous group of words in the Brittonic came from Latin as words associated with artefacts or processes introduced by the Romans, but their meanings, especially in place-naming, extended metaphorically. Their presence in place-names would be evidence that they were current in the P-Celtic of the north, and they would probably have been so for some considerable time in more primary senses before they were used imaginatively to name natural features. But again, there is room for doubt.

#### *\*cadeir*

*\*Cadeir* ‘chair’ is a case in point. Gk *καθῆδρα* ‘chair, throne’ was adopted as Latin *cathēdra*, British Latin *\*catērra*, thence into late Roman British as *\*catērrā-* to become *cateir* in the Book of Llandaf, Modern Welsh *cadair*.<sup>213</sup> This is generally taken to be present in several place-names in the north, but it presents problems. It seems surprising that a word that had been adopted, probably only in high-status circles, into British Latin and thence Brittonic, should have been taken up at all quickly as a term for naming hills or other landscape features. Yet a name like Catterton (Tadcaster) YWR<sup>214</sup> seems to imply a Brittonic simplex *\*Cadeir* established by the time it was adopted by speakers of Old English, here hardly later than the early sixth century, a time when such a piece of furniture was unlikely to be familiar to most Britons. Moreover, the meaning ‘chair’ is not obviously appropriate in all cases, though most, unsurprisingly, have hills in their vicinity.

Ekwall in early editions of his *Concise of Dictionary of English Place-Names*, s.n. Chadderton LNC, proposed a British cognate of OIr *cathair* ‘fort, fortified settlement’,<sup>215</sup> *\*catērā-*, falling together with OW *cateir*, though he abandoned this in the fourth edition (1960). Owen and Morgan (2007, 61) say *cadair*

213 Corn *cadar*, MBret *cadoer* > Bret *kador*; OIr *cathair* > Ir, G *cathair*, Mx *caair*. See Jackson 1953 §71, 429 and n1, and §136, 554–55, DIL s.v. 2 *cathair*, and on its restricted use in Cornish place-names, Padel 1985, 35.

214 Smith 1961, IV 236, and see idem 1956, I 75 and Jackson 1953, 555; Förster’s suggestion of a personal name, such as one from *\*Catuwiros*, should be taken into consideration at least in cases like Catterton; also Coates’s observation, 2013, 36, that names in Scandinavian territory with ‘Catter-’ or similar may involve *kattar*, genitive singular of *\*katt(u)-* (ON *kǫttr*) ‘cat’.

215 Which may or may not be related to *cair* discussed above under Military works. He originally published this proposal in Ekwall 1922, 50. See DIL s.v. 1 *cathair*.

‘occasionally refers to a hill shaped like a chair but is more commonly extended to include “fortress, fortified settlement”’. They give no explanation for this semantic extension (and Cadair Idris, which they are discussing, surely does qualify as ‘chair-shaped’), but the influence, if not an actual cognate, of Old Irish *cathair* might still have been involved.

That word certainly fell together in Middle Irish and Scottish Gaelic with *cathair* ‘chair’,<sup>216</sup> so it has to be taken into account in Scotland; *cathair* of either origin could underlie some names with ‘Car-’.<sup>217</sup> Either *\*cadeir* or *cathair* is possible at Catter DNB (Kilmarnock), where ‘fort’ is appropriate,<sup>218</sup> and also in *Cathures*, which Jocelyn in his *Life of St. Kentigern* identified with Glasgow, but which might in fact have been the Antonine Wall fort at Cadder RNF.<sup>219</sup> And the possibility that, for whatever reason, *cadeir* meant ‘fort’ rather than ‘chair-like feature’ has to be borne in mind when considering other names in southern Scotland and northernmost England that are unlikely to be Gaelic but which appear to include this element,<sup>220</sup> such as Cateran Hill NTB (Old Bewick)<sup>221</sup> and Pirncader MLO (Stow).<sup>222</sup>

#### *\*trōn*

Another ‘chair’ word, Greek *θρόνος* ‘high seat’ was adopted as Latin *thronus*, which would have been *\*tronas* in British Latin, thence Roman-British *\*tronā-*, possibly the origin of Middle to Modern Welsh *trōn*<sup>223</sup> ‘throne’. It occurs in Welsh place-names referring to prehistoric monuments of various kinds, not necessarily at all throne-like.<sup>224</sup> At Cardrona PEB (Innerleithen), the meaning

216 Thurneysen 1993 §318, 202.

217 See discussion under *cajr* in James 2014a.

218 Watson 1926, 223.

219 *Chadders* 1170 favours P-Celtic *\*cadeir*; Durkan 1986, 278 and 285–86, MacQuarrie 1997, 128–30.

220 Not far south of Hadrian’s Wall, Blencathra CMB (= Saddleback, Threlkeld; Armstrong et al. 1950, 253, Whaley 2006, 289), is formed with *blain-* ‘summit, head of a valley’. Forms like *Blenkarthure* 1589, showing assimilation to the legendary Arthur, have obscured the original form. Coates, in Coates and Breeze 2000, 281, suggested a MIr personal name *Carthach* here, ‘but the implications of that with a Brittonic generic need exploring’. Such a formation is not inconceivable in the context of early 10th-century settlement in this area. *\*Cathro* from the personal name *Caturugos* recorded on CIIC379 (see also note 214, above) would be another possibility. Nevertheless, Blencathra is undoubtedly chair-shaped! Another possible formation in the early 10th-century context is *Caterlaising* CMB (Threapland), Armstrong et al. 1950, 271, + ON personal name *-Leysingr*. For Catterlen CMB see note 95, above.

221 Early forms are lacking: see Watts 1979, 123.

222 Watson 1926, 352, Dixon 2011, 368; + *prenn-* ‘tree’ or *brinn-* ‘hill’.

223 Cf. Corn *trōn*, seemingly not found in place-names. See Jackson 1953 §55, 401–02.

224 E.g. Maestran (Llanycil) MER.

‘circle’ was suggested by Watson,<sup>225</sup> but that sense was probably only adopted into Middle Welsh from similar usage in Middle English, and indeed even with the sense ‘throne’ *trôn* may be a Middle Welsh adoption.<sup>226</sup> However, Pharaoh’s Throne KCB, a standing stone on the Tongland/Twynholm boundary, might be a folk-etymologised version of some name formed with this word in either its Cumbric or its Older Scots form.<sup>227</sup>

*\*cest*

Latin *cista* ‘container’ was adopted as Roman-British *\*cistā-* to become Middle to Modern Welsh *cest*,<sup>228</sup> commonly ‘basket or bag’, but also, figuratively, ‘belly, paunch’, which is in turn applied either to a hill or a bag-shaped hollow in a fair number of Welsh place-names.<sup>229</sup> Breeze (2002b) proposed this in Prendergust BWK (Ayton).<sup>230</sup> However, both Hanks and Hodges (1988 s.n.) and Reaney and Wilson (1997 s.n.) derive the surname Prendergast from *Brontegeest* near Ghent in Flanders, saying that Prendergast Castle and parish PMB are named from this family. Hanks and Hodges add that the BWK place ‘apparently’ also takes its name from the family, while Reaney and Wilson (1997 s.n.) state more bluntly that it ‘takes its name from the Welsh Prendergast’. There was Flemish settlement in south-eastern Scotland as early as 1165 × 74 when this place-name is first recorded. Flemington is two miles to the north-east, and Burnmouth, another mile east, was formerly Port Fleming, so a derivation from *Brontegeest*, perhaps via some branch of the Prendergast family, is likely, though there seems no good reason to assume a direct connection with the place in PMB.

225 Watson 1926, 369, + *cajr-* ‘fort’ and the plural suffix *-öü*, or else Gaelic *\*cathair-drothanach* ‘fort of the winds’ (Ross 2001, 44).

226 See GPC s.v. *trôn*.

227 As suggested by Watson 1926, 369.

228 Corn and Bret *kest*. See Jackson 1953 §7, 282–83, Padel 1985, 55; on the OE equivalent, see Parsons 2004, 33.

229 Owen and Morgan 2007, 42 and give ‘paunch’ in Borth-y-Gest CRN and Brongest CRD; several of the 25 or so distinct examples to be found in AMR are hill-names, but Padel 1985, 55, gives ‘cavity’; *Cwm-gest* in various spellings occurs in three places (in Aber-nant CRD, Llandysul CRD, and Colfa RDN), and Padel’s only example in CWL is Lankeast, *?\*nans-kest*. 230 + *prenn-* ‘tree’ or *brinn-* ‘hill’ + *-trev-* ‘farm’ with lenition.

*\*cīb*

Latin *cūpa* was adopted to become Welsh *cib*,<sup>231</sup> a word for any rounded receptacle, ‘bowl, cask, coop, cup etc.’ It occurs in place-names in Wales, presumably with a topographic sense, though for Bwlchycibau MNT Owen and Morgan (2007, 59) give ‘pass of the husks’, *cibyn*, alongside possible *cibau* ‘referring to hollows in the local topography’. If Minnygap DMF (Johnstone)<sup>232</sup> is formed with this element, lenited *-/g/-* implies feminine gender as in Latin, though *cib* is masculine in Modern Welsh. The generic is either *mōnið-* ‘upland’ or *mōnju-* ‘scrubland’, with the definite article *-i-*.<sup>233</sup>

*\*ci:n*

Lat *cuneus* ‘chisel, wedge’, in later Latin *\*cunjās*, was adopted as late Roman-British *\*cunjo-* to become Middle Welsh *cin*, Modern Welsh *cŷn*.<sup>234</sup> It probably occurs in the Welsh stream name Cynlais,<sup>235</sup> presumably alluding to a gorge or stream-bed apparently carved as if with a chisel. It might be a lost stream name in both Gorgie MLO<sup>236</sup> and Pinkie MLO (Inveresk),<sup>237</sup> but the evidence in both cases is scanty.

*\*cīf*

Latin *cippus* ‘block, stock or stump, tree-trunk’ was adopted as Roman-British *\*cippo-* to become Middle to Modern Welsh *cyff*.<sup>238</sup> Gaelic *ceap* is used of a small, pointed or lumpy hills on top of high ground (Drummond 2007, 27, Taylor 2012, 326). However, *cyff* in Welsh place-names, like its Cornish and Breton cognates, seems not to be a hill name, but typically refers to sometime conspicuous tree-stumps or stump-like stones.<sup>239</sup> In Scots (Lothian and Borders) *kip* is used of a projecting point on a hill, as well as for jutting facial features

231 Breton *kib*; seems to not be recorded in Cornish. See Jackson 1953 §15, 302–03, and §23(1), 317–19. Anglo-Latin *cuppa* can mean ‘fish-trap’ (Latham 1980 s.v.), as can OE *cy:pe* from *cūpa*; one wonders whether the Brittonic loanword could have had that meaning at Inskip LNC, Ekwall 1922, 164, Kenyon 1984–85, 94, Breeze in Coates and Breeze 2000, 227–28.

232 Johnson-Ferguson 1935, 65.

233 Breeze 2004, 121–23.

234 See Jackson 1953, 83, also *ibid.* §44, 366 and §102, 495.

235 Owen and Morgan 2007, 504.

236 Dixon 2011, 125; + *wor-* ‘over, above’, also ‘by’, or intensive ‘very’.

237 Dixon 2011, 249–50; + *pant-* ‘hollow, valley-bottom’.

238 Corn *\*kyf* (in place-names, Padel 1985, 58), MBret *queff* > Bret *\*kef* (in place-names); OIr *cepp* > Ir, G *ceap*, Mx *kip*; cf. OE *ċipp* > ‘chip’, Smith 1956, I 94. See Jackson 1953 §§145–47, 565–70.

239 Owen and Morgan 2007, 391, Padel 1985, 58.

etc. The *Oxford English Dictionary* compares this to, and the *Scottish National Dictionary* (*kip* n<sup>1</sup>) derives it from, Middle Dutch or Low German *kippe* ‘point, peak, tip’, but a Gaelic origin or influence might reasonably be expected (cf. Watson 1926, 137). The unlocated *Keptuf* in the Herbert fragment of the Life of St. Kentigern is presumably Gaelic \**ceap dubh* ‘black block’, but a neoBrittonic \**cif-dūv* might underlie it.<sup>240</sup> Surviving place-names with ‘Kip’, e.g. Kip Hills MLO, Kipp KCB (Colvend), are likely to be Gaelic or Scots in origin. The status of \**cif* in northern Brittonic toponymy is therefore doubtful.

\**tavl*, \**tabl*

Latin *tabula* or *tabella*, in British Latin \**tab'la*, was adopted as British \**tablā-* to become Middle Welsh *tafl*.<sup>241</sup> In the Celtic languages, \**tab'la* had the specialised sense of ‘catapult, sling’, in Welsh developing to a verbal root ‘throw’ (*tavlei* in *Canu Aneirin* A78/LXXXIII A), and a specifier in compounds, ‘(something) thrown, projectile’. However, *tabula* re-entered Middle Welsh (probably from Middle English, via Old French *table*) as *tabl* ‘board, panel, table, tablet or anything flat’.<sup>242</sup> So is Cairntable LAN<sup>243</sup> a ‘heap of sling-stones’ or a ‘flat-topped cairn’? Recorded forms from c.1315 favour the latter, which would imply a very late Cumbric formation, but *-v/* > *-bl/* could have occurred in Scots, especially given the influence of ‘table’, so a Brittonic or Gaelic ‘cairn of sling-stones’ cannot be ruled out.<sup>244</sup>

\**trōstan*

Trostan or Troston occurs frequently in south-west Scotland: Bartrostan WIG (Penninghame), Trostan Hill AYR (Straiton), Trostan, with Little Trostan KCB (Minigaff), Troston Knowe, Trostan Burn and Hill, and another Troston Hill at the head of the Shinnel Water, which are separate locations to the NW, NE and SE of the Cairnsmore of Carsphairn KCB, Troston with Troston Rig DMF (Sanquhar), Troston Hill and Loch DMF (Tynron), Troston with Troston Burn and Rig KCB (Dalry) and Troston KCB (New Abbey). All these are on or close to ridges. Watson (1926, 350) asserts that at ‘Troston in Glencairn parish’

240 Watson 1926, 345 n1, identifies it as Kilduff ELO, but see Jackson’s objections, 1958, 273–357.

241 MnW *tafl-* in compounds, Corn *towl*, MBret *taoul* > Bret *taol*; OIr *táball* > M-MnIr *tabhall*, G *tabhal*. The syncope may have occurred in British Latin or late British, see Jackson 1953 §2(1), 268 and §196, 651–54.

242 Cf. also OE *tafl* in place-names, Smith 1956, II 174.

243 Watson 1926, 203. John G. Wilkinson tells me this is a flat-topped hill.

244 *Tafl-* seems to be very rare in Welsh place-names, the only reasonably likely example, Heol Taflaw MON, suggests ‘stones’.

(recte Tynron) ... ‘W[elsh] *tref* has been translated by English *tun*’, but this is unlikely to have happened so frequently. Trostan is quite common in Irish hill-names (e.g. Trostan mountain near Cushendal in Layd, Co. Antrim) and has been taken there as a metaphoric use of *trostán* ‘staff, crozier’. MacQueen gives the same explanation for Bartrostan WIG<sup>245</sup> but that too seems far-fetched for an element so frequently used. An adopted form from Latin *transtrum*, British Latin *\*trāstrum*<sup>246</sup> ‘cross-beam’ would make more sense in such names, indicating a ‘cross hill, transverse ridge’. *\*Trāstrum* became neoBrittonic *\*trōst*, Welsh *trawst*,<sup>247</sup> so a Brittonic formation with the nominal suffix *-an* could explain these, but McKay sees an Irish cognate in the Ulster hill names,<sup>248</sup> and a Gaelic origin is possible for the Scottish ones too.

None of these proposed metaphorical uses of Latin-derived terms in northern place-names inspires very much confidence. *Cadeir* seems reasonably likely at Catter, *Cathures*, CATERAN Hill and Pirncader, though nagging doubts remain as to whether these really have the ‘chair’ word or a lost Brittonic word for a fort; *\*trōn* and *\*cīb* are possibly evidenced by Cardrona and Minnygap, but are far from sure; *\*cī:n* as a hydronym in Gorgie and Pinkie is even more speculative; *\*cif*, *\*taul* and *\*trōstan* are all cases where a Gaelic equivalent is probably evidenced in surviving forms, Brittonic predecessors are possible but not necessary; *\*cest* can be eliminated.

This may serve to remind us that, for such metaphorical usage to arise, a word needs to have been pretty widely current in its primary sense for some time. Even such (to our eyes) everyday objects as tables and chairs were not necessarily so familiar to the inhabitants of our region in the first millennium AD as to suggest the application of their Latin-derived names to features in the landscape. The fact that the names of such things came to be so used in medieval Wales and Cornwall cannot be taken as a sure indication that they were so used in the Old North.

#### MISCELLANEOUS AND DOUBTFUL

A number of other Welsh words of Latin origin have been proposed from time to time by scholars seeking to explain difficult names in the region north of Hadrian’s Wall, but caution is called for. The assumption that the Brittonic/Cumbric of the north was more or less identical to proto-/Old Welsh is one I have questioned on other grounds (James 2013), and our survey so far suggests

245 MacQueen 2008, 96.

246 Jackson 1953, 86.

247 Jackson 1953, loc. cit. Corn *troster*, Bret *treust*.

248 McKay 1999, 142.

that the range of Latin words adopted in the north may have been more limited than that evidenced in Welsh. Moreover, such proposals tend to invoke words first recorded in GPC in citations from later medieval Welsh sources, and to be poorly evidenced – if at all – in Welsh or Cornish place-names. Phonology may indicate that a word was adopted relatively early, but it is an unsure guide in the case of loanwords; while Jackson's chronology (1953, 694–99) remains the essential guide to the order and probable dates of sound-changes within Brittonic, it is hard to be certain when such changes ceased to affect newly-adopted words. Even where the phonetic conditions that motivated the change no longer applied, analogy would surely have persisted in encouraging, for example, intervocalic lenition. And of course phonology alone cannot tell us whether such words were current in the P-Celtic of the north in the first millennium, or, if they were, that they were used there in place-naming. Even if we allow for that possibility, their use in later Middle Welsh literary registers is a poor guide to their meaning in northern toponymy.

*\*dragon*

Lat *dracon-* was adopted to emerge in Middle Welsh as *dracon* 'a dragon'.<sup>249</sup> The form *dracon* is used in Middle Welsh as an honorative for 'prince, warlord, great warrior'.<sup>250</sup> *Poltragon*, north of the Wall in Bewcastle CMB,<sup>251</sup> seems to be *\*pol-dragon* 'dragon-pool' or 'dragon-stream'.<sup>252</sup> However, the earliest form *Poltraghawe* 1485 leaves this etymology (proposed by Breeze, Coates and Breeze 2000, 287) in doubt; later forms (*Polcragane* 1538, *Poltraghan* 1552, *Poltragon* c.1560) show progressive assimilation to 'dragon' and may derive from successive miscopyings of a name suffixed with Middle English *-howe*.

*gint*

Latin *gens, gentis* was adopted as late British *\*gento-* to give *-gint* in Old Welsh personal names, Welsh *gynt*.<sup>253</sup> In medieval ecclesiastical usage, it can be 'heathen, gentile' or 'heathens, gentiles', the singular and plural being identical, in Modern Welsh 'tribe'. At Pennygant Hill (Castleton) ROX (Watson 1926,

249 IE *\*dṛk̑-* (zero-grade of *\*derk̑-* 'see') + *-ont-* > Greek *drákōn*, adopted as Latin *draco[n]-*; *draco* was also adopted into Brittonic as *\*draci-* > MW *draic* > W *draig*, OCorn *druic*.

250 Whether its use in this sense in CA (A22, A25) is evidence that it was current in neoBrittonic or even in Old Welsh is a matter for debate (but note the use of the Latin word in the story of Emrys in HB42).

251 Armstrong et al., 62.

252 The *-lt-* might reflect late Cumbric devoiced *-[lt]*-, see Jackson 1953 §54(1), pp. 400–01 and n1.

253 See Jackson 1953 §6(2), 278–79 and Sims-Williams 2003, †27, 97 and *ibid.*, 181; cf. the Celtic cognates, e.g. W *geni* 'be born'.

354), formed with *pen[n]-* ‘headland’ and the definite article *-i-*, Breeze (2007) proposes *-gint* in its Modern Welsh sense as ‘(foreign) tribe’, ‘(alien) nation’, stating that it was so used ‘of the English and then the Vikings’, and that this was on the boundary between Strathclyde and Northumbria in the ninth century. Both these assertions are questionable. The boundaries of the polity known as Strathclyde in the second quarter of the tenth century are unknowable (beyond what is implied by the name itself, and Pennygant Hill is well to the south of the Clyde basin watershed), and while the Britons of the Clyde may well have had several impolite terms for the Northumbrian English, they knew perfectly well they were not ‘heathens’. If the name refers to pagans, the likely suspects would be the East Norse-speaking settlers responsible for place-names in *-bj* and *-bekkr* in Liddesdale and Eskdale.<sup>254</sup> The hill is close to the Liddel/Esk watershed, so *cant* ‘boundary’ should not be ruled out in spite of what appears to be irregular lenition, and the definite article does favour a relatively late, Cumbric formation.<sup>255</sup>

*\*grif*

Greek *grúps*, *grúpos* was adopted as late Latin *gryp[h]us*, and thence as late British *\*grifo-* to become Welsh *griff*,<sup>256</sup> ‘a gryphon/griffin’, the eagle/lion beast of Classical mythology and later medieval heraldry. It is used in the Celtic literatures of birds of prey and carrion, and metaphorically of warriors, in Irish and Gaelic as *griobh*.

River Gryfe (or Gryffe) LAN/RNF (Watson 1926, 470) seems to be based on this word in either Cumbric or Gaelic: Watson suggests Gaelic *griobh*, the meaning of which extends by synecdoche to ‘talon, claw’, ‘from the claw-like shape of the stream’, but such ‘bird’s eye view’ interpretations of place-names are rarely persuasive from the days before maps. Breeze (2000) on the other hand suggests Cumbric *\*grif* in the sense of ‘tadpole’; there is a Pwll-y-griff in Penbryn CRD first recorded by the Ordnance Survey (AMR), which might well be a ‘tadpole pool’, but that curious usage in Modern Welsh (also ‘frog or toad spawn’) is recorded in GPC only from 1547. Whether the Brittonic or the Goidelic form is the source, the reference in the Scottish river name was more

254 Likewise in the vicinity of Penygvent YWR, Smith 1961, 6.219–20 and xi–xii, where Breeze 2006 again sees a reference to pagans. On East Norse names in eastern DMF see Nicolaisen 2001, 127–33 and Fellows-Jensen 1985.

255 James 2008, 197–99; in Penygvent too the formation is likely to be late. Three place-names in AMR, Nant-y-gynt (Abercarn) MON, Pant-y-gynt (Llangynwyd) GLM and Rhyd Gynt ANL, are all late documented and doubtful.

256 OIr *grib* > Ir *griobh*, G *griobh*, cf. Mx *griffag*. On *-p/-ph-* in British Latin and late British, and epenthetic *-t*, see Jackson 1953 §51, 396.



probably to a bird of prey, perhaps the osprey (cf. Dwelly s.v. *grìobh*), than to the shape of the river on the map, or to tadpoles. Cairngryffe (Carmichael) LAN (Watson 1926, 470), with Cairn Gryffe Hill overlooking the upper Clyde, is all the more likely to involve a large bird; it likewise could be Brittonic or Gaelic.

*\*medgōd*

Coates<sup>257</sup> has proposed Latin *medicāta* adopted as Br *\*medicātā-* as the etymon for *Metcaud*, *Medcaut*, NTB (= Lindisfarne, HB 63 and 65), cf. Modern Welsh *meddyg* ‘doctor’. This is phonologically unobjectionable, though the meaning is somewhat opaque: the expected sense would be passive, ‘healed’, Coates suggests that ‘might be regarded here as a conceptual parallel, though not a precise one, to “holy”’ (as in Holy Island). It is unparalleled in Celtic toponymy.

*\*tavarn*

Latin *taberna* ‘shop, hostelry’ was adopted to give *tauarn* in the Book of Llandaf, Modern Welsh *tafarn*. If St Patrick’s birthplace *bannavem taburniae* was located in the north and really contained that word, it could be counted as a very early instance in what appears to be a Brittonic toponymic context. However the name is evidently garbled, and the location of the place a matter of endless, and fruitless, speculation.<sup>258</sup> *Tafarn* occurs quite often in Welsh place-names, but only in its modern sense, from the later Middle Ages onwards.

*\*trulliad*

Latin *trulla* ‘wine-ladle’ was adopted to become W *trull*, from which was formed Middle Welsh *trulhiad* > W *trulliad* ‘cup-bearer, butler, steward’. *Trull* occurs in *Canu Aneirin* A57/B18 (LXI AB), and *trulhiad* in Welsh Laws from 12th century, but it is uncertain how early this formation was. Breeze (1999) suggests that Trailtrow (Hoddum) DMF is *\*trev-ī-truliad*. The elevation of offices like this to aristocratic, hereditary titles (with grants of land and arms) is a feature of the emerging feudal nobility of the twelfth century onward (Oram 2011, 299), so if this etymology were correct this would be an interestingly late Cumbric name. However, the word seems not to occur in any Welsh or Cornish place-names.

Among the elements discussed in this part of our survey, *grif* cannot be distinguished in place-names from its Gaelic equivalent and the remainder are no more than speculative possibilities.

<sup>257</sup> Coates and Breeze 2000, 241

<sup>258</sup> Rivet and Smith 1979 511–12, Thomas 1981, 311–12, and Dumville 1993, 134 and n11.

## CONCLUSION

This paper has focused, intentionally, on the Northern P-Celtic place-naming vocabulary insofar as that can be retrieved from the surviving toponymic evidence. A similar exercise might be undertaken with regard to Latin-derived elements in personal names, from the earliest inscriptions through to the Harleian Genealogies, though caution is needed in drawing inferences for the language in general from the specialised vocabularies of either kind of naming. Unless we subscribe to the very questionable hypothesis that verses concerned with the matter of the Old North preserved in later medieval Welsh manuscripts may contain traces of the P-Celtic of that region, the non-onomastic evidence for that language is vanishingly small.<sup>259</sup> Moreover, as with any consideration of place-names in Scotland and northernmost England, the usual cautions apply: every name mentioned had passed from one language to another at least once, and in many cases twice, before the earliest surviving record, which in many cases is late medieval or even early modern.

However, allowing for these reservations, the toponymic evidence for introductions from Latin in the Brittonic of the north seems pretty thin. The number of such elements whose presence in P-Celtic place-names is reasonably secure amounts to no more than 10.<sup>260</sup> Of course, more thorough and detailed surveys of the counties of southern Scotland and of Northumberland may bring to light a wider range of possible examples, but it seems unlikely that any Latin-origin elements will be found to occur with sure enough early documentation, or in sufficiently multiple locations, to add substantially to this small number. On the face of it, there seems to be no toponymic support for the idea of any widespread acquaintance with Latin in our region in the Roman and immediate post-Roman periods, even though the inscriptional evidence might suggest some use of the language among the secular elite.

I have argued elsewhere (James 2011)<sup>261</sup> that there may have been substantial replacement of place-names during the ninth to twelfth centuries

259 I am grateful to an anonymous referee for the reminder that one of the two (doubtfully three) apparently Cumbric words preserved in the Latin and Scots texts of the so-called *Leges inter Brettos et Scottos, kelchyn* might be of Latin derivation, if it is associated with Welsh *cylch*, and if that is from Latin *circulus* (GPC, and see Falileyev 2000, 31). *Cylch*, primarily ‘circuit’, occurs in specialised senses in the Welsh Laws and in place-names in five parishes in Wales (AMR). However, in the *Leges, kelchyn* has nothing to do with ‘circuits’, or with any of the legal senses derived from that, it refers to compensation for injury or insult, and in the French text (which may reflect an early version of the *Leges*), the word is *gelchach*, so it remains one of several intractable puzzles in that perplexing document.

260 \**Coch*, \**cōfin*, \**egle:s*, \**fōntōn*, \**mūr*, \**pebil*, \**ple:v*, \**pont*, \**pōwe:s* and \**Sachs*.

261 And cf. now Hall 2012, comparing data sets from south and east England and south-east Wales.

due to changes in patterns of farming, settlement and landholding, as well as the impact of Northumbrian Old English, Scandinavian and early Gaelic, so perhaps it is unsurprising that relatively few traces of Roman influence survive in the toponymic record. Nevertheless, as we have seen, apart from *egle:s* and *crois*, even post-Roman ecclesiastical Latin is not much more in evidence. *Merthir* (*martyrium*) ‘church, chapel or shrine housing the remains of a saint’, an important indicator of ecclesiastical presence in the post-Roman period in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, is conspicuous by its absence from the north.<sup>262</sup>

Further research would entail more systematic comparison with the early toponymicon of Wales and Cornwall. Among elements derived from the words identified by Jackson (1953, 78–80), *porth* (*portus*), is the only one which is common as a generic in Welsh and Cornish place-names<sup>263</sup> but seems not to occur in P-Celtic names in the north, either in the sense of ‘door, entrance, gateway’ or of ‘cove, harbour’ (which is feminine in Welsh toponymy).<sup>264</sup> Other elements derived from Latin words in Jackson’s list occur likewise in Welsh place-names but are not found in the north, though research is needed to ascertain (mainly on phonological grounds) whether these were current in Proto-Welsh or Old Welsh, or were later introductions.<sup>265</sup>

So the main, tentative conclusion must be one of caution regarding the currency of words of Latin origin in the P-Celtic toponymicon of the north. The assumption that words evidenced from later Middle Welsh were necessarily current in speech of the Britons of the north is a risky one. As we have seen, such proposals are at best plausible possibilities, and in most cases less than that; they should certainly not be taken for definitive solutions to tricky etymologies.

262 Jackson 1953 §166(2), 595. AMR shows at least 20; see Owen and Morgan 2007, 318–19, and Petts 2009, 128 and 168, with Padel 1985, 164, on *merther* in CWL. A good many other ecclesiastical terms of Latin origin occur in Welsh place-names, such as *aradur*, *abad*, *capel*, *cell*, *disert*, *ermid* and *menechdid*, but they may not have entered toponymic usage until the central or later Middle Ages, so their absence from the north is less surprising.

263 Owen and Morgan 2007, lxiii, Padel 1985, 190–92.

264 The Goidelic equivalent *port* is fairly common in Ireland (Flanagan and Flanagan 1994, 130, McKay 1999, 155), and likewise in Galloway, where Maxwell 1930 226–29 lists around 40, not counting analogical English or Scots formations like Port William, but there is no good reason to suppose any of these had Brittonic predecessors; elsewhere in southern Scotland, Portmore ELO (Watson 1926, 142) seems to show the sense ‘fort’, also seen in Irish names (Flanagan and Flanagan, loc. cit.); *longphort*, as at Longfort (Old Luce) WIG (Maxwell 1930, 203, is a distinct, appellative, formation.

265 For example, *caws* (*cāseus*) ‘(solid, rennet-based) cheese’, which occurs as a specific in about 33 place-names in AMR (most relatively minor), was probably being produced in the north, but is not reflected in toponymy; Chisholme (Roberton) ROX has OE (Anglian) *ċēse-* (Williamson 1942, 23, J. Macdonald 1991, 33); Padel 1985 does not find *kēs* in any Cornish place-names.

Still, a good deal more research needs to be done, both on the detailed questions surrounding the probable or possible Latin-origin elements discussed in this paper and on the broader questions concerning the nature of P-Celtic in the north of Britain – especially in the zone between the Walls – and the impact of Latin and subsequent incoming languages on its development. These notes are offered as an aid and a stimulus to critical consideration and further study, they make no claim to offer definitive answers to any such questions.

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