The Brittonic Language in the Old North

A Guide to the Place-Name Evidence

Alan G. James

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Guide to the Elements

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āβ (m?) and aβon (f)

IE *[₃]eb/p- > eCelt *ābo- > Br, Gaul ābo- (not found in Welsh, Cornish or Breton); OIr aub > MIr ab > Ir abha (OIr dative singular abainn > Ir, G abhainn, Mx awin); cogn. early Lat *ānis > Lat amnis, Skt āp-, apas.


The root means simply ‘moving water’. Evidence for its use as a river-name in Britain is seen in Ptolemy’s Abou [potamoũ ékbolai], PNRB pp. 240-1 ‘estuary of the river *Āβ’. This apparently corresponds to the Ouse and Humber (see ĥu). Hæfe in ASC(E) s.a. 710, apparently the R Avon Stg/WLo (see below) may be another example: see PNWLo p. xviii, SPN² p. 242 and Nicolaisen (1960). Maybe a common noun used to refer to rivers was understood as a name by both the Romans and the English, but cf. [stagnum fluminis] Abae VC131, where Adomnán evidently regards it as a river-name, the R Awe Arg (CPNS pp. 75, 77 and 477). A form with a locative suffix is seen in Abisson PNRB pp. 238-9, ‘perhaps in SW Scotland’, and perhaps in Duabisso p. 340-1, if that is *Dubabisso, dūβ- (which see) + -āβ- + -isso-.

With the suffix –onā (see –an), Brittonic āβonā- > neoBritt aβon > OW abon > M-MnW afon, OCorn auon, MBret awo[u]n (on Cornish awn, Breton –aven, see CPNE pp. 13-14). Again, āβonā- may have come to be used in Britain as a river-name, the R Awe Arg (CPNS pp. 75, 77 and 477). A form with a locative suffix is seen in Abisson PNRB pp. 238-9, ‘perhaps in SW Scotland’, and perhaps in Duabisso p. 340-1, if that is *Dubabisso, dūβ- (which see) + -āβ- + -isso-.

aβall (f, but variable in British)

A pre-Celtic and possibly non-Indo-European *obl- > IE(WC) *(h)₂ebVl- > early Celtic *abal- /-ā- > M-MnW afal, OCorn aual > Corn aval, OBret abal > Bret aval; OIr uball, ubull > Ir úll, G ubhal, Mx ooyl; cogn. Gmc *apl- > OE appel > ‘apple’. Derived from this, the word for ‘an apple’, proto-Celtic *abal-no/-ā- > early Celtic *aballo/-ā- > Br *aballo-/ā-, Gaul avallo > MW avall > W affall, OCorn singulative awallen, OBret singulative aballen; OIr aball > Ir, G abhall.
See Hamp (1979), Markey (1988) and DCCPN p. 5.

aβall is a collective noun (as are most names for trees) in all Celtic languages, so ‘apple-trees, orchard’. In the Brittonic languages, the singulative is marked by the suffix –en, but in the Goidelic the singular/plural distinction has eroded.

Judging by the genetic and ecological case presented by Juniper and Mabberley (2006) – but disregarding their confused use of philological and toponymic evidence – it is likely that the sweet apple, Malus pumila _syn_. domestica, had reached Britain in prehistoric times, perhaps in association with horses (which spread viable seeds by defecation). Some seedlings would have yielded good, edible fruit, and would have been cherished, while others were chopped down for woodworking or burning, so some selection would have taken place to produce good fruit trees. It is less certain whether grafting, the only effective technique for propagation, reached Britain before Roman times, though it could have been introduced with trade from the Mediterranean. It is possible, then, that ‘orchards’ of (own-root or grafted) apple-trees were being maintained in Roman Britain.

On apples and apple-trees in Celtic myth, legend and folklore, see DCM p. 19.

In Aballava, PNRB pp. 232-4, identified as the Roman fort at Burgh-by-Sands Cmb, the suffix -awā- may intensify the collective aspect, ‘a large grove of apple-trees’? Perhaps even a sacred grove?

(ab) Carnavel Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 59  ? + carn-, but could well be Gaelic *carn abhail.

aber, _abber_ (usually m, earlier n)

IE *h₂ed-, *bher > eCelt *ad-, bero- > eBr *adbero- > lBr *abbero- > OW(LL) aper > M-MnW aber, ‘no evidence’ for this word in Corn (CPNE p. 333), Bret aber (in place-names); the nearest Goidelic equivalent is eCelt *eni-bero- > OIr in[dl]ber > Ir, G inbhear, also inbhir from the locative-dative or nominative plural form, and Gaelic il[o]nbhar from a verbal noun form (GG pp. 13, 73 and 264) -*bhor (see below), Mx inver; cf..Lat adfero. See also cómber.

On the derivatives of IE *bher in Celtic, see Hamp (1982c). For discussion of the full range of examples across Scotland, see CPNS pp. 458-467, Barrow in Uses pp. 56-7 and map 2.1, and Taylor 2011, p. 83.

The double consonant –bb-, by assimilation from –db- (LHEB §64 p. 413), survived into neo-Brittonic long enough to escape lenition (LHEB §132, pp. 545-8), and may be reflected in Beò’s spelling *Abbercurni* for Abercorn WLo (HE I.12 in the Moore ms); cf. also the early, presumably Pictish, spelling *Abbdobdir* for Aberdour in the Book of Deer (CPNS pp. 454, 458 and 465, Jackson, 1972, p. 30).

The –or- occurring in *aborcurni<e> in the (inferior) Namur manuscript at HE I.12, along with the form quoted above from The Book of Deer, Adomnán’s _Stagnum Apori[i]cum_ (presumably Lochaber Inv, CPNS p. 78), and Aporcrosan for Applecross Ross in AT s.a. 731, all suggest a Pritenic (or at any rate northern P-Celtic) variant of similar origin to G il[o]nbhar above, entailing an IE o-grade -*bhor. See also Koch (1982-3) at pp. 214-16.

The form _Karibyr_ 1282, Carribber WLo (PNWLo p. 58), may be plural or a preserved genitive singular. If plural, it may be compared with _Eperpuill_ in the 11th ct. Irish life of St Berach (CPNS p. 225), Aberfoyle Per. If the plural form (at least in the P-Celtic of the Forth Valley) was *ebir, it shows double i-affection in *ad-beri-. The IE root *bher has the verbal sense ‘bear, carry’, cf.
M-MnW beru ‘flow’. The early Celtic prefix ad- here means ‘to, together’, so it is ‘a flowing together, a confluence or estuary’: see also cómber.

Watson, CPNS p. 461, observes that place-names with aber are ‘not necessarily named after the stream at or near whose mouth it is’, though Aberlady ELo, at the mouth of the West Peffer Burn, is the only evident case, and it is quite likely that an earlier stream-name has been superseded here, see below.

Breeze (1999b at pp. 41-3), queries the status of aber in Cumbrec (using this term for northern Brittonic of any period) and its use for ‘a confluence’: see *ar-. However, note that Abercarf, Aberlosk, Abermilk and Carribber are all at confluences.

On the possibility that confluences and estuaries may have been pagan ritual sites, see Jackson (1948) at p. 56, Nicolsaen (1997) at pp. 250-1, and DCML p. 178. The altar-inscriptions to Condatis found in the Tyne-Tees region may be evidence of a ‘confluence-deity’ cult in that area, see PCB pp. 236-7.

The most striking feature of distribution is the absence of aber from Strathclyde, Ayrshire and Galloway, and its ‘total absence between Dumfriesshire and north Wales’ (Barrow in Uses, p. 56 and map 2.1). Replacement by G inbhearn could have occurred in south-west Scotland, but even that is uncommon in the region. If a cult of Condatis was of importance in northern Britannia, perhaps *Condatis was the preferred term in that region, though it is only recorded as the name of the Roman-British settlement at Northwich Che (Jackson,1970 at p. 71, PNRB pp 315-16, PNChe2 p. 195, and PNChe4 p xii and p. 1). See also cómber, noting that that element is largely restricted to the Solway basin.

In Lothian, where aber occurs at Abercorn, Aberlady and lost Aberlessic, several place-names are formed with Gaelic inbhear- on Celtic or ancient river-names. All of these might have been Gaelicised from aber-, e.g. Inveralmond WLo, Inveravon WLo, Inverses MLo, Inverleith MLo, also Innerleithen Pbl. However, note King’s (2009) caution against assuming such replacement.

Aberlessic in VK(H) remains unidentified in spite of lively controversy (see CPNS p. 460, Jackson (1958) at p. 292, and Macquarrie (1997a) pp. 120 and 124). It was presumably an estuary in ELo, on the southern coast of the Firth of Forth. The implied river-name appears to be *lus-īco, see *lus and -īg. For Aber Lleu see lūch.

Abercorn and Aberlady were both places of importance in the early Christian period, and gave their names to mediaeval parishes, as did a total of 26 places throughout Scotland whose names contain aber, see Taylor 2011, p. 83.

Note that Aber Isle in Loch Lomond, CPNS p. 459 is probably Gaelic eabar ‘mud, mire’.

b2) Abercarf Lnk (= Wiston) SPN² p. 211 + *garw, the river-name Garf: see Barrow in Uses, p. 56.
Abercorn WLo CPNS p. 461, PNWLo p. 19 + -corna + -īg, the Cornie Burn.
Aberlady ELo CPNS p. 460 + a river-name (now the West Peffer Burn), probably of the *lē:β type with -ed- + -īg, but see also *loβ.
Aberlosk Dmf (Eskdalemuir) CPNS p. 460, PNDmf p. 35 + -losg, or *lus- + -ōg, as a river-name: see Barrow in Uses, p. 56.
Abermilk Dmf (= St Mungo, Castlemilk) CPNS p. 460, PNDmf p. 111 + the river-name Water of Milk, see discussion under *mal.

c2) Carribber WLo (Linlithgow) CPNS p. 105, PNWLo p. 58 + cajr-: on the morphology see discussion above.
**aβr-**

Brittonic *abro-/ā-* > M-MnW afr-.

A prefix with apparent intensive or emphatic force.

The suggestions of 19th ct scholars involving aber in Ptolemy’s *Abraouánno* [potamoũ ékbolai] are disposed of by Watson, CPNS p. 55, and by Rivet and Smith, PNRB p. 240. Breeze (2001b) at pp. 151-8 (supported by MacQueen PNRGLV pp. 91-2), proposes that this river-name is *ābrā-wanno*, but Isaac (2005) at p. 190, sees an IE privative prefix *n*- here, see *wan[n]* for discussion and possible identification.

***ador or *edir (f?)*

?IE *h₂et-* (‘go’) + *Vr-* > eCelt *atūra-* or -jā-; ? cf. Gmc *ādara-* > OE (Anglian) ēdre, ON ēðr, ‘a vein’ (but see below).

On the (semantically problematic) IE root, see OIPrIE §22.12 at p. 395.

A possibly ancient river-name, the Indo-European formation perhaps meaning ‘a watercourse, a channel’, see SPN² pp. 236-9. However, the names considered below may imply that *ēdre* was an early Old English hydronymic term, rather than Celtic or ‘ancient’, though its relationship to ēdre ‘a vein’ is problematic.

a1) Adder, Black and White, R, with Edrom Bwk [+ OE –hām] and Edrington Bwk [+ OE -ing², a name-forming connective, + -tūn ‘a farm’]. Nicolaisen (1966) and SPN² p. 238 argues against Watson’s (CPNS p. 46) OE ēdre, Anglian ēdre, ‘a vein’, and Ekwall’s (ERN p. 156) *ēdre* ‘quickly’, on the grounds that these would have maintained the long initial vowel in English/Scots. He observes, ibid. p. 239 that early forms indicate both *adarā-* and *adarfā-, possibly distinctive names for the two rivers.

Edderside Cmb (Holme St Cuthbert) PNCmb p. 296 [+ OE side > ‘side’]: ‘doubtless gets its name from the stream that runs into the Black Dub’.

Ederlangbeek Cmb (= Sty Head Gill in Borrowdale), with Edderlanghals and Edderlangtern ERN p. 156, PNCmb pp. 351-2, DLDPN p. 330 [+ ON –lang- ‘long’, forming a stream-name, + ON –bekkr > ‘beck’, -hals ‘neck’, and –jorn > ‘tarn’, respectively]. Etherow R ERN p. 156, PNDrb p. 7, PNChe1 p. 23: the settlement-name Tintwistle (PNChe1 p. 320, see also ibid 3 p xiv and 5.1 p xxii) implies that Etherow was an OE replacement for an ancient river-name of the *tīn-* type, see *ti-*.

a2) Ettrick R Slk ? + -īg, but very obscure.

**ajr (f) and *aɣ**

IE *h₁eg-* > eCelt *ag-* > OW [h]agit, MC a, OB a, all ‘goes’; OIr ad-aig ‘drives’ (and cf. OIr tāín ‘cattle-raid’, < *to-ag-no-); cogn. Lat agō, Gk ágō, Skt ajati.

See OIPrIE §22.17 at p. 406.

The verbal sense, ‘drive, move forcefully’ is present in *h₁eg-* > *ag-* > *aɣ-* as an ancient river-name element, occurring possibly in Eye Water Bwk, see Kitson (1998) at p. 91. *h₁eg-* also has
semantic extension even in PrIE to mean ‘fight’, see OIPrIE §17.5 at p. 280, and, for several semantic developments in IE languages, DCCPN p. 5.

IE *h₁e̞g̅-reh₁e̞r > eCelt *agrā- > Br *agrā- > OW hair > MW hair > eMnW aer, OCorn hair, OBret air; O-MIr ār, G ār; cogn. Gk ágrā ‘a hunt’.

See OIPrIE §22.15, pp. 402-3, and EGOW p. 80.

Though IE *h₁e̞g̅-reh₁e̞r is primarily associated with ‘hunting’, in Celtic nominal forms, the sense is ‘slaughter, battle’, also ‘army’.

The river-name Aeron Crd is probably *Agronā, a deity name formed on *agro-. Scholars since J Morris-Jones (see CPNS pp. 342-3) have equated the Aeron of CA A18 (XVIII), A66 (LXXVIIIA), A79 (LXXXA) and B39 (LXVIB), and of BT 29(VII), 61 (VII) and 62 (VIII) with (territory around) either the R Ayr or the Earn Water Rnf. Either may be right, if the Welsh river-name has influenced the form in the surviving texts (on mediaeval Welsh writers’ pairing of Welsh place-names with similar ones in the legendary North, see Haycock 2013 p. 12, and Clancy 2013 pp. 155 and 169 nn11 and 12), but ahr is not the origin of either Ayr or Earn: see *ar in river-names and *arū.

It is however a possibility in:

b2) Barnaer Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 27   + brïnn: see LHEB §75, pp. 440-4, on the possibility of ahr > *awir (cf. Pont’s form, Barnawyr), but it may be Gaelic *barr an àir ‘hill of slaughter’, or with a verbal noun from the homophone àr ‘plough’.

*al (m?)

?IE *h₁e̞l- ‘grow’ (see alt) > eCelt *alo- > OIr ail > eMn G āl ‘a rock, a stone’.

Alcluith HE I.2 in the Moore ms, Al- also in BM Cotton Tiberius ms A xiv, Alclut in Armes Prydein, BT61 (VII), and TYP p. 147, also Alo Cluath (genitive) in AU s.aa. 658, 694 and 722, are often taken to show elided forms of alt- + the river-name -clūd. However, Al- is introduced only in the inferior Namur manuscript of HE, and Alt Clud is otherwise only found in AC s.a. 870. Moreover, Adomnán’s Petra Cloithe VC I.15 cannot be ignored. Watson (CPNS pp. 32-3) saw the first element as a cognate of Old Irish ail ‘a rock’, seeing this also in river-names of the ‘Allan’ type: while the latter are now seen as representatives of a class of ancient river-names, see *al-, the case of Alclud remains problematic. See Haycock 2013 pp. 9 and 23-4 n29, and for I. Williams’s proposal see *eil; see also Taylor in PNFif5 pp. 278-9 on the possibility that *al may occur elsewhere in Scotland.

Auckland Drh, a territorial name preserved in Bishop, St Andrew, St Helen and West Auckland, DDrhPN p. 10) is presumably the same formation, but whether it was a transferred name (as Ekwall thought, DEPN(O) s.n.) or one preserving an earlier name for the R Gaunless (so Watts, DDrhPN loc. cit.) is uncertain.

The Eildon Hills (PNRox pp. 7 and 40) might include a plural form of this element, *eil, or else *eil mentioned above, but Old English āled ‘fire’, or ēlētē ‘desert, empty place’, + OE –dūn ‘a hill’, are good possibilities.
*al-

IE *h₂-el- (‘flow’, see *leid, or o-grade *h₂-el-) or IE(NW) *h₂-el- ‘shine’ (see alarch) > eCelt *al-


The position is best summed up by Parsons and Styles in VEPN1 p. 7 (with reference to *alauno-, but true of other apparent derivatives of this root): ‘an element widely attested on the Continent and in Roman Britain, generally as a river-name, though occasional examples suggest it may have been applied to other topographical features. It is also found in personal, tribal and divine names, a range of applications which implies that this term was adjectival and broad in sense.’ Those like Nicolaisen and Kitson who see this as primarily an Old European river-naming element interpret its meaning as ‘flowing’, but different Indo-European origins and etymologies have been proposed, with a range of meanings such as ‘bright, shining, white’ (see alarch, and cf. W alaw ‘a water-lily’ and OIr Alba ‘Britain’), ‘sparkling, speckled’ (again, see alarch, and cf. OIr ala ‘a trout’), rocky (see *al), ‘holy’, nourishing’, ‘wandering’, etc.

Nearly all the surviving or recorded names thought to be associated with this element appear to have been formed with an IE suffix –*awe-, zero-grade –*un-, with root-determinative –*n- or participial –*ant-. see Hamp (1975), also discussions under cal-, dir and *went. From this, early Celtic *alauno-/a- > late British *alone- > neoBrittonic *aln, Anglicised as *alun: see LHEB §18, p. 306, §20(1), p. 309, and §22, p. 313. An alternative history of [au] in Brittonic is given by Lambert (1990), whereby *alaunā- > British *alounā- and is adopted at that stage as *alun (ibid at p. 209). For a different etymology see De Bernardo Stempel (1994), where she argues that the suffix is participial –*amm-. As to the meaning of the suffix, Kitson loc. cit. favours ‘full’.

For discussion of Roman-British examples in general, see PNRB pp. 243-7; for English examples see VEPN1 pp. 7-8, for Scottish examples, SPN² pp. 239-40, for Cornish examples, CPNE pp. 4-5, and for Continental examples ACPN pp. 42-3.

Note that Alāına, the major Roman base at Ardoch Per (Muthill) was ascribed by Ptolemy to the Damnonii, otherwise associated with the Clyde basin (see duβ[i]l[n], and PNRB p. 245). It was named from the Allan river (CPNS p. 467, SPN² p. 39). Alāuna PNRB pp. 244-5 is the Roman fort at Maryport Cmb, named from the R Ellen (see below). Alāuna PNRB p. 245 is the R Aln (see below) and a fort named from it, probably the one at Low Learchild Ntb. Two lost Roman-British sites based on the same form are Alāuna PNRB p. 246, perhaps in the Manchester area, and *Alaunocelum (as amended, PNRB p. 246), apparently in SE Scotland, + -učel. Alōne PNRB p. 244, in the Latin genitive singular, may be the fort at Watercrock Wml on the R Kent: this implies an alternative name for that river (see *ca[n]), but I. G. Smith (1998) reads *Ialone and identifies it as Lancaster.

The first element of *Alclūd was seen by Watson, CPNS pp. 32-3, as the same as that in river-names of the Alaunā type, but see under *al for discussion.

A2) Names apparently from *al-au-n- include:
Ale Water Bwk (Coldingham) CPNS p. 468, SPN² p. 240.
Ale Water Rox CPNS pp. 467-8, SPN² pp. 221, 239-40, PNRox p. 4; see *crum[b] for Ancrum.
Allander Water Stg/EDnb SPN² p. 240? + -duβ[r], but early forms are lacking.
Aln R Ntb ERN p. 5, PNNtb p. 4: see Alāuna above, and PNRB pp. 245 and 247.
Alne YNR PNYNR p. 21: not now a river-name, perhaps it preserves an alternative name for the R Kyle (see cūl), or a territorial or forest name.
Ayle Burn Cmb/Ntb border ERN p. 5, PNNtb p. 9: on the phonology, see DEPN(C) s.n. Aln.
Ellen R Cmb  PNCmb p. 13: see *Alauna above, and PNRB pp. 244-5. The Roman-British records relate to the fort at Maryport, the earliest mediaeval forms to Allerdale.
Elvan, Water of, with Elvanfoot, Lnk CPNS pp. 468-9: see Padel on a Cornish parallel, CPNE pp. 4-5, and idem (1974), pp. 127-8; see also *hale:n for an alternative proposal by Breeze.  
Trelallan or Trolallan Kcb (Parton) CPNS p. 363 + treβ; perhaps a lost stream-name.

a2) River-names apparently from *al-awe-nt- (but see also *went) include:
Allan Rox (→ Teviot) CPNS p. 468, but early forms are lacking.
Allan Rox (→ Tweed) SPN² p. 240.

a2) River-names of the ‘Alt’ type might be formed from *al- without the nasal component;
Alt R, with Altcar, and Alt Grange, Marsh and Scholes (Sefton), Lanc ERN p. 9, PNLLanc pp. 95 and 118, and other formations with *al-, might have been replaced with alt, but see discussion under that element, and DEPN(C) under Alt. The difficult name Alkincoats Lanc might likewise have had *al-, see under alt and cę:d.

alarch (m)

IE(NW) *h2el- ‘shine’ (see *al-) > + -or > - eCelt *alar- > Br *alarco- > M-MnW alarch, OCorn ? plural elerhc > Corn alaragh, Bret alarc’h; Olr ela > Ir, G eala, Mx ollay; cogn. Lat olor, ? cf. Gk élēā ‘a reed-warbler’.

See OIPrIE §9.3 p. 145. Plural forms show double i-affection: see LHEB §16, pp. 595-7. On the Old Cornish form, see CPNE p. 93.

‘A swan’.

Olerica, PNRB pp 430-1, is a form of a fort-name, possibly that of the one at Elslack YWR. It is probably an error for *Olenaca or similar, but might possibly involve alarch.

The only occurrence of this as a place-name from the (legendary?) Old North is the unlocated burial-place of Buddfan fab Bleiddfan in CA A24(XXIVA), a dan eleirch vre, showing the plural form + lenited -brey.

alt (f)

IE *h₂el- ‘grow’ (see *al) + past participle –t- > eCelt *altā- > OW(LL) alt > M-MnW allt, Corn als, Bret aod; Mlr alt > Ir, G allt (also Ir alt, Ir, G all), Mx alt; cogn. Lat altus, WGmc *alṓs > OE(Anglian) ald > ‘old’.

Primarily, ‘a steep height or hill, a cliff’. Gaelic allt came to be used chiefly as a word for ‘a burn, a mountain stream’, but from a much earlier date there seems to have been some overlap between the use of this element in upland place-names and the occurrence of *al- in stream-names, and possibly in hill-names too (see discussion under *al-).

Cases where a stream-name with *al- may have been changed to alt are considered below. In south-west Scotland, Gaelic allt may have replaced Brittonic alt in locations where either ‘a steep height’ or ‘an upland burn’ could have been the original referent, adding to the complexity, see
CPNS p. 140 and PNFif5, pp. 280-1. On the particular quandary presented by Al[rl]riel, see discussion under *al. Finally, Coates’s discussion of Oldham (see below) raises the possibility that a number of place-names with ‘Old’ or ‘Auld’ could conceal Brittonic alt: a few such are discussed below, and see py for ‘Old Man’ names.

a1) Aldcliffe Lanc (Lancaster) PNLanc p. 174 [+ OE –clif > ‘cliff’: see Coates, CVEP pp. 230-1, for objections to OE (Anglian) ald- or personal name Alda here].

Alt Lanc, with Alt Hill Lanc (Oldham) PNLanc p. 80: see Coates, CVEP p. 230.

Alt, with Altcar, and Alt Grange, Marsh and Scholes (Sefton), Lanc ERN p. 9, PNLanc pp. 95 and 118, but see also under *al- and –ed, and in DEPN(C) s.n.

Auld Hill Wig (Penninghame, x2) PNGall p. 14, or else Gaelic *allt.

Oldham Lanc PNLanc p. 50 [+ OEN hulm > ME hulm ‘an island, firm land in a marshy area’]: see Coates, CVEP pp. 229-30, but ‘an old [place called] *Hulm’ is quite possible, distinguished perhaps from Hulme near Manchester, or some other, lost *[New] Hulm.

Names like Old Strand Kcb (Carsphairn) and Oldwater Kcb PNGall pp. 218-19, are probably from Gaelic *allt.

b1) Cramalt Burn and Craig Slk/Pbl border CPNS p. 138 ? + *cromailt- (+ *cromailt- ‘bend in a burn’ is more likely.

Stream-names of the ‘Garvald’ type may be + *gār- or *garw- but see discussion under the latter:

Garvald, with Garvel or Garrell Water Dmf (Kirkmichael) PNDmf p. 76.

Garvald ELo (the stream here is now Papanata Water) CPNS p. 140.

Garvald Burn Lnk/Pbl border.

Garvald, with Garvald Burn (now Hope Burn) MLo (Heriot) PNMLo p. 236.

Garwald, with Garwald Water, Dmf (Eskdalemuir) PNDmf p. 36.

Pennel, with Barpennald (= Fulton), Rnf (Kilbarchan) CPNS p. 356 + *pennel-: see discussion under *pennel-.

b2) Alkincoats Lanc (Colne) PNLanc p. 87 ? + *al- or *al-? + *bolγ: see discussion under *bolγ.

Altitivolie, with Altitivolie Burn, Wig (Stoneykirk) PNGall p. 5 ? + + *bolγ, but see under bolγ.

Altigabert Burn Ayrs PNGall p. 5 ? + *al-γ- + *gaγr- + *ed: see discussion under *gaγr.

Auldbreck Wig (Whithorn) PNGall p. 14 ? + *brehγ (see *brijth), or Gaelic *allt-bhreac, or OE(Anglian) *ald-burh ‘old fort’.


*amb-


See OIPrIE §8.3, pp. 125-6, and LHEB §112(1), pp. 509-11.

An Indo-European root associated with ‘moisture’ is perceived in a number of river-names including those of the ‘Almond’ type. While this is commonly given as *nbh-, *nbh- has more convincing comparable forms.
a2) Rivers of the ‘Almond’ type, < *amb-onā- (see –an), include the R Almond Per, Afon Aman Crm-Glm (though Owen and Morgan DPW p. 16, state, without explanation, that this is from ‘a var[iant] of banw “pig” or “piglet”’) and another Afon Aman in Glm, as well as: Almond R WLo-MLo, with Cramond MLo, CPNS pp. 340 and 369, PNMLo p. 75, PNWLo p. 1, SPN² p. 208 (+ cajr- in Cramond). Almond Pow Stg PNFEStg p. 47. Note that Almond Stg (Muiravonside) is named after James Livingstone, Lord Almond: PNFEStg p. 338.

a2) An o-grade *onbh- or *ombh- might be involved in the river-name Humber YER/Linc, ERN pp. 201-5, PNYER p. 8, but see *hu- and *hū-.

-an

ECelt –ono-/ā- > *Br –ono-/ā- > O-MnW –an. See also –ín, and āβ- (for aβon), bích (for bichan), and lidan.

A nominal or locative suffix.

On its occurrence in river-names, see CPNS pp. 7 and 430-1, and SPN² pp. 227-9, where Nicolaisen distinguishes three categories, plus ‘uncertain’:

(i) Forms from o-stem nouns and adjectives. In the Old North, those formed on laβar are typical (on these, see De Bernardo Stempel, 2007, at p. 151n45):
Lauren Water Dnb (Luss) CPNS p. 431.
Lavern Burn Dmf (Durrisdeer).
Levern Water Rnf (or else + –ín).
Louran Burn Kcb (Minigaff).
Lowran or Lowring Burn Kcb (Kells) PNGall p. 204, but see discussion under laβar.

(ii) Forms from verbal nouns in –to-:
Breμetoanā-: see breμ.
Leithen Water, with Innerleithen, Pbl CPNS p. 471, SPN² p. 228 + *lejθ-: + Gaelic inbhear- in Innerleithen, perhaps replacing aber, but see under that.
Nethan R Lnk CPNS p. 210-11, SPN² p. 228 + *nejθ-.
Also possibly Caddon Water Slk CPNS p. 431, if this is *calet-onā-: see *cal-, but also cad. Nicolaisen, SPN² p. 229, lists this with other *cal- river-names as ‘uncertain’.

(iii) Forms from other stems, perhaps analogous:
Bladnoch R Wig PNGall p. 41, PNWigMM p. 9 + blǭd- (which see) + -ǭg.
Caddon Water Slk, if this is + cad-, but see above.
Calneburn ELs (now Hazelly Burn) SPN² p. 229 + cal-.
Cargen, with Cargen Water, Kcb (Lochrutton)? +carreg-, but see also cajr, *ceμ- and ce:n.
Carntyne Lnk + *carr- + nejθ-, but see also *cailen and *carnoδ.
Carron R Dmf CPNS p. 433, SPN² pp. 241-2 ? +carr-, which see.
Cluden Water, with Lincluden, Kcb + clūδ-.
Colne R Lancs ERN p. 90 + cal-.
Colne R YWR ERN p. 90 + cal-
Girvan Ayrs ? + *garw-, which see.
Kalebianburn ERN p. 90, PNRox p. 4, SPN² p. 229 + cal-
Lothianburn CPNS p. 101, PNMLo p. 284 ? + *lǭd- or *lud-, but see also lūch.
Lyvennet R Wml: see under *lǭd and *lud-
Piltanton Burn Wig ? - *tan-, see *tā-, + pol- in a secondary formation.

Tralodden Ayrs (Girvan) CPNS p. 361 ? + -lǭd- or - *lud- (see under both of these), + treβ- in a secondary formation on a possible lost stream-name.

Apart from these, there are numerous examples where –an probably, though not necessarily, functioned as a diminutive, as in Modern Welsh. This diminutive usage may well have been influenced by Old Irish –ān < Goidelic *-ān < early Celtic *-agn-: see GOI §261, p. 173, and Hamp (1974-6a) at p. 31. It cannot be assumed to have been a diminutive in Neo-Brittonic. For all the following, see discussion under the suffixed element:

Bartorran, with Bartorran Hill, Wig (Kirkcowan) torr
Bartrostan Wig (Penninghame) trǭs
Blockan Hole Wig (Glasserton) *bluch
Boddons Isle Kcb (Kells, in the R Dee) bod
Bodens Wa’s Well Wig (Glasserton) bod
Bothan ELo (= Yester) bod
Cateran Hill Ntb (Old Bewick) cadeir
Cockrossen Kcb (Tongland) rōs
Craven YWR (district name) *crapū
Dinnand YNR (Danby) *dīn
Dinnans Wig (Whithorn) *dīn
Glasson Cmb (Bowness) glās
Glasson Lanc (Cockerham) glās
Glendinning Rigg Cmb (Nicholforest) dīn
Lanrecoirinsan Cmb (Brampton?) ìnìs
Leyden MLo (Kirknewton) lejth, also *fidan
Parton Cmb (Thursby) pert[h]
Pendraven Cmb (Upper Denton) treβ
Printonan, East and West, Bwk (Eccles) *ton
Rossendale Lanc rǭs.
Rossington YWR rōs.
Tartraven WLo (Uphall) treβ
Trostan, Trostan, frequent in SW Scotland trǭs
Wigan Lanc wig

Anaw (f)

IE *h₂-n- > eCelt *an- + -awā- > Br, Gaul Anawā-; OIr Ana, Anu; cogn. Lat anus ‘old woman’.

The root *h₂-n- meant ‘grandmother’: see OIPrIE §12.3 at p. 213. However, it fell together in Celtic and in nearly all other IE language-groups with *h₁-n-, which carried connotations of ‘increase, prosperity’, and is the ancestor of eCelt *an- + -awaes (see –ōū) > Br, Gaul anaves > M-eMnW anaw; OIr anae, all nouns meaning ‘riches, prosperity’, see DCCPN p. 7.

The feminine singular form An-awā- is the name of a deity possessing both sets of connotation, a mother-goddess associated with prosperity, see PCB pp. 293-4 and 452-4, DCM p. 14, and Green
(1995), pp. 82-4. Anaw/Ana/Anu was more or less identified with Đōn/Danu (see *dōn), and may have been ‘christened’ as St Anne in the names of some holy wells etc. However, *-awā- (see –aw) as a nominal suffix also occurs in river-names and territorial names not necessarily implying any association with the goddess.

_Anava_ PNRB pp. 249-50, identified as R Annan Dmf (CPNS p. 55, PNDmf p. 1) may be named after the goddess, or simply be ‘riches, prosperity’. Early mediaeval forms indicate a re-formation of earlier *Anawā- interpreting the stem as *anaw- and suffixing –and to give the sense ‘[having the property of] increasing, enriching, prospering’. Alternatively, the re-formation may have involved the Gaelic n-stem genitive singular –ann (for which see GG §85(2), p. 96), but see CPNS p. 55, and. See also _strad_.

The root may possibly be present + -īg in Annick Water, with Annick and Annick Lodge, Ayrs (Irvine).

-and

IE *-ont-, zero-grade -nt- > eCelt -*anto-/ā- > Br -*anto-/ā-; OIr -*i in verbal nouns, see GOI §§727-30, pp. 449-51.

Cognates ‘in all Indo-European languages’, Szemerényi (1996), §9.6, pp. 317-21, also OIPrIE §4.8 p. 65.

Present participial suffix. On the etymology, and its use in ethnic names with the sense of ‘having the property of...’, see Szemerényi loc. cit. In the Celtic languages, participial functions were superseded by structures using verbal nouns, see Russell (1995), chapter 8; on relics in Welsh and Old Irish, see ibid. p. 276 n1, and GOI loc. cit.

This suffix occurs in the ethnic names _Brigantes_ PNRB pp. 278-80 + _brey-, and _Novantae_ PNRB p. 425 (see also p. 330), + *now-, see _nōwiō_.

It may be present in the river-name Annan Dmf, + _Anaw-, which see, and see also -aw.

It may be present in:
Dinnand YNR (Danby) PNYN p. 132 and Dinnans Wig (Whithorn) PNGall p. 109, both + *dīn-, which see, but see also –an.

*ander (f)

?IE h₂mēr (<h₂mr ‘manly strength, virility’) > eCelt *ander-ā- > MW-eMnW an[n]er, B annoer; MIr ainder, G ainnir.

The etymology is doubtful. An alternative, IE h₂endh- associated with ‘flowering, blossoming, springing up’ (cf. Gk ἄνθος ‘a flower’, Skt andhas- ‘a herb’) is possible: it would seem semantically less plausible for the words for ‘bull-calf’ and ‘heifer’, but perhaps appropriate for ‘maiden’ or ‘married woman’, and for a river-name. See Hamp (1977-8), at p. 10. Falileyev, EGOW p. 54, sees ‘a probable Basque connection’. In any case, as Falileyev notes, the preservation of –nd- is unusual (see LHEB §111, pp. 508-9, and §112(2), pp. 511-13).
The root-sense of *h₂nêr is ‘man’, cf. W *nêr ‘a hero’, Gk *anêr ‘a man’, Skt *aner- ‘a man, a person’. OW *enderic (from eCelt *ander- + *-ic- (< Latin *-icus)) glosses Latin vitulus ‘a bull-calf, a bullock or steer’. However, feminine forms from the same root underlie W *nân and B annoer ‘a heifer’, as well as Mlr *aider ‘a married woman’, G *ainnir ‘a maiden, nubile woman’.

Watercourse names may have been formed on this root:

a2) Endrick Water Stg/Dnb: see King (2007) + *-icā, see –īg. Early forms begin with Anneric, Annerech 1234–1270, and continue as Ainrick etc to 1654, implying that either this word escaped the double i-affection shown in Welsh masculine *enderig in the regional dialect, or else that the river-name was feminine *andericā- > *anderieg, Gaelicised *aindereich or similar. The meaning in that case could have been ‘heifer’ or ‘maiden’, or, if the origin was *h₂endh-, ‘springing up, coming to fruition’.

*ēnghaw (m)

IE *h₂n̥k (zero-grade of *nek-) > eCelt *anc- + *ewes- (nominative plural) > Br *ancewes > M-MnW angau, Ocorn *ancou > Corn *ancow, Obret *ankow; OIr *éc > Ir éag, G eug; cf. Lat necō ‘I kill’, nex ‘death’, Gk nêkōs ‘a corpse’, Skt naśyati ‘perishes’.

See OIPrIE §11.7 at pp. 194 and 198, and, on the Goidelic forms, GOI §pp. 127.

‘Death’.

Breeze (2002a) at p. 126, (2003), pp. 167–70, proposes that Agned HB56, one of Arthur’s battles, is *āngw-ed + -eđ (with syncopa, but see 2015c p. 175 for a modification of this proposal), and equates it speculatively with:

c2) Pennango, with Penangushope, Rox (Teviothead) PN Rox p. 5 and pp. 37–8 + pen[n]-.

MacDonald, PN Rox p. 5, offers an early Celtic *ango- ‘angle, corner, deviation in a boundary’; this may be justified by Latin and Germanic cognates, but is not reflected in insular Celtic, where it would in any case have become neoBrittonic *āng (Welsh ongl, adopted from Latin angulus, is not supported by the recorded forms of this place-name). For a third possibility, see *āngwas.

*āngwas (m)

IE *sth₂-o- (zero-grade nominal form of *steh₂- ‘stand’) > eCelt *stoa-, + negative prefix *n- (< zero-grade of *ne- ‘not’) + wo- (which see) > Br *an-wa-sto- > OW *angwas, cf. anguast-athoet (verb, 3rd singular present subjunctive, ‘would be inconstant, wavering’; see EGOW p. 7).

See was, and cf. also W gwastad, Corn gwastas, Bret goustad, along with OIr fossad > Ir fosadh, G fasadh, Mx fassaght, all meaning ‘a firm surface, a level place’ (for Gaelic usage, especially for ‘an overnight pasture’, see CPNS pp. 499-502).

The nominal sense would be either ‘without any abode’, an uninhabited place, or ‘without a firm surface’, a quagmire. Either might suit:

c2) Pennango, with Penangushope, Rox (Teviothead) PN Rox p. 5 and pp. 37–8 + pen[n]-; Pennango would have been a back-formation from *Pen-angs-hōp, but see also *āngaw.
*anheð (m or f)

IE *sed- > eCelt *sedo-lā- + *nde- (from zero-grade of IE *h₁en-do-) > Br *andeΣedo-lā- > MW anhed > W annedd, Corn anneth, Bret anniez.

The Indo-European root *sed- means ‘settle, sit’, see heð. The prefix may be a locational adverb, cf. OIr ind-, inne ‘in the middle’, Latin endo- ‘inside’, Gk eiβν ‘within’, but see discussion in DCCPN, p. 7.

‘A settlement, a dwelling-place’.

c2) Trahenna Hill Pbl (Broughton) CPNS p. 363  + treβ- + -hen-, but see under hen.

*ar in river-names

IE *h₁er-, *h₂er- > eCelt ar-.

These two Indo-European roots, meaning ‘set in motion’ horizontally and vertically respectively, were probably confused from an early stage, and would have fallen together in Celtic pronunciation. *h₁er- is reflected in Greek erkhomai ‘I set out’ and Sanskrit rcchati ‘goes towards’, and probably (with o-grade) MW or, OBret or, ‘edge, border’, OIr or ‘border, limit’; *h₂er- in Latin orior ‘I rise, am born’, OE orā ‘a border, margin, bank, edge’, in place-names ‘a river-bank, a shore’ (EPNE2 p. 55), Greek óros ‘a mountain’. See OIPrIE §22.10 at p. 391, and DCCPN p. 7.

An ancient river-name element implying either horizontal motion, ‘flowing’, or else ‘rising’ or ‘springing up’: see ERN p. 17, Nicolaisen (1957) at p. 231, Kitson (1998) at p. 93 and n33, and VEPN1 pp. 20-1. It is ‘just possible’ in some river-names in the North, but, says Nicolaisen SPN² p. 241 (re: Armet Water and Earn Water), ‘the evidence is too scanty to make a final judgement’.

a1) Ayr R SPN² pp. 240-1: see also *ajr, and Taylor's discussion of Ore Water Fif in PN Fif1, pp. 48-9.

Apparent formations with a nasal root-determinative may be from *ar-m/n-, but could be from another early hydronym *iserno- < *h₁eih₂x-, also meaning ‘set in motion’, + -r-n-; they include: a2) Armet Water MLo (Stow) PNMLo p. 75, SPN² p. 241 + -ed, ? < *ar-mETO-. but see discussion under aru.

Earn Water Rnf SPN² p. 241, ? < *ar-n-ā-.

A very problematic river-name is:

a2) Yarrow R Lanc PN Lanc p. 127, ERN p. 478, JEPNS17 p. 71: see Nicolaisen (1957) at p. 231. It might have the same origin as R Yarrow Slk, see garw), but may be related to the R Arrow War, ? < *ar-w-ā- (but see also arβ), or else the R Arrow Hrf, ? *arowβā-, see *aryant.

A formation + -īg, i.e. *ar-ico-, might be in:

a2) Errick Burn WLo (Linlithgow), but it is only recorded from 1843 on, and G earc, or its Britt cognate erch, ‘mottled, speckled’, is likely (J. G. Wilkinson pers. comm.).

A vowel-grade variant of this root might be present in the following, but see also *ifr:
a1) Irwell R Lanc  ERN p. 213, PNlanc p. 17  [+ OE (Anglian) -wella].
a2) Irk R Lanc  ERN p. 211, PNlanc p. 28  ? + -ǭg, but see also *iurch.
Irth R Cmb  ERN p. 211, PNCmb p. 17  ?  & -ed.

ar-

IE *prh- (zero-grade of *perh- 'first') > eCelt *ari- > Br, Gaul ar- > OE ar- (ir-) > M-MnW ar-(er-, yr-), OCorn ar-, Bret ar; Olr ar, G air (ear), Mx er.


Bracketed forms reflect low stress when used as a prefix, in place-names and otherwise. Regularly causes lenition.

The early sense was ‘before, beside, facing, in front of’. The meaning ‘on, upon’ developed in late Middle Welsh under the influence of wor- (GMW §§204-6, pp. 183-9, cf. CPNE p. 8). Likewise in the Goidelic languages the sense was influenced by for-. A possible intensive use, ‘over, greatly’, would also have been acquired from wor-. In river-names, the unrelated, ancient, *ar (retaining stress) should not be confused with this prefix. On place-names with this prefix elsewhere in Scotland, notably the several Urquharts, see PNfif5 p. 279.

On the regional name Arclut, see clûd.

Various places in the verses attributed to Taliesin appear to contain this prefix. None can be reliably located:
Arddunyon BT29(XI): Breeze (2002b), p. 169, suggests a formation + the personal name Dunǭd + [-]ǭn, identifying this in turn as equivalent to the Dunutingas of VW17, whom he associates with Dent YWR (but see *dinn). Williams, PT p. 125, suggests a personal name Arddun or Anhun (< Antonius) + [-]ǭn, or else a formation with arǭ. The late MW orthography, with –dd- and –no-, suggests a late emendation or interpolation, making the name suspect.
Argoet Llwyfein BT60(VI) + -cę:d, which see: presumably close to one of the rivers of the ‘Leven’ type, see *lčβ.
Arvynd BT60(VI) + -mōnǭ, which see.
Yr Echwyd BT 57 and 60(II and VI) + -echwǭ, which see. The prepositional prefix ar- is more likely than the definite article ū[r]-.

A number of place-names listed under ū[r] may contained reduced ar-. A case where this is reasonably certain is the lost Dolllerine Cmb (Askerton) PNCmb p. 55, + dǭl- + river-name - Lyne, see *lčβ.

Simplex place-names with ar- as prefix may include:
Arlecgon Cmb  PNCmb p. 335, CVEP p. 285  + *logǭd, which see [+ OE –denu ‘a valley’].
Newton Arlosh Cmb (Askerton) PNCmb p. 291  + losg or *lūs- + -ǭg: an intensive use of the prefix is possible here, but if so it would probably be a late, Cumbric, formation. Padel (2013b p. 38) points out that ‘no convincing parallel in the Celtic world has been found’.

-ar

Early Celtic *aro-/ā- > O-MnW –ar.
Adjectival suffix frequently occurring in river-names: see CPNS pp. 431-3 and PNRB p. 389. In some cases however, -ar may be a contraction from -duβr.

For Leucaro see lũɣ and PNRB pp. 389-90, also p. 174.

Bazard Lane Wig (New Luce) PNGall p. 34 + bas- [the form influenced by Scots nominal suffix –ard, and + SW Scots lane, ‘a slow, boggy stream’ < G lęana ‘a swampy plain or meadow’].

Carstairs Lnk CPNS pp. 386-7 + cajr-, which see, + -*tā- [ + Scots plural –is]: a lost stream-name, cf. Tarras below.

Gogar, with Gogar Burn, Stg (Denny) CPNS p. 210, PNFEStg p. 40, WLoPN p. 17, and Gogar, with Gogar Burn, MLo (Ratho) PNMLo p. pp. 352-3 ? + coch-, but see under that.

Leader R Brw CPNS p. 471 ? + led, which see.

Breeze (2001a), pp. 21-5, suggests that the British root *arb- + -ējā- is represented by Arbeia, the name of the Roman fort at South Shields Drh (PNRB p. 256). The suffix -ējā- would imply that this was a stream-name, and the root may be an ancient one unrelated to erfin etc. Allowing that -b- may be for British [w], i.e. *arw-ējā- , association with IE h2erh2-wō- ‘plough’, and so with ‘fertile, cultivated land’, is another possibility: cf. the Middle Welsh land measure erw, roughly ‘an acre’, and see ACPN p. 205 on Arva in southern Spain.

Breeze also (2001b) suggests the British root *arb-īno (cf. Welsh erfin above) as the origin of the river-name Irvine Ayrs (CPNS p. 430). The earliest record, Yrewyn 1258, does not encourage this, nor does the possibly identical R Irfon Crd. The Middle Welsh verbal noun erbyn ‘hostility, fighting against’ (cf. Welsh adjective erwin ‘fierce, passionate’) might be considered, but here again an ancient river-name formation of very obscure meaning is quite probable.

The same element, whether *arβ or *arw-, might possibly be present in R Yarrow Lanc, but see *ar in river-names.

IE(WC) *rāpehₐₜ (? variant of *rēpehₐₜ, perhaps formed on the verbal root pehₐₜ- ‘nourish’) > eCelt *arb-; cogn. Lat rāpum ‘rape, turnip’, Gk rhápus ‘a radish’.

See OIPrIE §10.3 at p. 166.

The only evidence for this in the Celtic languages is British *arb-īno- > Welsh erfin, Breton irvin, ‘a wild turnip’, Brassica rapa, a native plant of stream-sides and damp places. Dickson and Dickson (2000), pp. 182 and 214-15, find no evidence for its being used as a vegetable, oilseed crop or medicinal plant until cultivated forms were introduced from the Continent in the later middle ages.

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The same element, whether *arβ or *arw-, might possibly be present in R Yarrow Lanc, but see *ar in river-names.
arð (f as noun)

IE \*h₂erðhu- > eCelt \*ardë- > Br, Gaul \*Ardu- in personal names > OW(LL) ard > M-eMnW ardd, OCorn \*arð (in place-names, CPNE pp. 9-11), OBret ard, art; OIr ard > Ir ard, G ârd, Mx ard; cogn. Lat arduus ‘steep, difficult’, ON ǫrðugr ‘steep’. See also harð.

See OIPrIE §18.2 at p. 292, and DCCPN p. 8.

‘A height, a hill’, rare as a noun or adjective in Welsh, and occurring only in place-names in Cornish and Breton, whereas it is current in the Goidelic languages and a very common element in their toponymy.

a1) Airth Stg PNFESStg pp. 37-8: pace Reid, the final fricative could reflect a Scots development, so this may be Gaelic ard.

b2) Artemawh Cmb (Brampton) Lan Cart ? + -i[r]- + -*môn (A. Walker pers. comm.)

See also Arthuret Cmb under *arμ.

aryant (n, later m)

IE \*h₂erγ- ‘white, bright’ + -nt- (see -and) > eCelt \*arganto- > Br, Gaul arganto- (also Gaulish and north British/ Prutenic Argento- in personal names, showing influence of Latin argentum) > OW argant > M-eMnW ariant > W arian, OCorn argans > Corn arghans, OBret argant (also argent, see above) > Bret arc’hant (also dialectal argant); OIr argat (and note Ptolemy’s Argíta, a river-name in Ireland) > M-MnIr, G airgead, Mx argid; cogn. Lat argentum, Skt rajaṭam.

See OIPrIE §15.2, pp. 241-2, DCCPN p. 8, EGOW p. 11, and for the phonology LHEB §87, p. 467, §107, p. 503 (with note 1), and §173, p. 610.

‘Silver’, also ‘bright’, ‘white’, occurring in river-names.

a1) Erring Burn, with Errington, Ntb DEPN(O), the modern form a back-formation from the village-name.

c2) Pularyan Wig (Inch) PNGall p. 230, PNRGLV pp. 80-1 + *pol-, but see also rijaŋ and discussion there.

A form from from zero-grade \*h₂rγ-u- ‘white’ (Gk árguros, Skt ārjuna) > eCelt *argow- + -jā-, might underlie R Yarrow Lanc (cf. R Arrow Hrf ), but see discussion under *ar in river names.

*arμ (f?)

Early Celtic *armā- > Br *armā-; O-MIr, G airm.

‘Place, location, whereabouts’.

Proposed by I. Williams, see PNCmb pp. 51-2, in [bellum] Armterid AC573 (in London, BL MS Harley 3859). There is no other evidence for the word in P-Celtic, nor does the Goidelic form seem to occur to as a place-name generic. If a Brittonic cognate had existed and survived, it
would have fallen together as it did in Goidelic with adopted Lat *arma* ‘arms’ (Welsh *arf*). See Arthurét Cmb, below.

a2) The river-name Armet Water MLo (Stow), PNMLo p. 75, SPN2 p. 241, and the territorial name *Armethe* Stg (Muiravonside), PNFESTg p. 38, could formally be + -ed if adopted early enough by Northumbrian Old English speakers to retain –m- (LHEB §§98-100, pp. 486-93); however, such a formation would be be unlikely to involve *arµ*. An early hydronymic element is possible, see ERN p. 149 (discussion of R. Erme Dev), and *ar* in river-names.

b2) Arthurét Cmb PNCmb pp. 51-2 + *tērið. Arthurét church stands on a prominent bluff overlooking the Border Esk about 2 miles south of Longtown. Williams’s identification of the battle-site with Arthurét is plausible, given the strategic location, though it should not be regarded as certain. On the burgeoning of stories surrounding this battle in mediaeval Welsh literature, see Rowlands (1990) pp. 109-14. See also discussion of Carwinley under *cajr*.

**arth (m or f)**

IE *h₂r̥tk̂-* (verbal noun < *h₂retk̂- ‘destroy’, see OIPrIE §9.2 at p. 138) > eCelt ar[χ]to- > Br, Gaul arto-/ā- (in personal names, and cf. Gaulish deity-name Artoo) > M-MnW *arth*, OCorn ors (influenced by Latin ursus), Bret arzh, O-eMnIr, eG *art*; cogn. Lat ursus, Gk *árktos*, Skt ṛkṣa.

‘A bear’. Bears were extinct in the North before Roman times, but for Roman-British carvings and talismans protraying bears found in the region see PCB pp. 186, 245 and 433-5 (note also the evidence for a bear-deity under the name of *Matunus* at Risingham Ntb, ibid. p. 435). The element is frequent in personal names such as *Arthgal* in the ‘Strathclyde’ genealogy (London, BL MS Harley 3859); for its doubtful occurrence on the Manor Valley Pbl inscribed stone (CIIC511) see CIB ǂ57a, p. 190 and n1166. Its meaning in personal names may already be ‘warrior, champion’, a sense recorded in Middle Irish.

It occurs in river-names in Wales, and is proposed by Breeze (2005a) in:

a2) Irthing R Cmb/Ntb ERN p. 212, PNNtb p. 123, PNCmb p. 18 + *în, see -în, but see also *ar* in river-names, and *îr*.

**-âs, -îs**

Early Celtic *-ast-* , *-ist-* > Br *-ast-* , *-ist-* > O-MnW -as, -is; OIr -as, -is, -u (GOI §259, p. 166).

A nominal morpheme, derived from an abstract suffix, seen in *cam[b]as*, see cam[b], and *dinas*.

If Coates is correct in proposing a Celtic origin for Lindisfarne Ntb, CVEP pp. 241-59, the basis could have been Brittonic *lind-asti-* > neoBrittonic *lîndis* rather than Goidelic *lindistu-*: see discussion under lînn.

**-âW**

Early Celtic *-awā-* > Br *-awā-* > O-MnW -aw; OIr –iu.
A nominal suffix occurring in river-names and territorial names. The Goidelic equivalent forms the nominative singular of feminine n-stem nouns (GOI §§327-30, pp. 209-12) with oblique forms showing –n- such as Gaelic genitive singular –ann (GG §85(2), p. 96).

Watson sees a Gaelicised development from Anava (PNRB pp. 249-50) in R Annan Dmf, CPNS p. 55; however, the suffix –and may be involved, see under that and Anaw.

On the ancient territorial name Manaw see man-, but n.b. LHEB §47(1), pp. 375-6: Jackson points out that the termination here may have been *-aw-jā-.
B

*bayøð (m)

Br *bagedo-* > MW baet (probably for *baeð, O J Padel pers. comm.) > W baedd, OCorn bahet > Corn baeth.


‘A boar’, used chiefly of the domesticated pig, cf. turch.

A plural form is probably seen in BT29(XI) kat yg coet beith, which has been identified with either Beith Ayrs or Bathgate WLo, see CPNS p. 342, PT p. 125, and Breeze (2002b) at p. 169.

a1) Beith Ayrs: local pronunciation with [−ð] may suggest *bayøð here rather than Gaelic beith ‘birch’ (see bedu), which is more likely at Beith Rnf etc.

b2) Barlanark Lnk (Shettleston) CPNS p. 356 + -lanerc, Gaelicised with bàrr- or baile-.

c1) Bathgate WLo CPNS pp. 381-2, PNWLo pp. 80-1 + ɛːd, which see.
Batwell Wig (Kirkmaiden) PNGall p. 34 ? + -wel[t].

*bål (f)

Br *bal-m-ā- > M-eMnW bāl, Bret bal.

The meaning in Welsh is ‘a summit’, in Breton ‘a steep beach or slope’. The root sense may be inferred from Welsh balog, Cornish balek ‘something projecting, sticking out’.

Proposed by Rivet and Smith PNRB p. 500 (see also p. 424) in Vindobala, the Roman fort at Rudchester Ntb, + wînn-, but see also wal.

ban[n] (m or f)

? IE *bend-, *bud-, or non-IE *ban-, *ben-, > eCelt *banno-/ā- > Br, Gaul *banno-/ā-, also Gaul benno- (in place-names), > OW bann (in the place-name Bangolau AC s.a. 874) > M-MnW ban; MCorn ba[d]n > Corn ban (see CPNS p. 16), OBret bann > Bret ban; O-MnIr, G benn, and G, Mx beinn; perhaps cf. Lat penna ‘a feather’, Gmc *feþro- > OE feðer > ‘feather’, also Gmc words for ‘penis’ e.g. OE pintol.

On the etymology, see PNRB p. 262, ACPN pp. 44-5, DCCPN p. 9, and references. It is an element peculiar to Britain and Gaul (ACPN loc. cit. and p. 310).

Primarily ‘a horn, an antler-tine’, so also ‘a drinking-horn, a sounding-horn’. In Celtic place-names generally, ‘a point, a promontory, a hill-spur’, and in Brittonic and Pritenic place-names, ‘a summit’, a use which may have shaped the Gaelic and Manx development of the dative-locative singular beinn to an independent noun, especially in hill-names (see Barrow in Uses, p.
56); however, given the rarity of Brittonic ban[n] in surviving hill-names, the influence of unrelated pen[n] might also have been a factor.

This element occurs in several important place-names in historical and literary records:


[en] vanncarw CA A49(LIIA) may be a place-name, *Bannacarw*, but the line plays on the use of ‘stag’s antler-tine’ as a kenning for ‘a spear’: see carw and Williams’s note at CA pp. 221-2.

a2) Bannockburn Stg CPNS pp. 196 and 293 n2 + òg, this stream-name preserves the hill-name regularly used in mediaeval Welsh literature to define the boundary between the Britons of the Old North and the Picts, Old Welsh *Bannauc* (V Cadoc), Middle Welsh *Bannawg* (Culhwch and Olwen), see Bromwich and Evans eds. 1992, pp. 133-4, and for other references in mediaeval Welsh literature, Haycock 2013 pp. 10 and 30 n43). The burn rises below Earls Hill Stg, possibly the eponymous *Bann*, but presumably *Mynydd Bannawg* extended across the Touch, Gargunnock and Fintry Hills, north of the R Carron and Endrick Water, perhaps even the whole of the Campsie Fells.1 See also *mann* for *mannog*.

Carmunnock Lnk CPNS pp. 196 and 367 + cajr-, cor- or *côr- + -ôg: however, Jackson (1935) at pp. 31 and 59, reads MW *mannog* as a variant of *bannôg*, but see also mann and *mônach*.

Govan Rnf ? + wo: Clancy (1996 and 1998), argued for this etymology, and Breeze (1999), identified it further with *Ouania* in HR s.a.756. However, see Macquarrie’s objections (1997b). The stress-shift to the first syllable, which Macquarrie sees as a problem, would be normal if Cumbric *gwo-van* had been Gaelicised as *gu-bh[e]ann*, especially if this formation was in use as a Gaelic common noun. However, Macquarrie favours the traditional derivation, Gaelic *goban* < gop- ‘a beak’ + diminutive suffix –án, referring to the ridge on which Govan Old Kirk stands, which may have been a pointed headland before it was truncated by shipbuilding works. Because of the perceived appropriateness of ‘a low summit’ to the artificial mound, possibly a 10th ct Viking-age assembly place, revealed by archaeology at Doomster Hill (see Driscoll, 1998), the Cumbric origin proposed by Clancy received support from Forsyth in Taylor (2002) at pp. 29-30. It should be noted, though, that Doomster Hill did not have a ‘pointed’ summit, and the meaning ‘a small pointed ridge’ could equally well be ascribed to Cumbric *gwo-van* as to Gaelic *gobán*, so the ridge rather than the mound may still be the original referent. The phonological issues arising from Clancy’s and Breeze’s proposals are dealt with by Koch in Taylor (2002) at pp. 33-4. See also wo-.

b2) Bangour WLo (Ecclesmachan) CPNS pp. 145-6, PNWLo p. 48 ? + gafir or *wofer*, Gaelicised as *beann-gobhar* (with beann < eG *benn*, see above), if that is not the origin. Banknock Dmf (Thornhill) ? + cajr, which see.

c2) Patervan Pbl (Drumelzier) ? + polter-, which see, or else + *mayn*, but either way the lenition is irregular. See also *pol* and *termún*.

1 Fraser’s (2009, p. 46) unwillingness to accept that these hills are *in medio Albanie* (V Cadoc) seems to show a lack of appreciation of the strategic geography of mediaeval Scotland.
barð (m)

IE *g"rh₁- (zero-grade of *g"erh₁- ‘praise’) + -dhh₁- > eCelt *barð- > Br, Gaul barð- > OW bard > M-MnW bardd, OCorn barth, MBret barz > Bret barzh; OIr bard > Ir bard, G bàrd, Mx bard.

The IE etymology is controversial, see EGOW p. 14 and OIPrIE pp. 114 and 358.

While the role of ‘bard’ in Celtic societies is attested in Classical sources and in the legal writings of early Christian Ireland, any speculations about their activities in early mediaeval Brittonic-speaking regions depend on projection from these or from Middle Welsh sources.

c2) Blanyvaird Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 43 + blajn-, which see, + ā[r]-, with the plural form *beirð; the lenition implies Gaelicised a’bhaird, with the genitive singular.

barr (m, but possibly also f)

IE *bhr- (zero-grade of *bhar- ‘sharpen, make pointed’) + -st- > eCelt *barso- > Br, Gaul barro- > OW barr, Corn bar, Bret barr; OIr barr, G bàrr, Mx baare.


‘Top’; in place-names ‘a summit, a hill-crest’. It may possibly refer to ‘points’, see Barrow-in-Furness and Dunbar below. In southern Scotland and Cumberland it is difficult to distinguish the Brittonic and Goidelic cognates. That the latter is common as far as Argyll, but rare to the north and north-east (CPNS pp. 184, 234, PNFif5 p. 293), might reflect Brittonic influence, but the distinctive sense ‘a hillock’ seems peculiar to Gaelic.

a1) A number of names occur in Galloway, Ayrs and Rnf. They are probably Gaelic in origin, but could be Brittonic, e.g. Barr and Barrhill, both in Carrick Ayrs, Barr Loch and Castle in Cunninghame Ayrs, Barrhead Rnf, Barr Point Wig, Nether Barr Wig. Barrow-in-Furness Lanc (Dalton; PNlanc p. 204) is likely to be an ‘Irish-Norse’ formation [+ ON –ey ‘an island’, see Fellows-Jensen (1985) p. 214] based on a pre-existing *Barr; whether P- or Q-Celtic, the reference herecould well be to a point (see Ekwall, PNlanc loc, cit.; his suggestion in DEPN(O) of a transferred name from the Isle of Barra, and Watts’s reference in DEPN(C) to ‘a summit on the mainland’ named Barrahed 1537, complicate the issue, but neither is very convincing).

a2) Barrock, with Barrock Fell etc., Cmb (Hesket in the Forest) PNCmb p. 201, also High and Low Barrock Cmb (field-names in Broughton) ibid. p. 274, + -ǭg. For similar forms elsewhere, see VEPN1 p. 52 and CPNE p. 17.

b2) ‘Bar’ occurs very frequently in Ayrshire and Galloway, being the regular Anglicised form of G baile- ‘a farm’ in these parts. Barbretham Ayrs (Kirkmichael), for example, is probably *baile Breatann ‘Briton’s farm’ (cf. Balbretham Ayrs (Maybole), see Bríthon), and Barewing Kcb (Balmacellan) *baile-Eoghainn ‘Ewan’s farm’ (with the originally Brittonic personal name Eugein > Ywein). Cases where the specifier may be Brittonic in origin could have had barr- as generic, but local topography needs to be considered: Barcheskie Kcb (Rerrick) PNGall p. 22 + *hesgin, singulative form of hesg, which see. Barchock Kcb (Kells) PNGall p. 22 7 + -coch. Bardennoch Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 23 + -dantǭg, or -tān- (which see) + -ǭg, either Gaelicised to –ach.
Bareagle Wig (Old Luce) PNRGLV p. 69 + -eglēs, which see.
Barglass Wig (Kirkinner) PNGall p. 24, PNWigMM p. 96 + -gāls, otherwise Gaelic -glas.
Bargrug Kcb (Kirkgunzeon) PNGall p. 24 + -crūg or -wrūg, but see under both of these.
Barhaskin Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 25, PNRGLV p. 70 + *-hesgin, singulative form of hesg, which see.
Barlocco, with Bar Hill and Barlocco Isle, Kcb (Borgue), also Barlocco, with Barlocco Bay and Barlocco Heugh, Kcb (Rerrick), PNGall p. 26, and possibly Barloke, with Barloke Moss Kcb (Borgue) and Barluka Kcb (Twynholm) PNGall p. 26, all + -logǭd, which see.
Barlue Kcb (Balmaghie) PNGall p. 26 + -lūch as a stream-name, see under that element.
Barmeal Wig (Glasserton) PNGall p. 27, PNWigMM p. 98 + -mȩ:l or Gaelic -maol, less likely -maɣl.
Barmeen, with Barmeen Hill, Wig (Kirkcowan) PNGall p. 27, PNWigMM p. 96 + -mïɣ[n], or Gaelic –mìn ‘smooth’.
Barpennald Rnf (= Foulton, Kilbarchan) CPNS p. 356 probably Gaelic bàrr- or baile- added to a Brittonic name, see Pennel under alt and pen[n].
Bartorran, with Bartorran Hill, Wig (Kirkcowan) PNGall p. 32, PNWigMM p. 96 + -torr- + -an as diminutive, or the Gaelic equivalent –torráin.
Bartrostan, with Bartrostan Burn and Bartrostan Moss, Wig (Penninghame) PNGall pp. 32-3, PNGall pp. 32-3, PNWigMM p. 96 + -trǭs- + -an, with epenthetic –t-: see trǭs.
Barwick Kcb (Dalry) PNGall p. 34 + -wīg.

c2) Dunbar ELo CPNS p. 141 + dīn-, which see for discussion; barr here may well mean ‘point, headland’ rather than ‘summit’.

*bas

Late Latin bassus adopted as late British *basso-ą- > M-MnW bas, Corn *bas (in a compound and in place-names, see CPNE p. 18), Breton bas.

The Latin origin is reasonably certain, though the late Latin ancestral form is somewhat elusive. Bassus (also the source of English ‘base’ as an adjective), or maybe a homophone, is recorded in late Latin sources, but with the meaning ‘thick, fat’. Isidore, Etymologies XIII. xix (writing between about 615 and 630) uses it in the sense ‘shallow’. By that time it had probably been adopted into late British. See also Breeze’s (2015c, p. 174) discussion of Bassas in HE 56.

‘Shallow’, adjective.

a2) Bazard Lane Wig (stream-name, New Luce) PNGall p. 34 + -ar, which see.
b2) Bazil Point Lanc (Lancaster) PNLanc p. 175 ? + -lînn, which see.
c2) Dunipace Stg PNFEStg 39 – 40 ? + dîn - + -îr-; for Reid’s’ *dun-y-bais’ read *dyn-y-bas ‘fort of the shallow’.

bassaleg (presumably f)

Greek basilikón was adopted as Latin basilica. If it was adopted thence into West Brittonic before the seventh century, it should have been subject to internal i-affection, but see below.
‘A church’. A basilica was 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’ (see Knight (1999), p. 142), 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 (see Thomas (1981), p. 142, and Blair (2005), pp. 65-73). 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 ‘a church building’ (see eglēs, and Brown (1999) at p 360). The root relationship with Greek basileús ‘a 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-7th ct, so ‘a royal church’ is a possible interpretation.

Apart from Paisley below, the only other settlement formed with this element in Britain is Basaleg Mon (Graig), on which see T. Roberts (1992) at p 41. The absence of internal i-affection has led Parsons (SNSBI Conference 2012) to favour Irish introduction here (cf. Mr bassalec > Ir basileac); however, the apparent presence of the same word in the Crd river-names Seilo (Salek 1578) and Stewi (Massalek 1578) complicates the picture, see DPNW p. 24. In Ireland, Baslick Mng and Baslikane/Baisleacán Kry are likely to be very early (5th ct?) foundations: see Doherty (1984).

a1) Paisley Rnf CPNS p. 194: Watson, CPNS loc. cit., and see idem (2002) p. 54, favoured a Goidelic origin, perhaps from an Irish ecclesiastical source at an early date (and see above on the absence of i-affection, and on Doherty’s findings); the devoicing of initial b- would probably have occurred in Brittonic usage. Mediaeval forms with –[h] are probably scribal miscopyings, but note the proposal *påsgel- + *-łethir (perhaps *-led would be better) reported in Ross (2001), p. 172: it would require miscopying of –t as –c and subsequent replacement by –k in the 1296 form Passelek.

beβr (m)

IE *bhe-bhr- (reduplicated zero-grade form of *bher- ‘brown’) > Br, Gaul bebro-, bibro- > (not recorded in Welsh), OCorn befer (but see below), Bret lieurc; cogn. Lat fiber, Gmc(N and W) *bebruz > OE befer, be(o)for, ON hjórr, Skt babhrū ‘deep brown’, as noun ‘mongoose’.

See DCCPN p74 s.n. Bibracte. In hydronyms, the alternative possibility of a reduplicated form of the root *ber should not be overlooked.

‘A beaver’. Obsolete in recorded Welsh, being superseded by afanc and llustlydan, and not evidenced in Goidelic (Ir, G beabhar is adopted from English, as may have been OCorn befer). See Coles (2006), especially chapter 11, ‘Beavers in Place-Names’. For Ekwall’s suggestion that *lostǭg might be another Brittonic word for ‘a beaver’ see lost.

Rivet and Smith, PNRB p. 268, see Bibra as a stream-name adopted for the fort at Beckfoot Cmb.

a1 or c1) Beverley YER (PNYER pp. 192-4): Smith in PNYER at p. 194 suggests the Brittonic rather than the English word in Beverley, and Coates (2001-2) argues in favour of this. It might be a lost river-name (c.f. Bibra above), + OE -*leċc < Anglian *leċċ (see EPNE2 p. 10, s.v. læc[frontend]) ‘a bog, a stream’, but Coates argues for beβr- as a common noun + -*lech, which see. It is worth noting that beaver bones have been found at Wawne nearby (according to DEPN(C) s.n. Beverley).
*beð (m)

IE *bhodhh₂ (e-grade of *bhodih₂ ‘dig’) > eCelt *bedo- > Br *bedo- > W bedd, MCorn beth, MBret bez; cf, from o-grade *bhodhh₂-, Gmc *badjām > OE bedd > ’bed’.

‘A grave’. Possibly in:

c2) Trabboch Ayrs (Ochiltree) CPNS p. 362 + treβ-, but see *bedu.
Trabeattie Dmf (Torthorwald) PNDmf p. 121 + treβ-, but see *bedu.

*bedu (f)

IE *g"etu- ‘sap, resin’ > eCelt *betuā- > Br, Gaul *betuā- > M-MnW bedw, OCorn (singulative) bedewen, OBret (singulative) beduann > Bret bezo; OIr beith[ə] > Ir, G beith, Mx beih; cogn. Lat betula (but this may have been adopted from Gaulish), bitūmen, OE cwudu > ‘cud’, ON kváða ‘resin’, Skt jatu ‘resin, gum’.


For Breeze’s suggestion (2001a) of *cor-so-betum ‘dwarf, i.e. seedling, birch-trees’ for Corstopitum (= Corbridge/ Corchester Ntb), see corð.

Possibly in:

c2) Trabboch Ayrs (Ochiltree) CPNS p. 362 + treβ-, influenced by Gaelic beitheach ‘of birches’, but see also *beð.
Trabeattie Dmf (Torthorwald) PNDmf p. 121 + treβ-, influenced by Scots surname Beattie (a hypocorism for Bartholemew, according to Hanks and Hodges 1996 s.n., see also Reaney and Wilson (1997) s.n. Batey).

*bel-

IE bhelh₁- (verbal root ‘shine’) > eCelt *belo-/ā- > Br *belo-/ā-; cogn. Lat bellus, and c.f. (from a-grade) Skt bhāla ‘splendour’.

‘Shining’. Although absent from later recorded Celtic languages, this participial form occurs in the names of several deities, including Belatucadros, venerated in northern Britannia (PCB pp. 235-6 and 466-7), and Belenos invoked in an inscription at Inveresk and reflected in personal names on inscriptions from Birchester and Maryport (ibid. p. 472, and see DCM p. 34). It probably survives in the euhemerised Beli of mediaeval Welsh tradition (see Bromwich, 2006, pp. 281 and 545) and in the Goidelic seasonal festival Beltaine.

Ptolemy’s Belisáma, the R Ribble (PNRB pp. 267-8, and see also p. 266) is probably formed with *bel₁ + the superlative suffix –isamā, but see PNRB loc. cit. for alternative views, and note that Bremetennācum (Ribchester Lanc, see *breμ) suggests a different name for at least a stretch of this river.
*ber


A verbal root meaning primarily ‘bubble, froth, seethe’, apparently distinct from *bher- ‘carry’ (see aber).

Suggested by Ekwall, ERN p. 100, in:

a1) Cover R ERN p. 100, PNYNR p. 2 ? + *coū-: however *ber is manifested in the Celtic languages only with the prefix wo-, so see wooler, also breɣ and gaβr (and cf. Welsh berw, Breton berv ‘boiling, seething’).

*bern (presumably f)

IE *bher- ‘pierce’ –n- > eCelt *bernā-; MIr bern > Ir beárna, also bearn in place-names (CPNS p. 123, DUPN pp. 20 and 149), G beàrn, Mx baarney.

‘A gap, breach or chasm’. In Goidelic place-names, the reference is generally to a narrow pass or defile. It is not recorded in Brittonic, but in LHEB pp. 701-5 Jackson proposed a Brittonic form in the regional (eventually, kingdom) name Bernicia, + a suffix *-accjā-, implying an ethnic name *Bern-acci- (see –ōg). Jackson, ibid. p. 705, says “The land of mountain passes”... is a very good description of the Pennines, but Anglian Bernicia lay chiefly north of the Pennines, straddling the Cheviots, and it is a matter of opinion whether either the North Pennines or the Cheviots are ‘lands of mountain passes’ – at any rate, narrow gaps typical of Goidelic bearnaí/bearnan are rare in both ranges. With these doubts in mind, see also brïnn. However, Breeze (2009), pp. 1-7, argues on the basis of Middle Irish and Gaelic literary uses that bern could have referred to a vulnerable gap in a battle-line, and that the *Bern-acci- could have been warriors who prided themselves on forcing or exploiting such breaches.

If St Patrick’s birthplace, bannavem taburniae is correctly read as *Bannaventa Berniæ, the final element would appear to be *ber- + suffix –jā-, possibly a stream-name, lending tenuous support for the existence of such an element, but this is an extremely problematic name: see ban[n] and *went.

bïch, bïchan, boch

ECelt *bicco-/ā- > Br *bicco-/ā- > OW bich, feminine bech > M-MnW bych, feminine fech, OCorn * bich (in place-names, CPNE p. 21); OIr becc[c] (but see GOI §150 at p. 93, where Thurneysen gives a derivation from eCelt *biggo-) > Ir, G beag, Mx beg. See LHEB §§145-7, pp. 565-70 and §150, pp 572-3.

‘Small’. In the Brittonic languages it was largely superseded by forms in –an, and in Middle to Modern Welsh by bach, of uncertain etymology though no doubt cognate.

Forms in –an are:

OW bichan > M-MnW bychan, feminine bechan, MCorn byhan > Corn byghan, Bret bihan; c.f. OIr becc[c]an > Ir beagan, G beagan, Mx beggan. See EGOW p. 15. In the Goidelic languages, -an forms are used adverbially as well as adjectively.
c2) Ecclefechan Dmf (Hoddom) CPNS p. 168, PNDmf p. 55 + eglę:s-, but see discussion under that heading.

Torphichen WLo PWLo p. 89, WLoPN p. 32 + torr-, which see (also for Torfichen Hill MLo), or tref-.

A neo-Brittonic *boch, of uncertain origin (c.f. W bach above), seems to be implied by Old Cornish boghan and Cornish bohes (CPNE p. 21). It might be present in:

c2) Drumbridge Cmb PNCmb p. 124 + drum:- see DEPNO s.n., but see also buch.

bîrr


See OIPrIE §19.2, pp. 317 and 319, LHEB §151, pp. 573-5, for the IBr feminine form CIB p. 384, and for the OIr form GOI §525(2a), p. 338.

The Celtic root apparently had the participial sense ‘made short’, c.f. OIr berraid ‘shears, shaves’, so adjectivally ‘short, brief’.

c2) Pemberton Lanc (Wigan) PN Lanc p. 104, JEPNS17 p. 58 + pen[n]- [+ OE tūn ‘a farm’, or else OE -bere-tūn ‘barley enclosure, barley farm’, becoming barton ‘an outlying grange, desmesne farm’, see EPNE1 p. 31 and VEPN1 pp. 86-7].

blajn (m) or *blejn

Br *blacno- > IBr *blagno- > OW(LL) blain > M-MnW blaen, proto-Corn *blejn > Corn blyn (see CPNE p. 23), Bret blein.

See LHEB §41, pp. 362-3 and note, §84, pp. 460-2, and §86, pp. 463-6, also CIB 48, pp. 154-77.

The –e- predominates in early forms in the North, with –a- occurring in southern Scotland: none show any trace of –j- except Plenmeller Ntb (Pleimell(e) 1279, 1307: influence from OF>ME plain > ‘plain’ may be suspected here). Jackson, LHEB §41, p. 362 n1, explains the forms with blen- in terms of secondary stress on the generic element in place-names (b2 below). However, Padel, CPNE p. 23, adduces the Breton form, the hypothetical antecedent of the (once-attested) Cornish form blyn, as evidence for a possible variant *blejn (perhaps from *blacno-?). Alternatively, he suggests a relationship with Welsh blen ‘hollow’: c.f. O-MIr blén > Ir bléan, bléin ‘groin’, in place-names ‘an inlet, bay or creek formed by a lake or large river’, see DUPN p. 26 s.n. Blaney Frm, also ‘a narrow tongue of land’, Dinneen s.v.; this is blian in Gaelic, but its only topographic use seems to be in the Perthshire dialect form blein used for ‘a harbour for boats’, Dwelly s.vv. As Padel says, the records of names in the North are too late to be reliable guides to what the Cumbric word would have been.

Note that Jackson’s dating of the development [-gn-] [-γn-] > [-jn-], LHEB §86, pp. 463-6), depends on the questionable assumption that names with this element in Cumberland were adopted into Northumbrian Old English by the second half of the 6th century. Sims-Williams, CIB p. 286, implies a rather later date for this development, late 6th to second quarter of 7th ct. However, these names may well be later, Cumbric, formations (see further below).
For the devoicing [bl-] > [pl-], see discussion under **brînn**.

The meaning of this word as a place-name element is generally taken to be ‘summit’, but other senses may be relevant to local topography: ‘source or upper reaches of a stream’, ‘head of a valley’, ‘extremity, limits, remotest region’, ‘uplands’. A possible association with boundaries is worth considering. See GPC s.n. and Williams (1945) p. 43.

The distribution of this element is concentrated in Cumberland, with outliers in Northumberland, Peeblesshire, Midlothian and, possibly, Ayrshire, Lanarkshire and Wigtownshire. This may be consistent with a revival or re-introduction of Cumbric in these regions in 10th – 11th centuries: see A. James (2008), at pp. 199-200. That all instances are probably phrasal formations at least indicates that these are not very early topographic names, while the presence of possible Scandinavian specifiers may be products of the linguistic plurality of that period, and need not have entailed replacement of earlier Brittonic elements. It is striking that so many, especially in Cumberland, became parish names.

a1) Blindhurst Lanc (Lancaster) PNLanc p. 166 [+ OE *hyrst 'wood'], or else OE or AScand blind 'dark, obscure', but the location makes blajn a possibility.
Blind Keld Cmb (Berrier and Murrah) PNCmb p. 181 [+ ON *kelda 'a spring'], or else blind as in the previous entry.
Blindsill Lanc (Deane) PNLanc p. 43 [+ OE –*hyl > 'hill'], or else blind.
Plann Ayrs (Kilmaurs): T. O. Clancy at SPNS meeting, Troon, 7.5.2011.

b2) Blantyre Lnk Nicolaisen et al (1970) s.n. + tīr: see Breeze (2000-6) at p. 1, and see Blenerhasset below.
Blanyvaird  Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 43 + ñr- + –beirð (plural of barð, which see, Gaelicised as genitive singular a’bhaird: Maxwell, PNGall s.n., proposes Olr blén- here, see discussion of this above.
Blencarn Cmb PNCmb p. 214 + -carn.
Blencathra Cmb (= Saddleback, Threlkeld) PNCmb p. 253, DLDPN p. 289 ? + -cadeir, but see discussion under that element.
Blencogo Cmb PNCmb p. 122 + -cog-, which see for discussion, + -öü [or + ON -haugr 'a hill, heap, mound'].
Blencow Cmb (Dacre) PNCmb p. 186 + -coch or *öü [or + ON -haugr]: see Breeze (2002c), pp. 291-2.
Blendewing Pbl (Kilbucho) + duβ[ï]n, which see.
Blenkinsopp Ntb (Gilsland) + -cejn- (see cej-) or –cen: [+ OE –hop ‘enclosed valley’]: see Breeze (2002c), at p. 292.
Blennerhasset Cmb PNCmb pp. 265-6 + -treβ- or –tīr- [+ ON hey-sætr ‘hay-shieling’]: Coates, CVEP p. 285, suggests a compound (c1) formation here *blajn-tīr, ‘upland territory’; such a compound could well have been in use as an appellative, so the name need not necessarily be early.
Blindbothel Cmb PNCmb p. 345, DLDPN p. 35 + -bod, which see [or else OE blind- > ‘blind’, but early forms show blen-]: see P. A. Wilson (1978).
Blindcrape Cmb PNCmb pp. 266-7, DLDPN p. 35 + -creig.
*Plannmichel Lnk (unlocated, possibly = Carmichael) + personal (saint’s) name -Michael: see Breeze (2000a) at pp. 73-4.
Plendernethy Brw (Aytton) + -i[r]- or -treβ- + a lost stream name, *nejth- + -ig?: J. G. Wilkinson, pers. comm, see *nejth.
Plenmeller Ntb (Haltwistle) PNNtb p. 158 ? + -mç:l- + -bre[γ]-, but see discussion under mayl and mayn.
Plenplot MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 355, PNMLo p. 369 + plō:β, which see: Watson, CPNS loc. cit., gives pen[n] here, but early forms favour plen- for blajn. Plent[r]idoc MLo (Borthwick, = Arniston) CPNS p. 136, PNMLo pp. 100 and 379-80, Barrow in Uses p. 73 ? +-*red- or -tri- + -ǭg: see discussion under *red and tri.

blōd (m)


The root sense is ‘(something) milled, ground’, as is shown by semantic developments in the Goidelic languages. In Brittonic, it is specifically ‘flour’ or ‘meal’.

Note that this word falls together with derivatives of IE *bhlohx- (o-grade of *bhlehx- > eCelt *blāto- > Br, Gaul blāto- ‘flower, blossom’, e.g. MW blawt > W blawd ‘flowers’. See ACPN p. 45, DCCPN p. 10, and Haycock 2013, p.8 and pp. 20-1 n16.

Blatobulgium PNRB pp. 268-9, the fort and supply-base at Birrens Dmf, may well be + bolɣ, so ‘flour-sack’, but see discussion under bolɣ, and, for comparable place-names in Pictland, CPNS p. 411.

a2) Bladnoch R Wig PNGall p. 41 (note the pronunciation recored by Maxwell as ‘Blaidnoch’) + an- + ǭg: MacQueen, PNWigMM pp. 9-10, sees a deity-name, *Blāt-ōn-āccā- (perhaps involving the ‘flower’ word) here, but according to Jackson (LHEB §9 p. 292), ǭ is invariably ō in place-names adopted into OE, not ā. Perhaps cf. R. Bladen and Bladon Oxf, PNOxf pp. 7 and 252, but this river-name is unexplained.

*błuch

? Br *bloucco-/ā- > M-MnW blwch, Corn bloygh, Bret blouc’h.


c2) Lamplugh Cmb PNCmb pp. 405-6, DLDPN pp. 204-5 + lann- or nant-, see discussion under lann.

SWScots bluchan (see CSD s.v. bloch), ‘a small coalfish, pollack or whiting’, may be from this Brittonic word + -an as diminutive. It occurs at Blockan Hole Wig (Glasserton) PNGall p. 43.

bod (f)

IE *bhu (zero-grade of *bhēu(h)₂-: see below) -tō- > eCelt *butā- > Br *botā- > MW bod, OCorn *bod (see CPNE pp. 23-6), O-MBret bot; O-MnIr, early Gaelic both; cogn. OWN bōd, OEN bōd > ME (northern dialects) b[o]uth, MScots buith, ME (other dialects) both > ‘booth’ (see VEPN1 pp. 134-5).
IE *bhu-tō- is a nominal, participial or intensive form of the verbal root *bheu(h)- ‘come into being, exist’, taking the sense ‘a dwelling, a habitation’ (see OIPrIE §22.1, pp. 368-9, also Coates 2012 p. 81). However, it falls together with the verbal noun bod ‘existence’ in Old to Modern Welsh, and there is little non-toponymic evidence for its use as a common noun in the sense of ‘a dwelling’ in any of the Brittonic languages (but see CPNE p. 24). However, its use in place-names (most commonly in north Wales and west Cornwall), along with its Goedic and Germanic cognates, confirms its use as a general habitative appellative, later superseded by more specialised terms such as treβ and fīy. It perhaps remained in use for a humble or temporary homestead, to be reinforced by similar usages in Gaelic, Scandinavian, Middle English and Older Scots.

However, Taylor (1996, pp.43-6) has drawn attention to the number of parish-names and other names of ecclesiastical locations having G both as generic in parts of Pictland, notably east Fife, Fothriff (Clk, Knr and south Per) and the central lowlands. He argues that in these cases it indicates a church or monastic settlement established under Pictish ecclesiastical-political influence (or at any rate in a Pritenic/Brittonic-speaking context), Gaelic cil being associated with Goedic-speaking ‘Columban’ foundations. He sees this usage as influenced by or influencing that of Gaelic both. The island-name Buté may be a distinctive example of this ecclesiastical usage, see PNBute pp. 125-30.

Outwith the areas defined by Taylor, bod seems scarce in southern Scotland and absent from England (except Cwl, see Padel 2013b p. 16), though the picture is complicated by its possible replacement by the Germanic or Goedic cognates, or by the related Old English word bōdl, botl (Northumbrian forms: the vowel-length is variable), itself associated with a relatively early period of Anglian settlement (see SPN pp. 100-1 with map 2, and VEPN1 pp. 135-7), or with Gaelic bad ‘a spot, a clump’ (see below), or even with Gaelic baile (see Taylor 1997, pp. 6-7).

G bad ’place, spot, clump’ (e.g. in Baad Park, Baads Mains and Baddinagill, all MLo, Badlieu Pbl and Bedlormie WLo, and see Badintree and Bedcow below) might be from P-Celtic bod, see CPNS 423-4, but note Taylor’s doubts, 1997 loc. cit. and PNFif5 p. 289; it was in any case adopted into Scots as baud, ‘a substantial clump of vegetation’.

a2) A form with -an as a diminutive, rather than Gaelic bothán ‘a bothy’ (or the adopted form bothan possibly current in Older Scots) may be present in: Boddon’s Isle Kcb (in the R Dee at Kells) PNGall p. 44; but, as at Boddon’s Folly downstream, this was probably a personal name, a form of Baldwin. Boden Wa’s Well Wig (coastal feature at Glasserton) PNGall p. 44. Bothan ELo (= Yester): see Taylor (1999).


Bedcow Dnb (Kirkintilloch) CPNS p. 424 ? + coll, but Gaelic *bad-coll ‘hazel-clump’ is more likely. Bedlay (Cadder), with Bothlin Burn EDnb, + līn, which see.
Bedrule Rox CPNS p. 134, PNRox p. 10 + river-name Rule, see *ría: the name was evidently influenced by that of Bethóc, a lady who held this and other manors in the Rule valley in the mid-12th century, but the earliest recorded forms point to bod.

Bonhill Dnb Taylor (1996) at p. 104 + *wel[t] or *well [Botheuill 1242 raises doubts as to the apparently transparent Scots *buiθ-well as the –e- needs explaining, and Northumbrian OE wella normally becomes well or wall; however, Scots *buiθ-well might underlie this, or even Old West Norse *búða-velli ‘(at, dative singular) booths’ meadow’, raising interesting historical possibilities!]

Bothwell Lnk Taylor (1996) at p. 104 + *wel[ ] or *well [Botheuill 1242 raises doubts as to the apparently transparent Scots *buiθ-well as the –e- needs explaining, and Northumbrian OE wella normally becomes well or wall; however, Scots *buiθ-well might underlie this, or even Old West Norse *búða-velli ‘(at, dative singular) booths’ meadow’, raising interesting historical possibilities!]

Bothkennar Stg + female personal (saint’s) name Cainer, see cę:n.

Bothkennar Stg + female personal (saint’s) name Cainer, see cę:n.

Blindboothel Cmb PNCmb p. 345, DLDPN p. 35 + blajn-, which see [bod replaced by OE bōðl, see above]: see Wilson (1978).

*bōðar

IE *bhodhr- > eCelt *bodaro-lā- > Br *bodaro-/ā- > MW beddeyr > W bydd[e]r, Corn bothar, Bret bouzar; OIr bodar > Ir, G bodhar, Mx bouyr; cogn. Skt bhadirā.

Adjective: the meaning ‘deaf’ extends metaphorically to ‘dull, heavy’ (and so may be the origin, via Irish, of US English ‘bore’). In Irish river-names (and possibly Pictish, as at Aberbothrie Per, CPNS p. 435), probably ‘sluggish’.

Watson, CPNS pp. 51-2, suggested this + suffix –tjā- for the name of the R Forth in Classical sources, Bodotria, Bol[g]ideria, Bdora: PNRB pp. 269-71, PNFif1 p. 39. Rivet and Smith say there that this suggestion ‘should not be too hastily dismissed’, but review several other possibilities including *boy[ð] (which see), British boud- ‘victory’, and IE *bhudhno- ‘bottom’.

See also Isaac (2005) at p. 191 for objections to all these proposals: he considers the name to be ‘not obviously Celtic or IE’; Breeze (2007a), compares Welsh budr ‘filthy, foul’; for a summary of proposals, see PNFif1 p. 41. It is unlikely that the river-name Forth is derived from or related to any of these: see discussion under *red.

bolý (n, later generally m, but variable)

IE *bhölgh- (o-grade of *bhelgh- ‘swell, puff up’) > eCelt *bolgo- > Br, Gaul bolgo-/ā- > OW(LL) bolg- (in p-ns) > M-eMnW bol > W bol (in S Wales, hola), not found in Corn, Bret bolc’h; OIr bolc > M – Mnr bolg, G balg: cogn. Gmc *balgiz > OE belg > ‘belly’, Skt upabarhānī- ‘a bolster’; cf. also ‘bellows’ and ‘bellow’.

See OIPrIE §14.1, pp. 230-1, and DCCPN p. 9 s.v. belgo-.

The root sense is ‘something swollen, puffed up’: in the Celtic languages, ‘a bag, a sack’, as well as ‘belly’, ‘bellows’ etc. In place-names, it is used both of hills and of hollows (cf. OE belg EPNE1 p. 27, but also VEPN1 p. 79), and in Scotland the Gaelic form is often associated with river-pools or watercourses (see CPNS p. 441, PNFif pp. 301-2).

In Blatobulgion, PNRB pp. 268-9, the interpretation ‘flour-sack’ is attractive, as the fort at Birrens was evidently a major grain-store; however, the name could have originally been topographic. + blǭd-. See Jackson (1970) at p. 69. For the probably identical formation in Blebo Fif, see CPNS p. 411 and PNFif2 pp. 191-2.
a1) Bellshill Lnk [+ OE –hyll]. See Breeze (2000a): he argues that [o] > [e] under the influence of [-ly]. However, it is doubtful if the latter would have survived to give [*-lj], recorded as ływ in early (16th ct) forms. The final [y] was probably reduced to *[a] or extinct by the OW/Cumbric period (contra LHEB §88, pp. 468-9: Bolg-ros in LL is probably a proto-Welsh form faithfully copied); Brittonic [-ly] would have been adopted as Northumbrian OE [-lg], > [-l] in Scots, so even if boluy had > *bely, it would have fallen together with Scots ‘belly’, which is probably the element here. The ły spellings perhaps reflect the influence of Gaelic baile.

Bowmont, R Rox/Ntb See Breeze (2007b); -benda in Bolbenda c1050 etc. is perplexing: O-ME bend means ‘a bond, a tie, a fetter’, and (contra DEPN(O) s.n.) no OE weak noun *benda is recorded; ‘bend’ vb ‘make curved’ is only recorded from 14th ct in OED, ‘bend’ sb ‘a curve’ only from the 15th ct, yet this river does follow a markedly curved course.

c2) Altivolie, with Altivolie Burn, Wig (Stoneykirk) ? PNGall p. 5 alt- + -[r]-, if boluy is feminine here, so lenited, but it is probably Gaelic *alt a’bhuilg (with genitive singular of balg).

brān (f, but variable in early records)

eCelt *branā- > Br *branā- > OW(LL; plural) brein > W brān, Corn bran, Bret bran; O-MnIr, G bran.

‘A raven, a crow’, occurring as a personal name, and as an element in personal names, including those of numerous legendary and historical figures: see DCM p. 46. It occurs as a river-name in Ross, Inv, Crm (x3) and Crd, as well as:

a1) Bran Burn Dmf CPNS pp. 167 and 453: the St Osbern after whom the parish of Closeburn on this river is named may have earlier been OE *Osbran, but even so, the similarity to the river-name is probably coincidental.

c2) Carrifran Dmf (Moffat) PNDmf p. 97 ? + cajr- + [r]-, or carreg-, but see discussion under cajr.
Powbrand Syke Wml (on Stainmore) + pol-, or ON personal name –Brandr (= ‘firebrand’).

bre[ɣ] (f)

IE(WC) *bhṛ-gh-( zero-grade of *bher-gh-, c.f verbal root *bher-gh- ‘protect’) > eCelt *brigā- > Br, Gaul *brigā- > O-eMnW brę, Corn *bre (in place-names, CPNE p. 30), Bret *bre (in place-names, ibid.); O-eMnIr brí, eG brí; c.f. OE(Anglian) berg > ‘barrow’ and OE beorgan ‘keep, protect’, also (from zero-grade?) Gmc *burgs > OE burg > ‘borough’, ON borg, Gk púrgos ‘a tower’.


The early etymology and relationships among the apparent cognates are very problematic. There may have been a non-Indo-European root, or formal and/or semantic influence from a non-Indo-European language. The root-sense is apparently verbal, ‘keep, protect’, leading to nominal senses to do with ‘fort, defended place, stronghold’, and these naturally suggest ‘height, hill’.
In Continental place-names, *brigā- often does refer to a hill-fort, but this is not the case in Britain, where it generally indicates simply ‘a high place, a hill’ (see Richards (1972-3) at p. 366, and PNRB pp. 277-8).

A lengthened form, eCelt *brigā- > Br *brigā- > M-MnW bri; OIr brí, ‘power, prestige’, doubtless represents a metaphorical semantic extension; this is presumably the form that occurs frequently as a personal name element (see mayl). Gaelic bráigh, another development from this root, means primarily ‘the topmost part of anything’, so in early place-names ‘upland’, but it comes to mean ‘a steep slope, a bank’, influenced by Scots brae < ON brá ‘brow’. Bràigh or brae may have replaced Brittonic *brêɣ in some place-names.

While the participial form, *brigant-, seen in the ethnic name Brigantes (PNRB pp. 278-80, ACPN p. 54, and cf. DCCPN p. 12), may bear a figurative sense such as ‘high, mighty ones’ or ‘high-status, free people’ (cf. the Gmc cognate Burgundi), ‘upland folk’ would be entirely reasonable and appropriate.

The deity-name Brigantia < *Brigantjā- is, at least in northern Britannia, more likely to be back-formed from the ethnic name than vice versa, notwithstanding the evidence for other deities with this or related names, notably the possible eponym of the river-name Brent Mdx (see VEPN2 p. 32), the Irish Brigid (on whom see Green (1995), pp. 196-8), and the Continental Brigindo-. In any case, as an honorative, ‘high, mighty’ (cf. MnW braint < MW breint < OW bryeint < neoBritt *bř[y]ent < Br *brigantjā- ‘honour, privilege’, OBret brient ‘honour, privilege, free status’), the term Brigantia may be a title rather than an actual deity-name, so cannot be assumed to be applied to the same deity in all cases.

Koch, YGod(K) pp. 224-5, sees Brigantia, taken as a territorial name, in CA A68 (LXII A), where the manuscript has disgiawr breint: ‘a violation of Brigantia’ is a possible interpretation, but breint (see above) is well-attested in Middle Welsh, and is just as likely to be appropriate here.

For eleirch vre CA A24 (XXIV A) see *alarch.

In vretrwyn BT29(XI), it is unclear whether (lenited) bre[y] is part of the place-name or an appellative, ‘the hill of *truïn (which see)’.

On the distribution of this element in England, see LPN p. 152, VEPN pp. 30-1, and Padel 2013b pp. 24 and 33. The indications are that, except possibly in Carfrae (see (c2) below), and in the compound (appellative?) form *me:l-βre[y] (see (b1) below), this was an ancient topographic term no longer productive, at least in the Brittonic of the North.

a1) Brydonhill Cmb (lost field-name in Waterhead) PNCmb p. 117 [+ OE –dūn, and, later, pleonastic ‘hill’]: c.f. Bredon Wor and Breeden Hill Lei, but ‘Bry-’ would be from OE *brego adopted before loss of [-ɣ] which Jackson dates as early as the mid-6th century, see LHEB §79(1) p. 455 and §89(7) p. 470 and CIB ǂ39, p. 132.

b1) Cover R YNR ERN p. 100, PNYNR p. 2 ? + coû-: the earliest form, Cobre c1150, suggests -bre[y], but see also *ber, gafr and wofer.

Hallbankgate Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 85, Hullerbank Cmb (Hayton) PNCmb p. 88, and lost Hulverhirst ibid. + hal- [in Hallbankgate and Hullerbank, bre[y] replaced by OEN banke > ‘bank’, + ON –gata > northern English gate ‘a road’; Hulverhirst + OE –hyrst ‘a wooded hill’; but ME hulfere ‘holly’ may be the origin].
The compound *mę:l-βre[y], + me:l-, occurs so frequently as to suggest that it was an established appellative for a distinctively 'bare hill'. See further under me:l; for examples in Wales see Richards (1972-3) at p. 366 and DPNW p. 324, in Cornwall, CPNE p. 30.

Mellor Drb PNDrb p. 144.
Mellor Lnc PNLnc p. 73, JEPNS17 p. 46.
Mallerstang Wml PNWml2 pp. 11-12 [+ ON stong 'a post'].
Plenmeller Ntb PNNtb p. 158 + blajn-, but see discussion under mayn and me:l.

Menybrig Kcb (Leswalt) PNRGLV pp. 94–5 ? + mönïδ- -bre[y] replaced by Scots –brig ‘bridge’.

Similar considerations may apply in the case of Carfrae Bwk (Channelkirk) and Carfrae ELo (Garvald), both CPNS p. 369 ? + cajr-. It seems doubtful whether bre[y] was current at the time when cajr was in common use in the North; the former seems to be restricted to close-compound formations (see above), the latter generally to name-phrases, so a close compound *cajr-βre[y] ‘fort-hill’ may be the origin of this formation.

*breμ–

IE *bhrem- > eCelt *brem- > M-MnW brefu, Prit *breμ- adopted as G (ERoss) breamhainn (CPNS p. 435)? Cogn. Lat. fremo, OE breman ‘rage, roar’ > ME brim ‘rutting, on heat’ (of wild boar/ sow); also, from ò-grade *brōm- > eCelt *brōmi- ‘famous’, cogn. Lat. fremo, OE brēme ‘famous’.

A verbal root, ‘bellow, bray, roar’. It occurs in river-names, and in ancient place-names probably based on hydronyms, see CPNS pp. 35 and 434-5 on the (probably Prutenic) river-name Braan Per, and PNRB on Afon Brefi Crd.

The ‘Vatican Recension’ of HB gives Bref[gl]uoin as an alternative name for Agned (see *angaw), site of Arthur’s eleventh battle, while BT61(VII) alludes to [kat gelawr] Brewyn, apparently crediting it to Urien. Jackson (1949, see also idem 1955b, 1963a, 1970 at p. 69, and LHEB §65, p. 415), followed by Williams (PT p.86) identified this as Bremenium, the Roman fort at High Rochester Ntb (on which see PNRB pp. 276-7, also Hamp (1988 and 1989) and idem (1991-2) at p. 16). Bremenium is formed with the suffixes –en- (see –en) and –jo-, presumably on the basis of *Bremjā-, either a stream-name (that of the Sills Burn which runs by the fort) or a territorial name, which may in turn be associated with that of the R Breamish, 10 miles north-east (see below).

Bremetenacum [Veteranorum] was the fort at Ribchester Lanc, PNRB p. 277; for the suffixes see –ed, –an and –ōg. Presumably this was based on a river-name, *Bremetōnā-, perhaps a name for the R Ribble (but see also rō-, *bel and pol).

a2) Breamish, R Ntb (upper reach of the R Till) PNNtb p. 30, but see also Nicolaisen, 1957, at p. 219). Early forms like Bromic c1040 [12th ct] show that this is from the ò-grade form *brōm (see above) + -ōg, but a meaning like ‘roaring’ is appropriate to this stream in spate.

brijth, *brich
IE *mrk-* (zero-grade of *merk- ‘darken’) > eCelt *mrîc-to-/*â- >
(1) Br *brichto-/*â- > O-MW brîth, feminine breith > W brîth, feminine braith, MCorn brîth >
Corn bryth (in place-names, CPNE p. 32), Bret brîzh, feminine breizh; OIr mrecht.
(2) Br *bricco-/*â- > M-MnW brych, feminine brech, Corn *brîgh (in place-names, CPNE p. 31-2), Bret brec’h ‘pox’: OIr brec > Mr brecc > Ir breac, G breacta, Mx breck.

See LHEB §57, pp. 403-4, §58, pp. 404-6, and §§145-7, pp. 565-70; note also GMW §38n, p. 37.

‘Variegated, mottled, speckled’.

The *awdl* CA AB44 (LXXIXAB), celebrating the defeat and death of Domnal Brecc of Dalriada (c643) has dyyvnuual a brych, a corrupt form presumably for *dyyvnuual brych*; see Williams’s introduction at CA pp lxxix-lxxx, YGod(AJ) pp. 152-3 n996, and Fraser (2009), pp. 172-4.

a1) Breich Water WLo PNWLo p. 2, or early Gaelic brecc, or Gaelic breac ‘trout’, but the earliest form is Brech 1199; see WLoPN p. 17.

a2) Brackach Wig (Leswalt) PNgall p. 47 + -ōg, or Gaelic breacach, cf. Breakoch (North Bute), PNBute p. 309.

32-6 eglês- (or Gaelic eaglais-). See Nicolaisen’s discussion (2011) loc. cit. 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 (HR and Historia post Bedam) are questionable, even if we join him in rejecting the view that these incorporate 8th ct annals. Spellings with –[h] could preserve a Cumbric or Pictish form *eglêsvreith* still current in the area even in the late 11th/early 12th centuries, although Nicolaisen sees these as miscopyings with –f for Goidelic –c. Whether P- or Q-Celtic, lenition is only shown in the form eaglesuret (Melrose Chronicle 1185x98); 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, p. 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 eglês- for further discussion, also Reid in PNFEStg, pp. 32-5.

Other possible cases under (c2) include:
Auldbreck Wig (Whithorn) PNgall p. 14 + *alt-, or else Gaelic *alt-bhreac.
Mossbrook Gairy Kcb (Carsphairn), also spelt ‘-brook’, PNgall p. 213 + *mayes-. The second part is Scots, either gairy ‘streaked’ (of cattle), or, as a noun, ‘a vertical outcrop of rock on a hillside’ (probably from Gaelic garbh, see *garw*). ‘Streaked’ might favour *mayes-brîch*, and Taylor’s suggestion anent G breac (PNFi5 p. 308), that it may denote strips or patches of adjacent land under different use, could be relevant, c2) Mossbrook Gairy...but it is ‘a puzzling name’ Maxwell, PNgall loc. cit. On present-day maps, this name does not appear, but may be now Moorbrook Gairy.
Cumrech Cmb (Irthington) Lan Cart + cum[b]-, with Middle English [-e] for [-i-], or else cum[b]- + *[r]- + -?

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2 12th ct forms in –brîch possibly imply a variant + *-vrech, cf. Breich Water above, though Nicolaisen argues that they represent early Gaelic *vrech.
brïnn (m, but maybe f too in Br and neoBritt)

IE *bhreu- (see bronn) -s- > eCelt *brus- + -nja- > Br *brunjo-/*a- > OW( LL) brinn > MW brynn > W bryn, Corn bren, eBret bren.

See LHEB §157 at p. 581, and §163 pp. 590-1.

The root *bhreu- is associated with ‘swelling’ in various senses, and the close affinity between this word and that for ‘breast’ (see bronn) may indicate the characteristic shape of a brïnn, ‘hill’.

It is common in Welsh place-names, and in current Welsh. It seems relatively uncommon in the Old North. However, the form *bren[n] seems to have been widespread in Pictland (Taylor 2011, pp. 84-5, and idem PNFif5 p. 309): it occurs alongside the expected Pritenic form *brun[n] without i-affection, see Jackson in Problem p. 162, and also in LHEB §163 pp. 590-1 and §169 p. 603. *bren[n] reflects P-Celtic u having ‘a certain tendency to become e’ (Jackson in Problem, p. 161). With initial devoicing, common in southern Scotland as well as Pictland, *bren[n] would become *pren[n], falling together with prenn ‘a tree’; see discussion under that element, and Taylor 2011 pp. 96-7. Forms listed below show consistent b- in early spellings; otherwise similar names that show consistent p- are listed under prenn, but should be compared with these and local topography considered.

Confusion may also arise with bre[γ], bronn (see CPNE pp. 31 and 32-3 for similar confusion in Cornish place-names), and (with metathesis) *bern: indeed, it is not impossible that the territorial name Bernicia was formed on metathesised *bern-, see discussion under *bern.

An unidentified place is mentioned in CA A30 (XXXA), a Vryn Hydwen (or Hyddwn): it is paired with Catraeth, implying that it was (thought to be) a location near Catterick. See YGod(AJ) p. 100 and YGod (K) p. 129.

a1) Brinns Wml (Shap rural) PNWml2 p. 173
Bryn, with Bryn Hill, Lanc (Winwick) PNlanc p. 100: early forms suggest *brun[n], though there can hardly be Pictish influence here: however, see above, and discussion under Trabroun, (c2) below. Watts, DEPN(C), favours OE bryne ‘burning, fire’, referring to land scorched through natural causes or cleared by burning. See also Edmonds (2010) at p. 52 for consideration of the possibility that this name reflects nd Welsh settlement.
Burnswark Dmf (Hoddom) Neilson (1909), at p. 39 n6, PNdmf pp. 54-5 s.n. Birrenswark [+ OE -weorc > ‘work’]; see Halloran (2005 and 2010). If this was formed from a simplex brïnn-, it may have been in a ‘Pritenic’ form *bren- or brun-; for recorded instances of bren > burn cf. Burnurturk Fif (Kettle) and PNFif 2 pp. 261-2, Newburn Fif, ibid. 492-6, and Strathburn Fif (Leuchars) PNFif4 pp. 545-6.

b1) Cameron MLo PNMLo p. 290 + -cam[b]: influenced by the Gaelic personal name Cam- shrôn ‘crooked-nose’ > Cameron; see Taylor’s discussion of Cameron Fif (x2) in PNFif5, p. 309. Knorren Beck and Fell Cmb ERN pp. 231-2, PNcmb p. 19 + cnou-, with soft mutation. Noran (or Noren) Bank Wml (Patterdale) PNWml p. 226 ? + cnou-, likewise (A. Walker, pers. comm.). Yeavering, with Yeavering Bell, Ntb PNntb p. 221, + gaf(r)-, with soft mutation, or else + -hïnt or - in: see gaf(r), and Hope-Taylor (1977), p. 15.

b2) Names beginning ‘Barn-’ may have been Gaelicised to *bàrr an or bàrr na-:
Barnaer Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 27 ?+ -ajr, which see: a Gaelic formation with bàrr an is possible here.
Barncluith Lnk (Hamilton) CPNS p. 352 + river-name Clyde, see *clüd: Watson counts this as prenn-.
Barnweill Ayrs (Craigie) SPN² p. 213 + *búfatal or -bügeil: Nicolaisen counts this as prenn-. Compare Barnbougle WLo, under prenn.
Barnego Stg (Denny) PNFEStg 70, and Brenego Ayrs (Tarbolton) SPN² p. 213 ? + -i[r]- + -goð: again, Nicolaisen counts this as prenn--; see also Breeze (2006a); but both may involve G bárr- ‘summit’ or beamr- ‘grip’ + -eag ‘notch’, see Reid in PNFEStg.
Burnippet Moor Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 84 ? + -wïðbed (A. Walker pers. comm.), but early forms favour A-Sc brenk > ME brenke > ‘brink’ in an ‘inversion compound’ with a personal name, see under wiöbed. If the name is P-Celtic, it seems to have the Pritenic *burn[n]- as specifier: see above, and (c2) Trabroun below.

c2) Balfron Stg Taylor (1996) at p. 104, and idem (1997) at p. 18 + bod-, which see. Soft mutation, if Brittonic, implies a phrasal formation, ‘dwelling of a hill’ (cf. GMW §19, p 14). However, internal –b- in early forms may represent [b] or [v], and the lenition may be due to Gaelic influence. Both elements show such influence, the second perhaps that of Gaelic broinn ‘belly’ (used as nominative in place of brò, see Dwelly s.v.): alternatively, it could originally have been Brittonic/Pritenic –bronn.
Roderbren Ayrs (Tarbolton) SPN² p. 213 + ríd, rod or rôd: Nicolaisen counts this as prenn-, implying that that element is feminine.
Trabroun ELo (Gladsmuir) and Trabrown Bwk (Lauder) CPNS pp. 359-60 + trebf- + i[r]-: both show the Pritenic -*brun[n]-, without i-affection (see above), suggesting that such forms were in use well south of the Forth. The formation is likely to be a late one (see trebf and i[r]). –bronn is an alternative possibility, but less likely.

Brithon (m)

IE *kʷr- (zero-grade of *kwer- ‘make, cut’) –r- > eCelt *kʷrit- + -ano- (see –an) > eBr *Pritano- adopted as Latin (plural) Britannia (> mediaeval Latin (plural) Brittani) > IBr, influenced by this Latin usage, Brit[lan]o-, Brettano-, from which a new formation in insular Latin, Brittones > M-MnW Brython, Corn Brython; Or (plural) Brettan > M-MnIr Breatan, also Brethan (see CPNS p. 15n1), G Breatunn ‘Britain’, Mx Bretn ‘Wales’; adopted as OE (pl) Brettas, ON (plural) Bretar.

For the possible IE root, see OIPrIE §22.2 pp. 371-4. On the etymology, and developments in the Latin and Greek adopted forms, see PNRB pp. 39-40 and 280-2.

Note the distinct but parallel, form: eCelt *prit- + -eno-, maybe a northern dialectal variant of *Pritano-, Br plural *Pritenoi- > Prydyn ‘the Picts’, ‘Picland’, and more generally ‘the North’, alongside the MW re-formed plural from *Pritano-, Prydein > W Prydain ‘Britain’: the two were often confused, see Haycock 2013 pp. 10 and 32 n47 on their usage in mediaeval Welsh literature, especially the prophetic genre.

The cognate Goidelic forms, O-MIr Cruithen, plural Cruithin, Cruithni > Ir, G Cruithne, are generally taken to refer to (people perceived as) ‘Picts’, though this should be regarded with caution, especially with regard to the Cruithni in Ireland. See Jackson in Problem, pp. 158-60, and Broderick (2014), p. 9 n2.

‘A Briton’. If the proposed IE etymon is correct, it may refer to some kind of body-decoration, ‘ornamented, tattooed’, but any such origin was probably long-forgotten by the time the word was used in the earliest historical sources (the possibly coincidental Latin sense of the ethnic term Pictus is, of course, a wholly different matter: see *pejth). Presumably Brit[lan]- was used by the Brittonic-speaking people of southern Britain to refer to themselves, though the variant
*Priteno-* may have been used fairly widely in the north, coming to be reserved for the Picts as the ethnic and political geography beyond the Antonine Wall developed during the 4th–7th centuries.

Place-names referring to Britons are in most cases names given by others: see A. James (2008) at pp. 191-3; possible, though doubtful, exceptions include:

c2) Balbrethan Ayrs (Maybole) and Barbrethan Ayrs (Kirkmichael) CPNS p. 15 * + *barr-, which see, but probably Gaelic *baile-, *bàrr-Breatainn; these may be variants of the same name, see Morgan 2013 database p. 37 though Balbrethan (Maybole) is recorded as the residence of a farmer in the 1893-6 County Directory.

Culbratten Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 27, PWigMM p. 23, * + *cūl- or *cūl-, or else Gaelic *cūl-nam-Breatainn; see discussion under *cūl and *cūl.

Drumbreddan Wig (Stoneykirk) PNGall p. 117, RNGLV p. 91, Drumbretton Dmf (Annan) CPNS p. 15, PDmf p. 2, and Drumbyrdon MLo (Woodhall) PNMLo pp. 160-1, all * + *drum-, but all are more likely to be Gaelic *druim-Breatainn, or *dùn-Breatainn (cf. Dumbarton; early forms favour the latter at Drumbreddan Wig and Drumbyrdon MLo).

Glenbarton Dmf (Langholm) CPNS p. 184, misplaced by Watson 'in Annandale', actually in upper Eskdale * + *glann-, but probably Gaelic *gleann-Breatainn; see *Sachs for Glensaxon nearby.

The citadel of Dùn Breatainn, Dumbarton, and the probable boundary-stone, Clach nam Breatainn in Glen Falloch Dnb (CPNS p. 15), are Gaelic names given to landmarks in the territory of the Britons of the Clyde.

Apart from these, names given by non-Britons are likely to have referred to relatively isolated groups of folk perceived as ‘Britons’ in some sense, not necessarily linguistic, by neighbours of a different ethnicity. Whether such groups were Brittonic-speaking at the time the name was given, rather than ‘Britons’ by ancestry or some other distinguishing property, and whether they were indigenous relict populations (‘survivors’) or (descendants of) later migrants is an open question, see A. James, 2008, and VEPN2, pp. 26-8, for examples throughout England. On Bede’s usage (mainly Brettones, but in HE I also Brittanii), see C. Smith (1979) at p. 1.

Names of probable Goidelic formation in the North include those listed above, also:

Legbranock (E. Kilbride) Lnk (?) *leac-Breatainn, see lech- ‘a slab’.

Names with OE *Brettas* (singular not recorded) in the North may date from any time in or after the Northumbrian period, and may refer to indigenous ‘survivors’ or to immigrants perceived as ‘Britons’ in some sense:

Unidentified *Bretallaughe*, either Cmb or Dmf, * + OE -halh ‘a corner of land, flood-prone land in a river-bend, water-meadow’ with *lal* metathesis, possibly applied to what later became the Debatable Land between England and Scotland (P. Morgan pers. comm.). Wobrethills Dmf (Canonbie) is obscure.

*Brethstrette* Wml (Ambleside) PNWml1 p. 21, and *Brettestrete* Lancs (Clitheroe and Downham) PN Lanc p. 204 n1, * + OE(Ang) -strēte ‘a road’; both were probably routes, maybe Roman in origin, used by ‘Cumbrian’ traders or drovers as markets expanded in the 10th-12th centuries.

Monk Bretton (Royston), PNYWR1 p. 273, and West Bretton (Sandal Magna) YWR, PNYWR2 p. 99, and Burton Salmond (Monk Fryston) YWR, PNYWR4 p. 40, are probably all *Bretta* + OE -tūn ‘a farm’, so unlikely to be earlier than the later 8th ct. However, none of these show any trace
of the genitive plural –a- in early forms, so a modicum of doubt remains. East and West Bretton Dmf (Annan) are probably a back-formation from Drumbretton, see above.

*Brethomor* Lanc (Clautton), and *Bretreoum* apparently nearby, PN Lanc p. 162, + OE *-hōh-mōr*, ‘marshy upland on a heel-shaped spur’, and *-rūm* (as a noun) ‘open space’, respectively: probably hill-pasture on which ‘Britons’ had grazing rights.

Names with ON *Bretar* are presumably formations of the Scandinavian period, though some could be adaptations of early OE names with *Brettas*. If Scandinavian in origin, they may well be evidence of Cumbric-, or even Welsh-, speaking immigration during the late 9th to mid 10th centuries. See Fellows-Jensen (1972 and 1985), and A. James (2008) at pp. 191-3.

Brettargh Holt Lanc (Woolton) PN Lanc p. 111, JEPNS17 p. 63, and Brettargh Holt Wml PN Wml1 p. 90, + ON *-dērgi* ‘a shieling’, on which see Higham (1977-8) and Fellows-Jensen (1977-8 and 1980). These seem to be classic examples of the involvement of Cumbrian Britons alongside Scandinavian and Irish/Gaelic speakers in the exploitation of hill-country in 10th-11th centuries.

*Bretsegata* York (x2, of which one = Jubbergate) + ON –*gata* ‘a street’: see Palliser (1978) at p. 7.

Briscoe Cmb (St John Beckermet) PNCmb p. 340 + ON –*skógr* ‘a wood’; Briscohill, Briscomire and a possible lost *Briscou*, all in Arthuret Cmb PNCmb p. 54, may be comparable, but note that Brisco Cmb (St Cuthbert Without) PN Cmb p. 148 is definitely OE(Ang) *birce-sceaga* ‘a birch-wood’, Scandinavian-influenced.

A number of settlements named Birkby are from *Breta-* + (in NW England) ON –*býr* or (in Yorkshire) ODan –*bý* ‘a farm’: they are in Crosscanonby Cmb PNCmb p. 282, Muncaster Cmb PNCmb p. 424, and Cartmel Lanc PN Lanc p. 196; Birkby is a parish in YNR, PNYNR p. 211, and Birkby Hill is in Thorner YWR, PNYWR4 pp. 103-4, but other places in Yorkshire named Birkby are more likely to have ON *birki-* ‘birch’.

‘Briton’ occurs in a few place-names recorded by antiquarians, e.g. *Briton Sike* Rox (Eckford), but it would be risky to draw inferences from them.

**broch** (m)

IE *bhar-* (see *barr*) –*k-* > eCelt *brocco*- > 1Br, Gaul *broc-*; broh- (in inscriptions) > M-MnW *broch*, Corn *broch*, Bret *broc’h*; Olr *brocc* > Ir, G *broc*, Mx *brock*; cogn. Lat *broccus* ‘spiked, pointed’; adopted in OE as *broce* > ME, Scots *brock* ‘a badger’, and in Insular Latin as *broccus* ‘a badger’.


‘A badger’ in all the Celtic languages. However, the root sense seems to be, as in Latin, ‘spiked, pointed’, so ‘sharp-toothed’. The reference in place-names may be to sharp rocks (so Rivet and Smith, PNRB p. 283), or to pointed stones or stakes forming defensive *chevaux de frise* (cf. *paladr*).

*Brocāvum* PNRB pp. 283-4, + suffix –*āwo-*; but see also *wrūg*; the fort at Brougham Wml. Brougham, PNWml2 p. 128, is OE *burg-hām* ‘estate-centre with a fort’, though it may have been influenced by a neoBrittonic *Brochǭw < Brocāvum*, see Gelling (1978), pp. 54-6.
Brocolitia PNRB pp. 284-5 + suffixes –lit- and –jā-, on which see CIB p. 150 and n896, but see also *wṛūg: the fort at Carrawburgh Ntb. The meaning of *-lit- is disputed, and contingent on whether broc- is interpreted as ‘badgers’ or ‘spikes’.

c2) Strathbrock WLo PNWLo p. 72, WLoPN p. 31 + -strad-, which see; or else it might be a or a formation with Gaelic –broc or Scots –brock, ‘badger’, in either case presumably as a stream-name (but note that OE brōc > ‘brook’ is mainly southern and is not found in Scotland).

bronn (f)

IE *bhreu (see brïnn) -s- > eCelt *brus- + -njā- > Br *brunnjā- > OW(LLL) bron > W bron, Corn bron, Bret bron; OIr bruinne > Ir,G bruinne; cf. Gmc *breustam > OE brōc > ‘breast’.

‘A breast’, etymologically the sister of brïnn, and used in place-names of rounded, swelling hillsides. The two words are not always distinguishable in poorly-recorded place-names.

In Broninis VW36 appears to be a close compound (c1) + -mīs, but see discussion under that element. The single –n- raises doubts. Breeze in CVEP pp. 147-9 speculatively locates this at Durham.


a2) Broughna Wig (Mochrum) PNGall p. 49 might perhaps be plural, + -öü, cf. Burnow Cwl CPNE p. 32, or else Gaelic bronnach ‘big-bellied’, cf. Bronoch (North Bute) PNBute p. 310, though this might otherwise be brōnag ’poor’, broineag ’a rag’, bronnag ’a plump, stocky little woman’, none of which can be ruled out here.

c2) Balfron Stg + bod-, or else – brïnn: see under both these elements.

Trabroun ELo (Haddington) and Trabrown Bwk (Lauder) + treβ- + -r[ ]-, or else -brïnn, which see.

bröūən (f)

IE *g"reh,ur- ‘heavy’ + -on- > eCelt *brāwnā- > Br *brawonā-> late Old- Modern Welsh breuan (also MW brou, Corn brow, Bret breo); OIr bron, brau, genitive broon (see GOI §329, p. 211) > M-MnIr bró, genitive brón, G brà, genitive bràthan, Mx braain; cogn. Gmc *kwern- > OE cweorn > ‘quern’, Skt grāvan.

See LHEB §46(2), pp. 370-2, and §48(4), p. 385, also CIB p. 159 n948.

‘A quernstone, a grindstone on a handmill’.

Burwens Wml (Kirkby Thore) has a good, though not certain, claim to preserve the name of the Roman fort *Bravoniācum, see PNWml2 p. 118 and PNRB pp. 275-6 (for the reconstructed form). The Roman-British place-name has the suffix –j-ōg, see –ōg.

c2) Powbrone Burn Lnk CPNS p. 204 + *pol-, Gaelicised if not early Gaelic in origin, *poll- brôn.
*büβal (m)

VLat *bubalus* (variant of *bubulus*) adopted as Br *bubalo-* > MW *bual*, MBret *bual*.

On [b] > [w], see LHEB §65, pp. 414-15.

‘An ox’. True wild oxen were long since extinct in the North, but feral cattle (among them the ancestors of the White Park Cattle at Chillingham Ntb) could well have been present in the hill country. In Modern Welsh, *bual* is used for ‘buffalo’ and ‘bison’.

c2) Barnwell Ayr (Craigie) probably lenited plural -*büβail*, + *brïnn-* or *prenn*-. see Breeze (2006a), but see also *bügeil*.

buch (m)

IE *bhugo-* > eCelt *bucco-* > Br *bucco-* > OW( LL) *buch* > W *bwch*, Corn *bogh*, Bret *bou’h*; OIr *boce* > Ir, G *boe*, Mx *bock*; cogn. Gmc *bukkaz* > OE *bucca* > ‘buck’, Skt *bukka*.


‘A male cervid’: in the Celtic and Germanic languages, ‘a billy-goat’ and/or ‘a stag, a hart’. Although this is probably unrelated to *büch* and the family of words for ‘cattle’ derived from it, there may have been cross-influence between the two roots in the Celtic languages.

c1) Buckland Burn Kcb (Kirkcudbright) PNGall p. 50 + *-finn*, but this could be a Scots formation.

c2) Drumburgh Cmb (Bowness) PNCmb p. 124 + *drum*-. the early forms consistently show – *boogh*, suggesting a pronunciation similar to that in South-West Brittonic (see LHEB §5(3), pp. 277-8, and CPNE p. 26, but see also *büch*). It was influenced by OE *burh* > ME *burgh*, especially when a castle was built here in the late 14th century (as at Drumburgh Ntb, though that has a different origin).

bűch (f)

IE *g”òu-* > eCelt *bou-* + *cc-ā-* > late Brit. *buccā-* > OW *buch* > MW *bywch* > W *buwch*, OCorn *buch* > M-MnCorn *bugh*, Bret *buc’h*; O-MnIr *bó*, G *bò*, Mx *booa*; cogn. Lat *bōs*, genitive *bōvis* (note also Latin *vacca*, which may have influenced the Celtic forms), Gmc *kōuz* > OE *cū* > ‘cow’, Gk *boûs*, Skt *gaus*; probably adopted from Gaelic as Scots *bow* ‘cattle’, though this may be < northern ME *bu* < ON *búa* in the sense of ‘livestock of a farm’.

On the etymology, see EGOW p. 19, and Hamp (1977).

‘A cow’.

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3 Those at Cadzow are an ancient domesticated herd, those at Drumlanrig a re-established herd of ancient origin.
An adjectival form of the archaic plural *biw > MW biw (GMW §30, p. 27), Corn *buí (in place-names, CPNE p. 22), Bret biou, may be present in Traboyack Ayrs (CPNS p. 361), + treñ- + -ǭg, influenced by Gaelic báthaich ‘a cowhouse’, or perhaps reflecting a Cumbric equivalent *biw-ǭg.

See also búgeil and *būwarth, also *būy[ð] for Bowland Lanc.

*būy[ð] (n, later m?)


Apparently a verbal noun, ‘a bend’, though it is evidenced in Celtic only as an element in early place- and ethnic names.

Med[œ]bogdum PNRB p. 485, PNCmb pp. 511-12, the Roman fort at Hardknott Cmb, near the head of Eskdale, + medio- (see með), but see PNRB loc. cit. for alternative interpretations, and Ellwood (2007) at p. 131 on the location.

An element such as this is among many proposed to explain Ptolemy’s Bogdería, manuscript variant of Bodería, PNRB pp. 269-71, the River Forth. However, Jackson’s phonology of sound-changes, LHEB §18, pp. 305-7, would expect *beugd- or *bougd- in early British. See also *būēar and discussion there.

If this element was used in place-names referring to bends in rivers, in other landscape features, or in earthworks, it would probably have been replaced by OE boɡa (on which see VEPN1 p. 121), so it might underlie other names such as:

Bow Cmb (Orton) PNCmb p. 145.
Bow Laithe YWR (Bolton by Bowland) PNLanc p. 142, PNYWR6 p. 185, perhaps associated with the district (Forest) name Bowland Lanc/YWR PNLanc p. 142, PNYWR6 p. 209, JEPNS17 p. 80, though this may be formed with northern ME bu- ‘cattle’, see bűch.

Bowes YNR PNYNR p. 304.

bügel (m)

IE *g"ōu- (see bűch) –k"el- (‘to turn, to steer’) > eCelt *bou-col-jo- > lBr *būcoljo- > OW( LL) plural bucelid > MW bugeil > W bugail, O-MCorn bugel, Bret bugel ‘a child’; OIr bóčail > M-MnIr buachail, G buachail, Mx bochilley; cogn. Gk boukólos.

Basically, ‘a cow-herd’, but used in the Celtic languages for a herdsman of any domestic livestock. It occurs as a personal name in some Welsh place-names.

c2) Barnbougle WLo (Dalmeny) PNWLo pp. 4-5, WLoPN p. 20 + brïnn- or prenn- (which see), Gaelicised to *barr-na-, but the –g- favours a Brittonic origin.

Barnweill Ayrs (Craigie) SPN* p 213 + brïnn- (which see) or prenn-: if this is -bügel, the earliest recorded form, Berenbouell 1177x1204, requires a development in Scots, [3] > [w], presumably due to the preceding [u], but see also *bûβal.
Knockbogle Kcb (Twynholm) PNGall p. 177 + cnuc[h]: again the –g- favours a Brittonic rather than Gaelic origin, cf. Cnoc na Buachaille (Knockbochill 1612) Bute (Rothesay) PNBute pp. 488-9.

*bulch (m)

eCelt *bolco- > Br *bolco- > M-MnW bwłch, Corn *bolgh (in place-names, CPNE p. 26), Bret boule’h.

‘A gap, a pass’.

Perhaps in:
a2) Bulgie Ford Kcb (Minigaff) PNGall p. 51 +īg [+ OE –ford]: this would require adoption into Northumbrian OE before Brittonic [-lk-] became [-lχ-]: Jackson, LHEB §149, p. 571, dates this to the mid- or late 6th century, but the change was possibly later or absent in the North (cf. lanerc).

*burð (m)

OE bord (Gmc *borðum) adopted as Western neo-Brittonic *burð > MW burth, bwr̩d > W bwr̩dd, cf. Corn bord; cf. M-MnIr bord, G bòrd Mx boayrd.

The development of OE [–o-] to [–u-] and the lenition of [-d] to [-ð] in West Brittonic imply that the word was adopted into that dialect by the mid-sixth century: see LHEB §4, pp. 272-4.

Primarily, ‘a wooden board’. The sense ‘a table’, and, by metonymy, ‘provision of food’, is barely evidenced in late Old English and is largely a development of Middle English and Middle Welsh. It is suggested by Nicolaisen, SPN² p. 101, that, as an English or Scots place-name element, bord may indicate ‘a farm’ (wiċ etc.) ‘that supplied the board or table of the lord of the district’, though this possibility is not considered in VEPN1 at p. 127. Such a sense could only apply, if at all, to the very latest Cumbric formations.

If this element is the generic at Birdoswald Cmb, PNCmb p. 115 (and see LHEB p. 571 n2), it is likely to be a ‘heritage’ name, dating from no earlier than the late eleventh or twelfth centuries. By that time, King Oswald had become a figure of local legend. There is no evidence for any historical association between him and Birdoswald, although it was evidently a power-base in the post-Roman period (see Cramp 1995, pp. 17-32 and Wilmott 2001, pp. 120-6). The formation could have been the work of late Cumbric speakers, but it is more likely to be Middle Irish (or ‘Irish-Norse’) or an English ‘inversion compound’. However, see also *būwarth.

*būwarth (m)

IE *gʷóu- (see būch) + *ghordho- (see garth) > eCelt *bou-cc-ά-garto- > eBr *bəːcc-garto- > lBr *būch-ɣarto- > MW buorth > W buarth, Corn *buorth (in place-names, CPNE p. 35), OBret buorth.

See LHEB §75, pp. 440-4, and §149, pp. 571-2. On the variation between –a- and –o- see CPNE p. 35.
‘A cattle-yard, an enclosure, pen or fold for livestock’. The phonology implies a relatively early compound-formation, indicating that *garto- had the meaning ‘enclosure’ by late Roman-British (see discussion under garth). Nevertheless, if this is the generic in Birdoswald Cmb, as suggested by Ekwall DEPN(O) s.n., it is likely to be a ‘heritage’ name of the central middle ages, rather than one given by Britons of the seventh century: see discussion under *burō.

The stream-name Burth, now Burtholme Beck Cmb, may be a back-formation from a lost *būwart in the vicinity: see ERN p. 58, PNCmb pp. 6 and 70, and CVEP p. 357.
C

*cach (m?)

IE *ka[k]h- > eCelt *cacco- > W cach, Corn *cagh (in place-names, CPNE p. 36), Bret kaoc’h; OIr cacc > Ir, G cac, Mx cakey (verb); cogn. Lat caco (verb), OE cacc > M-MnE dialect cack (mainly as a verb), Gk kakkē.

‘Excrement, dung, filth’.

b1) Catlowdy Cmb (= Lairdstown, Nicholforest) PNCmb p. 105 perhaps a lost stream-name + *loβ (but see under this) + -ed -īg [or OE cacc- added to Brittonic -*loβedīg]. But see Breeze (2018) for a proposal invoking cad as an intensive prefix.

c2) Cumcatch Cmb (Brampton) PNCmb p. 66 + cum[b], which see for discussion of the historical background [Anglicised to oblique form -*cačče].

cad (f)

?IE *keh- -'distress, sorrow, hatred' + -d/t- > IE(NW) *katu- > eCelt *catu- Br, Gaul catu- (in personal and ethnic names) > OW cat > M-MnW cad, OCorn cad- (in compounds, CPNE p. 42) > Corn cas, OBret *cat- (in place-names), (and cf. MW cawd, MCor cuedh, MBret cuez, all 'anger, affliction'); O-MnIr, G cath, Mx cah; cogn. Gmc *gatu- (e.g. in personal names, Hadu-), and cf. Gmc *gatis > OE hete, ON hatr, 'hatred'.

See OIPrIE §17.5 at p. 282 and §20.8 pp. 342-4, DCCPN p. 14, but also p. 85 s.n. Cadurci, and ACPP pp. 62-3 and 310.

‘A battle’. A common element in personal names in all the insular Celtic languages and Gaulish, and so it occurs in place-names incorporating such personal names.

A hypocoristic form seems to have been adopted in Old English, giving rise to such personal names as Ėaetta, Ėeadd, and Ėedd (see LHEB §136, pp. 554-6). Place-names such as Chat Moss Lanc, Chatburn Lanc and Chatton Ntb may be based on such personal names, though *ēeatt, a variant of catt ‘a cat’ (wild or domestic, or itself used as a personal name), is possibly involved in these cases; other, more certain examples further south in England are reviewed by Insley (2013 p. 232).

The usual word for ‘a battle’ in AC and HB is gueith, but see AC s.a. 870 and HB56. Cad occurs frequently in CA and the supposedly early verses in BT, occasionally in the sense ‘an army, a host’; gueith is rare in both.

Catterick YNR (PNYNR p. 242, PNRB pp. 302-4) is Ptolemy’s Katou[r]aktŏnion, Cataractoni in the Antonine Itinerary; Bede has both Cataracta and Cataractone, reflecting (probably) the current vernacular and written sources respectively. Catraeth in CA, though not a regular development from Cataracta (Padel 2013 p. 137 and 150 n104), is almost certainly Catterick (Williams in CA pp. xxxii-iv, Jackson in YGod(KJ) pp. 83-4, Koch in YGod(JK) p. xiii). Catterick was a strategically vital stronghold, though in CA and in later Welsh poetry (where mentions of it are rare, see Haycock 2013 pp. 16-17 and 38 n94), Catraeth may be a more-or-less imaginary place (see Dunshea and Padel, both in Woolf ed. 2013). The formation may be cad-.
+ -rōd- (which see) or + -*trajith-, + suffix –ōnjon (see PNRB pp. 302-4 and Hamp 1993). If so, it was influenced by Latin cataracta ‘rapids’. However, both Jackson (LEHB §60 at pp. 409-10 and note, and §144(3), p. 564) and Gelling (1974, pp. 31, 33 and 57) see Catterick as simply Cataracta plus the Brittonic suffix –ōnjon. On the form Cetreht in the OE Bede, which appears to be early evidence for syncope (albeit dependent on assumptions about the date of the adoption of the name by English speakers), see Sims-Williams 1990 pp. 240 and 245-6, and Padel 2013 p. 119. Catterick Moss Drh (Stanhope) DDrhPN p. 24 is unlikely to have the same origin, more probably OE *catta-rīc ‘wild-cats’ strip or track’, see loc. cit.

Catlow Fell and Gill YWR (in Bowland, PNYWR6 p. 201) has often been associated with in Catlaevum, one of the estates granted to Ripon, VW17, and also with prysc Katleu BT61 (VII). However, there are also Catlow Brook Lanc (Little Marsden) PNLanc p. 86 and another Catlow Gill YWR in the vicinity of Yeadon, which is probably ingaedun, another of the properties granted to Ripon. Katleu in BT is probably a personal name (+ -lūch, ‘battle-bright’), as it is in CA25 (XXV) and CA Gorchan Cyfelyn, while the place-name Catlow in all three cases, and in VW’s *Catleuw, is probably Old English *catt-hlōw ‘cat-hill’ (VW’s form showing the influence of literary West Saxon hlēow on the 11th ct scribe). So one of the three Catlows may have been on the estate granted to Ripon, but the name is unlikely to be Celtic.

a2) Caddon Water Slk CPNS p. 431 ? + -an, but early forms favour *cal-, which see.

c1) The Catrail Slk ? + -*eil, which see; the –r- could only be intrusive or analogical, a name-phrase with –r[ ] would make no sense.

c2) Powcady Cmb (Walton) PNCmb p. 114 ? + pol- + -ōü, but the documentation is too late for any confidence.

cadeir (f)

Gk kathēdra adopted as Lat cathēdra > BrLat *catedra, adopted into lBr as *catejrā- > OW(LL) cateir > MW cadeir > W cadair, Corn cadar, MBret cadoer > Bret kador; OIr cathair > Ir cathaoir, G cathair, Mx caair.

See LHEB §71, pp. 429 and n1 - 431, and §136, pp. 554-5.

‘A chair, a throne’. This is generally taken to be present in the place-names listed below, though a number of problems remain. It seems surprising that a word adopted into ‘high-status’ British Latin and Brittonic must have been taken up quickly as a term for naming hills or other landscape features, yet a name like Catterton YWR (see below) seems to imply a Brittonic simplex *cadeir established by the early sixth century at the latest. Moreover, the meaning ‘chair’ is not obviously appropriate in several of the cases under (a1), though most have hills in their vicinity. Wyn Owen and Morgan, DPNW s.n. Cadair Idris, say cadair ‘occasionally refers to a hill shaped like a chair but is more commonly extended to include “fortress, fortified settlement”’. They give no explanation, but the influence of Old Irish cathair might have been involved.

OIr cathair ‘a fort’ > MIr cathair, falling together with Irish and Scottish Gaelic cathair ‘a chair’ (see GOI §318, p. 202), certainly has to be taken into account in Scotland. As well as its being likely at Catter Dnb, cathair of either origin could underlie some names with ‘Car-’ (see cajr). Cathair rather than cadeir is also likely to underlie the place-name Cathures in VK(J), which Jocelin identified with Glasgow, but which might in fact have been the Antonine Wall fort at Cadder EDnb see below, also Durkan (1986) at pp. 278 and 285-6, and Macquarrie (1997), pp. 128-30.
Ekwall in PNLanc, p. 50, and in early editions of DEPN(O), proposed for Chadderton Lanc a British cognate of OIr *cathir, *catera- > neoBrittonic *cader, but he abandoned this in the 4th edition of DEPN(O) (1960). There is no evidence for such a word in Brittonic, but, again, that a loan-word meaning ‘a chair’ came, apparently quite quickly, to be used as a place-name for ‘a fort’ is perplexing.

Personal names have been suggested instead of cadeir in some place-names. NeoBrittonic *Cadur, a hypocorism of *Catuwiros (see EPNE1, p. 130 and LHEB §136 at p. 555, noting that Jackson does not explicitly reject this) or of Caturugos (see CIB ǂ17, p. 51 n185, and ǂ387, p. 114, n622), could have been Anglicised as *Ċ[ē]at[r]or, which might explain forms of the ‘Chatterton’ type, but not others, and there is no evidence for its existence. A similar observation would apply to neoBrittonic * Cedri, a hypocorism of *Caturīgos (see CIB ǂ19 at p. 73 and n333, and ǂ65 at p. 210).

a1) Cadder EDnb: if this was Cathures (see above), it is probably Goidelic cathair ‘a fort’; however, Chadders 1170 favours cadeir (+ Scots plural –s).

Cateran Hill Ntb (Old Bewick) ? + -an, but early forms are lacking: see Watts (1979) at p. 123. Caterlaising Cmb (Threapland) PNCmb p. 271 [+ ON personal name –Leysingr, a possible formation in the early 10th ct context, see Blencathra, (c2) below]. Coates 2013, p. 36, suggests that this name may ‘perhaps’ involve Scandinavian kattar, genitive singular of *katt(u)- (ON kōtrr), ‘a cat’.

Catter Dnb (Kilmaronock) CPNS p. 223: Gaelic cathair ‘a fort’ is likelier, see Watson’s account of the place, CPNS loc. cit.

Catterton YWR (Tadcaster) PNYWR4 p. 236 [+ OE –tūn ‘a farm’]: see above, and LHEB §136, pp. 554-5.

Chadderton Lanc (Oldham), with Hanging Chadder (Middleton), PNLanc pp. 50 and 53 [+ OE –tūn, and + ON hengjandi > ME hengande > ‘Hanging’]: see above.

Chatterton Lanc (Bury) PNLanc p. 64 [+ OE –tūn]; see LHEB §136, pp. 554-5. Coates 2013, p. 36, suggests that this name may ‘perhaps’ involve Scandinavian kattar, genitive singular of *katt(u)- (ON kōtrr), ‘a cat’.

b2) Catterlen Cmb PNCmb p. 182 + -ę:n, which see, and see LHEB §136, pp 554-5.

c2) Blencathra Cmb (= Saddleback, Threlkeld) PNCmb p. 253, DLDPN p. 289 + blajn-: forms like Blenkarthure 1589, showing assimilation to the legendary Arthur, have obscured the original form. Coates, CVEP p. 281, suggested a MR 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 Caturugos (see above) would be another possibility. Nevertheless, Blencathra is undoubtedly chair-shaped!

Pirncader MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 352, PNMLo p. 368 + prenn-.

*caj (m)

IE (NW) *kagh- (verbal root, ‘catch’) > eCelt *cago- > Br *cago- > MW kay > W cae, Corn kee, OBret plural caiou > MBret quae > Bret kae; cogn. Gmc *yag- > OE haga > ‘haw’, -hæg > ‘hedge’, possibly Lat caulo ‘a sheepfold’ (but Latin caulae ‘a hole, an opening’ has a different origin).

In origin, a verbal noun, ‘an enclosure’, with a hedge, wall, or combination of both (cf. cajr). The semantic development to ‘a field’ is peculiar to Middle – Modern Welsh. If this word was used in the north, its meaning would probably have been ‘a hedged enclosure’.
b2) Cadzow (= Hamilton, Lnk) ? + -dehou; see Breeze (2002d) pp. 34-5; or else çed-, which see; this may have been a royal residence in the 10th-11th cts, see Barrow (1980), p. 44.

Caraverick Cmb (Hesket in Forest) PNCmb p. 202 + -[r] + - ebur - haμar-, + -ig- or -ōg-: or else + cajr-. See ebur and *haμar.

cajr (f)

?IE (NW) *kagh- (see *caj) + -r- > eCelt *cagrā- > IBr *cayrā- > OW cair > M-MnW caer, Corn *ker (in place-names, CPNE pp. 50-4), Bret kêr; probably adopted as keir in Middle Scots, see (a1) below.

Otherwise, this word might be derived from a distinctive British usage of Latin quadra ‘a square’, see CPNE p. 50 and Coates 2012 p. 82 for references, the latter adding a possible Proto-Semitic root *kpr to the range of suggestions.

The primary meaning seems to be ‘an enclosed, defensible site’. Several names with this element in the North are sites of Roman forts or other military works (e.g. Cardurnock, Carleith, Carlisle, Carmuirs, Carriden, Carvoran, Carzield, Castlecary, Cramond, Kirkintilloch, and compare Taylor’s list in PNFif5, p. 317), while others are, or are close to, hill-forts or other prehistoric defences (e.g. Caerlanrig, Cardona, Carfrae Bwk, Carwinley, Carwinning). Indeed, wherever this element occurs as a simplex (see (a1) below), or with a specifier indicating an elevated position, distinctive colour, presence of wild creatures, etc. (see (b2) below), 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 cajr was used as a major habitative element any earlier than, say, treβ. Such terms were probably current synchronically, and may indicate a difference in function rather than antiquity.

Moreover, Padel’s discussion of Cornish *ker (CPNE pp. 50-2) draws attention to the use of the cognate for settlements that, while enclosed, were not primarily defensive. Jackson (1963) argued that cajr sites in the Solway region, apparently lacking trace of any substantial defences, are comparable to kêr sites in Brittany. These are farmsteads or hamlets typically at some distance from parish centres, and probably (according to Le Duc (1999 at p. 149) associated with the colonisation of marginal land in the central middle ages. However, unlike the Breton examples, several of the Cumbrian cases became parishes or major centres within parishes, and Barrow (1973, pp. 65-6) suggested that they were associated with administrative and/or revenue-collecting territorial units comparable to the Northumbrian scēras, though he did not commit himself as to whether they were formed before, during or after the period of Northumbrian rule. Taylor (2011 pp. 100-1, and in PNFif1 p. 466 anent Kirkcaldy) takes a similar view in relation to comparable place-names in southern Pictland, and considers that cajr was adopted into Gaelic and Middle Scots toponymy, at least in that region (ibid., see also PNFif5 p. 317). It seems reasonable, then, to see the Cumbrian (and, perhaps, southern Scottish) cajr sites, other than those associated with Roman or ancient fortifications, as ‘stockade-farms’ or ‘stockade villages’, antecedents to the ‘green villages’ typical of the dales of northern England and the Scottish Borders, which are seen by landscape historians as planned settlements, products of a major reorganisation of landholdings in the late 11th-early 12th centuries (see B. K. Roberts 2008). If so, they belong to the latest period in which Cumbric was still spoken in these areas, as the language of a community that evidently included enterprising and apparently successful stock-farmers.

It is striking that cajr is virtually the only Brittonic element found in the North in combination with personal names. Some of these may be historic, even legendary (see, e.g., Cardunneth Pike,
Carmaben, Carruthers, Carthanacke, Carvoran, Carwinley, Carwinning, Kirrouchtrie, and even – in a sense – Carlisle), though as place-names, again, they need not necessarily be ancient. Such names could have been creations of the central mediaeval period, inspired by local legends that may or may not have had a basis in actual history. Others (e.g. Caerketton, Caerlaverock, Cardonald) might well have been named after contemporary or recently-remembered local chieftains or landholders, and again these are at least as likely to have been players in a period of expansion and reorganisation of farming, landholding and settlement in the central middle ages as at any earlier date.

The distribution of cajr names in the Lothian Hills, upper Tweed basin, Clydesdale and the Solway basin (see SPN² pp. 207-10 and map 19) is consistent with either early, pre-Northumbrian, or late, central mediaeval, formation. However, the absence of this element from the rest of southern Scotland and northern England, and of any close-compound formations (b1) containing it as generic, make the later date more likely. Either way, its rarity in Galloway, Carrick and Kyle calls for investigation. As Nicolaisen suggests (SPN² loc. cit.), replacement with early Gaelic cathir ‘a fort’ (not related to cajr, see cadeir), or confusion with Gaelic ceathramh ‘a quarterland, portion of a davoch’, is likely. Thus, Sanqhar (x 2, Ayr and Dmf, and see PNFif5 p. 317 for similar names throughout Scotland) is, as Watson (CPNS p. 368) observes, ‘Gaelic in form’, *sean-chathair ‘old fort’, but it may well indicate an earlier cajr (see also discussion of ‘Keir’ names, under (a1) below). More broadly, the likelihood should not be overlooked that some names in ‘Car–’ actually derive from cadeir, replaced by cathair: see under cadeir.

A few place-names in the North are preceded by cajr in historical or literary sources. It is hard to judge whether these should be read as established name-phrases, or whether the word was used as an appellative in apposition to the name (cf. Carlisle City). Examples include:

*Cair Brithon* HB66a, and [o] *Gaer Glut* BT63(XII), both presumably referring to Alclud, Dumbarton, but neither – frustratingly! – recording what can confidently be regarded as a Brittonic name.

*Caer Ligualid* HB66a, see Carlisle under (b2) below, noting that the dateable forms of this name with prefixed cajr- begin with A-SC(E), HR etc. The list of cities in HB may not be any earlier than the late 10th century. For the phonological development of this name in Brittonic, see LHEB §172 at p. 607 and §175 at p. 616.

*Gaer Weir* in Armes Prydein: probably Durham, but again not certainly a place-name. See *wejr*, and *Armes Prydein* ed. Williams and Bromwich (1972) at line 7 and note.

*Kair Eden* in a note to the tenth- or eleventh-century capitula prefaced to Gildas *De Exidio Britonum*. The writer seems to be referring to Carriden WLo, though it is doubtful whether this is the correct origin of this place-name: see also *carden*, *eiδïn*, and *idi-*. *Kaer rian* BT29: this might be Cairnryan Wig, see rîig.

A couple of names in Cumbria may show cajr- combined with a non-Cumbrian place- (or, in the first case, personal) name; these could have been formed by Cumbrian speakers on the basis of pre-existing Northumbrian English names, or even as bilingual (but primarily Cumbrian) formations (see LHEB p. 245):

*Carhullan* Wml (Bampton) PNWml2 p. 189 [+ OE -*hōh-land* ‘land on a heel-shaped ridge or spur’, or late OE personal name *Holand* as in DB Wor:23.14: see LHEB p. 245 on the significance of such bilingual formations], but see also *carr.* *Carlatton* Cmb PNWml2 pp. 73-4 [? + OE -*lēac-tūn* ‘a leek enclosure, (later) a kitchen-garden’; however, ON *karla-tūn* ‘a freeman’s farm’ is possible - if so it shows late Cumbrian influence in the stressed penultimate syllable].
a1) Here, as generally, it must be emphasised that monothematic names are not necessarily early. They may well date from a time when the element had ceased to be used regularly in name-phrase formation, and there are strong reasons for regarding keir as a word adopted into Middle Scots, see Taylor 2011 pp. 110-11 and in PNIfi 5, pp. 414-15 (though note that in the latter he decides that some simplex Keir names ‘were certainly, or very likely, coined by speakers of a Celtic language’ because of their early appearance in the records).

Keir Dmf CPNS p. 368, PNDmf p. 67.  
Keirhill WLo (Abercorn) PNWLo p. 22 [+ OE -hyl].  
Keirs Ayrs (Dalmellington) Brooke (1991), p. 320 [+ Scots plural –is].

Castlecar EDb CPNS p. 370, PNFEStg p. 37 + -ői, or a variant plural *-ið; Reid, PNFEStg loc. cit., following Ekwall, ERN p. 71, suggests Cary may have been a watercourse-name, see *carr.

b2) Modern forms with ‘Caer-’ have been influenced by the Welsh spelling:  
Caerkeniton Hill MLo (Lasswade) PNMLo p. 85 + personal name –Catul [or ON Ketil], probably a lost settlement after which the hill was named.

Caerlanrig Rox (Teviothead) CPNS p. 367, PNRox p. 6 + -lanerc.  
Caerlaverock Dmf, also Carlawerock ELo (Tranent), and possibly Carlawerick (Rox or Slk), but the latter may be an error for Caerlanrig, see below; CPNS p. 367, PNDmf p. 6 + personal name –Lyuarch (> Modern Welsh Llywarch), otherwise + a lost stream-name *laβarǭg/īg, see discussion under laβar, also -ęg and -ig.


b2) On ‘Car-’ as the usual Anglicised form of cajr, see Coates (2007) at pp. 28-32; note that in some cases, Gaelic ceathramh ‘a quarterland’ is possible.

Caraverick Cmb (Hesket in the Forest) PNCmb p. 202 + -efur- or -*haξar + -ęg or -ęg, or else + *caξ- + -[r]-; see efur and *haξar.

Carcant MLo (Heriot) CPNS p. 368, PNMLo p. 234 + -can[d] or –cant.  

Carco Dmf (Kirkconnel) CPNS p. 368, PNDmf p. 68 ? + -coll, or else carreg-, which see, and cf. Carcove, Cargo and Trevercarcou below.

Carcowe Wml (field-name in Pooley Bridge, Barton) PNWml2 p. 214 ? + -coll, or else carreg-, which see [or else ON *krāk-hauar > northern ME *craike-howe ‘crows’ mound’, occurring in the field-name Cracoe in the same parish, PNWml2 p. 212; Carcowe was probably Carlosed 1329, + AScand -sáð ‘a shieling’]; cf. Carco above, and Cargo and Trevercarcou below.

Cardew Cmb (Dalston) PNCmb pp. 131-2 + -dūf: see discussion under that element, and Jackson (1963), pp 81-3, for the prosodic reason why this must be a late, Cumbric, adoption into English.

Cardonald Rnf (Abbey) CPNS p. 367 + personal name Duynw, see duβ[i]n and wal.

Cardowan Lnk (Glasgow) + -duβ[i]n; see Wilkinson (2002) at p. 143.

Cardrona Pbl (Traquair) CPNS p. 369 + *trōn- + -ői.

Carduneth Pike Cmb (Cumrew) PNCmb p. 77 + personal name Dünǭ < Donātus, possibly a local saint (cf. Powddonnet Wml, see pol), or the chieftain of that name, son of Pabo (see *dinn).

Cardunock Cmb PNCmb pp. 123-4 + -duńsk- + -ęg.


Carfrae Bwk (Channelkirk) and Carfrae ELo (Garvald), both CPNS p. 369 ? + -bre[y], but see discussion there.
Cargen, with Cargen Water, Kcb (Lochrutton) CPNS p. 367, PNGall p. 58; if this does have cajr-, the second element is presumably the earlier name for the stream, perhaps *-geint (see cant), or *-gejn (see *ceu-) or *-ge:n (see cæ:n); otherwise it may be carreg (which see) + -an.

Cargo Cmb PNCmb pp. 94-5; + -coll; but early forms and the first-syllable stress favour carreg-, which see; cf. Carco and Carcowe above and Trevercarcou below.

Carlowrie WLo (Dalmeny) CPNS p. 370, PNWLo p. 5, WLoPN p. 22 ? + -laθar- or -lœr-, + -in, or + -lowern.

Carluke Lnk ? + -luch or -luchar, but see under both.

Carmanlaw WLoPN p. 22 ? + -mönð [+ OE –denu ‘a valley’], but see the next entry.


Carmuir, Easter and Wester, Stg (Falkirk) CPNS p. 370, PNFEStg p. 31 + -mœr or -mûr [+ Scots plural –is].

Carnmellach Lnk CPNS pp. 196 and 367 ? + -bann- or *-mann- + -õg, or + -mœnach: Watson CPNS p. 367 says ‘not a caer’, but only Cormannoc 1177 raises doubts, Corminlock 1187 and later forms are consistently Cer- or Car-; however, see also cor and *céor: see Breeze (2000a) at pp. 120-1.

Carmyle Lnk (Old Monkland) CPNS p. 367 ? + -mœl or *-mûl, but in the absence of lenition, carn- may be the generic: see Breeze (2000c).

Carnet Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 84 ? + -jûð [+ OE –hlaw > ME –law]; see Breeze (2006b) at p. 328, but see also carn, dû and -in.

[Chef] Carnmenuat unlocated. ‘Rnf (in the Inquisition of King David) ? + -nûið, or else carn- + -wîð; this is unlikely to be the same place as Carnwath Lnk.

Carnwest Lnk CPNS p. 368 ? + -nûwið, or else carn- + -wûð.

Carragh MLo (Stow) PNMLo pp. 372-3 ? + -rð; which see (also for Carthow)

Carrath, Great and Little, Wml (Murton) PNWml2 p. 104 ? + -rðd, which see.

Carriber WLo (Linlithgow) CPNS p. 105, PNWL o p. 58, WLoPN p. 22 ? + -ebir, see aber.

Carrick Heights Ntb (Elsdon) PNNtb p. 40 + -wig [or OE –wic]; see Coates, CVEP p. 324.

Carriden WLo CPNS pp. 369-70, PNWL o p. 26, WLoPN p. 22 ? + -Eːðin, but see discussion under that element, and also carden.

Carrifran Dmf (Moffat) PNDmf p. 97 ? + -Ȝ[r] - + -brân; the generic could be carreg here, but either way, the recorded forms (Corriefaaine 1577 etc.) and local pronunciation with stress on -i- raise doubts.

Carrington MLo PNMLo pp. 111-12 ? + -in [+ OE –tûn ‘a farm’, but OE personal name Cēnhere- + -ingæ is much more likely: see Dixon, PNMLo loc. cit., and SPN² p. 31].

Carruthers Dmf (Middlebie), also Carrudere Bwk?, CPNS p. 368, PNDmf p. 91 ? + personal name –Rodria (hypocorism of *Rðerch > Welsh Rhuddderch, perhaps Rhuddderch Hael, ruler of Alclud in the late 6th century), but see ruð; note that Carradus Wood Wml (Mansergh) PNWml
Carrycoats Ntb (Throckington) PNNtb p. 40 ? + [-][r]- + -ced-, but see discussion under both of these; alternatively, it may be named from the Carry Burn, see *carr.

Carstairs Lnk CPNS pp. 368-7 + lost stream-name *Tarris identical to the one in Dmf, see *tā-; cajr replaced in early recorded forms by NF castel > Scots castle-; see Barrow in Uses, p. 73.

Carthanacke Cmb (= Maidencastle, Watermillock) PNCmb pp. 255-6, also Carthanet Wml (in Pooley Bridge, Barton, across the R Eamont from Maidencastle, not in PNWml), + +Tanǭg, hypocorism of the saint’s name Taneī (Thanea, Thaney, Thenew), the mother of St Ketigern, see ESSH pp. 127-30; she might have been the ‘maiden’ of Maidencastle, see Jackson (1958), but see also Coates (2006b).

Carthow see Carraith above.

Carvoran Ntb (Greenhead) ? + a personal or ethnic name (cf. the Gaulish ethnic group Morini, on the Channel coast opposite Kent, and the personal name Morinus in VSamson, see CIB p. 286, and see *merin); see LHEB p. 515n3.

Carwinleg Cmb (Arthuret) + personal name –Wenǭoleu, maybe the chieftain defeated at the battle of Arjuryð, AC s.a. 573, see discussion above, and aru, *tēriǭ.

Carwinning Ayrs (Dalry) CPNS p. 366 + personal, presumably saint’s, name -Winnian; cf. Balfunning under bod, and note that Kilwinning Ayrs is adjacent.

Carzield Dmf (Kirkmahoe) PNDmf p. 72 + ?; possibly Gaelic cathair-ghil ‘white fort’ in locative/ dative.

b2) Other names which may have cajr- as generic include:

Cathcart Rnf CPNS p. 366-7 + river-name Cart, see *carr; early forms show that *Cair-Cart co-existed with forms based on cē:d, which see.

Cramond MLN CPNS p. 369, PNMLo pp. 171-3 + river-name Almond, see *amb.

Currochrie, High and Low, Wig (Kirkmaiden) PNGall pp. 101-2, PNRGIV p. 10 ? + -āch- + -tfy or -tref-; but G ceathramh ‘quarterland’ is possible here; see also under tfy and tref, ); cf. Kirroughtree below, and see James (2014b), p. 25

Kirkintilloch EDnb CPNS p. 348 + -pen[n]-, Gaelicised as –cenn-, + Gaelic (dialectal) –tilaich, perhaps replacing –tāl- (which see) + -ūg; finally, the Gaelicised first syllable *car- was replaced by Scots -kirk-, i.e. *cajur-penn [?-tāl-ūg] > *carcenn-tilaich > Kirkintilloch.

Kirkintosh Kcb (Minigaff) CPNS p. 367, PNGall p. 174 ? + -āch- + -tref-, which see; or else + personal name *Uchtirǭ, i.e. Uhtred Lord of Galloway (1161-74), see discussion under tref. Again, G ceathramh ‘quarterland’ is possible.

Trevercercou Dmf or Kcb (unlocated) + tref- + -[i]-, ? + -coll, or else + -carreg- or -carrǭ- + -ūi, see both carreg and coll, and cf. Carco, Carcowe and Cargo above; on the location, see CPNS p. 359, Brooke (1984) citing Barrow at p. 54n, Breeze (2005) at p. 91, and Findlater (2008), Appendix I p. 72-3 (see also under carrǭ).

c2) A solitary, doubtful case of cajr as specific in a Gaelic name-phrase is: Bankier Lnk (Banknock) PNFEStg p.55 + baile an-.

*cal-

IE *kelh > eCelt *cal- > Br *cal- (cf. *cal-jācо > W ceilio, OCorn chelio > Corn kulek, Bret kilék; OIr cailech > Ir, G coileach, Mx kelagh ‘a cock’); cogn. Gk kalēō ‘I call’, and cf. Latin calendae ‘announcements’ > ‘first days of the month’, ON hjala ‘chatter’; see also *gāl.

IE *kal-, or zero-grade *kl- > eCelt *cal- (see under (a2) below); Latin callus, callosus, adopted as English ‘callous’ and ‘callosity’), possibly a variant of IE *kar-, see carn and *carr.
The root of a range of river-names, and the territorial name Calatria, is an issue of controversy. 

IE *kelh- ‘call’ was favoured for some cases by Watson, CPNS pp. 431 and 435, Ekwall, ERN p. 90, and Jackson (1970) at p. 74 (see also discussion of *gār). On the other hand, all three scholars (at CPNS p. 456, ERN p. 61, and LHEB p. 563, respectively) favoured IE *kal- ‘hard’ for river-names of the ‘Calder’ type, and the same root was preferred by Nicolaisen, SPN² p. 229, for those of the ‘Calne’ type. If ‘hard’ is the meaning, it may refer to the river-beds, or figuratively to the strength of the currents, see King 2008 p. 149.

Calatria (CPNS pp. 105-7), if it is from that root, may have been named for the perceived ‘hardness’ of the territory, or from a lost watercourse-name, or perhaps (as suggested by Wilkinson, WLoPN p. 16) some characteristic of the spring-water in the area. See The Calders under (a2) below, and also tir.

The ‘call’ root, eCelt *cal- + -āco- (see –ǭg), was favoured by Jackson (1948 and 1970) for Ptolemy’s Kálagon (PNRB p. 288). If this is the fort at Burrow in Lonsdale Lanc, a river-name *Calāgā- may be inferred, perhaps an alternative name for this stretch of the R Lune. For Galava see under *gāl.

It is possible that Ptolemy’s Ouindógara (Vindogara PNRB p. 501) is an error for -gala, cf. Gala Water under (a2) below, but see also *carr, gar[r] and *garw.

a2) River-names of the ‘Calne’ type are probably formed on one or other of the above roots + the nominal suffix –onā- (see –an). There is another group, the ‘Clun’ type, formed from an unexplained *cōl-aunā- (cf. Ale Water etc. under al-, and see ERN pp. 87-90, LHEB §20 at pp. 308-9 and §208 at pp. 688-9), to which the ‘Calne’ type might be related, but early forms for all those in the North favour *cal-V-nā-, where –V- is either a vowel or a diphthong:

Calneburn ELo (now Hazelly Burn) SPN² p. 229.
Colne R Lancs PNLanc p. 87, ERN pp. 90-1.
Colne R YWR PNYWR7 p. 123, ERN p. 90.
Kale Water Rox PNRox p. 4, SPN² p. 229.

a2) River-names of the ‘Calder’ type are formed from *cal- + the adjectival suffix -eto-/ā (see -ed, and DCCPN p. 12). The root-sense ‘hard’ is favoured as British and Gaulish caleto-/ā- survives as Welsh caled, Middle Cornish cales, Middle Breton calet, cf. Middle Irish calath, calad ‘hard’ (in Modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic mainly nominalised as caladh ‘a harbour’). Note also the name of Arthur’s sword, Caledwvlch ‘hard-notch’, in Culhwch ac Olwen. The names below (except possibly the Calders) are all compounds with this adjective + -duβr, which suggests that *caleto-dubro- was an early Brittonic appellative with some specific meaning that is now obscure. On the phonology of this compound, see LHEB §144(1), p. 563, where Jackson explains the prevalence of ‘Calder’ over ‘Calter’ by the preceding –l- (after syncope) countering the normal development of –dō- to –it- (see also The Calders and Calter, below).

Calder Loch Wig PNWigMM p. 20.
Calder R Cmb PNCmb pp. 7 and 427, ERN p. 60.
Calder R Lanc (→ Ribble) PNLanc p. 66, ERN p. 60.
Calder R Rnf ERN p. 60.
Calder R YWR PNYWR7 pp. 121-2, ERN p. 59.
Calder Water Lnk (→ Avon).
North or Rotten Calder Lnk (→ Clyde).
South Calder Lnk (→ Clyde).

The Calders MLo CPNS pp 105-7 and 455, PNMLo pp. 301 and 389, WLoPN p. 16 (East Calder, Kirknewton, PNMLo p. 266, Mid-Calder ibid. p. 301, [West] Calder ibid. pp. 389-90); probably
associated with the territory of Calatria (see above), in which case the formation may be *cal-+ -ed-+ -tīr (see Breeze in ScLang21 (2002d) at pp. 37-8). Wilkinson, WLoPN loc. cit., reports a local pronunciation ‘Cauther’, but this cannot be attributed to normal developments in Brittonic (see above): rather, it reflects early Middle Scots (cf. late Middle English) affrication as in ‘father’ and ‘rather’, cf. Cawderr Gill below.


Calter Cmb ERN p. 60: Ekwall identifies this with Wyth Burn, for which see PNCmb pp. 325-6. Calter, with Calterber, YWR (Clapham) PNYWR6 p. 234 [+ OE(Ang) -berg or ON -berg ‘a hill, a drumlin’]. The –lr- here may reflect late Old Welsh/ Cumbric devoicing of -ld-, see LHEB §54(1), p. 400 n.1, and cf. *polter. If so, it implies Cumbric- (or Welsh-) speaking settlement in this area as late as c1100, cf. discussion of Penyghent under –fr-.

Cawderr Gill and Hall YWR (Skipton) PNYWR6 p. 72, but see under dufr.

Drumkalladyr Ayrs + drum-: on Blaeu’s map, at a location close to the head of the R Nith.

Kielder Burn Ntb PNNtb p. 237, ERN pp. 62 and 231; the vowel (seen also in early records for Calder YWR) reflects a variant adaptation of the Brittonic unstressed vowel in OE (Anglian).

Caddon Water Slk CPNS p. 431, Nicolaisen 1958 and SPN² p. 229; Keledenlee 1175 and Kaledene 1296 favour a *cal-+ -ed- formation, but see also cad.

a2) Gala Water (MLo/Rox), though apparently from OE (Angl) galga ‘gallows’ (CPNS p. 148, and see *gāl), could in origin have been formed from *cal-‘call’, or from IE *gal->eCelt *gal-> W galw (verb) ‘call’, Corn galow (noun) ‘a call’, cf. OIr (Sanas Cormaic) gall ‘a swan’, and cognate with Latin gallus ‘a cock’ and Germanic *kallōjan > late OE ceallian and ON kallja > ‘call’; see also *gāl for this and for Gala Lane Ayrs (→ Loch Doon).

*calch (m)

Latin calx, calc- adopted as Br *calco- > M-MnW calc'h, Corn calc’h; adopted from Brittonic as OIr caile > Ir, G caile, Mx kelk; adopted from Latin as OE(Angl) calc, also *celce (see VEPN3 pp. 10-11), OE(West Saxon) čealc > ‘chalk’.

In place-names, the reference is either to calcareous rock – chalk or (normally, in the North) limestone – or to sites where it was processed for lime, cement and plaster, or else to fields where lime or marl was spread.

Calcaria PNRB pp. 288-9 is a wholly Latin place-name, referring to ‘limestone quarries’ or ‘lime-works’ at Tadcaster YWR. There may, of course, have been a Roman-British equivalent form, and Bede’s use of an Old English form based on the Latin, Kaelcacaester HE IV.23, is of interest.

Middle Welsh tradition concerning the Men of the North mentions a place named Calchuynid, *calch-+ -mönio (lenited). Watson’s acceptance (CPNS p. 343) of Skene’s view that this was Kelso (see below) was uncharacteristically uncritical: contrast Jackson’s view (1955b, at p. 83). The location is best regarded as unknown.

On place-names with the Old English forms, see VEPN2 pp. 125-7 and VEPN3 pp. 10-11, and Cole (1986-7). Some in the North may have replaced Brittonic names, including the following: Calkeburn Drh VEPN2 p. 126 [+ OE –burna].

Kelk, Great and Little, with Kelk Beck, YER PNYER p. 92.

(Kelk Wml and Kelfield YER are probably English formations, ‘fields spread with lime’).

cam[b] and *cambas (presumably m)

IE (WC) *[s]kamb- > eCelt *cambo-/ā- > Br, Gaul *cambo-/ā- > OW kam, (LL) cam > M-MnW cam, O-MnCorn cam, OBret cam > Bret kamm; OIr camb > MIr camm > Ir, G, Mx cam; cogn. Gk skambós, and possibly OE (south of the Humber) hamm ‘land in a river-bend’, see EPNE1 pp. 229-31 and LPN pp. 46-55.

On the controversial etymology, see Hamp (1991/2) at p. 17, ACPN pp. 14 n63, 33-4 and 58, and DCCPN p. 13 s.vv. camaro-, cambo- and canto-.

‘Curved, bent, crooked’, an adjective normally pre-positioned in the Celtic languages.

Cambodunum  PNRB pp. 292-3 + dīn. Unlocated, but in the area of Elmet and/or Loidis regio, so sites near Leeds, Dewsbury and Doncaster have been suggested. On the form known to Bede, see C. Smith in A-SS1 (1979) at p. 4, and Wallace-Hadrill (1988) p. 75.

Camboglanna on the Staffordshire Moorlands Pan (see anonymous, 2003), with variants on the Amiens Patera and Rudge Cup, PNRB pp. 293-4: + -glann (which see). Undoubtedly a fort on Hadrian’s Wall, most probably at Castlesteads Cmb (see also Cam Beck Cmb below). On the question whether this can be identified with Camelon (for Camlann in AC s.a. 537), see LHEB §74(1) at p. 437. Camelon is interpreted by Bromwich and Evans in Culhwch ac Olwen (1992), p. 85, as cam[b]- + -lann, which see, and see also cöl:en (for Camelon Stg).

Morikambé éischysis  PNRB pp. 40-1 + mōr-, with –cam[b] exceptionally post-positioned: probably Morecambe Bay Lanc, though the modern name is an antiquarian revival, see PNRB loc. cit.

a1) In several Yorkshire place-names with ‘Cam’, OE camb/ AScand kamb > ‘comb’ is possible; it is pretty certain at Kettlewell Cam, with Cam Gill Beck and Cam Head, YWR PNYWR6 pp. 109-10, but see LPN p. 153 and compare also Cam Beck Cmb below. Cam Fell, with Cam Houses, YWR (Horton in Ribblesdale) PNYWR6 pp. 218-19; camb/ kamb is likely here, in view of the imposing ridge that extends north-east from Cam Fell. Cams House YNR (Aysgarth) PNYNR p. 258; again, ‘comb’ is possible, at least it has influenced the Middle English forms. Cams Head, with Cold Cam, YNR (Kilburn) PNYNR pp. 194, 196. Cam Lane also occurs in YWR at Clifton, PNYWR3 p. 4, and Thornton in Craven PNYWR6 p. 33, but early forms are lacking.

a2) A number of names may be formed with –ōg (see PNFif3 p. 368 on Cambo Fif, and for other examples CPNS p. 143 and PNFif5 p. 320):

Cam Beck, with Kirkcambeck (Askerton), Cmb  PNCmb pp. 7, 56 and 92, Lan Cart 1 etc.
Cammo MLo (Cramond) PNMLo pp. 174-5; see Barrow in Uses at p. 38, where he treats it as Scoticised form of Gaelic *camusach, but it could be Brittonic in origin. Cammock YWR (Settle) PNYWR6 p. 151; cf. the cluster of ‘Crummock’ type names in Craven, see crum[b].

Cammock Beck, with Cammock House, Cmb (St Cuthbert Without) PNCmb p. 148.
a2) Br *camb-asto- (see -as) > MW kama > W camas, Corn *camas (in place-names, CPNE p. 37); OIr cambas > Ml cammas > Ir camas, G camus, Mx camyn; note also Br plural *camb-asti > MW kama > W camas (in place-names), see LHEB §168 at p. 602, ELI pp. 10-11, and DPNW p. 80 s.n. Cemaes Mtg and YM.

This is the nominal form, meaning in place-names ‘a bend or loop in a river, a bay or inlet on the coast’. It is difficult to distinguish Brittonic from Goidelic forms in Scotland, but the following might be Brittonic in origin:

Cambois Ntb (Bedlington) PNNtb p. 38 [influenced in its development by OE –hūs > ‘house’, and in spelling by French bois ‘a wood’], but Coates, CVEP pp. 257-8, considers that this is likely to be (monastic) Old Irish in origin.

Old Cambus Bwk (Cockburnspath) CPNS p. 138 ? + alt- [but OE ald > ‘old’ is likely, probably to distinguish from Cambois, above. Again, influenced by OE –hūs > ‘house’]; Watson, CPNS loc. cit., considers it ‘doubtless’ Gaelic.

Cambusnethan Lnk CPNS pp. 202 and 330 + personal (perhaps saint’s) name -Nejthon; Gaelic *camus-Neachtadín is possible, but the name Nejthon has strong Pictish and North British associations, see *nejth.

b2 or c1) (generally indistinguishable with this element):

Camelon Stg ? + -finn, but see above and under cúleːn.

Camel Lane (Balmaghie) PNGall p. 57 ? + -finn [+ South-West Scots lane ‘a slow, boggy stream’, see Bazard Lane under *bas]; influenced by Camelon, see Camboglanna above.

Cameron MLo PNMLo p. 290 + -brînn.

Camling Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 57 ? + -finn.

Camilty MLo PNMLo p. 304, WLoPN p. 22 ? + pol- + tīf or -treβ; see Wilkinson, WLoPN loc. cit., but a lost Gaelic stream-name *camaːltaið ‘crooked burn’ is likely. However, see WLoPN p. 3, hinting at an association between this place and Camulosessa Praesidium PNRB p. 296, + hēs[s], incorporating the deity-name Camulos (see PCB pp. 234, 457 and 472). If this is correct, *Camul- + tīf or –treβ might be the origin of Camilty.

c2) Lincom Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 196 + finn-: cam[b] exceptionally post-positioned.

can[d]

IE *[s]kan[d]- (‘shine’, ? a-grade of *[s]ken-, see cęːn) > eCelt *cando-/ā- > Br, Gaul cando-/ā- > MW can[r] > W cann, Corn can, O-MBret cand, cann > Bret kann; cf. OIr cáin > Ir caoin, G cáin, but see also cęːn; cogn. Lat candere, Skt candati (also Skt candra ‘the moon’), and cf. Gk kainós ‘new, fresh’ (< *kan-jo-).

For the possible cognate underlying some river-names, see cęːn.

The verbal root means ‘shine’, but as an adjective in the Celtic languages, ‘white’, though in watercourse-names it presumably implies ‘bright, clear’.

It is generally difficult to distinguish from cant, which see for cases with possible *geint or *gein[d], and which may also be a possibility in most of the following:

a2) Cantin Wiel Kcb (Minigaff) PNGall p. 58 ? -in [+ OE(Ang) wēl > South-West Scots wiel ‘a well’].

b) Cander R Lnk CPNS p. 455 -dubfːr.

See also wînn and treβ for Fintry.
c2) Carcant MLo CPNS p. 369, PNMLo p. 234 + cajr-, but the topography favours cant.
Cargen, with Cargen Water, Kcb (Lochrutton) CPNS p. 367, PNGall p. 58 + cajr- (which see) + suffix –jā-, *gein[d]; or else *geint (see cant), *gejn (see *ceŋ-), or *geː:n (see ceːn); or otherwise carreg (which see) + an.
Enterkine Ayrs (Tarbolton), and Enterkin Burn and Pass Dmf (Durrisdeer) PNDmf p. 33, + neint-, see nant, + [jɛɾ]-, an ‘incorrect’, analogical definite article if kan[d] was a stream-name here; see also cant, *ceŋ-, and ceːn.

Water of Ken, with Kennure, Glenkens and Loch Ken, Kcb PNGall p. 162, but cant + jā-, or *cōŋəd, or cū[n] - + eːd - + jā-, are equally possible.

Glencoyne, with Glencoyne Beck, Cmb (Watermillock)/ Wml (Patterdale) ERN p. 178, PNCmb pp. 15 and 254, PNWml2 p. 22, DLDPN pp. 131-2 + glînn- or Mr glenn-; Ekwall ERN p. 178 suggested an early Celtic hydronymic element *kainos here, but see under cant, ceːn and ceŋ.
Talkin Cmb PNCmb pp. 88-9 + tāl-, or else –cant or *cejn, see *ceŋ-, and Coates in CVEP, p. 369.
Tantallon ELo ? + dīn- + tāl-, or else –cant or *cejn, see *ceŋ-, but see discussion under tāl.

cant (m)

IE(WC) *kant[h]o- (‘a corner, a bend’), or else IE *kmt- (zero-grade of *kómmt- ‘a hand’, see cint), > eCelt *canto > Br, Gaul canto > M-MnW cant, OCorn *cant (in place-names, CPNE pp. 37-8), Bret kant ‘a circle’; adopted into Scots and early Middle English dialects as cant (OED sb2, EDD s.v., SND n2, cf. DOST s.v. cant lok); if *kant[h]o-, cognate Gk kanthós (‘corner of the eye’). If the root is *kmt-, compare the enumerative, especially decimal, morpheme seen in IE *dekm[t]o- ‘ten’, *[d]kmtōm- ‘a hundred’, and > Wcant, Corn *cant (in place-names, CPNE p. 37), Bret kant, OIr *cēt.

See OIPrIE §18.5 at p. 299 and §19.1 at pp. 308 and 315-17, IIEL §8.5.2-5, pp. 222-7, Quentel (1973), pp. 197-223, and DCCPN p. 13 s.v. camaro-, cambo- and canto-.

In the Celtic languages, *canto- has the senses of ‘a circumference, a boundary’ and ‘a division, a share of land’. Which of these is primary depends on the Indo-European origin, which, as shown above, is uncertain, and both roots have contributed to semantic developments between and across languages (e.g. Latin cantus ‘rim of a wheel, tyre’ is from Gaulish, though it occurs in the Greek-influenced form canthus, cf. kanthós above). In south-east English dialects, the sense ‘a portion of land’ seems to have been carried over from late British, but in northern place-names the reference seems to be generally to ‘a corner, an oblique angle’ (perhaps in a boundary, see Higham (1999) at pp. 65-8), though it may also indicate ‘a triangular piece of land’ or even ‘a sloping edge’.

Cantscaul in HB64 and AC s.a. 631, + *scōl, identified by I. Williams as the site of the battle of Hefenfeld (633) near Hexham Ntb; see also Jackson (1963b). Watts (1994) explains Cantscaul as a neoBrittonic equivalent, or a learned translation of, OE Hagustaldesham, which he interprets as ‘the estate of a young nobleman’ (see *scōl). If so, cant here was seen, significantly, as the equivalent of OE hām ‘an estate’.

a1) Cant Beck, with Blind Cant and Cantsfield, Lanc (Tunstall) ERN p. 69, PNLANc pp. 169 and 183: Blind Cant, though now a stream-name, may be + blajn-, which see, and see Higham (1999) at pp. 65-8 and n20.
Cant Hills Lnk (Shotts); see Higham op. cit. at p. 67.
Cantley YWR PNYWR pp. 39-40 [+ OE –lēah ‘a clearing, pasture, meadow’]; Smith offers Canta-, an unrecorded though plausible OE hypocrism (Ekwall gives the same for Cantley Nfk, DEPN(O) s.n.).
a2) Candie Stg (Muiravonside), also Candy Stg (Grangemouth), PNFEStg pp. 41-2. The suffix -ig, but see under that.

a2) Ekwall, ERN p. 224, proposed cant- + the suffix -jā- > *ceṅ:nt for the R Kenn Som, while Owen and Morgan, DPNW p. 79, see possibly ... an unrecorded pl. form in Afon Ceint YM; either way, a similar formation could underlie any of the following, though can[d]- + -jā- > *ceṅ[d]-, or else *ceṅ-, are possible in all cases, along with a range of others as noted: Cargen, with Cargen Water, Kcb (Lochrutton) CPNS p. 367, PNAngall p. 58. + cajr- (which see) + suffix -jā- > *-geint; or else *gein[d] (see can[d]), *-gein (see *ceu-), or *-ge:n (see ceṅ:n); or otherwise carreg (which see) + an.

Enterkine Ayrs (Tarbolton), and Enterkin Burn and Pass Dmf (Durrisdeer) PNDmf p. 33, + *neint, see nant, + -ir-, which see, or else -can[d], -cejn (see *ceu-) or -ceṅ.

Glencoyne, with Glencoyne Beck, Cmb (Watermillock)/ Wml (Patterdale) ERN p. 178, PNCmb pp. 15 and 254, PNWml2 p. 22, DLDPN pp. 131-2. + glīnn- or Mlr glemn-. Ekwall ERN p. 178 suggested an early Celtic hydronymic element *kainos here, but see LHEB §27(A2) at p. 328; -cōn is also phonologically plausible, but topographically less so; this is a ‘boundary stream’.

Water of Ken, with Kenmure, Glenkens and Loch Ken, Kcb PNAngall p. 162 + -jo-, but *cein[d]- (see can[d]). *cōng:d, or cū[n]- + *ed- + -jo-, are equally possible, or, if the glen-name was primary, early Gaelic ceṃ (see pen[n]) ‘headland’.

Kinder R, with Kinder Scout, Drb PNDrb pp 10 and 116 + -dufr or -treβ: see Brotherton (2005) at pp. 108-14, but see also cę:n and *cōnnerch, and again *cein[d]- (see can[d]) or *cejn- (see *ceu-) are also possible, though the latter is topographically doubtful.

King Water Cmb PNcmb pp. 19 and 95: as the EPNS editors say, ‘the forms do not point to any definite etymology’. *Cejn (see *ceu-) and cū[n]- + -ōg have been suggested.

b1) Talkin Cmb PNcmb pp. 88-9 + tal-, or else can[d] or -cejn, see *ceu-, and see Coates in Toponymic Topics (1988), pp. 33-4.

Tantallon ELo ? + din- + -tāl-, or else can[d] or -cejn, see *ceu-, but see discussion under -tāl.

c2) Carcant MLo (Heriot) CPNS p. 369, PNMLo p. 234 + cajr-, or else -can[d]; see Watson CPNS loc. cit., also Higham (1999) at pp. 65-8 and n20.

Penygghent YWR PNYWR6 pp. 219-20 and xi-xii + pen[n]- + -ir-; again, the lenition is abnormal, if this is cant; consistent –g[h]ent in early forms may imply a variant plural, or fossilised genitive singular, *-geint. See Higham loc. cit., but see also ġint.

*carad

IE *kehər (verbal root, ‘love’) + -r- + -t- (participial) > eCelt *carato-lā- > Br *carato-lā- > M-Mnw carad- (+ various suffixes), Corn karad-, Bret karad-; cf. Olr verb caraid ‘loves’.

See OIPrIE §20.8 p. 343.

‘Beloved’.

a2) Craddock YWR (Fewston) PNYWR5 p. 126 + -ōg; cf. the personal name Caradog. As a river-name, perhaps it implies ‘lovable, delightful’, or even a deity-name. Ekwall, ERN pp. lxiii and 101, and Jackson, LHEB §208 pp. 687-9, both discuss Craddock Dev PNDev p. 538 as a settlement-name derived from a lost watercourse-name, but neither refers to Craddock YWR, where the same is likely to be true. Both Craddocks reflect a syncopated form *Car’dǭg, with later, probably English, metathesis of –ar-. However, adoption of the name into Old English was
surely earlier in Yorkshire than in Devon, with implications for Jackson’s discussion of the accent-shift.

*carβan (m)

?IE *kr- (zero-grade of *ker[s]- ‘run’), or IE *[s]ker- ‘turn’, + -p/b/bh-, or else non-IE, + -ant- (participial, see -and) > eCelt *carbanto- > Br, Gaul *carbanto- (cf. Modern Welsh cerbyd); OIr carpat > Ir, G carbad, Mx carbyd; adopted as Latin carpentum ‘a two-wheeled carriage’, and possibly cf. Latin carpinus ‘hornbeam’ (used for chariot-shafts and axles because of its strength, but for a different derivation see OIPrIE §10.1 p. 161). ?cf. MW carr, OBret carr, OIr carr, all ‘a cart, a chariot’.

See DCCPN p. 13 s.v. carbanto- and carr-.

The phonology and etymology of this group of words is problematic because of the -p/b- variation. Rivet and Smith’s explanation of the –p- in carpentum, PNRB p. 301, is hardly convincing, and does not explain Modern Welsh cerbyd rather than **cerfyd.

‘A chariot, a light carriage’. No direct descendant of the British and Gaulish form is found in the later Brittonic languages, though Welsh cerbyd, and probably Middle Welsh carr, should be traced to the same verbal root.

It appears as the first element of Ptolemy’s Karbantórigon, variant –ridon, PNRB pp. 300-1. Rivet and Smith emend this to *Carbantoritum, + -rid, but agree that Watson’s proposal, CPNS p. 35, + -riw, ‘makes very good sense’. The name referred to the fort at Easter Happrew Pbl, perhaps later transferred to Lyne Pbl.

*carden, *cardën (f)

MW cardden. The etymology may involve IE *kagh-, see *caj, but this is a very obscure word, there are no known cognates.

The meaning has generally been taken to be ‘a wild place, a thicket’. However, GPC gives ‘enclosure, fort’ beside ‘thicket’, and Breeze has shown (1999b) at pp. 39-41, that the latter sense is largely derived from a misunderstanding on the part of the late 18th century lexicographer W. Owen Pughe. Breeze argues that ‘a fort, an enclosure’ is a more likely interpretation of the three recorded instances of this rare word in Middle Welsh poetry, but see Nicolaisen (July 2000) at p. 5, Breeze’s rejoinder (2002d), Nicolaisen again (2007) at pp. 120-1; A. James (2009, reviewing Cavill and Broderick 2007) at pp. 150-1 writes: ‘An impartial reading of the citations in GPC suggests that a cardden is somewhere difficult to get into or through. A meaning like “an enclosure surrounded by a thick hedge” would seem reasonable. In any case, it was apparently adopted by Gaelic speakers as a place-naming element,’ (see Taylor 2011, pp. 101-2) ‘and its meaning may have been modified in their usage’.

Jackson (1955a, see also Nicolaisen, SPN² p. 204, and idem 1996, pp. 25-7 and map III) regarded the use of *carden in place-naming as a feature of Pictish, and (at Problem p. 164), he explained –rd- as an example of the non-lenition of voiced stops after –r- characteristic of Pritenic. However, following Watson (CPNS pp. 352-3), he noted its occurrence south of the Forth, indicating that some Pritenic features, both phonological and lexical, were shared by the northernmost dialects of Brittonic.
a1) Cardoness Kcb (Anwoth) PNGall p. 58 (misplaced in Girthon), [+ ON –nes ‘a headland’, *Carden-nes eventually superseding Karden 1240 as the name of the stronghold]; see Brooke (1991) at p. 307. Carriden WLo PNWLo pp. 225-6; Wilkinson, WLoPN p. 22, suggests *carden here, but the (epenthetic?) –i- is recorded as early as the 12th century; see also Edin.

c1) Cardross Dnb CPNS p. 353 + –rōs: Nicolaisen (1966, p. 24), puts this ‘on the fringe of Pictland’, ignoring its proximity to the British capital at Dumbarton! Note that Cardross MLo is named after Lord Cardross, see WLoPN p. 22. Carnntyne Lnk + *dīnas, but the 16th ct form Cardindinas is probably not reliable: see carn and *carr.

c2) Glencairn Dmf PNDmf p. 47 is Glencardine in a charter of David II, but earlier records confirm carn or Gaelic càrn here.

carn (f)

?IE *kar[sl] ‘hard’, but see *carr and cre:eg + -n- > eCelt *carnā- > Br *carnā- > O-MnW carn, Corn carn, Bret karn; O-MnIr carn, G càrn, Mx carn; adopted from Gaelic as Scots cairn.

‘A heap of stones’. In place-names it can refer to a rocky hill or hillock, a tumble of stones or scree, or a man-made feature, such as a boundary, a way-mark, or a prehistoric or later burial mound. In southern Scotland, as in Pictland, it may have been widely replaced by Gaelic càrn, and subsequently by Scots cairn. Its use in the names of quite large hills in the Grampians seems to be a feature of regional Pictish or Gaelic toponymy, not seen further south (see Drummond 2007, pp. 25-6, and Taylor, PNFin5 p. 322).

It does not occur in anciently recorded place-names in the Old North, but see Cairnoch and Carnock under (a2) below; see also CPNS p. 19 and PNBR p. 301 on the Carnutes in the Highlands, and ACPN p. 59 for Continental examples (noting that *carno- ‘a trumpet’, from the IE homonym *kar- meaning ‘speak loudly’, see gar, may be implicated in the ethnic name, see Drummond 2007 loc. cit., and could perhaps be relevant to some stream-names), also DCCPN p. 13. See also Falileyev 2015, pp. 95-9, for discussion of alternative possibilities.

In the North, its distribution is largely restricted to southern Scotland and west of the Pennines; however, see EPNE1 p. 81 for its use in river-names and district-names elsewhere in England.

a1) Cairns, East and West, MLo PNMLo pp. 303-4, WLoPN p. 18, but probably Scots. Stone Carr Cmb (Hutton Soil) PNCmb p. 213: Camden’s Carron may favour carn, but see also *carr.

a2) A hydronymic formation + –jār- may underlie some simplex stream-names (and see above regarding the possible sense of ‘speaking loudly, trumpeting’):

Cairn Beck Cmb PNCmb pp. 6-7, but see also earw.

Cairn Burn Kcb (Terregles) PNGall p. 52.

a2) Several names may be carn- + -īg or –ōg, though the ones in Scotland may be Gaelic formations, càrn- or ceàrn- ‘a corner’ + -ach or –óg (see Taylor’s discussion of Carnock Fif, PNFin1 p. 210):


Carnick Castle Wml (Waitby) PNWml2 pp xi and 25-6 + -īg.
Carnock Stg (St Ninians) + –ōg: traditionally identified with Kernach, but see Cairnnoch above.
Charnock Richard, with Heath Charnock etc., LanC (Standish) PNLanc pp. 129-30, JEPNS17 p. 73 + –ōg [with regular OE palatalisation in *çarn-].
Dalgunnock Dmf (Closeburn) CPNS p. 449, PNDmf p. 14 + dōl– + –ōg: possibly a lost stream-name, cf. Garnock below and see also *gär.
Duncannon Rnf (Newton Mearns) + din– + –ōg: a hill-fort.
Garnock R, with Garnock parish, Ayrs CPNS p. 449 + –ōg, but see also *gär.

b2) Cairnndinnsi ELo (Traprain) CPNS p. 372 + *dinas.
Cairnglasghenhope Ntb (Simonburn) ? + a lost stream-name, *glas- or *gleiss- + -īn- [+ OE -hōp].
Cairngryffe Lnk CPNS p. 470 + -grif, which see.
Cairnmore Wig (x2, in Kirkmaiden and Mochrum) PNGall p. 55 + -mōr, but probably Gaelic.
Cairnpapple Hill WLo PNWLo p.3, WLoPN 17-18 + -pebl, but see discussion under that element.
Cairnryan Wig (Inch) PNRGLV p. 13 + *rīyon, see *rīy, but the first element is probably Gaelic cārn.
Cairntable Lnk CPNS p. 203 + -taβl, which see.
Carfin Lnk (Bothwell) CPNS p. 367 ? + -wīn: Gaelicised, if not Gaelic in origin.
Carmyle Lnk (Old Monkland) CPNS p. 367 + -měl (which see) or *mīl, or else cajr: see Breeze (2000b), pp. 120-1.
Carnavel Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 59 + -bāl, but see under that element.
[Chef] Carnenuar in the Inquisition of David is unlikely to be the same place as Carnwath below, but a lost place-name formed + cārn-, ? + -[h]īn, + -wīð. 
Carnesmoel Wig (= Kirkinner) PNGall p. 171, CPNS p. 182, Brooke (1991) p. 320 ? + -měl, but see *carnēð.
Carntley Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 84 ? + -dō- (which see) + saint’s name -*Eljō, but see also cajr.
Carnwath Lnk CPNS p. 386 + -r] - + -wīð, but see also cajr and nōwið. 
Carntyne Lnk ? + -ejhīn, or else *carr- + -nejhīt- + -ān; less likely are *carden- + -dīnas, or *carnēð- + -īn, but see under *carnēð and *dīnas.

c2) Blencarn Cmb PNCmb p. 214 + blain-.
Glencairn Dmf PNDmf p. 47 + gīnn, Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin; see also *carden.

*carneð (f)

Br *carn[a]- (see carn) + (collective?) suffix –idā> M-MnW carnedd.

Probably a collective form of carn, but it was lexicalised by the time further suffixes were added to it in Middle Welsh.

The Old Irish gerund cernad (from the verbal root cernaid ‘heaps, piles up’) > Ir cernadh, G carnadh, probably underlies the Galloway Gaelic dialectal form carnas. The latter might have replaced *carnēð in names like Carnesmoel and Cairnsmore, though these are probably Gaelic in origin.

a2) Cairnsmore of Carsphairn, of Dee, and of Fleet, all Kcb ? + -mōr, but see above.
Carnethy Hill MLo CPNS p. 369, PNMLo p. 86 + plural morpheme –i or –ōu.
Carnesmoel Wig (= Kirkinner) PNGall p. 171, CPNS p. 182, Brooke (1991) p. 320 ? + -měl; less likely carn, or else Gaelic *carnas mhaol.
Carntyne Lnk ? + -m: the form Carnethyn in the Inquisition of David might suggest a long vowel in the final syllable, but its preservation in low stress – whether by late Cumbric, early Gaelic, or Scots speakers – would be surprising. See also carn and *carr.
*carr (?m, but uncertain)

IE *kar[sl]- (‘hard’, see carn and creg) + -s > eCelt *carr- > Br *carr-: Ir (dialectal, Galway, Tyrone) plural carra ‘rocky patches, stepping stones, causeway’, G carr or cár ‘rock ledge, projecting rock’; *adopted as Scots and northern English carr (but see VEPN2, pp. 143-4, and Coates (2002) at p. 72).

On this very difficult element, see VEPN2 loc. cit., and Kitson (1998) p. 100. Kitson proposes an o-grade form of IE *kær- ‘cut’ as the origin, but cf. carn, carreg, *carrǭg, creg, and possibly *caď-, as derivatives or variants. See also DCCPN p. 13 s.vv. car-, and carno-: For the Irish and Gaelic forms (which seem to have no recorded O-MIr predecessors) see Dinneen s.v. carra, DUPN pp. 33 and 150, and PNFif5 pp. 322-3.

Presumably ‘stone, rock’ as a generic noun, or de-adjectivally, ‘a hard surface, a river-bed, etc.’

Rivet and Smith, PNRB pp. 501-2, favour this element + wīn- in Vindogara, a fort or camp near Irvine Bay Ayr’s. ‘White rock’ could be topographically appropriate here, but see also *caď-, gar[rd] and *garw.

a1) Carhullan Wml (Bampton) PNWml2 p. 189 [+ OE -*hōh-land ‘land on a heel-shaped ridge or spur’, or late OE personal name Holand, see under cajr]: it could be English *carr- in an ‘inversion’ formation, see VEPN2 p. 144, but also cajr.

Out Carres, Farne Islands Ntb, is presumably English, see VEPN2 p. 143; there are several rocks and other inshore features in the Firth of Forth and along the Northumbrian coast with English names containing car[r], see Taylor, PNFif5 p. 321, and Dunlop (2017).

a2) ‘The simple root-form is not attested in any surviving Brittonic language’, Parsons and Styles VEPN2 p. 143, nor in any place-name, but several river-names are apparently formed with *carr- + adjectival or participial suffixes (but see Falileyev 2015, pp. 95-9, for discussion of alternative possibilities):

Carron Burn, also a settlement name in Morton parish, Dmf CPNS p. 433, PNDmf p. 101, SPN² pp. 241-2, + -onā-, see –an.

Carron R Stg CPNS p. 433, SPN² pp. 241-2, PFNFSstg p. 46 + -onā-, see –an: Nicolaisen (1960) regards *carr as either an Old European or an early Celtic hydronymic element, but observes that the ‘Carron’ formation with a nasal suffix is peculiar to Scotland, where there are five rivers of this name. ‘Carron is extremely common, almost suggesting appellative usage of that term, at one stage’ idem (2011) p. 28; however, Hamp (1990), p. 193, argues for derivation from *kær-, zero-grade of *ker[s]- ‘run’, see *caereço.

Carrot Burn Rnf? + -ent-jā.-

Carry Burn, with Carrycoats, Ntb (Throckington) 7 + -ōsā-, cf. R Cary Som and others of that type. ERN p. 70; otherwise, a back-formation from Carrycoats, see cajr.

Cart, White and Black, R Rnf SPN² pp. 231 and 241? + -ent-jā.-

Castlecarry EDnb CPNS p. 370, PFNFSstg p. 37 + -ōsā: Reid, PFNFSstg loc. cit., following Ekwall, ERN p. 71, suggests Cary may have been a water-name, comparing Castle Cary Som on the R Cary, cf. Carry Burn above and see cajr.

Names that are apparently not hydronymic in origin include:


Carrock Fell Cmb (Mosedale) PNCmb p. 305 + -og: PNCmb editors treat this as carreg, but the early forms give no support for that; see under *carrǭg.

Stone Carr (Penruddock) PNCmb p. 213: earlier Carron, but there is no river here. See also carn.
For names of the ‘Carrick’ type see carreg.

b1) Carnyne Lnk  ? + -nejth- + -an, but see also *carden and *carneô.

c2) Painshaw Drh (Houghton) DDrhPN p. 94 pen[ŋ], perhaps + a plural form -*ceirr, with normal Old English palatalisation giving –čer, later replaced by OE sécağa ‘a wood’ > -shaw.

carreg (f)

IE *kar- + -s- (see *carr) + -ikā- (see ɪg) > eCelt *carsicā- > Br *carricā- > OW carecc > M-MnW carreg, Corn karrek, Bret karreg; cf. (from eCelt *cars-ācā-, see below) Olr carrac > Mr carraic > Ir, G carraig, Mx carrick; adopted as currick etc. in northern dialects of English (apparently not in Scots, though see currack SND n² ‘a person of stubborn disposition’).

See EGOW p. 22 and CPNS p. 41, but note also Kitson’s case for a pre-Celtic origin for names of the ‘Carrick’ type, (1996) at pp. 99-100.

The suffix in the Brittonic languages seems to have been -ikā- (see ɪg), whereas in Goidelic languages it was apparently -ācā- (see -ǭg), but names in the latter often reflect oblique forms cairrige etc, and may fall together with oblique forms of the related Mrl eG coirthe > G carragh ‘a pillar, a standing stone’ (see PNFif5 p. 337).

‘A rock, a rocky place’.

The great concentration of place-names of the ‘Carrick’ type in Ayrshire, Galloway and the Solway region, especially in the Rhinns (where Maxwell, PNGall p. 60 lists 15 in Kirkmaiden alone) is probably very largely the creation of Gaelic speakers, and forms part of a wide distribution of such names in Mann and Ireland, though carraig is not so common in place-names elsewhere in Scotland: see CPNS p. 521 n424, DMxPN p. 201, DUPN p. 150, IrPN pp. 44-5. Some, however, including the Ayrs district-name Carrick (CPNS p. 186), might possibly preserve earlier names.

a1) Cark, with High Cark, Lanc (Cartmel) PNlanc pp. 197 and 199; Ekwall suggests this may be from an earlier name for the R. Eea, in which case it could have been *carrǭg. Carketun Lanc (Childwall) P. B. Russell (1992) at p. 39 [+ OE –tūn ‘a farm’].

Carrick Wml (2x, in Barton and Crosby Ravensworth) PNWml2 pp. 157 and 212: could be dialectal English names.

Carrock Fell Cmb (Mosedale) PNCmb p. 95: possibly carreg, but the early forms give no support for that; see under *carr and *carrǭg.

Carrick Rox (Castleton) PN Rox p. 13.

Carrick Wml (Milburn) PNWml2 p. 122: could be a dialectal English name.

a2) Carco Dmf (Kirkconnel) CPNS p. 368, PNDmf p. 68 ? + -coll or –ǭü, but the Modern Welsh plural is cerrig [OE –hōh, ON haugr, >-howe ‘a heel shaped spur of land’ is possible]; or else cajr-, which see.

Carcowe Wml (field-name in Pooley Bridge, Barton) PNWml2 p. 214 ? + -coll or –ǭü, but cf. Carco above [again, -howe is possible; or else ON *krāka-haugr, see under cajr].

Cargen, with Cargen Water, Kcb (Lochrutton) CPNS p. 367, PNGall p. 58 + -an, or Gaelic carraigín; or else cajr-, which see.

Cargo Cmb PNcmb pp. 94-5 ? + -coll or –ǭü, but cf. Carco above; early forms and the first-syllable stress favour carreg- rather than cajr- here.
Trevercarcou Dmf or Kcb (unlocated) + treβ- + -r[ ]-, ? + -coll or –ōū, but cf. Carco above; or else + -cajr- or + *carrǭg-, see both; on the location, see under cajr.

b1) Watcarrick Dmf (Eskdalemuir) PNDmf p. 40 ? + wī:δ, which see.

b2) Carrifran Dmf (Moffat) ? + -brān, or else cajr-, which see, + -r[ ]-.

*carrǭg (f)

IE *kar- + s- (see *carr) + -ācā- (see –ǭg) > eCelt *carsācā- > Br *carrācā- > M-early MnW carrog.

See discussion under *carr and carreg.

In Middle to early Modern Welsh, ‘a torrent’, so this may be a stream-name underlying names like Cark Lanc, see carreg. However, place-names like Carrock Fell are probably de-adjectival formations, *carr-ǭg in the sense of ‘a stony, rocky place’: see under carr.

Trevercarcou Dmf or Kcb (unlocated) + treβ- + -r[ ]-, ? + -coll or (analogical plural) -ōū [but OE –hōh, ON haugr, > -howe ‘a heel shaped spur of land’ is possible]; or else + -cajr- or + -carreg-, see both; on the location (which, if it does involve this element, would presumably be on a fast-flowing river), see under cajr, noting that Findlater (2008), Appendix I pp. 72-3, proposes a reading *trever-car-con, the final element being a variant of the personal name Can[e].

carw (m)

IE *korh- or *krh- (o-grade or zero-grade of *kerh- ‘a horn, an antler’) + -wo- > eCelt *carwo- > Br Gaul carw- > OW caru > M-MnW carw, OCorn caruu > Corn carow, MBret car > Bret karv; cogn. Lat cervus, cf. Gmc *χeru-taz > OE heort > ‘hart’.

See EGOW p. 22, DCCPN p. 14, and LHEB §49(1c) p. 387.

‘A hart, a stag’.

This occurs + -ed in the ethnic name Carvetii, PNRB pp. 301-2, which see for the epigraphic evidence for this tribe in the Solway region.

[e] vanncarw CA A49(LIIA) may be a place-name, *Banncarw, but see bann.

This element may be present, albeit in reinterpreted disguises, as a river-name in:

a1) Cairn Beck Cmb PNCmb pp. 6-7: Karu c1214, but –u may be a scribal error for -n, see carn.

c2) Garf Water, with Abercarf (= Wiston), Lnk + aber-, ? with Gaelic substitution of -bh for –w, but see also *garw.
The word is masculine, but in Modern Welsh functions as a plural or collective noun, with a feminine singulative *coeden*.

The Indo-European origin is uncertain, this may be a non-Indo-European word adopted by both Celtic and Germanic. On the phonological developments in neo-Brittonic, see LHEB §27(3), pp. 328-30. On Anglicised forms, see ibid. §27(2B) at p. 327, and on forms with *-th* in north-west England, see Cubbin (1981-2). Cubbin argues that such forms reflect a dialectal variant in Brittonic rather than a Middle English development, though this is by no means certain, and in any case the Scots form *keth* > *keith* may represent a separate development, perhaps reflecting a Gaelicised final consonant; for examples throughout Scotland, and discussion of other possible sources of *'keith'* in place-names, see CPNS pp. 381-3, and Taylor 2011 p. 85; Nicolaisen’s discussion of the significance of *th* in mediaeval Scots orthography, SPN² pp. 13-17, is relevant, and see discussion in PNFit5, pp. 326-7. The possibility that apparently Gaelic place-names with *-chail/dh* disguise an earlier Brittonic form with *-cê:d* should not be overlooked. On forms with *coid*, see under (c2) below.

In origin, probably ‘wild country, forest (in the mediaeval sense)’, but in the Brittonic languages, ‘woods’ (as a collective noun), i.e. a substantial tract of woodland or wood-pasture. ‘The element is not common in ancient toponymy’, say Rivet and Smith, PNRB p. 387, but this may reflect the strategic preoccupations of the Classical sources; for ancient Continental place-names with this element, see ACPN pp. 29-30 and 57-8, DCCPN p.12.

As a cognate of the pan-Germanic ‘heath’ words, it appears to belong to an ancient phase of north-west European place-naming, and the number of close-compound forms (see (b1) and (c1) below) indicates productivity in the early Celtic or Roman-British periods.

Distributed widely in England (LPN pp. 223-4), in Cornwall (CPNE pp. 66-8), Wales ELl p. 49), and Scotland (SPN² pp. 220-1) including Pictland (CPNS pp. 381-2, Taylor 2011, pp. 86-7 and in PNFit5 pp. 326-7). Some concentrations of names with this element in the North are of interest as evidence of early-mediaeval woodland, for example in western East Lothian and in south Lancashire.

In early historical and literary sources:

HB56 *in silva Celidon*. i. Cat Coit Celidon. Brooke (1991b), pp. 110-12, argued for locating this in south-west Scotland, but Clark’s discussion (1969) and Rivet and Smith’s in PNRB, pp. 289-91, remain authoritative. The myth of the ‘Caledonian Wood’ may have arisen from an early misinterpretation of Celtic *'drumo-'* ‘a ridge’ (see *drum*) as Gk *drūmós* ‘an oakwood’.

HB63, 65 *in insula Metcaud*, in Lebor Bretnach, Medgoet, = Lindisfarne: *cê:d* is not appropriate here, see *mêgôd*.

CT60(VI) *gweith argoet llwyfein*: + *ar*- ‘a place’ by woodland associated with *llwyfein*. See PT p. 77 for other references to this battle in mediaeval Welsh literature, and for discussion of *llwyfein* see *lêfês*.

CT29(XI), CT61(VII) *pen coet*: + *pen[n]-*Williams, PT p. 86, tentatively accepts the identification of this with *pen Pencon* AC s.a. 722 (variant Pentum), but even if the latter is *pen[n]-cê:d*, it need not be the same one – note Gelling’s observations on the frequency of this compound, LPN p. 211, along with Padel’s, 2013b, pp. 13-14, and cf. Penketh, (b1) below.

CT29(XI) *coet beit*: identified by Williams, PT p. 125, and others with Beith Ayrs, see *bâyed*.
CT56(II) etc. *Reget, Rheged*. The problem with any proposal invoking –*cę:đ* in this much-debated territorial name is that there is no sign of its developing to –*coed*. It is not impossible that a mediaeval Welsh poet ‘revived’ a long-lost name from an old manuscript, failing to recognise its etymology, but such a suggestion raises issues of controversy concerning the origin and antiquity of the *awdallau* attributed to Taliesin. See, however, the place-names discussed under (a2) below, and *raγ*-*, *reγ*-, and *rö*.

a1) Cheadle Che PNChe1 p. 246: included here as one of the group of probable Brittonic place-names around the Manchester embayment [? + OE –*lēah* ‘a clearing, pasture, meadow’, but see DEPN(C) s.n.; OE *čêode* ‘a bag, a bag-like hollow’, EPNE1 p. 89, is formally possible as the first element].

Cheetham, with Cheetwood, Lanc (Manchester) PNlanc p. 33, JEPNS17 p. 32, Kenyon (1985), p. 15 [+ OE –*hām*, –*wudu*]; *cę:đ* may have been taken by English speakers to be a district-name here.

*Chetwode* YWR (lost field-name in Seacroft) PNYWR4 p. 122 [OE –*wudu*]; either a former wood- or settlement-name, cf. Chetwode Bck, see Padel 2013b p. 22.

On Keith and related forms, see above.

Keith, Barony of, with Upper and Lower Keith, Keith Marischal and Keith Hundeby (= Humbie), also Keith Water, ELo CPNS p. 382: see also Pencaitland under (b1) and Dalkeith under (c2) below. Cf. Keith in BN.

Keith, Forest or *Ferret* of, Ayrs (Largs) CPNS p. 382.

*Kittyflat* MLo (Stow) PNMLo pp. 375–6? [+ ME/Scots –*flat*, see EPNE1 p.175], possibly preserving a lost stream-name, cf. Keithing and Kethyn Burns in Fife, PNFi5 p. 326.

a2) Leaving aside the problematic *Reget*, formations with *raγ*- or *rö*- might possibly (but doubtfully) be identified in:

Dunragit Wig CPNS p. 156 + *dīn*-, which may be associated with *Reget*, see *raγ*.

Rochdale Lanc PNlanc pp. 54–5, JEPNS17 p. 42? *raγ*- or *rö*-?, see both [+ OE –*hām* ‘an estate and its main settlement’, replaced by ME –*dale*. For R Roch, and Read Lanc, see under *raγ*.-

Other possibly affixed forms include:

*Cadzow* (= Hamilton, Lnk) + plural suffix –*ōu*; or else *caj*-, which see.


Worsley Lanc (Eccles) PNlanc p. 40, JEPNS17 p. 34 + *wor*- [+ OE –*lēah* ‘a clearing, pasture, meadow’] or else –*celi*: see Cubbin (1972–3); Mills (1976), p. 152, favours an OE personal name *Weorc*.-

b1) Bathgate WLo CPNS pp. 381–2, PNWLo pp. 80–1 + *bayeō*: perhaps a compound appellative.

Clesketts, with Cleskett Beck, Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb pp. 9 and 84 + *clas*-, which see, or *cles:ss-, glās*- or *gly:ss*.


Culgaith Cmb PNcmb p. 184 + *cūl*; cf. Culcheth.

*Gláscaith* Cmb (Askerton or Kingwater) Lan Cart 153 + *glās*--; see J Todd (2005) at p. 93.

*Gláskeith* Cmb (lost: possibly not the same place as *Gláscaith* above, see Todd, loc. cit.) Lan Cart + *glās*–.

Towcett Wml (Newby) PNWMl2 p. 146 + *tūβ*- or *tūl*-, see both of these.

Tulketh Lanc (Preston) PNlanc p. 146, JEPNS17 pp. 83–4 + *tūl*- which see, and see Cubbin (1972–3) on the final consonant, and Padel (2013b pp. 13 and 21–2) for parallels in England and Wales.

Winckley, with Winkley (*sic*) Hall, Lanc (Mitton) PNlanc p. 141 (note that Ekwall spells it Winkley here, but Winckley on p. 40)? + *wīn*- [+ OE –*lēah* ‘a clearing, pasture, meadow’]: see Cubbin (1972–3) at p. 181; or else –*celi*. 
b2) Cathcart Rnf CPNS pp. 366-7 + river-name Cart, but see *cairj; see also cajr (b2). Cathpair MLo (Stow) PNMLo p. 362 + -peir.

c1) If Pencaitland, discussed under (c2) below involves an appellative -*cê:d-lann*, it belongs here, along with:
Ketland Wml (Warcop) PNWml2 p. 85 ? + -lann, but the documentation is very late and inconsistent.

c2) Alkincoats Lanc (Colne) PNLanc p. 87 + *al- or alt- ? + -tan - i[r]-, which see [+ OE -cot[e] ‘a cottage’ replacing çê:d + later plural –s]; see Breeze, CVEP pp. 218-19. If correct, OE -cot[e] implies that the Brittonic form had developed a rounded vowel, coid, so not before the early 8th century (see LHEB §27(3), pp. 328-30, and James 2008, p. 199); or else alt- + -in.
Carrycoats Ntb (Throckington) PNNtb p. 40 ? + cajr- + -i[r]- [+ OE cor[e] ‘a cottage’ + later plural –s], but see also *cair; again, if OE -cor[e] has replaced –ceid, this is a post-7th century development.

Coitqoit Pbl (unlocated) ? + ?-; perhaps *cnuc[h]-, cf. Knockcoid below.
Cumquethil Cmb (unlocated) Lan Cart 260 + cumb- [+ OE -hyl]; this might be the same as Quinquaythil below.
Dalkeith MLo CPNS p. 382, PNMLo p. 211 + *d jelly-; absence of lenition here is probably due to the influence of the neighbouring Barony of Keith (see above, (a1), and Pencaitland below); this tract of woodland may well have extended as far west as the R South Esk. Cf. Dalkeith in Knr.
Danskeith Ayrs (Sytington) Taylor (2011) p. 87 + *d jelly-: identical in origin to Dalkeith.
Dinckley Lanc (Blackburn) PN Lanc pp. 70-1, JEPNS17 p. 45 + din- [+OE -leah ‘a clearing, pasture, meadow’], see Cubbin (1972-3) at p. 178, or else -celli, or cf. OW(LL) pers. n. Dincat.
Inchkeith Bwk (Lauder) CPNS p. 382 + -ins-; for Inchkeith in the Firth of Forth, which may be formed with saint's name Coeddi, see PNFif1 pp. 411-12; perhaps the Bwk name is transferred from the island.
Kincaid Stg + pen[n]-, replaced by early Gaelic cenn-: cf. Pencaitland etc. below; it is interesting that neighbouring landholdings are named Kinkell (Gaelic ceann na coille, cf. CPNS p. 397) and Woodhead, essentially the ‘same’ name in three languages (P. Kincaid pers. comm.).
Knockcoid Wig (Kirkcolm) CPNS p. 381 (mislocated in Keb), PNRGLV p. 93 + *cnuc[h]-; again, -coid implies a rounded vowel when it was adopted by Gaelic speakers, see above under Alkincoats. However, this and the next entry could be Gaelic *cnoc-coimhidh, *cnoc a' choinmidh, ‘watch-hillock’, see Clancy 2012, 90.
Knockcoid Ayrs (Colmonell) + *cnuc[h]- + -i[r]-; cf. Knockcoid above.

Laurenceithil Cmb (Burtholme) PNCmb p. 72, Lan Cart 149: ? + lanerc-, or else + personal (saint’s?) name Juddhail, see jüd.

Name-phrases with pen[n]- are common in Wales and Cornwall (see CPNS p. 181; see also Kincaid above):
Pencaitland, with Penkaet Castle (Fountainhall) nearby, EL o CPNS p. 355 + -lann; note that coedlann is a compound appellative in Middle – Modern Welsh meaning ‘a copse’ or ‘an orchard’ (cf. Ketland, (c1) above), and this might be involved in this place-name, perhaps (as Watson implies, CPNS loc. cit.) a monastic possession. However, Penkaet may well have been the primary name, and, if so, the cêd was probably the tract of woodland implied by the Barony of Keith (see above), the name referring to a location at the ‘head/ end’ of that wood; see also Dalkeith above.
Penniquite Burn Ayrs (Dalmellington) ? + -i[r]- (M. Ansell, pers. comm.); again, a rounded vowel is implied.
Quinquaythil Cmb (Walton, ? = Nickies Hill) Lan Cart 224 and 259-63: the first element is obscure, perhaps Middle Irish/early Gaelic cenn- replacing pen[n]- as in Kincaid above, or *ceijn- (see *ceip-), but a personal name Gwengad may be involved [+ OE -hyl], see cum[b], and also Cumquethil above.
**cefel (m)**

OW or OBret c[h]efel ? > M-MnW ceffyl (but note also MW caffyl), Corn *keyll* (possibly in a place-name, but see CPNE p. 57); cf. OIr capall > Ir capall, G cappul, Mx cabbyl; cognate with, or adopted from, Lat caballus > late Latin (4th – 5th cts) caballia; adopted from G as Scots cappel.

The etymology of Welsh ceffyl, the status of the Old Welsh or Breton forms in the Priscian Glosses (early 9th ct), and the significance of the Cornish place-name St Michael Penkevil, are all matters of doubt and controversy. See EGOW pp. 24 and 39, and CPNE p. 57.

‘A work-horse, a nag’.

a1) Capel Fell on the Dmf/Slk border shows the Gaelic form, but a Brittonic cognate may have preceded it.

***celeμïn (m)**

IE *kelh₁- ‘rise up, stand’ (see celli and *colūd) > eCelt *celem + -̑ino- (see -īn) > Br *celemīno- > MW keluy (sic) > W celvey (cf. also MW celffeint > W celf by back-formation); cf. Lat celsus < PrLat *cello ‘I raise up, exalt’; or, alternatively,


In Welsh, ‘a stalk, a stem’.

Given that Gaelic Caol Abhuiinn looks suspiciously like a folk-etymology for the river-name Kelvin (PNFESTg pp. 46-7), some form of this element (or of the zero-grade *k lh₁-, see celli) might be considered a possible origin, though whether the reference was to vegetation, to the movement of the water, or some figurative sense, would remain obscure.

**celled**

eCelt *codli-to/-ā- > Br *coddīo-/ā- > Corn kellys, Bret quellet (beside Old Corn collet, Bret kollet).

See LHEB§72(1), p. 432, on the verbal root.

Past participle of colli ‘to lose’, but not recorded in Welsh. If a place-name element, the meaning would be ‘remote, hidden’. See CPNE p. 48.

Brooke (1991), at p. 319, proposed this for:

a1) Kells Kcb PNGall p. 162, in preference to Gaelic ceallas ‘cells, a monastery, churches’; however, if the word existed in West Brittonic, the –d would not have developed to –s as it did in SW Brittonic. See celli.
celli (f)

IE *kël₁- (zero-grade of *kel₁- ‘rise up, stand’, see *ceλύ̂n and *colūd) + -d- > eCelt *caldī- > Br *caldī- (Gaul caldi) > OW(LL) celli > M-MnW celli, O-MCorn kelli, OBret celli > Bret killi; O-MIr caill > Ir coill, G coille, Mx coill, keyll; cogn. Gmc *χultam > OE, ON holt ‘a thicket, a coppice’, Gk klάdος ‘a twig, a branch’.

See LHEB §72(1), p. 432.

The root is associated with ‘growth’: in the Celtic languages, ‘a small, managed wood, a coppice’ – indeed, ‘a holt’ (on which see Hough 2010 p. 8 and ref.)

It is strikingly rare in the North (as, as it happens, is holt), though it is common in Wales and Cornwall in names recorded from the 11th-12th centuries onward, and may have been replaced in Scotland by the Gaelic cognate (which itself is regularly anglicised as ‘Kell’; see PNfif5 pp. 336-7).

a1) Kells Kcb PNGall p. 162 [+ Scots plural –s]; see also *celled, otherwise a Gaelic form with toponymic suffix, coille- as (M. Ansell pers. comm.).

a2) Worsley Lanc (Eccles) PNLanc p. 40, JEPNS17 p. 34 + wor-, with the –tl- in early forms reflecting late Cumbric devoiced [l] (J. G. Wilkinson, pers comm), but see under cę:d.

b1) Winckley Lanc PNLanc p. 141 + wín-, cf. Worsley above and see under cę:d.

b2) Keltor Stg (= Torwood, Blairdrummond) CPNS pp. 348-9 + -torr, or Gaelic -tòrr; either way, the partial translation into Scots is noteworthy.

c1) Dinckley Lanc (Blackburn) PNLanc pp. 70-1, JEPNS17 p. 45 + dīn-, cf. Worsley above and see under cę:d.

*ceμ-, ceμn, *cejn (m)

A Celtic root *cem- underlies a small group of words with the sense of ‘a ridge’, on animals ‘a back’. See EGOW p. 26.

A form *ceμ- + -ed may underlie:

a2) The Cheviot Ntb PNNtb p. 44 [the second syllable perhaps influenced by OE āget ‘a gate, a gap’].

Chevet, with Chevet Gange, YWR (Royston) PNYWR1 pp. 278-9. Langschevet Lanc (Bury) see PNYWR1 p. 279 [+ OE lang- ‘long’].

eCelt *cem-[e]no- > Br, Gaul *cemno- (cf. Gaulish personal name Cevennā-) > MW keuen, kefyn > W cefn. This form is seen the following names, where a preceding preposition or article seems to have influenced the Anglicised forms:

The Chevin YWR (Otley) PNYWR4 p. 204 + is-; this was perhaps a district-name in 10th-11th centuries.

Shevington, with Schevynlegeh and Shevynhulldiche, Lanc (Standish) PNLanc pp. 128 and 263-4, JEPNS17 p. 71 [ + OE –tūn, –lēah, –hyll, –dīc] + is-.

Giffen Ayrs (Beith) ? + ā[r]-, but see Clancy (2008) at p. 101 n2; or else *cōfín.
A form *cejn or *ceyn (cf. OW ceng, (LL) cecg), probably a variant derived from *cemno-, > MW cein > W cain (and cein- in compounds), OCorn chein > Corn keyn, MBret kein; see CPNE pp. 45-6 and Sims-Williams (1980-2) at p. 205 and n2. In view of traditions concerning refugees from Strathclyde settling in north-east Wales, it is of interest that cein-, though generally rare in Welsh place-names, occurs in Denbighshire (see Owen (1991), p. 17). However, note the possible confusion with cę:n.

a2) Polterkened Cmb (Gilsland) + polter- which see, +-ed: a stream-name, *cejn-ed, might be involved; see Todd (2005) at p. 92, but see also *cönę:d and *cönïö.

b1) Blenkinsopp Ntb + blajn- [+ OE –hop ‘an enclosed valley’]: see Breeze (2002c), p. 292: but a ME personal name Blenkyn is possible, and see cę:n.

Harthkyn Cmb (lost field-name in Ponsonby) PNCmb p. 428 ? + harō-: see Breeze (2002e), pp. 310-11; otherwise MFr *árḍ-choin ‘hound’s height’ is possible, or cf. Hartkin below. Hartkin Wml (Bampton) PNWml2 p. 190: cf. Harthkyn above, but ME *hard-kyne (‘declivity, chasm’, ON kinn) is likely.

Talkin Cmb PNCmb pp. 35 and 88 + tāl-, cf. Welsh talcen ‘a forehead’, but the earliest recorded form, Talcan c1195, favours –can[d] or -cant: see Coates (1998), pp. 33-4. Tantallon ELo ? + dīn- + -tāl-, or else can[d] or -cant, but see under tāl.

Several hill-names in the Solway basin with ‘Kin-’ might conceivably be formations with *cejn-, but early Gaelic cenn- (perhaps replacing pen[n]-) is always likely: Kincriolan Cmb (Bampton) Lan Cart ? + *criaβol.

King Harry Cmb (Cumwhitton) PNCmb pp. 79 + *haμar- (which see) + -īg.

(Great) Kinmond Wml PNWml2 p. 47 ? + -mönïö.

Kinmount Dmf (Cummertrees) CPNS p. 400, PNDmf p. 19 ? + -mönïö; Kinmount Tower in Canonbie parish may be a transferred name, no early records.

Quinquaythil Cmb (Walton, ? = Nickies Hill) Lan Cart 224 and 259-63 ? + -cęd, but see discussion under that heading.

c2) Enterkine Ayrs (Tarbolton), and Enterkin Pass Dmf (Durrisdeer). + *nein-t, see nant, + -ī[r]-, which see, -*cejn would suit the topography in both places, but see also can[d], cant and cę:n.

CĘ:n

?IE*[s]ken- (? normal grade of *[s]kan-, see can[d]) > eCelt *cen-jo-/ā- > Br *cenjo-/ā- > OW cein > MW kein > W cain, MBret quen; OIr (? adopted from Brittonic) cáin > Ir caoin, G càin; cf. Gk kainós (< *kan-jo-) ‘new, fresh’.

See EGOW p. 24.

The IE etymology is uncertain, but the root-sense is probably ‘fresh’, and this would be appropriate in river- and stream-names (cf. Afon Cain x2, Flt and Mer), though Modern Welsh cain means ‘beautiful, fair, elegant’.

On OIr cain see CIB #48 at p. 177 n1069: it forms the female saint’s name Cainer, as at Bothkennar Stg (+ bod-) and Kirkiner Wig.
Cē:nn- + -jā- is a plausible alternative as the etymon for the stream-names listed under cant (a2), namely:
Cargen, with Cargen Water, Kcb (Lochrutton)
Enterkin Pass Dmf (Durrisdeer)
Enterkine Ayrs (Tarbolton)
Glencoyne Beck Cmb (Watermillock)/ Wml (Patterdale)
Water of Ken, with Kenmure, Glenkens and Loch Ken, Kcb
Kinder R, with Kinder Scout, Drb
King Water Cmb
See cant for discussion of these.

*cē:rōīn (f)

eCelt *cair-ad + -īnī- (see -īn) > Br *cērdīnī- > MW kerdin > W cerddin, Corn kerden, Bret singulative kerzhinnen; PrIr (Ogham) –cairatin (in a personal name, see CIB ǂ22 at pp 82-3 and n402) > Mr cāerthann > Ir caorthann, G caorann, Mx keirn.

The root *cair- is ‘a globe, a berry’, the plural suffix forming the collective noun, ‘rowans, mountain ash (Sorbus aucuparia)’, occasionally used for other berried trees. On the rowan in Celtic mythology, see DCM pp. 330-1. See also *criafol.

a1) Cuerden Lanc (Leyland)  PNLanc p. 134, JEPNS17 p. 76: the modern spelling is influenced by the neighbouring but unrelated Cuerdale, see *cōjār. See Breeze in CVEP, pp. 330-1.

*cest (f)

Latin cista adopted as British *cistā- > M-MnW cest, Corn kest, Bret kest; cf. OE ēst, ěst (VEPN3 p. 33).


‘A container, a receptacle’, commonly a basket or bag; also, figuratively, ‘a belly, a paunch’, which is in turn applied both to hills and hollows in Welsh place-names, cf. bolý.

c2) Prenderguest Bwk (Ayton) ? + prenn- or brīnn- + -treβ-, with lenition: see Breeze (2002d); or else – gast which see 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 1165x74, when this place-name is first recorded, see Toorians 1996. Flemington is two miles to the north-east; Burnmouth, another mile east, was formerly Port Fleming; and Toorians (op. cit. pp. 679, 688 and 693) identifies records from this period of several Flemish-named persons in the adjacent parish of Lamberton. So a derivation from Brontegeest, or some other Flemish name, seems likely, perhaps via some branch of the Prendergast family, though a direct connection with the place in Pmb need not be assumed.

*cīb (m, but variable?)

Latin cúpa adopted (with gender-change) as British *cūpo- > MW kib > W cib, Bret kib (not recorded in Cornish); cf. OE cy:pe.
Any rounded receptacle, ‘a bowl, cask, coop, cup, etc.’ It occurs in some, late-recorded, minor place-names in Wales, presumably with a topographic sense (though for Bwlchycibau Mnt Owen and Morgan, DPNW p. 59, give ‘pass of the husks’, cibyn, alongside possible cibau ‘referring to hollows in the local topography’). On the possible meaning ‘a fish-trap’, see Inskip below. See also *cipp.

c2 Inskip Lanc (St. Michael-on-Wyre) PNLanc p. 164. JEPNS17 p. 94 + -mūs [or OE -cy:pe; the sense ‘a fish-trap’, which is recorded for the OE word (see EPNE1 p. 124), and also for Anglo-Latin cuppa (Latham, 1980, s.v.), would be likely here]; see Breeze in CVEP pp. 227-8. Minnygap Dmf (Johnstone) PNDmf p. 65 + mōnīō- or mōnju- + -i[r]-, but with lenition implying feminine gender; see Breeze (2004), pp. 121-3.

*čif (m)

Latin cippus adopted as Br *cippo- > M-MnW cyff, Corn *kyf (in place-names, CPNE p. 58), MBret queff > Bret kef; OIr cepp > Ir, G ceap, Mx kip; cf. OE ċipp > ‘chip’ (EPNE1 p. 94), ? Scots kip (see below).


Primarily, ‘a block, a stock or stump, a tree-trunk’. Gaelic ceap is used of a small, pointed or lumpy hills on top of high ground (Drummond 2007 p. 27, PNFI fac p. 326). However, cyff in Welsh place-names, like its Cornish and Breton cognates, seems not to be a hill-name, but typically refers to once conspicuous tree-stumps or stump-like stones, including, perhaps, gravestones (see C. Smith, loc. cit.).

The unlocated Kepduf in VK(H) is presumably G *ceap-dubh, but a neo-Brittonic *cīf- + -dūβ might underlie it. Watson, CPNS p. 345 n1, identifies it as Kilduff ELo, but see Jackson’s objections (1958), pp. 273-357.

Scots (Lothian and Borders) kip is used of a sharp-pointed hill or a projecting point on a hill (SND n. 1), as well as for jutting facial features etc, and Dunlop (2017) notes its use for rocks jutting out of coastal landscape close to farmed land; OED compares it to, and SND (kip n1) derives it from, MDu/MLG kippe ‘a point, a peak, a tip’, but a Gaelic origin or influence might reasonably be expected (cf. CPNS p. 137). Surviving place-names with ‘Kip’, e.g. Kip Hills MLo, Kipp Kcb (Colvend), and see Drummond op. cit. p. 40 for examples in Pbl and Slk, are likely to be Scots in origin.

*cīl (m)

IE *kuh- (zero-grade of *keuh- ‘be bent, be rounded’) + adverbal –l- > eCelt *cūlo- > *čūlo- > MW kil > W cil, OCorn chil > Corn *kyl (in place-names, CPNE p. 58), Bret kil; O-MnIr cūl, G cūl, Mx cooil; cogn. Lat cūlus, Skt kūla-.

A de-adverbial noun from a root meaning ‘back, behind’. In all the Celtic languages, the topographic meaning is typically ‘a nook, a retreat, an out-of-the-way place’, not ‘back’ in the sense of a ‘a ridge’, for which see *ceuj.-
It is not easy to differentiate this from *cūl, nor (in some cases) from Middle Irish/early Gaelic cill ‘a church’. In the Solway basin, it may also be replaced by Old Norse gil ‘a ravine’.

b2) Gilcrux Cmb PNCmb p. 287 + -cruγ; influenced by ON gil and Latin crux ‘a cross’, but see discussion under crūγ.


Kilbert Howe Wml (Martindale) PNWml2 p. 219, DLDPN p. 196 ? + -pert[h] (A. Walker, pers comm) [or else ON personal name Ketilbert - ON -haugr > ME howe ‘a mound’].

cilurn[n] (n, later m)

Br *cilurno- > OW cilurn > MW kelurn > W celwrn; OBret chilorn > Bret kelorn (not recorded in Cornish); OIr cilornn.

The etymology is doubtful: see EGOW p. 28.

‘A tub, a bucket, etc.’

The Roman-British name Cilurnum PNRB pp. 307-8, the Wall-fort at Chesters Ntb, may refer either to a river-pool in the North Tyne or to the Inglepool nearby. However, as troops from Legio II Asturienses were stationed here, the name may be connected with the Cilurnigi, an ethnic group in Asturia. The place-names Chollerford and Chollerton in the vicinity are unlikely to derive from Cilurnum, though that name, or the feature it referred to, might have suggested OE ēole- ‘a throat’; however, an Old English personal name *Čēole-, perhaps a hypocorism for Čēolferþ or similar, could be behind both.

*cǐ:n (m)

Lat cuneus > late Lat *cunjōs, adopted as Br *cunjo- > MW cin > W cŷn.


‘A chisel, a wedge’. It probably occurs in the Welsh stream-name Cynlais, DPNW p. 504, and is perhaps in:

a2) Gorgie MLo (parish in Edinburgh) PNMLo p. 125 + wor-.

c2) Pinkie MLo (Inveresk) PNMLo pp. 249-50 + pant-.

cĩnt, *cǐnnor (m)


The relationship between this and the IE enumerative *kmnt- (which underlies the OIr homophone cét and O-MnW cant, both ‘a hundred’) is far from clear. On the final consonant group, see LHEB §103, pp. 496-7.
‘First’, adverbially or adjectivally.

It is possibly in *Cintocelum* PNRB p. 308 (which see for the reconstructed form) + -*ogel*, a promontory ‘apparently in Scotland’.

With the suffix –oro-, a noun: Br *cintoro* → MW *cynhor* ‘one who is first’, so ‘a leader’ or ‘one in the vanguard’. This might be present in:

a2) *Polktinerum* Cmb (Bewcastle) PNCmb p. 62 ? + pol- [+ ME epenthetic –t] + plural suffix -jon: see Breeze in CVEP, p. 287, but it is ‘extremely obscure and difficult’ (Coates in ibid., loc. cit., listing it under ‘wholly Goidelic’). A connection with Kinkry Hill nearby is possible, PNCmb loc. cit.

\*clas (m)

Latin *classis* adopted (from oblique *class-, see LHEB §151, p. 574 n1, and with change of gender) as neoBritt *clas* > M-MnW *clas*; apparently not found in Cornish or Breton, but cf. Ir *clas* ‘a (monastic or church) choir’.

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 Christian monasticism, it was used of monastic communities; as adopted into (West) Brittonic, its meaning extended by metonymy (and was perhaps influenced by the, unrelated, *clausa* ‘an enclosure, a close’, and/or by *\*cle:iss* in the sense of ‘an enclosing ditch, a monastic *vallum*’) to the buildings and precincts of monasteries.


As a place-name element, it is hard to distinguish from *\*cle:iss* (weakened in first syllable position, and see above on the possible semantic interaction), *\*glas* (likewise in low-stress, with initial devoicing), or *\*gle:ss* (ditto). In Scotland, it may also be hard to distinguish from Gaelic *clais* (cognate of *\*cle:iss*), or even from *eagal* (with apocope: see *egle:ss*); confusion with Gaelic *clas* ‘a furrow’ is also possible.

b2) Clashmahew Wig (Inch) PNGall p. 71, PNRGLV p. 10: the saint here might be *Móha*, Machutus, cf. *Lann Mocha* in LL (CPNS p. 197); Machutus of Gwent is traditionally identified with *Maclovius*, St Malo of Brittany; see Macquarrie (2012) pp. 381-2, and Taylor (2009) pp. 71-2. Whether or not this is the same saint, the generic has been Gaelicised to *\*clais-* (or *\*glas* < *eagal*), and the first syllable of the name interpreted as –mo– ‘my’.

Clashmurray Wig (Kirkcolm) PNGall p. 71, perhaps Gaelic *\*clais* or *\*glas*-Mhuire, but could have been originally *\*clas* + -*Mair*, St Mary.

c1) Clesketts, with Cleskett Beck, Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb pp. 9 and 84 + -*\*c\*d*: an appellative, ‘church-wood’ might have been current, cf. Welsh *clasdir* ‘church land’. The earliest record, *Claschet* c1245 (Lan Cart) favours *\*clas*, but see discussion under *\*glas*, and also *\*cle:iss* and *\*gle:ss*.

A compound with -\*f\*r, cf. Welsh *clasdir* ‘church land, glebe’ (a place-name in Nyfer Pmb, AMR: it seems to be the only example in Wales), may be present in three places in south-west Scotland, but see also *\*glas*:

Glaisterlands  Ayrs (Rowallan, Kilmaurs) [+ Scots –*landis*].

Glaisters Kcb (Kirkgunzeon) A. Livingston pers. comm. [+ Scots pl. –is].

Glaisters Kcb (Kirkpatrick Durham) PNGall p. 146 [+ Scots pl. –is].
Rig o’the Glasters Wig (New Luce) [+ Scots rigg o ‘ridge of’ and pl. –is].

*clē:ss (m)

?IE(NW) *klehₐ- + -d- > eCelt *clād-tjo- > Br *classjo- > MW clais, Corn *cleys (in place-names, CPNE p. 60); OIr clás[s] > M-MnIr clais, Mx clash; adopted from G into Scots as clash. Cf. OE Gmc *χlādan > OE hlādan > ‘lade’ in the sense ‘draw water, etc’, and perhaps OE [g]lād > Scots lade, MnE (Linc and East Anglian dialects) lode ‘a watercourse’ (see PNFif5 pp. 422-3 s.v. lead, EPNE2 pp. 8-9).

In the absence of reliable cognates, the Indo-European etymology is uncertain. The sense of *klehₐ- is apparently ‘to spread out’ (see OIPrIE §22.7 at p. 388), though the IE (WC) root *klehₐ-dhredₐ- ‘alder’ (OIPrIE §10.1 at p. 161) may imply an association with watercourses. Combination with a dental root-determinative gives a Celtic verbal root *clād- ‘to dig, to ditch’, of which *clād-tjo- would be the past participle, so ‘a channel, a ditch’, but Welsh clais is also used of natural rivulets.

It is difficult to distinguish from *clas, *glās, or *gle:ss (see under each of these), or from the Gaelic cognate clais.

a1) Cleslyhead Rox (Southdean) PNRox p. 35 [+ OE –lēah- ‘a clearing, pasture, meadow’ + hēafod > ‘head’]; perhaps preserving an early name for a headwater of the R Jed: see *gle:ss.

b1) Clesketts, with Cleskett Beck, Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb pp. 9 and 84 + -cē:d: see *clas.

c1) Glaugles Cmb (Denton) Lan Cart + gle:ju- (or read Glan-, see glan), or else *gle:ss.

*clijar

Br *clisaro-/ā- > MW clayar > W claear, Corn clor, clour Bret clouar.

Etymology obscure: on the phonological development, see LHEB §39, pp. 358-60.

The primary sense was probably ‘mild, pleasantly warm’, but the semantic development was complicated by the influence of Latin clārus > OFr cler > ME clere > ‘clear’, so Modern Welsh distinguishes clæar ‘clear’ from clæar ‘lukewarm’, though there is no evidence for any Brittonic cognate or adoption of clārus.

Given the possibility that this word was used as a river-name, see DEPN(O) s.n. Clere, it may be the origin of:

a1) Clearburn MLo (Prestonfield), though see also discussion of Peffer Burn under peβïr.

*clog (f), clegïr (m)

eCelt *clucā- > Br *locā- > M-earlyMnW clog, Corn ?clog; O-MnIr cloch, G clach, Mx clagh.

Cornish clog is doubtful: Nance (1938), p. 24, mentions a place-name Carn Clog, but the word is absent even from the ‘rejected elements’ in CPNE (contrast *cleger below). It is, however, fairly
common in Welsh place-names, see AMR and Williams (1945), pp. 23-4, DPNW p. 89 s.n.
Clocaenog.

‘A rock, a crag, a steep cliff’, in place-names maybe a standing stone or other stone perceived as significant, as at Clackmannan, just outwith our area, formed with Gaelic or Gaelicised clach- plus the P-Celtic regional or ethnic name Manau (see *man-) in a Gaelicised genitive singular form -Mannan.

Clocaenog AU and AT, s.a. 717, site of a battle in which Scots of Dalriada defeated Britons (ESSH p. 218), may well have been a boundary-mark: for Minuirc see mayn and jurch, and CPNS p. 387.

Given that Gaelic clach is frequent (for examples in southern Scotland see CPNS pp. 135, 182 and 400), there is little need to suppose Brittonic antecedents in most cases, but a few do indicate a possibility that this element was current:

a1) Cloich Hills Pbl (Eddleston), Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin (early Gaelic plural cloich).

b2) Clayshant Wig + ?: Brooke (1991) at p. 320 lists this as Brittonic because of the form Cloce(n)t c1275, but it is likely to be early Gaelic *cloch-sénta ‘signed, i.e. carved or inscribed, stone’.

Clockmore Slk (Yarrow) CPNS p. 138 ? + -mōr; Gaelic *cloch-mhór is possible, but Watson considers *clog ‘more likely’.

Lochmabenstone Dmf (Gretna) Clochmabenstane 1398, CPNS pp. 180-1: Gaelicised if not Gaelic Cloch-.

The only place-name in the North where this has been suggested is:

b2 Cockleroy Hill WLo (Torphichen) CPNS p. 146, PNWLo p. 3? + -rūδ: see Breeze (2002d), pp. 35-6, but this requires double metathesis and unexplained reversion of -e- to –o- (‘Pritenic’ absence of internal i-affection?) in *clegi(r). Watson’s Gaelic *cachaileth ruadh ‘red gate’, CPNS p. 146, and Wilkinson’s *cuchailte ruadh ‘red residence, seat’, WLoPN p. 18, are scarcely more convincing, though the latter’s *cochull-ruadh ‘red cap, hood or mantle’ is at least phonologically plausible (cf. Drummond 2007, p. 164). Cockleyell nearby, PNWLo p. 67, appears to have the same generic + Gaelic –geal ‘white’.

clūd (f)


The form is apparently past participial, so the root sense is ‘pure, cleansed’ rather than ‘she who washes, purifies’ (see Isaac (2005) at p. 195). Usage in Celtic personal names may support the inference that *Cło:tā-, presumably ‘she who is pure’, was a deity (cf. CPNS p. 44, PNRB p. 310,
CIB ǂ14 at p. 32 n57, ǂ38 p. 116 n638 and ǂ46 p. 147 n872), though Nicolaisen, SPN² p. 229, considers it ‘primarily a river-name’.

The regional name Arecluta, + ar-, occurs only in the 11th ct Breton Life of Gildas, and, as Erclúd, in the 15th ct Irish Lebar Brecc. It is a plausible name for a kingdom in the Clyde basin, perhaps identical to Strat Clud, Strathclyde (see strad), though whether either name was in use before the 10th ct is unknown. However, see Breeze (2008), 347-50, suggesting Arecluta was Arclid Che (Sandbach). Breeze also refers to Arklid Lanc (Colton) PNLanc p. 218, but this was Arkredyn 1573, so is very doubtful. For references to (the region and people of) Clud in mediaeval Welsh literature, see Haycock 2013 p. 33 nn50-1.

a1) Clyde, R CPNS pp. 7, 44 and 71. SPN² p. 229: the early forms, from Tacitus and Ptolemy to Adomnán and Bede (PNRB pp. 309-10), are important witnesses for the development of early Celtic *-eu- in Brittonic (see LHEB §18(2) pp. 306-7). For Alclũd, see *al-. The former district-name Auckland Drh, if it is not a transferred name, is identical to Alclũd, and implies that the Brittonic name for the river later named Gaunless was *Clũd (DDrhPN p. 10, Breeze 2002i).

a2) Cluden Water, with Lincluden, Kcb (Terregles) PNGall pp 74 and 196 + -an: contra Maxwell, PNGall p. 74, Williams, PT p. 121, regards Clytwyn in BT29(XI) as a personal name, offering no proposal for [ym pen coet] cledyfein later in the same awdl, and making no reference to Cluden Water.

cnou (f)

IE (NW) *kneu- > eCelt *cnowā- > Br *cnowā- > OW cnou > MW cneu > W cnau, Corn *cnou (in place-names, CPNE p. 61), MBret cnou- > Bret kraou-, Vannetais dialect keneu; Mئr cnū > Ir cnō, G cnò, Mx cno; cf. Lat nux, Gmc *znu-t- > OE hnut, ON hnot, > ‘nut’.


Collective noun, ‘nuts’ or ‘nut-trees, nut-bushes, hazels (Corylus avellana)’.

b1) Knorren Beck and Knorren Fell Cmb ERN pp. 231-2, PNCmb p. 19 ? + -brînn. Norman Bank Wml (Patterdale) PNWml2 p. 226 may be the same, but documentation prior to Noranbank 1839 is lacking.

*cnuc[h] (m)

eCelt *cnucco- > Br *cnucco- > M-MnW cnwc[h] (also clwch in place-names), Corn *cnog or *cnegh (in a place-name, CPNE p. 61), OBret cnoch > Bret krec’h; Mئr cnoc > Ir, G cnoc, Mx knock, crock; ? cognate Gmc *knukk- > OE *cnoco > Scots and northern English dialect knock.

The etymology is problematic: the relationship with the Germanic words like OE *cnoco is uncertain, but the evidence favours a root, which may be non-Indo-European, common to Celtic and Germanic; there may be a connection with the hypothetical *cœng, but see discussion under that heading. For later developments in the the English/ Scots words, see, s.v. ‘knock’, OED sb², DOST n² and SND n².

In place-names, ‘a knoll, a hillock, a small but pronounced hill’. On this element in place-names in Wales and Ireland, see Richards (1960-1) and Matley (1965), on its cognate’s frequency in Gaelic toponymy, Drummond 2007, pp. 29-30.
As the great majority of names with ‘Knock-’ or similar in the North are in areas of Gaelic or Irish-Norse influence, only those with a possibly Brittonic specifier are listed below:

a2) Knocking Tofts Wml (Brough) PNWml2 p. 66 ? + -in; perhaps cf. Konakin Fif, see PNFif3 pp. 492-3.

b2) Cnokdentwald Cmb (Dalston) PNCmb p. 132 ? + -dīn- or -*dīnn-, which see, + -ed [+ ME(OE)–wald ‘woodland, upland forest’]; neither the PNCmb editors nor those of EPNE1, p. 103, and VEPN3, pp. 134-6, consider the possibility of the Brittonic (as opposed to Goidelic) word occurring here.

Knockbogle Kcb (Twynholm) PNGall p. 177 + -büg, which see.

Knockglass Wig (x4: New Luce, Inch, Old Luce and Portpatrick) PNGall p. 181 ? + -gās.

Knockcoid Wig (Kirkcolm) CPNS p. 381 (mislocated in Kcb), PNRGLV p. 93 + -cę:d, which see.

Knockietore Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 182 + -ir-[+ -torr.

Knockmain Kcb (Girthon) ? + -maɣn.

Knockmult Kcb (Rerrick) PNGall p. 184 ? + -*molt.

Knocktor Kcb (Troqueer) PNGall p. 188 + -torr.

Knocktower Kcb (Parton) PNGall p. 188 + -torr.

Knockyloid Ayrs (Colmonell) + -ir[- + -cę:d, which see.

See also the names discussed under *cönïg.

coch

Gk kókkos ‘a berry, a gall’ adopted as Latin coccum ‘scarlet (dye)’, probably adopted as British and Gaulish adjective *cocco-ā- > OW(LL) cocc > M-MnW coh, MCorn cogh > Corn cough.

See LHEB §145, pp. 565-6, and §147, pp. 569-72, but note also CIB ǂ42 at p. 134 and refs.

Originally the scarlet or blood-red dye made from galls on the kermes oak, Quercus coccinifera, developing as a colour-name and adjective in both Latin and Brittonic. In place-names it typically refers to the colouring of water, soil or rocks by ferrous elements.

Coccuveda PNRB p. 311 is the R. Coquet, with Coquet Island, Ntb ERN p. 93, PNNtb p. 52 + an adjectival suffix –vetā-, subsequently re-formed as OE *cocc²-wudu ‘cock-wood’; see Cox (1974-5) at p. 19.

Coccio PNRB pp. 172 and 310: pace Rivet and Smith, this is surely the Roman site at Wigan Lanc (excavated from 2004 on, not yet published, but see www.gmau.manchester.ac.uk/projects/wigan_archive.htm). The sandstone here is markedly red. See also Jackson (1970) at p. 71, and Hamp (1989b).

The name given by Welsh sources to the battlefield where Oswald of Northumbria was slain by Penda of Mercia, Cocboy AC s.a. 644 (642) > MW Cogwy, cannot be a normal development from Coccio (which would give neoBrittonic **Cochið). However, reduction of Latin coccum to Brittonic *coco- is not impossible (cf. *eclēsia, see egl, and note Gaulish personal name Cocus and ethnic name Cocosates, DCCPN pp. 15 and 101) and *Cocjo would > Cogwy; see LHEB §65, pp. 414-15. If this was the site of the battle, Bede’s Maserfelth HE III.9 may well be Makerfield (see *mage:r), via a miscopying of *Macerfelth.

‘Cock’ is common in hill-names in northern England, also, interestingly, in Carrick (see Maxwell in PNGall, p. 75); it is generally OE cocc¹, ‘a hillock or heap’ (EPNE pp. 103-4, LPN p. 158,
VEPN3 pp. 143-5, listing examples in YWR, Ntb, Wml etc.), though in some cases it might replace a similar-sounding Brittonic or Gaelic element. OE *cocc² 'a cock' (in place-names, usually a game-cock of some kind, see EPNE pp. 104, VEPN3, pp. 145-7), and OE personal name *Cocca, may also be sources of confusion.

a1) Cock Beck YWR  PNYWR7 p. 123, but an ME formation (or back-formation from neighbouring Cocksford) with one of the OE elements above, is likely; see VEPN3 p. 143.

a2) Cocken R Drh (Chester-le-Street)  DDrhPN p. 27  ? + -īn [which may be preferable to Watts’s suggestion in DDrhPN involving the OE personal name Cocca, weak genitive singular Coccan, plus a lost generic such as –ēa ‘river’].

Cockin Wml (Kendal)  PNWml p. 142  ? + -īn [Smith’s suggestion in PNWml,OE cocc²- + ME –kyne ‘a cleft, a fissure’ or ON –kinn ‘a slope’, seems forced]. Note that Cocken Hill Wml (Kirkby Stephen)  PNWml2 p. 3 is named after a local family, whose surname may in turn be from a place-name, but could be a variant of Cockayne.

Gogar, with Gogar Burn, Stg (Denny)  CPNS p. 210, PNFEStg p. 40, WLoPN p. 17, and Gogar, with Gogar Burn, MLo (Ratho) PNMLo p. pp. 352-3,  ? + -ar, but see wo-*cog, cor, garth, and *wo-gerð.

c1) Cockpen MLo  PNMLo p. 149  ? + -pen[n], which see.

Cockrossen Kcb (Tongland)  PNGall p. 75  ? + -rōs- -an or –īn, but Scots cock- < cocc² added to a Celtic name is more likely, see rōs.

c2) Barchock Kcb (Kells)  PNGall p. 22  ? + barr-.

Blencow Cmb (Dacre)  PNCmb p. 186  + blajn-, or else –*cou [or ON haugr > ME -howe]: see Breeze (2002c).

*cöfin (m)

Latin conflatium > vernacular Latin *cofinium, adopted as British *cofin > MW cyffin, Bret keffin (not recorded in Cornish).

For Latin –nf> –f-, see LHEB §102, pp. 495-6.

‘A (common, shared) boundary.’

Proposed by G. Rhys (see Clancy, 2008, at p. 101 n1) for:

a1) Giffen Ayrs  + if[r]-, causing lenition, subsequently elided; cf. Gyffin Crn DPNW p. 185.

*cog, *cūg (f)

IE *kukū > eCelt *couē∅- > Br *co∅∅∅: > M-MnW cog, Corn *cok (in place-names, CPNE pp. 61-2); OIr caí, coí, genitive cuach, > Ir cúach, G cuach, cubhag, Mx cooag; cf. Lat cucūlus, Gmc *gaukas > OE ġeac, ON gaukr > Scots and northern English gowk, Gk kókkuxs, Skt kokīlā.

The etymologies of words for ‘a cuckoo’ are inevitably complicated by the imitative instinct: thus *cogōu may have been a mimetic singular rather than a plural + -ōu (e.g. in Blencogo below).

c2) Blencogo Cmb PNCmb p. 122 + blajn - ? + -üü, but see above [or ON –haugr > ME –howe may be involved].
Penicuik MLo CPNS p. 355, PNMLo pp. 333-4 + pen[n]- + -i[r]-: see Watson, CPNS loc. cit., on the absence of lenition, and under -i[r]- on the date of formation. The vowel here may imply a Cumbri *cůg, which would have been adopted as late Northumbrian OE *cůc > Scots -cůk: see LHEB §22(3) at pp. 316-17.

*cogr (f)


See OIPrIE §22.5 at p. 383.

Primarily, ‘something that bends, curves, twists’, or ‘something bent, curved, twisted’. It was proposed as a river-name appellative by Ekwall in ERN, pp. 83-4, but note Jackson’s (unexplained) doubts, LHEB p. 578.

a1) Cocker R, with Cockermouth, Cmb PNCmb pp. 9 and 361.
Cocker Beck, with Cockerton, Drh (Darlington) DDrhPN p. 27.
Cokerdene Lanc (Leyland) PN Lanc p. 168 [+ OE denu ‘valley’]; a lost stream-name.

*cölɛ:n (f)

?IE *skoll[hr]- (o-grade of *skell[hr]- ‘cut, split’) + -n- > eCelt *colan-jā- > MW celein > W celain, OBret coalen > MBret quelenn > Bret colenn (not recorded in Cornish); OIr colaínn (falls together in Irish and Gaelic with colann ‘a body’ < *colanā (see below), dative colaínn).

On the etymology, see Isaac (2005) at p. 195. For the i-affection, see LHEB §167 pp. 597 and (on the Breton forms) §172 at p. 608.

‘A corpse’, a by-form of *colanā- ‘a body, living or dead’. It is hard to see what it could have referred to as a simplex place-name: Jackson (1948) at p. 56, suggested an ethnic name. Otherwise, taking the suffix to be adjectival, ‘a place of corpses’ (cf. Isaac loc. cit.), a site of battle, execution or gruesome display might be imagined.

It seems to form such a name, Kolanía, in Ptolemy, PNRB pp. 311-12: see CPNS p. 32. Jackson (1948) loc. cit., and Isaac (2005) loc. cit. This was probably the Roman fort at Camelon Stg (which place-name may have replaced *Celein because of misidentification with Camulodunum PNRB p. 295, and with Camelon AC s.a. 537, on the part of Boece and Bellenden: see also cam[b] and lann). Cair Celemma in the list of civitas capitals appended to HB66 should probably be *Celeinion, a plural form, but is unlikely to be the same place as Kolanía, and not necessarily in the North.
*coly (m), *colyinn (f)

IE *kol- (o-grade of *kel- ‘cut, pierce’) + -go- > eCelt *colgo- > Br *colgo- > MW coly, col, Corn col; O-MnIr (and in G and Mx in compounds and figurative senses) colg.

On the spirantisation of –lg-, see LHEB §87, pp. 466-8.

‘A pointed thing – a prickle, sting or awn’. If it was used as a stream-name, the sense was presumably figurative, ‘sharp, fierce, astringent’.

a1) Coli YWR (lost stream-name in the vicinity of Appletreewick and Great Whernside) ERN p. 91.

Closely related is Celt *colīnā- > Br *colīnā- > W celyn, Corn kelin, Bret kelenn; OIr cuillen > Ir cuilean, G cuilionn, Mx cuilean, all ‘holly’, cognate with OE holeġn > ‘holly’. However, a form with the plural or collective suffix –ïnn is recorded as OW colginn (glossing arista ‘awns, beard on an ear of grain’), OCorn culin (glossing palea ‘chaff’): see EGOW p. 34, and, on the apparent absence of i-affection, LHEB §162, pp. 589-90, and §172, pp. 606-9, and CIB ǂ18 at p. 65.

If an element of this form was used in stream-naming, it may have referred to holly, or, again, it may have been a figurative use of the word meaning ‘stings, awns, chaff’.

a2) Conheath Ntb (Bellingham) and Conheath Dmf (Caerlaverock): see Barrow (1992), p. 132n22. These have Colne- and Culen-/Kulen- in early forms, the latter suggesting Gaelic influence. Alternatively, they may be associated with the river-names derived from *col-aunā- > *colūn, of unknown meaning, see ERN p. 88 on the R Colne Esx, along with LHEB §20 at pp. 308-9 and §208 at pp. 688-9 on Clowne Drb and Clun Shr (but for the Rivers Colne in Lanc and YWR, see *cael-); if so, this may be another case where an ancient hydronym came to be identified with a tree-name, cf. derw for the ‘Derwent’ and *leʃβ for the ‘Leven’ families. [Both Conheaths have OE –hæþ > ‘heath’].

coll (f)

IE(NW) *kos[V]lo- > eCelt *coslā- > Br *collā- > O-MnW coll (singulative collen), OCorn col- (in compound) > Corn *coll (in place-names, CPNE pp. 62-3), OBret singulative collin > Bret kel- (in compounds); M-MnIr coll, G coll- (in compounds), Mx coull; cogn. Lat corylus, Gmc *kasalaz > OE hesel, ON hasl, > ‘hazel’.


It is hard to distinguish Brittonic from Goidelic forms, or from Gaelic coille ‘woodland’: see Watson (2002), pp. 82-3.

a1) A Celtic stream-name may be preserved in:
Colton Beck, with Colton, Lancs ERN p. 86, PNLanc p. 216: Ekwall notes that the river Coole (→ Marne) in France is recorded as Cosla 896 [but OE col ‘coal, charcoal’, or Anglian OE cald ‘cold’, or an OE personal name Cola, are among several other possibilities, see PNLanc loc. cit., EPNE1 p. 105, and cf. Colton Stf PNSStf pp. 203-4; + OE –tūn ‘a farm’].

a2) Hullockhowe, Wml (Bampton) PNWml2 p. 190, if this is from the same origin as Clattercollackhowe PNWml loc. cit. ? + ðg [+ OE clater ‘loose stones’, + ON haugr >
ME -howe; otherwise a personal name involving MIr Collach- or Cūlach-, or AScand Ulf, might be the basis].

Moscolly ELo (Haddington?) CPNS p. 378 + mayes- + -īg, or -ǭg Gaelicised to -aich.

c2) Bedcow Dnb (Kirkintilloch) CPNS p. 424 ? + bod-, but see under that.

Cargo Cmb, Carco Dmf and Carcowe Wml are conceivably + cajr-, but see under carreg.

Duncow Dmf (Kirkmahoe) CPNS pp. 183 and 422, PNDmf p. 73 + dīn-, or Gaelic *dùn-choill. Moscow Rnf (Kilmarnock) CPNS p. 378 + mayes-.

*colūd (gender uncertain)

IE(NW) *kolh₁- (o-grade of *kelh₁- ‘rise, stand up’, see *celeμīn and celli) + -t- > eCelt *colout- > Br *colōt-; cf. Lat collis, Gmc *zul-ni- > OE hyll > ‘hill’, Gk kolōnós.

An entirely hypothetical Celtic hill-naming word might underlie Bede’s Coludi urbem HE IV.17(19) and Coludanae urbs ibid. IV.23(25), and Coldingham Bwk. Coludesburh A-SC(E) s.a. 679, Colodesbyrig VC and Colodæsburg VW39 all suggest that Colud was perceived by English speakers as a personal name, perhaps on the analogy of names with the honorative suffix –üδ (Maredudd, Gruffudd, etc.). However, there is no trace of such a personal name in Brittonic or Old English sources. On the OE formation with –inga-hām, see Nicolaisen in SPN², pp. 26-7 and A. James (2010), pp. 109-12.

*cōμar (m, but earlier f)

IE *ko[m]- ‘together’ + -h₂erh₂y- ‘plough’ (verb) > eCelt *com-arā- > Br *comarā- > W cyfar, Corn *kevar (in place-names, CPNE p. 56), MBret cemer > Bret keñver; OIr cemar > Ir cómar.

On the prefix *com-, see DCCPN pp. 15-16.

From a verbal noun, ‘joint ploughing’, so ‘common or shared arable land’.

a1) Cuerdale Lanc (Blackburn) PNLanc p. 69, JEPNS17 p. 44 [+ ON –dalar > ‘dale’]; see Coates in CVEP p. 318. Old English adoption with –i- in the first syllable is unlikely to be earlier than the seventh century, see LHEB §§204(B2)-205, pp. 675-81.

Cuerdley Lanc (Prescot) PNLanc p. 106, JEPNS17 p. 59: Kyuerlay 1246 suggests this element [+ OE –lēah ‘a clearing, pasture, meadow’], though other early forms have –d- favouring an OE personal name like Cynferþ.

cömber, *cūmber (both m)

IE *ko[m]- (see *cōμar) + -h₂erh₂y- (see aber) > eCelt *con-bero- > Br *combero- > OW cimer > MW cymer (also cemen) > W cymer, Corn *kemer, *camper (in place-names, CPNE p. 48), Bret kember; Pritenic *cuper; OIr combor > MIr ccommar > Ir cumar, G comar.

On the reduction of the prefix, see LHEB §199, pp. 657-9, and §201, pp. 664-6; on the assimilation of –mb-, see ibid. §§111-112(1), pp. 508-11.

The Pictish form (apparently restricted to Ang, east Per, and Fif) shows a different development, with loss of nasality and voice, so that –nb- > -pp- > -p-, and preservation of rounding in the vowel of the first syllable (see PNFif 4 p. 283 anent Cupar, and ibid. 5 p. 347). Both the Pictish
and the Cumbric (see below) forms are important as evidence for distinctive features in northern P-Celtic from an early date.

‘A confluence’. The semantic base and possible religious associations being similar to those of aber, which see, the only distinction might be that con- was used where the two watercourses were more or less equal in size.

Cymer is quite frequent in Wales, DPNW p. xxxix lists six examples, and in Cornwall where CPNE refers to six or seven. In the North, the distribution overlaps with that of aber in Dmf (and, doubtfully, further north), but it is apparently largely restricted to the Solway basin. Note that most of the place-names listed below show (in their early and modern forms) -u- in the first syllable, suggesting a Cumbric *cümber, higher and more rounded than its Welsh equivalent and comparable to Pritenic *cuper.

a1) Camerton Cmb PNCmb pp. 281-2 [+ OE –tūn ‘a farm’]: consistently Cambre- in early forms, making either cömber (or Cumbric *cümber) or OE Cumbre- (see cömbröɣ) doubtful. Gillcumber Head Wml (Winton) PNWml2 p. 29 [+ ON gil- ‘a ravine’], but no documentation before the 19th ct.

b2) Cumbernauld EDnb CPNSp. 243 ? + -ïn- + -alt: this is generally taken to be Gaelic, *comar-nAlt, see CPNS loc cit and Ó Maolalaigh in Uses, pp. 19 and 47, but Cumyr- 1417, hints at a Cumbric predecessor. Cummertrees Dmf PNDmf p. 18 + -*trēs: -b- in Cumbertres 1204 and 1207 favours a Brittonic origin here. See Breeze (2005b), but see also cömbröɣ.

Longcummercat Cmb (Holme Low) PNCmb p. 293 + -* [+ OE lang- > 'long']: see Coates in CVEP, p. 283.

cömbröɣ (m pl)

IE *morǵ > eCelt *mrogī > Br *com- (<IE *ko[m]-, see *cōmar) -brogī-, cf. Gaul -brogā-, > OW(LLL) plural cymry > M-MnW Cymry; adopted in MIr as combrecc, see below.

On the etymology of this and related Welsh words, see Hamp (1982) and Schrijver (1995), p. 133.

The root meant primarily ‘a boundary’, cf. Latin margo ‘a margin, a boundary’, Gmc *markō- > OE(Ang) merc > ‘mark’, ON mork (and Gmc *markam ON mark ‘a landmark’). This developed in the Celtic languages as M-MnW bro, Olk mruig > Ml brug, eG bruigh, ‘a piece of land, a territory’, and in ethnic names, as *brogoi ‘inhabitants’, see ACPN p. 56. The combination in Brittonic with the prefix *com- (which, as Hamp loc. cit. shows, must post-date –mr- > -br-) would have formed a noun, ‘people living in the same territory, fellow-countrymen’.

Cormac used the Middle Irish adopted form combrecc as a noun for ‘the Brittonic language’ (Sanas Cormaic, ed Meyer 1913, entries 110 and 206). As this preserves -mb-, the word was probably being used in a general sense for Brittonic speakers by 900. However, there is no real evidence for its use in a specifically ethnic sense until the tenth century, when it occurs at least fourteen times in Armes Prydein (see Williams 1972, pp. 20-1), referring primarily to the Welsh of Wales: on this and other uses in Old-Middle Welsh literature, see R. G. Gruffydd in Bromwich and Jones (1978), pp. 25-43, and Rowland (1990), p. 389.

In the later tenth century, the Latinised form Cumbri is used by Æthelweard (Chronicle IV s.a. 975, in the dative plural Cumbris), and he also used Cumbrenses (s.a. 875, where it significantly translates A-SC’s Stræcled Walas). William of Malmesbury and Symeon of Durham (or his
source) use *Cumbri*, but Florence/John of Worcester, Richard and John of Hexham, Richard of Howden and Ailred of Rievaulx generally use *Cumbrenses*. The derived territorial name *Cumbria* is used by John of Hexham and William of Newburgh, and occurs in legal documents from the thirteenth century. The questions, who exactly were the *Cumbrenses* and what territory was known as *Cumbria*, are controversial and probably require differing answers in different textual and historical contexts.

Ælfric in his life of St Swithun XXI 450 uses the Anglicised form *Cumer* (as genitive plural) for all the ‘Britons’ whose kings paid homage to Eadgar in 973. However, the form occurring in English-formed place-names is normally *Cumbre*, genitive plural *Cumbra* (EPNE1 P. 119, see also Gelling, *Signposts*, pp. 95-6). Outwith the Old North, it occurs in the Welsh border counties and through much of the Danelaw, suggesting that it is evidence of Cumbric- and Welsh-speaking migration during the period of Scandinavian rule rather than indigenous Brittonic survival: see A. James (2009). However, the use of *Cumber* as a personal name, presumably for someone perceived as a ‘Briton’ in some sense, should not be overlooked: see Gelling loc. cit. and cf. Smith in *PNYWR2*, p. 216. Possible examples in the North include:

Camerton Cmb PNCmb pp. 281-2 [+ OE –tūn ‘a farm’], but see cōmber.
Comberghalgh, with Cumeragh Lane, Lanc (Kirkham) PNLanc p. 149, JEPNS17 p. 86 [+ OE –halth ‘land in a river-bend’ or ‘a detached portion of land’].
Cumber Coulston ELo (Haddington) not in PNMLo; see Morgan (2013) pp. 46n and 48, but this was held in the time of William I by William de Belencumber, i.e. Bellencombe in Normandy, so the prefix is likely to be from that name (W. Patterson pers. comm.)
Cumberland PNCmb p. 1 [+ OE –land].
Cumberworth YWR (Emley) *PNYWR2* p. 216 [+ OE –worb ‘an enclosure’].
Cummersdale Cmb PNCmb p. 130 [+ English genitive plural –s- + > ‘dale’ < ON dalr].
Cumertrees Dmf PNDmf p. 72; see P. Morgan loc. cit., but see also cōmber.

An Old Norse genitive plural *Kum[bl]ra* is evidenced in the Cumbrae Islands, *Kumreyiar* in *Háconssaga Hákonssonar* 1263x84, and see Hines (2002) at pp. 13 and 27.

*cōn* (f)

Latin *canna* > Insular Latin *cāna*, adopted as British *cānā* > MW caun > W cawn, Corn *keun* (in place-names, CPNE pp. 55-6).

‘Reeds’, collective noun. Possibly in:

c2) Glencoyne, with Glencoyne Beck, Cmb (Watermillock)/ Wml (Patterdale) ERN p. 178, PNCmb pp. 15 and 254, PNWml2 p. 222, DLDPN pp. 131-2 + *glm-, perhaps as the name of the beck, but see discussion under cant, and also *can[d], cant* and cę:n, and LHEB §27(a2) at p. 328.

*cōnɛ:d* (f?)

An ancient topographic term of uncertain origin and meaning, represented by river-names of the ‘Kennet’ type, and possibly by names of the ‘Cound’ type: the British antecedent form was presumably *cunēju-*, see PNRB pp. 328-9, ERN p. 99 and 225-8, LHEB §28 at p. 332 and §204 (B4) at p. 676, but see also cū[n]. Relevant cases in the North are:
Coundon Drh  DDrhPN p. 30 [+ OE -dūn ‘a hill’, or else OE cuna-, genitive plural of cū, ‘cows’] + -dūn]: Watts, DDrhPN loc. cit., compares Cound Brook Shr (PNShr1 p. 102), and Countisbury Dev (PNDev p. 62) [+ OE dative singular –byriġ ‘a stronghold’], but he points out that neither at Coundon nor at Countisbury is there any substantial river, and that the OE generics of both Coundons and Countisbury imply hill-names.

Water of Ken, with Kenmure, Glenkens and Loch Ken, Kcb PNGall p. 162, but *cein[\d] (see can[\d]) or cant-jo-, or cū[n]- + -jo-, are equally possible.

Kent R Lanc/Wml border PNLanc p. 169, PNWml1 p. 8, ERN pp. 226-8: for Jackson’s dismissal of Ekwall’s derivation from *cūnetjo- see cū[n].

In regio quae dicitur Kintis VCuthA, site of a miracle of St Cuthbert, indicates a territory in Northumbria possibly named from a river (or other topographic feature) with a name of this type. Polterkened Cmb (Gilsland) LanCart + *polter-: this may well be a stream-name of the ‘Kennet’ type, but see also *cȩn-, -ed, and *cōmī̂ō.

*cōnīō (m)

Br *cūn- (see cū[n]) + -ido > M-MnW cynydd.

‘A master of hounds’, cf. Kynwydion (< *Cūnījones), name of a Strathclyde war-band. Suggested as a stream-name by Breeze (2006b) at p. 330, in:

c2) Polterkened Cmb (Gilsland) LanCart + *polter-, but see also *cȩn-, -ed, and *cōnē:d.

*cōnīg (m/n?)

A very problematic form apparently underlying the three County Durham place-names and one in Lancashire, all discussed below, along with Conock and Knook Wlt and Combs Ditch Dor; it may also be possibly relevant to some of the names considered under *cnuc[h] (which is almost equally difficult). Several proposals have been put forward over the years, but none has achieved general acceptance:

1) An IE *kun- or *kφ-, perhaps related to *gōnu- ‘a knee’, > eCelt *cuno- ‘a point, a height’, + -āco- (see –ōg); see ERN p. 225-8, where Ekwall derives the river-name Kennet from the same proposed root, + -et-jā- (see –ed). However, Jackson (1948), pp. 54-9, and (1970), p. 71, challenges the existence of any such root, and Coates (1982-3), pp. 15-16, gave reasons for rejecting -āco- in Consett Drh (see below). Still, the possibility of ancient (non-Indo-European?) *kun- associated either with rivers or with hills, cannot be ruled out; such a root may also be involved in *cnuc[h]: see (4) below.

2) A Brittonic personal name *Cūnāco > Welsh Cynog (see cū[n] and –ōg): Coates’s objections would still apply in the case of Consett, though Breeze (2002-3), makes a case for a Middle Breton form Conek, introduced here by a Norman-period Breton settler. However, this leaves the other place-names in the group unexplained.

3) An early Celtic *concos ‘a horse’, proposed by H. Birkham as cited in PNRB, p. 314: Rivet and Smith favour this in Concagnis (Chester-le-Street Drh: see below), relating that name to a number of Roman-period personal and ethnic names such as the Celt-Iberian Concani, and suggesting a totemic tribal name. The word is otherwise unknown in Celtic, though ‘descendants abound in Germanic’.
4) An early Celtic, but not Brittonic, *cunuci- is seen by Coates (1982-3), pp. 15-18, as phonologically the best etymon for the Durham place-names and for Conock Wlt. He regards it as ‘a hill-name (not necessarily a word for “hill”...’), and leaves aside any questions of its root- etymology or of its relationships with either *cnu[ch] or with the ‘Kennet’ group of river-names. Nevertheless, acceptance of ancient root *kunuki- or similar, possibly non-Indo-European though maybe common to early Celtic and Germanic, seems the most promising starting-point for an understanding of these perplexing names.

Concangis, PNRB pp. 314-15, corresponds to Kuncacester VCA and Symeon’s Cunececestre in Libellus de exordio, i.e. Chester-le-Street Drh, DDrhPN p. 28. On the suffix, ?-anco-, see PNRB p. 372.

a1) Consett Drh (Lanchester) DDrhPN p. 29 [+ OE –hēafod > ‘head’]. Cong Burn DDrhPN p. 28 is generally taken to be back-formed from either Kuncacester or Consett, or else named after the eponymous *cönig, whoever or whatever that was. However, the stream-name could be primary, giving its name to both the settlements.


*cönnerch (m or n?)

IE *der̂ k- > eCelt *con- (<IE *ko[m]- ‘together’) –derco- > Br *conderco-; cf. OIr condercar ‘looks around’; cf. Gk dérkomai ‘I see’, Skt ṛṣṭi ‘sight’.

A verbal noun from the root ‘see, gaze’ with the prefix con-, so ‘a viewpoint, a look-out place with views all around’.

Evidently this is the meaning at Condercum PNRB p. 316, the Roman fort at Benwell Ntb.

Coates’s suggestion, CVEP pp. 165-6, that this element underlies Kinder (Scout, etc) Drb, PNDrB p. 116, is doubtful: assimilation of –nd- > -nn- is unlikely to have been later than aspiration of –rk > -rch, see LHEB §112(2), pp. 511-13 and §§148-9, pp. 570-2. In any case, it is questionable whether any spot on this moorland plateau can really be said to have views ‘all around’ (except of extensive peat-bog!). The name Kinder appears in early modern sources to have referred only to land around the R Kinder, and the river-name may well be primary. See Brotherton (2005) at pp. 108-14, and discussion under cant.

*cor (m?)

A problematic word, with senses in Welsh usage and place-names (also in Cornish place-names, CPNE p. 65) of ‘a boundary, an enclosure, a limit’. It is generally associated with Middle Welsh cór ‘something plaited or bound’, which could presumably include a laid hedge or a wattle fence. However the etymology of this is obscure. It has received most attention in the context of Bangor, name of three major early monasteries (in Flt, Crn and Dwn): see Jones (1991-3). None of these is in the Old North, though the influence of Bangor-is-Coed Flt (see HE II.2) could well have extended as far north as the Ribble. The meaning of *ban-gor is again generally taken to relate to either a wattle fence or other ‘woven’ structure forming the monastic enclosure, or to a monastic fish-trap.
The word is often associated with OIr *cora, 'a palisade or wall', also 'a fish-weir', and occurring in compounds such as *cleth-chor 'a wattle setting'; it is a verbal noun from the root cu[ir]- 'put, set in place' (e.g. Watson, CPNS p. 210). However, the Indo-European root of this is probably *kʷr-, zero-grade of *kʷr- 'do, make' (OIPrIE §22.1, pp. 368-71), which would yield P-Celtic *por (or *p-, which may be present in Welsh *pr 'a point in time'), not *cor.

Alternatively, this element may be associated with Modern Welsh *cwr 'a corner, small point, end, projecting part, limit' (and see again CPNE p. 65), cognate with OIr *corr > Ir, early G. Mx *corr, as a noun, 'a corner, an end, a peak, a point'.

a2) Corra, with Corhouse, Corra Linn and Fincorra, Lnk (Lesmahagow) CPNS p. 202 (not in index), Taylor (2009) at pp. 85-7 + -og: a territorial name, see Taylor’s discussion, loc cit.: Gaelicised, or else Gaelic *corra as an adjectival form of *corr in one of its senses. Gogar, with Gogar Burn, Stg (Denny) CPNS p. 210, PNFESTg p. 40, WLoPN p. 17, and Gogar, with Gogar Burn, MLo (Ratho) PNMLo p. pp. 352-3, + wo-; Watson, CPNS loc. cit., compares Gaelic *fochar, literally ‘a small cast’, topographically ‘a hill-spur’, but this entails combining a Brittonic prefix with the Goidelic verbal noun –cor discussed above, and a semantic development that (if it occurred at all) was peculiar to some dialects of Scottish Gaelic. For other discussions of this troublesome place-name, see *coch, *cog, *garth and *wogerô.

b2) Carmunnock Lnk CPNS pp. 196, 367 ? + *mann-, which see, + -og, but see also *cajr, *cōr, *bann and *mōnach.

**cōr (m)**

Gk *khorós* adopted as Latin *chorus* and thence as British *cōr- > W *côr, Corn cūr, M-MnBret cor.

‘A choir’. The metonymic use for the quire as part of a church building is found in insular Latin from the eleventh century, though in Welsh only from the thirteenth. As church architecture and liturgical practices developed, it came to refer loosely, as did English ‘quire’, to the chancel, but there is no sign of its being used for free-standing structures until post-Reformation times (as in the Book of Common Prayer, ‘in quires and places where they sing’, and Shakespeare’s Sonnet 73, ‘bare ruin’d choirs’). The difficult Welsh place-name Corwen Mer has been interpreted as *cōr-faen ‘sanctuary stone’ (DPNW p. 98, also pp. 260-1 for late-recorded Llangorwen Crd), referring to a possible menhir incorporated into the building, but this rests on a misunderstanding: *cōr means ‘sanctuary’ in the liturgical sense of the sacred space around the altar, not in the wider sense of ‘a place of refuge’. All this casts doubt on Breeze’s (2000b) proposal of this element in:

b2) Carmunnock Lnk CPNS pp. 196, 367 ? + *mōnach, but see also *cajr, *cor, *bann and *mann.

**cōrd (m)**

IE *kor-jo- > eCelt *corijo- > Br. Gaul *corjo- > OW –cord, -goord (in compounds) > MW cord > W *codd, OCorn *cōrd > Corn cor-, -cor (in compounds and place-names, CPNE pp. 64-5), OBret *cor (in compounds and place-names); M-MnIr, eG cuire: cogn. Gmc *gārjaz > OE here ‘army, war-band’ (OEG §331(4) n6, p. 138), and cf. Gmc *gārdījaz > OE heord > ‘herd’.

From the earliest Indo-European attestations, this root refers both to ‘a people, a community, a tribe’ in general as well as to ‘an army, a host’ in particular (see ACPI pp. 64-5 DCCPN p. 16).
In the Welsh Laws, it occurs in various compounds in its general, ‘civil’ sense, ‘a family, a clan’. However, in the Roman-British North, especially along and between the two walls, it seems to have been a term for a strategic central place, the ‘hosting place’ of a regional population.

In Classical records and inscriptions it is frequently garbled, sometimes being confused with the unrelated Latin term *curia*, ‘a court, an electoral, legislative or judicial meeting-place’ (see OCD s.n., senses 1 and 2). The confusion would have been scribal, not aural, see Jackson (1948) at p. 56.

Apart from the two surviving place-names (see below), lost place-names in Classical sources that may incorporate this element include:

*Corionototæ* PNRB p. 322, where T. Charles-Edwards’s interpretation is cited: *

*Corjonos* (‘lord of the host’), referring to an otherwise unknown ethnic group probably from north of Hadrian’s Wall, who are commemorated in an inscription (RIB 1142) at Hexham Ntb.

*Curia Textoverdorum* PNRB pp. 329 and 470-2, and see Hind (1980a). Presumably the *corjā-* of another ethnic group, on whose name see *

*tejth*, named on an inscription (RIB 1695) from Beltingham near Chesterholme Ntb.

*Kórda* PNRB pp. 316-17, a pólis of the Selgove, perhaps Castledykes Lnk, but note Jackson’s reservations at LHEB p. 473 – ‘highly doubtful’.


*Koúria* PNRB p. 320, a pólis of the Votadini, perhaps Inveresk ML, Arthur’s Seat ML, Traprain Law EL, or Corbridge Ntb (see Parsons in Parsons and Sims-Williams eds. 2000, p. 170, citing A. Strang).

The second part of the Roman-British place-name commonly given as *Corstopitum* (from the Antonine Itinerary) is hopelessly garbled. This too has been identified with Corbridge Ntb, see PNNtb pp. 52-4, Richmond (1958) p. 140n, PNRB pp. 322-4, Hind (1980a), and Wilkinson 2004 pp. 87-8 n62. Breeze’s suggestion (2001a), *cor-so-betum* ‘dwarf, i.e. seedling, birch-trees’ (see *

*bedu*) is scarcely credible as a place-name and tortures the evidence. See also *cors* and *rid*.

The only possible traces of this element in surviving place-names are at Corbridge and Corchester, both Ntb PNNtb pp. 52-4 [+ OE –bryċġ, -easter]. Whether or not Corbridge can be identified with either of the early references above, both names may preserve an Anglicised form of *corö*- as the generic. However, absence of Old English i-mutation and presence of an apparent composition vowel in early forms (e.g. *Corebricg* c1040 [late 12th ct]) raise questions regarding the form and date of adoption.

**corn (m), curn (f)**

IE *

*ker- (zero-grade of *ker- ‘horn’) + -n- > eCelt *corno- > Br *corno- > OW -corno- (in compound), corn (LL) > M-MnW corn, M-MnCorn corn, OBret corn > Bret korn; OIr corn > M-MnIr corn, G còrn, Mx corn- (in derivatives); cognate with, or possibly adopted from, Lat cornū, also cognate with Gmc *zornaz, -am > OE horn > ‘horn’.

See PNRB p. 325, ACPN pp. 65-6, DCCPN p. 16.

Breeze (1999b), pp. 42-3, draws attention to the feminine noun *curn*, a variant of obscure origin occurring in hill-names in Wales (e.g. Y Gurn Goch etc. on the Llŷn Peninsula; see also Williams 1945 pp. 15-16). The vowel may have been raised by the following -rn-, though abnormally (cf. LHEB §4(1) pp 272-3), and shows no sign of a-affection.
Like its cognates, corn means ‘an animal’s horn’, but extends to musical and drinking horns and to horn-shaped objects or features. Curn is used in Middle Welsh of conical or pyramidal mounds, heaps, ricks, spires etc.

A Brittonic place-name with this element might be hinted at in the lost cornu vallis in the anonymous Life of Abbot Ceolfrith 30. It has been speculatively associated with Hornsea YER or a location further south in Holderness.

Otherwise, ‘the only derivative of [corn] which has survived in Scotland’ according to Watson, CPNS p. 461, or indeed anywhere in the Old North, is:

a2) Cornie Burn, with Abercorn, WLo PNWLo pp. 12-13 + -īg (+ aber-). For variant forms of Abercorn in HE, see Plummer (1896) vol I p. 26: these confirm that -curn was current at an early date in the North (see above). The subsequent development to -corn could have been due to the influence of Brittonic, Pritenic or Gaelic. The connection with ‘horn’ is unclear.

cors (f)

eCelt *corecsā- (cf. Italo-Celt *carec¹s- > Br *coressā- > OW(LL) cors > M-MnW cors, OCorn singulative *korsen (ms kosen) > Corn *cors (in place-names, CPNE p. 66), Bret korz; Olr curchas > Ir curchas, G curcrais; cogn. Lat carex.

‘Reeds, rushes, sedge’, used pretty generally of marshland vegetation and, by metonymy, of marshes and swamps.

Coates, CVEP p. 272, considers this to be a word adopted into English as a place-name element, so regards formations with English elements (mostly found in southern and western England) as purely English. There seems to be no clear evidence for such adoption in the North, though cors can be hard to distinguish from ‘cross’ in its Old English, Goidelic or Brittonic guises (see crojs), or Gaelic cars < Scots carse ‘marsh, riverside, floodland’. The latter (< OScotskers, possibly < ON kjarr ‘brushwood’). is likely to have replaced it, and see also *cras.

This element might possibly be present, ? + -peth or -rid in the difficult Roman-British name Corstopitum PNRB pp. 322-4, but the recorded forms are evidently garbled: see discussion under corō.

Place-names in Cors- or Cars- are especially common in Galloway, see PNGall pp. 78-9. Examples where cors might be involved, include:

a1) Corscruiks MLo (Temple) PNMLo p. 387 [+ OE crōc > Scots plural cruikis ‘bends’] Corse Burn Kcb (x 2, Githron and Minigaff).
Corset MLo (f.n. in Temple) PNMLo p. 386 [? + OE laēcē > Scots latch ‘a boggy stream, a piece of boggy ground’].

a2) Corsick Rox (Smailholm) PN Rox p. 35 + -īg, which see, or –ōg [or + OE –wic: Macdonald, PNRox loc. cit.], but see also crojs.
Corsock Kcb (x 2: New Abbey and Parton) PNGall p. 79 + –ōg. but see also crojs.

b2) Carsluith Kcb (Kirkmabreck) PNGall p. 62 + -lē:d: see Brooke (1991) at p. 349, but see also under lē:d.
Corouselusk Strand Kcb (Kells, ? + -losg).
Corsemalzie Wig (Mochrum) + stream-name Mailzie Burn, see mayl and –īg.
*cöü (m)

IE *keuh- > eCelt *cowo- > Br *cqwo- > MW ceu, cou, Corn *kew (in place-names, CPNE p. 57), Bret kev; MIr cúia > Ir, G cuas; cogn. early Lat covus (which may have been adopted as early Celtic *cowo-) > cavus, Gk koîlos, Skt śu- in compounds.

Noun or adjective, ‘hollow’.

b1) Glasgow Lnk CPNS p. 385 + glās-.
Linlithgow WLo PNWLo pp. 53-4 + -łę:d- or -*lejth-, see both of these, with + finn- as a secondary formation.

c1) Cover R YNR ERN p. 100, PNYWR p. 2 + -ber or -bre[ɣ], see LHEB §45(2) at p. 372; or else gaβr- or woβer, see both of these.

c2) Blencow Cmb (Dacre) PNCmb p. 186 + blajn-, or else –coch [or ON haugr > ME -howe]: see Breeze (2002c).

coubal (m)

Late Latin caupal[lus] > British Latin *coupalus, adopted to > OW(LL) coupal- > MW keubal > W ceubal (in compound ceubalfu), Corn *caubal- (in a place-name, CPNE p. 44), OBret caubal-; ?OIr caubal (in GPC, but not DIL); adopted as OE(Ntb) cuopil > Scots and northern M-MnE coble, cobble.

See OED s.n. coble, DOST s.n. cobill, SND s.n. coble, LHEB §25, pp. 321-2, and §46(2), pp. 370-2, also Padel’s discussion, CPNE p. 44.

‘A skiff or small boat’.

a1) Cabus Lanc (Garstang) PNLanc p. 165 [English plural –es]: Breeze proposes this in CVEP, pp. 220-1, but early forms like Kaibal 1200x10, Caybel 1246 can hardly be from neoBrittonic coubal (LHEB §46(2), pp. 370-2). They might, very speculatively, reflect a Cumbric *caißal, compare the SW Brittonic variant in Cornish and Breton; if so, it would have to be a late (post-eighth century) adoption into Northumbrian Old English to be phonologically plausible; however the form in the Lindisfarne Gospel (Matthew) gloss is cuopil, and subsequent ME/Older Scots forms lend no support. Moreover, there seem to be no parallels for this word, whether singular or plural, being used as a simplex place-name.

*crach (f)

eCelt *[a]raccā- > Br *craccā- > MW crac > W crach, Corn cragh, Bret krak; cf. M-MnIr and G carrach, Mx carrag.

A collective noun, ‘scab, mange’ on animals, and ‘scabs’ on humans.

Breeze (2000b) at pp. 125-6, sees this in:

c1) *Crachoct* Brw (unlocated: *Crachoctre Strete* apparently ran from near Reston Bwk toward Oldhamstocks ELo, M. A. Fenty pers. comm.) ? + -*ūch- or -ōu-, + -*treβ*. *Crachawg* as a derogatory term for pieces of land etc. is recorded in Welsh in GPC, but only from the fourteenth century and not at all in AMR. Moreover, this compound formation raises suspicion: compounds like *ocheldreβ* (see *ūch*) and *nöwiδdreβ* (see *nöwiδ*) are likely to have been in use as common nouns, but that is improbable in this case, and, while pre-positioned adjectives are admittedly more common in Old and Middle Welsh than in Modern Welsh, and are normal in early compounds, we do not find formations with -ācā > -ōg- in first position.

However, a formation with -*och dreβ* (north Brittonic equivalent of Welsh *uchdre* 'upper farm') might be plausible, but the first element would still be problematic, and unlikely to be *crach*- ‘scab, mange’. Scots/ northern Middle English *craik* - ‘a crow’ might be involved, but –octre can hardly be ‘oak-tree’ (as has been suggested), as Old English aic remained as [āk] to become aik in Scots and northern English.

A very tentative suggestion is *crę:g*- (which see) ‘a rock’, adopted into Old English and Scots as ‘crag’, ‘craig’. The devoicing of –g, would imply that *Crāc* was originally an independent simplex place-name later combined with *och-dreβ* to give *Crāc-ochdre* ‘Upper-farm Crag’.

### *crāμ (m)*

IE(WC) *kremh-u- > eCelt *cremu- > Gaulish and Italo-Celtic *cremu-, but Br *cranu- > MW crav > eMnW craf, not recorded in Cornish or Breton; MnIr *cram > Ir, G creamh ; cogn. Gmc *gremsaz > OE weak noun hramsan > ‘ramsons’, Gk krémmuon, krómmuon ‘an onion’.

On the lenition, see LHEB §98(2), p. 488.

‘Ramsons, wild garlic (*Allium ursinum*)’, though in early usage it may have referred to other members of the onion family.

a2) Craven YWR PNYWR6 pp. 1-2 + -an; cf. Cremona in Italy, on which see De Bernardo Stempel in Parsons and Sims-Williams (2000) at pp. 86, 88 and 105. Craven is likely to have been an early territorial name, perhaps a regional chieftain incorporated into Northumbria as a *sčir*.

### *cras*

M-MnW *cras*, Corn *cras*- (in compounds), Bret *kras*.

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4 *Crachan 'scabby one' as a stream-name is suggested for Pwllcrochan Pmb DPNW p. 402 on the basis of early forms, but *crochan* 'a cauldron' occurs as the name of three other streams in the same county.

5 cf. Blindcrake Cmb, Crake R Lanc, Crakeplace Hall Cmb (Dean), Craik Rox (Roberton), Craike Hill YER (Kirkburn) and Crayke YNR (an important early monastic site).
A verbal root of uncertain origin, ‘scorch, parch, bake’, used adjectivally and also + -ǭg. In describing land, the sense might be ‘rough, hard’.

It is very difficult to distinguish this from cors or crojs, especially when + -ǭg, and Gaelic crasg ‘a crossing-place’ (see crojs) adds to the complication.

a2) Tercrosset Cmb (Kingwater) PNCmb p. 97 + torr- + -ǭg: see Coates CVEP p. 284, but Breeze (2006b) at p. 330, argues for crojs here.

crē:ɡ (f)

?IE *kr [x]- (zero-grade of *kar-, see *carn and *carr) > eCelt *cr- + -acjā- > West Br *cracjā- > OW(LL) creic > MW creig > W craig; MIr craicc > Ir creig, G craig (adopted as Scots craig).

Note also eCelt *cr- + -acā- > South-West Br *cracā- (adopted via British and Old English as ME cragge > ‘crag’) > Corn *crak (in place-names, CPNE p. 68), MBret cragg; cf. OfIr crec > Ir, G creag, Mx creag.

On the etymology, especially the variation between forms in –jā- and –ā-, see LHEB §137, pp. 556-7, and §167, pp. 597-603. In forms adopted into Old English and Scots, the variation between ‘crag’ and ‘craig’ is a complex matter, reflecting not only the two different forms in early Celtic but also changes in vowel-length in Middle English and Older Scots, as well as possible adoption of Scandinavian-influenced forms.

As to the final consonant, -c [-k] would have been normal in a form adopted from Brittonic into early Old English (LHEB p. 557), and this is reflected in place-names in northern England and the Borders, but variation in early recorded forms and ultimate predominance of –g [-g] may reflect Goidelic influence (direct or via Scandinavian) or later developments in Middle English and Older Scots, as well as differentiation from northern Middle English and Scots crake ‘crack’.

‘A crag, a prominent rock’.

It is very difficult in many cases to judge whether a place-name originally contained this element in its Brittonic, Goidelic or English/Scots form, and/or whether one of these has been replaced by another. Confusion with crūg or its English-adopted forms is also possible, as well as with ON kráka (with possible OE cognate *craca) > dialectal crake ‘a crow’.

a1) Simplex place-names where a Brittonic origin is reasonably likely include:
Crake R Lanc ERN p. 102, PNLanc p. 191 (note that Ekwall's allusion to a R. Craik in Wml seems to be erroneous).
Craik Rox (Roberton) PNRox p. 33.
Craike Hill YER (Kirkburn) PNYER p. 1 [+ ON –haugr > ME –howe, replaced by ‘Hill’ in later records].
Crayke YNR PNYNR p. 27: on the topography associated with the Northumbrian mynster here, see Blair (2005), p. 222 and note; both here and at Craike Hill, derivation from neoBrittonic crē:ɡ seems justified, in spite of Thomson’s doubts (1964, at p. 49).
Crichton MLo PNMLo pp. 191-2 [+ OE –tūn ‘a farm’].

Others, more doubtful, include:
Castle Greg Stg WLoPN p. 18 [+ME/Scots castel-], but see also crūg and *wrūg. Crakeplace Hall Cmb (Dean) PNCmb p. 367 [+ ME (< OF) –place > ‘place’ in the sense of ‘residence’, ‘Hall’ added later]; regarded by Armstrong et al. as Celtic, but ME crake ‘a crow’ seems very possible.
Crickle YWR PNYWR6 p. 39 [+ OE –hyl], but see crûg for discussion of this and similar place-names in YWR.
Greysouthen Cmb PNCmb p. 397 [+MR personal name –Suthán, so MR creice- is more likely].
Greystoke Cmb PNCmb pp. 195-6 [+ OE –stoc or OE stocc/ON stokkr], but see *crei.

a2) Crec[h]oc Cmb (Upper Denton, = Cretton PNCmb p. 82) Lan Cart 56 + -ǭ: see Todd (2005) at p. 94, where he also gives Crechok Lan Cart 214, probably a field-name in Banks Cmb (Burtholme), but see also crïch.

b2) There are no definite examples of this element as a generic in Brittonic name-phrases, but several apparently Gaelic place-names in southern Scotland could have been Gaelicised from Brittonic originals, e.g:
Craigeny Cmb (Stoneykirk) + hîn- + -tīr.
Craigweys Viv (Mochrum) PNGall p. 82 + -dūβ.
Craigdhu Viv (x2, Glasserton and Kirkcowan) PNGall p. 82 + -dūβ.
Craigdow Loch Ayrs + -dūβ.
Craigdilly Slk (Yarrow) + tāl- + -ǭg, see tāl.
Craigtense Viv (Glasserton) PNGall p. 85 + -hîn- + -tīγ, or Gaelic creag an tighe.
Craiglosk Kcb (Balmaclellan) PNGall p. 88 + -losg.
Craigover MLo (Newton) CPNS p. 137, PNMLo p. 331 + -gâfr, which see, or -woβer, but this is probably a modern, transferred name (see Dixon PNMLo loc. cit.).
Craigover Rox (Maxton) CPNS p. 137 + -gâfr, which see, or –woβer.
Craigower Kcb (Kells) PNGall p. 90 + -gâfr, which see, or –woβer.
Craigower Viv (Inch) PNGall p. 90 + -gâfr, which see, or –woβer.

Cf with these last four, Craigowerhouse Fif, PNFif4 p. 119.

See also *crach for discussion of Crachoctre Brw.

c2) Blênderk Cmb PNCmb pp. 266-7 + blajn-.
Penclaire ELo (East Linton) CPNS pp. 354-5 (incorrectly 345 in CPNS index) + pen[n]-.
TraverCraig Dmf (Durrisdeer) PNMDmf p. 34 + treβ- + 公积-
Torcrâg MLo (Borthwick) PNMLo p. 104 + torr-.
Trochragay Ayrs (Girvan) CPNS p. 360 + treβ- + 公积-

*crei

MW crei, MBret crai.

Etymology obscure.

The sense in Middle Welsh is ‘raw, untreated, unprocessed’, used of meat, milk, dough, cloth etc., though in Middle Breton it is ‘sour, over-fermented’.

It is generally taken to be the origin of the ‘Cray’ family of river-names, see ERN p. 103 and CVEP pp. 61-3, both mainly considering the R Cray Knt. As a river-name, it may have implied ‘fresh’, or ‘rough’ (of the river-bed), or even ‘bubbling’ (as in fermenting).

a1) Cray, with Cray Beck, Gill and Moss YWR (Arncliffe) PNYWR6 p. 116.
Cray YWR (Stainland) PNYWR3 p. 50; a lost stream-name here.
Crailing Rox PNRos p. 17 [+OE –hlinc ‘a ridge, a ledge’], or + diminutive suffix –el [+ OE –ing2 'place named after...'], or else the first element might be a Northumbrian OE cognate of Old Norse krár.
Greystoke Cmb  PNCmb pp. 195-6 [+ OE –stoc, in the sense of ‘an outlying farm’, see EPNE2 pp. 152-6, or OE stoce/ ON stokkr > ‘stock, a tree-stump’, perhaps used as a prominent mark, EPNE2 p. 156], but see also crę:ɡ.

*criβol (f)

MW kryawal, crawl > W criafol, criawol.

‘Berries’, collectively, especially those of rowan. The singulative, criafolen, is a synonym for cerddinen ‘rowan-tree’ (see *ceɾṓın) in Middle Welsh.

c2) Kincriolan Cmb (Brampton) Lan Cart  ? + cejn-, see *ceμ-, noting the reservation expressed there. The form in the Cartulary reflects a singulative *criawolen, with –β- > -w-, implying adoption from late Cumbric into late Old English: see LHEB §65, pp. 414-15, and GMW §10, p. 9.

*crib (f)

Br *cripā- > MW crib, Corn krib, Bret krib

‘A crest’, in place-names ‘a summit-ridge’. In Welsh place-names, AMR shows seven examples (diminutive forms such as cribaf are more common, cf DPNW p. 101); in Cornwall, Padel CPNE p. 70 lists several, though all but four are coastal rock-names. However, it does seem likely at:

a1) Cribbielaw MLo (Stow) PNMLo pp. 363-4 [+ OE –hyll-, + Scots –law]

crič

IE *kripo- ‘short hair, facial stubble’, or *[x]kr- (zero-grade of *[s]ker- < *sek- ‘cut’ + -r-), + -p- > eCelt *crip-so-/ā- > Br *criɣso-/ā-, cf. Gaulish personal name Crix[s]us and Lepontic place-name Crixia (ACPn p. 197) > OW crich-, feminine crech- (see EGOW §38, p. 36), > M-MnW crych, feminine crech, MCorn feminine crech, Corn masculine *krygh (in place-names, CPNE p. 70), Bret feminine krec'h; cogn. Lat crispus (with metathesis).

Basically, ‘crinkled, wrinkled’, probably primarily of hair, but in place-names it could refer to the terrain or, if a stream-name, to the bed and/or the water rippling over it.

a2) Crec[c]hoc Cmb (Upper Denton) Lan Cart 56, and Crechok Cmb (lost field-name in Banks, Burtholme) Lan Cart 214, both + -ǭg, but see discussion under crę:ɡ.

*crïs (gender unknown)

A hypothetical verbal noun associated with MW dy-crysin ‘rush, hasten, attack’, and crysedd ‘onrush’.

This is proposed by Breeze (1999b), as a plausible stream-name in:

c2) Penchrise Burn, with Penchrise Pen, Rox (Cavers) PNRox p. 5 + pen[n]-. Macdonald, PNRox loc. cit., gives ‘hill with a girdle’, presumably invoking OIr crïs > G cryos; there is a hill-
fort here, but pen[\text{n}] is unlikely to have been prefixed to a pre-existing Goidelic name, and no Brittonic cognate of OIr cris is known.

crojs (f)

Lat crux > British Latin *croș, adopted as Br *crogs > OW(\text{LL}) crois > M-MnW croes, OCorn crois, MBret *croes (in place-names), croas > Bret kroaz; O-MIr cro > Ir cros, G crois (note also crasg and croșg, also possibly *cros, see PNBute pp. 493-4 and 543), Mx crois; MIr cros adopted as ON kross, thence as late OE cros > ‘cross’.

Note also the parallel development: Lat crux adopted (by more ‘correct’ speakers of Latin) as Br *crogs > neoBrittonic *crojis > M-MnW croys, OCorn *crows > Corn crous (see CPNE pp. 72-3).


Primarily, ‘a cross’, in place-names, a monument of wood or stone in the form of, carved with, or surmounted by, a cross. Metaphoric extension to ‘a crossing-place’ or ‘a place lying across (a boundary, etc.)’ is common in Welsh and the Goidelic languages (see Márkus's discussion of Crossbeg and Crossmore (Rothesay) in PNBute pp. 492-4 and 543-4), though doubtful in Cornish (CPNE pp. 72-3). In any case, confusion with Gaelic crois or crasg, as well as with the Brittonic elements *cras and cros, and the impossibility (very often) of knowing whether a cross once stood at any particular place, make confident identification and interpretation generally difficult.

a2) Corsick Rox (Smalholm) PNRox p. 35 + ĭg, which see, or –ōg [or + OE –wic: Macdonald, PNRox loc. cit.], but see also cros.
Corsock Kcb (x2: New Abbey and Parton) PNGall p. 79 + –ōg, but see also cros. Tercrosset Cmb (Kingwater) PNCmb p. 97 + torr- + –ōg: Breeze (2006b) at p. 330, argues for crojs here, but see also *cras.
Glencorse MLo (Penicuik) CPNS pp. 145, 486, PNMLo p. 227 + glinn- + –ōg: as Watson, CPNE locs. cits. shows, definitely ‘a crossing-place’, though whether Brittonic or Gaelic *gleann-croiseach is indeterminable.

c2) Drumcross WLo (otherwise Crosston, Bathgate) CPNS p. 146, PNWLo pp. 83 and 87 + *drum-, but Gaelic *druim-crois, ‘crossing place on a ridge’ is more likely here.
Glencrosh Dmf (Glencairn) PNDmf p. 47, and Glencross or Glencorse Dmf (x2, Closeburn and Tynron) CPNS pp. 180 and 486, PNDmf pp. 15 and 125, all + glinn-, or Gaelic *gleann-croise.

*cröw (m)

eCelt *crōwo- > Br *křůwo- > MW creu W crau, Corn krow, Bret kraou; OIr cró > Ir cró, G crò, Mx creu; adopted from Brittonic or Goidelic as OE *cro >, in Modern English dialects, crow, crew, cree, and in Scots dialects crue, croy, cray; adopted from OIr cró as Icelandic kró.

In English and Scots dialects, this word occurs throughout the Scottish lowlands and northern England, and even south of the Humber: see Wakelin (1969).

The earliest sense, preserved to some extent in the Goidelic languages, and probably seen in CA AB23(XXIIIAB), is probably ‘a defensive stockade’ or ‘a barrier of spears’. However, in non-military contexts it refers to some simple wooden enclosure or building, ‘a hut, cabin, hovel, penfold or pigsty’.
Mathreu BT61(VII) may be an error for *Machreu, + moch-, see Williams at PT p. 81. Cf. Muckra Slk and Muckraw WLo below, and see under –μα and treβ.

a1) Crew Cmb (Bewcastle) PNCmb p. 61.

b1) Muckra Slk (Ettrick) CPNS p. 138, and Muckraw WLo (Torphichen) CPNS p. 147, PNWLo pp. 96-7, are probably Gaelic *muc-rATH or *mucrach, but possibly replacing a Brittonic formation + moch-, which see.

b2) Crewgarth Cmb (Ousby) PNCmb p. 229 ? + -garth; but a Middle English formation with dialectal crew- + -garth < ON garð is likely.

crůg (m)

?IE *[x]kr- (zero-grade of *[x]ker- 'turn, bend') + -Vk- > eCelt *crouco- > early Br *croc:co- > late Br *cruco- > OW cru < M-MnW crug, O-MnCorn cruch, OBret cru < Bret kruug; adopted as Olr crúach > M-Mn Ir crúa-ch, Gl cruach, early Mx crock; adopted as OE crūc, crȳc, crȳē (see EPNE1 p. 115, LPN pp. 159-63); ?cogn. Gmc *grugiaz < OE hryēg > 'ridge', ON hryggr > Scots and northern English rig.


‘An isolated, abrupt hill’ (Gelling and Cole, LPN p. 159) seems a good definition for the Celtic word as well as for its use in Old English place-naming; sometimes just ‘a hillock, a knoll’, also a man-made mound, cairn or barrow. In Irish and Gaelic the adopted word came to be used for haystacks, turf-clamps etc; in Manx, the earlier crock was superseded by other hill-words, notably cronk, see cnuc[h] (in Modern Manx, crock is the English word, ‘a pot’, etc.).

Croucingum PNRB p. 328, located by Rivet and Smith ‘apparently in southern Scotland’, seems to show an early Celtic diphthong –ou- and an early Celtic suffix -inc-. The spelling –ing- may be a miscopying, but could reflect British Latin pronunciation, or even Germanic influence (cf. the Old English –ing suffixes, see EPNE pp. 282-303, GOE §450, pp. 181-2, and Lass (1994), §8.3.3A(v), pp. 201-2).

The word seems to have been adopted into English, at least as a place-naming element, at different times in different areas, see Gelling and Cole LPN p. 159, Probert 2007 pp. 234-7, and Padel 2013b pp. 6 and 22-3. There are few place-names in the North where the Brittonic element, rather than its English-adopted form, can be confidently identified, and confusion with crȳg is possible.

a1) Combinations with English elements that might be based on a pre-existing Brittonic name, they could be formations with OE crūc, include:

Carscreugh Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 61, PNRLV p. 63, Brooke (1991) at p. 320 [+ME/Scots castel-; early forms have Castel-, Cas-, Cres-]. MacQueen in PNRLV favours Scots carse- prefixed to (presumably pre-existing) Gaelic -croabhach ‘wooded’.

Castle Greg Stg WLoPN p. 18 [+ME/Scots castel-], but see also crȳg and *wrūg.

Croichlow Fold Lanc (Bury) PN Lanc p. 63, JEPN17 p. 43 [+OE –hlāw, but the first element would have been, or have become, OE crȳē-].

Grougfoot WLo (Bo’ness and Carriden) PNWLo pp. 29-30 [+ OE –fōt > ‘foot’]; the initial voicing is unexplained, may be a trace of a lost definite article ɪ[r].

The Old English formation crȳc-hyll is widespread (see LPN pp. 161-3), and often serves as a specifier to an Old English generic, so it may be regarded as a common noun used in English
place-name formation. That being so, any Brittonic predecessor cannot be assumed. Examples in the North include several in YWR (references are to PNYWR) Creekhill Gate and Close (field-names in Arksey) 1 p. 26, Creekle, with Crickle Beck, (Martons, E. Staincliffe) 6 p. 39, Crigglestone (Sandal Magna) 2 p. 101, Crikelez (lost f-n in Lindley) 2 p. 302; any of these could have been formed with crūg or crēg, or be wholly English formations. Cruggleton Wig is probably OE * crūc-hyll-tūn, though again it may have been formed on a pre-existing crūg: however, Brooke’s proposal (1991 at p. 318) involving Brittonic crūg-+ OE –hyl- + Gaelic -dūn, seems unnecessarily complicated. MacQueen, PNWigMM p. 19, compares it with Crigglestone YWR. Kirkley Ntb, PNNtb p. 214, is probably OE * crȳc-hyll-lēah.

Kirkby, in a number of cases, appears to be a hill-name where there is no evidence for a church or ‘church-farm’ (ON kirka-by): M. Spence, at a meeting of the English Place-Name Society (2006), argued that this may be a Scandinavian substitution for OE crýc-berg.

b2) Croglin Cmb PNCmb p. 183 ? + -fīnn, but the location favours ON krókr- > ‘crook’, ‘a bend’ + OE -hlynn ‘a torrent’.

Kenyon Lanc (Golborne) PNLanc pp. 98-9, JEPNS17 p. 56 ? + Brittonic personal name Einjǭn, see Ekwall’s discussion in PNlanc, loc. cit.

c2) Bargrug Kcb (Kirkgunzeon) PNGall p. 24 + bar[r]-, but the lenition would be irregular; *wrūg may be preferable, or Gaelic *baile-gruaig ‘farm with long grass’.

Cumcrook Cmb (Bellbank) PNCmb p. 59 + cum-, see cum[b]: the formation is Celtic, although both elements were adopted into Old English.

Gilcrux PNCmb p. 287 + *cīl-, influenced by ON gig ‘a ravine’ and Latin crux ‘a cross’, but Gaelic *cīl-cruaich ‘a church with a (notable) cross’ is not impossible here.

*crum[b]

?IE *krumb- > eCelt *crumbo-/ā- > Br * crumbo-/ā- > MW crum > W crwom, Corn crom, OBret crum > MBret crom, croum > Bret kronm; Olr cromb > Mlr cromm > Ir, G crom, Mx croym; cogn. Gmc *krumbo- > OE crumb > E (northern dialects) and Scots crom, crum.

The origin of this word in Celtic and Germanic, along with related words like ‘cramp’, ‘crimp’ and ‘crumple’, is somewhat uncertain. A root common to Celtic and Germanic, whether Indo-European or not, seems to be implied.

‘Bent, crooked, curved’, in names usually of, or associated with, watercourses. As well as the Goidelic forms, the presence of Old English crumb, not to mention an unrelated Old Norse personal name Krumr, makes identification of Brittonic formations difficult. The survival of crom, crum in Scots and northern English may well have been encouraged by both Cumbric and Gaelic usage, especially among migrants during the tenth and eleventh centuries throughout the North: see A. James (2008), and discussion of the ‘Crummock’ group of names below.

a2) Cromack Close YWR (Pudsey) PNYWR3 p. 239.

Cromock Hole YWR (Stainburn) PNYWR5 p. 50.

Cromoke Howsestead YWR (Otley) PNYWR4 p. 208.

Crumack YWR (Oxenhope) PNYWR3 p. 264

Crumack Close YWR (Bingley) PNYWR4 p. 170.

Crummock YWR (Austwick) PNYWR6 p. 229, where Smith also discusses the other YWR examples listed here.

Crummock Beck Cmb PNCmb p. 10.

Crummock Croftes YWR (Giggleswick) PNYWR6 p. 147.

Crummock Holme YWR (Morley) PNYWR3 p. 54.
Crummock Water Cmb (lake, and former name of the upper reach of the R Cocker, flowing into the lake) PNCmb p. 33. All the above are probably + -āc, though where early forms are lacking, Old English *cūn-aec ‘crooked oak’ cannot be ruled out, nor the surname Crummock which is well-attested, though never prolific, in Airedale, Craven and north-eastern Bowland where the eight YWR examples are located. This cluster suggests that the word may have been adopted into the local dialect of Middle English in a general sense of ‘something crooked’, perhaps from Cumbric-speaking immigrants during the Scandinavian period (see A. James 2008), or even from migrant Welsh shepherds, miners, etc. at a later date. Of these YWR ‘Crumsacks’, only Crummock (Austwick) is recorded before the sixteenth century.

b1) Ancrum Rox PNRox pp. 8-9 + river-name Ale, see *al-; OE crumb, being an adjective, does not normally occur as a generic, so if this an OE formation, it shows Celtic influence.

c1) Cramalt Burn and Craig Slk CPNS p. 138 + -alt, or Gaelic *cromailt ‘bend in a burn’.

Crimble Beck YWR ERN pp. 104-5, PNYWR7 p. 124 + -pol; Crimble Dale Beck PNYWR7 p. 124 and Crimple Sike (lost field-name in Horsworth) PNYWR4 p. 152, are apparently from the same origin, but note OE *crymel ‘a small piece (of land or water)’ EPNE1 p. 118, PNLanc p. 167, which Smith sees in Crimble (Golcar) PNYWR2 p. 293, Crimbles (x3, Netherthong PNYWR2, p.287, Pudsey 3 p. 238, Stocksbridge 1 p. 258), and Crimsworth, with Crimsworth Dean, YWR (Wadsworth) PNYWR3 p. 200 (though note that this could be from a stream-name, early forms favour crymel, but do not rule out Brittonic *crom-pol); Ekwall likewise sees crymel in Crimbles Lanc (Cockerham), PNLanc pp. 166-7.

cū[n] (m)

IE *kwōn- > eCelt *cū-, oblique cūno- > Br, Gaul cu-, cuno- > OW cu, cun > M-MnW ci, cŵn, OCorn ki, *cūn > Corn ky, kuen, cūn- (in a compound, see CPNE pp. 58 and 76), Bret ki, *ko[u]n; Olk cú, con > M-MnIr cú, con, G cú, coin, Mx coo, coyin; cogn. Lat canis, Gmc *kondaz > OE hund ‘hound’, Gk κύον, kunós, Skt śva, śivan.

See LHEB §63 p. 413, but note that Jackson assumes IE *kwōn- rather than *kwōn-, which would give early Celtic *cwō-, cwuno-, and would require irregular failure of -kw- > -p- in P-Celtic.

‘One of the most widely attested words in Indo-European’ Mallory and Adams OIPrIE p. 138. ‘A dog’, but in the Celtic and Germanic languages, specifically ‘a hound’. A very popular element in Celtic personal names; its status as a place-name element is doubtful, though it may occur in some early river-names.

a2) Water of Ken, with Kenmure, Glenkens and Loch Ken, Kcb PNGall p. 162 + -ed- + -jo-, but *cein[d]- (see can[d]) or cant- + -jo-, or *cōned- are equally possible.


On the possibility that Consent Drh may incorporate a personal name *Cūn-āco see under *cūnig.

c1) Conglas Lnk (burn in East Kilbride) CPNS p. 458 + *gless, which see; however, Conglas may be an erratic form for the surviving farm-name Knoweglass in E. Kilbride (P. Lyon, pers. comm.)
c2) *Manhinchon* Wig (Craighlaw) Brookes (1991) at p. 320 ? + *mayn- + [h]ūn-.

See also *cônêd* and *cônôd*.

**cûl (m)**

Early Modern Welsh cûl ‘a hut, bothy, sty, kiln’ is of obscure origin, but might be preferable to *cûl* in:
b2) Culbratten Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 97, PNWigMM p. 23 + -[r]- + -Brîthon, but Gaelic *cùl nam Beatann ‘nook, hollow of the Britons’ is likely.

*culruther* Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 150, PNWigMM p. 112 + rô- or rûô-, + -ar or -du[hr]: but see *cûl- for discussion.

**cûl**

eCelt *cailo-/ä- > Br *coilo-/ä- > M-MnW *cul, O-MnCorn *cul OBret *cul; OIr *côl > Ir, G, Mx caol.

See LHEB §15, pp. 302-3, §22.2(3), pp. 315-17, and §23(2) at p. 320.

Adjective, ‘narrow’. Replacement by, or confusion with, Gaelic *caol*, is possible, but that element seems not to be common in southern Scotland.

a1) Kyle, R YNR ERN p. 232, PNYNR p. 4 + suffix –īso-, but see LHEB §21, pp. 311-12, and §22.2(3), at pp. 316-17. See also *al- for a possible alternative name for this river.

b2) This element might have been used as a noun, cf. Gaelic *caol* ‘a narrow place, a strait’, but there is no record of such usage in Brittonic:
Colvend Kcb PNGall p. 76 ? + *wînn, implying a feminine noun.
Culbratten Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 97, PNWigMM p. 23 + -[r]- + -Brîthon, but see *cûl-.

*Culmalzie* Wig (Kirkinner), on the Mailzie Burn, see *maɣ* and –īg.

*Cul Inchin* Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 150, PNWigMM p. 112 + rô- or rûô-, + -ar or -du[hr], looks like a lost stream-name of the ‘Rother’ type, see rô- and rûô-. Unless *Culruther* 1462 was a scribal error, this was presumably close to, but not necessarily the same place as, Glenruther; however, this was earlier *Clonriddin* (sic) 1137; on the basis of that form MacQueen, PNWigMM p. 112, proposes Gaelic *cluain-rïdir ‘knight’s meadow’, suggesting a possible association with the Templars or Hospitallers; it would also have been a strategic location during the period of division and conflict in the earldom of Galloway in the third quarter of the twelfth century (A. Livingston pers. comm.).

c1) in the following, *cûl* could be either a pre-positioned adjective or a (b2) noun:


**cum[b], cum[m] (m, but also f in British and Gaulish)**
IE *kumbh- > eCelt *cumbo/-a- > Br, Gaul *cumbo/-a- > OW(LL) cum > M-MnW cwm, Corn *comm (in place-names, CPNE pp. 63-4), Bret komm; ? adopted as O-MnL cúm and cf. Ir, G com ‘a cavity, a hollow’ (see IPN p. 59); ? adopted as OE cumb, Scots coomb ; cogn. Gk kumbē, Skt kumbha.


The meaning given by Cole in Nomina 6 (1982), pp. 73-87, for Old English cumb, ‘a short, broad valley, usually bowl- or trough-shaped, with three fairly steeply rising sides’, seems appropriate to most examples in the North, whether Brittonic or English in origin, though some in low-lying parts of Cumberland are in quite shallow depressions. The root is associated with ‘bowls’ and ‘pots’ in the Greek and Sanskrit cognates.

Not many cases in northern England can be confidently ascribed to Brittonic; however, second-syllable stress in names like Cumrew confirms a Brittonic, probably Cumbric, origin: see LHEB p. 226. In southern Scotland, the only examples seem to be in simplex forms, see (a1) below.

a1) Simplex names may be Brittonic or Old English/Scots:
Coomb Burn Dmf (Wamphray) PNDmf p. 128.
Coomb Dod Lnk/Pbl border.
Coomb Sike Dmf (Langholm) PNDmf p. 85.
Cooms Dmf (Ewes) PNDmf p. 40.
Cowm, with Cowm Brook, Lanc (Rochdale) PNlanc p. 59.
White Coomb Dmf (Moffat).

b1) Pulinkum Wig (Kirkmaiden) PNRGLV p. 85 (not in PNGall) ? + *pol- + -wïnn:- perhaps Brittonic *wînn-cum[b] with Gaelic pol- added and -wïnn- replaced by Gaelic fhïonn.

b2) A striking cluster of names in ‘Cum-’ in north-east Cumberland (most of them first or only recorded in the Lanercost Cartulary) suggest that this formation was favoured by a particular group of colonists, probably Cumbric-speaking settlers, or indigenous Cumbric speakers involved in a major reorganisation of landholdings, in the central middle ages (cf. lanerc):
Cumcatch Cmb (Brampton) PNCmb p. 66 + *-eac’h.
Cumcrock Cmb (Bellbank) PNCmb p. 59 + -crǔg: both elements could be English adopts, but the formation is Celtic.
Cumdvick Cmb (Dalston) PNCmb p. 132 + a lost stream-name, or a personal name *Dūβǭg < dūβ- + -ǭg.
Cumheuerain Cmb (Kingwater; also possibly another in Walton) Lan Cart 151, 204 + *-heuer- (see *haμar) + -wïnn: see Todd (2005, especially at p. 99; alternatively, + *gweβr- + -in. Either way, cum[b]- is probably a secondary addition by Cumbric speakers.
Cumquencath Cmb (Burtholme) PNCmb p. 71 + personal name –Wengad, cf. Guencat CA IIIB (B39) and Breton Guengat. This same personal name may occur in Quinquaythil Cmb (? Walton) Lan Cart 224, 259-63 [+ OE –hyll], in Cumquethil Cmb (unlocated) Lan Cart 260 [again + OE –hyll], which might be the same place as Quinquaythil, and maybe in Friar Waingate Bridge (Kingwater); see Todd op. cit. at pp. 91-2 and 99. If this is the origin of Quinquaythil, Q- implies [gw-], so it was not formed – or at any rate not adopted by English speakers – until the ninth century or later, see LHEB §49, pp. 385-94. However, Cumquethil could be cum[b]- + -eç:d-, see discussion under ç:e:d.
Cumrech Cmb (Irthington) Lan Cart 225 ? + -fríčh, see bruïth: possibly a stream-name, or the valley of a stream named *Brích. See Todd op. cit. pp. 92 and 97. Otherwise, it may be a formation + ð[r]- + an unknown element.
Cumrew Cmb PNCmb p. 77 + -rīw, which see.

A few place-names in Cumberland have ‘Cum-’ prefixed to an apparently non-Celtic second element, suggesting ex-nomine formation by Cumbric-speakers on pre-existing Northumbrian Old English names:
Cumrenton Cmb (Irthington) PNCmb p. 92: forms from 1582 have –renton, but also -rintinge, and no certain etymology is possible.
Cumwhinton Cmb (Wetherall) PNCmb pp. 161-2 + saint’s name or Norman-French personal name Quentin: if it was a personal name, it must have been a very late (late eleventh or early twelfth century) Cumbric formation. However, the cult of St Quentin was known to Bede, and there were churches dedicated to him at Kirkmahoie Dmf and Kirk Hammerton YWR, as well as a relic in York Minster, so it is possible that this place was associated with a Northumbrian church or mynster dedicated to this martyr. Nevertheless, the formation with prefixed cum[b]- must still have been relatively late.
Cumwhitton Cmb PNCmb pp. 78-9 + a pre-existing Northumbrian Old English place-name -*Hwītingtūn.
day

eCelt *dago-/ā- > Br, Gaul dago- (in personal names) > OW –dag (in personal names), LL då, dag- > M-MnW da, > Corn ?*da (see CPNE pp. 80 and 334), Bret da; OIr dag, deg- > M-MnIr, G deagh, Mx jeih- in compounds.

See LHEB §76, p. 445, and §81 pp. 458-9. See also *dewr.

‘Good’.

Watson, CPNS p. 400, suggests that this may underlie:
Dechmont Hill Lnk (Cambuslang).
Dechmont, with Dechmont Law, WLo PNWLp. pp. 77-8.
Both + -móniō, and in both cases replaced with the MIr/eG superlative dech-. Alternatively, Br teco- > O-MnW teg ‘fair’ (see EGOW p. 145), might have been similarly replaced (as suggested by Wilkinson, WLoPN p. 18). Both hills, as Watson says, command good views, but the adjective, whether ‘good’ or ‘fair’, might have applied to the quality of the hill-pasture (see móniō).

*dagr (n, later m)

IE *[d]h₂ekru- > IE(WC) daker- > eCelt *dacru̯- > Br *dācrū- > MW dagreu, singulative deigr, > W dagrau, singulative deigr[y]n, OCorn dacr- > Corn dager, singulative dagren, OBret dacr > MBret plural dazrau > Bret plural daerou; OIr dér > Ml déor > Ir deoir, G deur, Mx jeir; cogn. OLat dacruma > Lat lacrima, PrOE *teahur > ‘tear’, Gk dákru.

See OIPrIE §11.6 at p. 191, LHEB §61, p. 412, and GMW §30(c3), p. 30, and §32(c), p. 33.

‘Tears, weeping’, in the Celtic languages generally an uncountable collective noun with singulative and/or analogical plural forms for ‘a teardrop’ and ‘teardrops’. Semantic extension to ‘damp, moisture, wetness’ of any kind, but especially ‘trickling’, is reflected in place-names based on (former) stream-names:

a1) Dacre, with Dacre Beck, Cmb ERN p. 111, PNCmb pp. 10 and 185.
Dacre, with Dacre Banks, YWR (Ripon) PNYWR5 pp. 139-40.

Note that Dockra and Dockraw Ayrs, Dockray Cmb and Wml, Docker Wml and Lanc, are all likely to have either OE doce ‘dock, sorrel’ (Rumex spp., also perhaps ‘butterbur’ Petasites spp. or ‘yellow water-lily’ Nuphar lutea, see EPNE1 p. 133, and Grigson 1955, pp. 235-6), + -ra (nominal suffix, see EPNE2 p. 78), or else AScand *dakk- (Old Norse dǫkk) ‘a hollow’ + Old Norse -erg ‘a shieling’ or –rá ‘a land-mark, a boundary’. Ekwall PNLa c. 185, suggests dǫkk- in Docker Lanc (Whittington), and Smith in PNWml 1, p. 130, takes up that suggestion for Docker Wml (New Hutton); early forms for Docker Lanc include Darcherga 1294, and the same or similar for Docker Wml from 1154 on, so -erg is likely in those two names.
*dantǭg (m)

IE *h₁dont- ‘a tooth’ > eCelt *dant- + -āco- (see –ǭg) > Br *dantāco- > MW dannog,
OCorn -denshoc > Corn –dosak.


Literally, ‘toothed’, applied in Welsh and Cornish to betony (*Stachys officinalis). This plant is near the northern limit of its natural distribution in southern Scotland, so local abundance might have been noteworthy. The Botanical Society of the British Isles Atlas of British and Irish Flora (accessed 20.06.07) shows pre-1970 records for this species in hectads on the Carrick coast Ayrs and in southern Kcb.

However, it should be noted that the appearance of this plant in mediaeval and early modern herbals probably derives from a misidentification of Pliny the Elder’s betonίka. It is doubtful whether betony was really much used, let alone cultivated, as a medicinal herb, though it was occasionally applied to wounds or drunk as an infusion. Like English ‘betony’, *dantǭg might well have been used for other plants with toothed leaves. See Allen and Hatfield (2004), pp. 212-13.

It is perhaps present in:
c2) Bardennoch Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 23 + barr-; this is an unlikely location for betony, but ‘toothed’ might apply to the topography; but see tān.
Tradunnock Ayrs (Maybole) CPNS pp. 391-2, SPN² p. 216 + treβ-: see Breeze (2000c) at pp. 55-6, or -redin- + -ǭg, which see, and see also James (2014b) pp. 29 and 35.

dār (f), derw, dru- (normally f, but variable)

1) IE *doru- > eCelt *daru- > OW(LL) plural deri > M-MnW dår, OCorn dar, OBret dar; O-MIr daire, daur, eG dair > Ir, G doire, and cf. G darach, Mx darrag; cogn. Gk dόρu, Skt dāru.

2) IE *deru- (e-grade of *doru-) > eCelt *derw- > Br, Gaul deruo- > OW singulative derwen > M-MnW collective derw, Corn collective derow (see CPNE p. 80), Bret collective derv, dero.

3) IE *dru- (zero-grade of *doru-) > eCelt *dru- > Br, Gaul Dru- (in personal names) > Pictish Dru- (in personal names); ?OIr drui > Ir druadh, draoi, G drúidh, Mx druaidh, all ‘a druid’, and cf. W derwydd; cogn. Gmc *trewan > OE *tréow > ‘tree’, ON tré, Gk δρuíx, Skt dru-.

These represent the principal Indo-European root meaning ‘a tree’, found e.g. in Greek ‘an oak’, and in the Celtic languages, collectively ‘oaks, an oakwood’. See Friedrich (1970), pp. 140-6, OIPrIE §10.1, pp. 156-7, and §10.5, pp. 169-70, and DCCPN pp. 17-18 s.v. deruo- and dru-. On oaks in Celtic mythology, see PCB pp. 59-65 and 346-51, DCM p. 309, DCML p. 164. The etymology of ‘druid’ is controversial: an alternative derivation would involve early Celtic *derwo- > Middle Welsh derw ‘true’, Old Irish derb ‘sure’.

Hind (1980b), pp. 547-8, supported by Hamp (1982b), pp. 42-4, sees the root *derw- in Deura...anglice Deira HB61 (also Deur HB61 and 63; De[i]ri etc. in HE). The form Deur is explained by them as showing diphthongisation before [-w], but the unroanding in Bede’s Anglicised form requires *Deurji- with Brittonic final i-affection (certainly not Old English i-mutation). The regional name might be associated with that of the River Derwent YNR-YER, see below, but see also *dewr.
The root *derw- (see (2) above) has traditionally been associated with river-names of the ‘Derwent’ type. These are mainly in Britain, but seeACP pp. 69-70 and map 12.10 for examples in Gaul and Persia. The formation would be with the participial suffix –ent-, or possibly –went-; + -jo-: see ERN pp. 121-2, PNRB pp. 334-5, LHEB §6 at p. 282 and §107, pp. 502-3 (for neoBrittonic and Anglicised forms), and cf. Bede’s Deruentionis fluvii HE IV.29 and Diorwentionis fluvii VCP, for the River Derwent Cmb, discussed below. However, Kitson (1996), at pp. 77-81 and 94, has argued that these reflect a British re-interpretation of an ancient river-name *drawant- < IE *dreh- (from *dreha ‘run’, see OIPrIE §8.3 at p. 127, and §22.12 at p. 398) + –w- (from *awe-), see *awl- (cf. Sanskrit dravant ‘running’ and river-name Dravanti).

For discussion of Rayadr Derwenydd CA LXXXVIII (A87), in the lullaby Pais Dinogad, see rejadər, and on Derwenydd in mediaeval Welsh poetry, see Haycock 2013, p. 27 n37).

The river-name Derwent Cmb is first evidenced in the name of the fort at Papcastle, Derventio PNRB pp. 334-5. Note Bede’s Deruentionis fluvii HE IV.29, and Diorwentionis fluvii in VCP, for this river: C. Smith (1979) at p. 5 suggests that, as this form does not occur in VCA, it may reflect an eighth century local pronunciation known to Bede himself. For later forms see PNCmb p. 11.

The Derwent YNR-YER is likewise evidenced in the name of the fort at Malton, Derventio[ne]. For this, Bede has annem Deruentionem HE 11.9 and 13, again favouring –went; or later forms see ERN pp. 121 - 2, PNYER pp. 2 – 3, and PNYNR p. 3.

Other rivers of the ‘Derwent’ type in the North are:

The root dār (see (1) above), or plural deri (as in LL), or else *der[w]-, > *dar- in Scots, may be present in:

a1) Daer Water Lnk CPNS p. 469; Watson says this is probably identical with Dare’ of Aberdare Glm, for which see DPNW p. 4, though the doubts expressed above apply to Owen and Morgan’s interpretation of Aberdare, and recorded forms for the Daer Water leave Watson’s equation in doubt.
Darow Burn Kcb (Girthon) PNGall p. 105.

b2) Dercongal, earlier Dergungal, Darcungal etc., Dmf (= Holywood) CPNS p. 169, PNDmf p. 59 + saint’s name *Conval; the Melrose Liber forms with Der-, Dar-, consistently confirm dār, it is not a saint’s name + *dgel- formation. Note the several places named Kirkconnel in Dmf (Kirkconnel parish, and in Kirkpatrick Fleming and Tynron) and Kcb (Tongland and Troqueer), note also Kilwhannel Ayrs (Ballantrae); on these, and the problems in distinguishing forms of the saints’ names Comgall and Conval (Convallus in VK(J)), see Macquarrie 2012, pp. 344-5 with nn19-20, 347-9 with nn61-6, 353 with n2, and 423 with n47. The Premonstratensian abbey was founded at Holywood in the late twelfth century by John, Lord of Kirkconnel.
Darling How Cmb (Wythop), which may or may not be the same as Darlinhou, with Darelin, in the Lanercost Cartulary, PNCmb p. 457 + -lînn-, probably a stream-name [+ ME –howe < OE – hōh ‘a heel-shaped hill-spur’, or ON haugr ‘a mound’].

See also duβr for Deer Burn Dmf, and Taylor’s discussion of Dairsie Fif, PNFif4 at p. 327, and mayes for Moss Derry Kcb (Girthon).
dehou

IE *dei- [zero-grade of *deik- ‘right, correct’] + -s- > eCelt *deks- + -iwo-/ā- > Br. *degiwo-/ā-, Gaul Dess- (in place-names) > OW(LLL) dehou > MW deheu > W deau, de, Corn dyhow. Bret dehou; OIr deis > Ir, G deas, Mx jiass; cogn. Lat dexter, Gk deksios, Skt dakṣina.

The suffix –iwo- in Celtic (and Greek) is exceptional. For Brittonic developments, see LHEB §125, p. 535.

The nominal and adjectival developments from the root *deik- bear, in nearly all Indo-European language-groups, the meanings ‘right hand’ and ‘south’, along with auspicious connotations.

Proposed by Breeze (2002d), pp. 34-5, with the meaning ‘south’, in:
c2) Cadzow Lnk (= Hamilton) + *cej-, which see, but see also电缆.

dely (n, later m)

IE(NW) *dhelg- > eCelt *delgo- > Br *delgo- > OW(LLL) dal, dala, OCorn dele[h]; OIr delg > Ir, G dealg; cogn. Lat fālxa ‘a sickle, a bill-hook’, OE dalc ‘a brooch, a clasp’.

See LHEB §87, pp. 466-8.

An Indo-European verbal root meaning ‘pierce, sting’, giving a noun meaning ‘a pin, a thorn, etc.’, and, by metonymy, referring to various kinds of dress-ornament having pins, clasps, etc. In Gaelic place-names, the reference of dealg is presumably to thorns, but it seems to be rare in southern Scotland.

The Brittonic form seems to be seen only in Delgovicia, probably the fort at Wetwang YER PNRB pp. 331-2, and see Jackson (1970) at p. 72; ? +-wig, but see discussion under that element. If, as suggested there, it is based on an ethnic name, delgo- may signify ‘spear’ or suchlike.

dẹ:w (m or f)

IE *deiwo-leh₂- (adjectival form from *deih₂- ‘shine, be bright’, via *dh₂eι[u]- with laryngeal metathesis and o-stem termination) ‘brightly shining one’, hence ‘day’ > eCelt *deiwo-/ā- > Br dēwo-/ā-, Gaul Deo-, Diuo- (in personal names) > OW duiu- > MW dww > W dwe, OCorn dūy > Corn *dev (in place-names, see CPNE p. 82), MBret doue; OIr die > Ir, G dia, Mx jee; cogn. Lat deus, divus, Gmc *Tīwaz > OE Tīw ON Týr, Gk Zeús, Skt deva-.


The basic Indo-European word for ‘god’, etymologically associated with brightness, light, the sky and the day (see above and OIPrIE reference). While *Dięus was probably an Indo-European sky-god, in the Celtic languages *deiwo- was a common noun, ‘a god’, not the name of a deity until it was adopted as such with the coming of Christianity, doubtless following Christian use of Latin Deus.
The feminine form *deiueh₂ > *de:wā- ‘a goddess’ occurs as the name of several rivers in Britain, and related forms in river-names or derived settlement-names in Ireland, Gaul and Spain (PNRB pp. 336-7, ACPN pp. 70-1 and map 12.22). As Isaac points out (2005 p. 192), the use of this word in naming rivers is ‘a diagnostically Celtic cultural phenomenon’. Ptolemy’s Dēoūa is the R Dee Kcb (PNRB p. 337, CPNS p. 50, PNGall p. 106, Isaac 2005 pp. 191-2).

However, Dee R YWR PNYWR7 p. 126, is a late back-formation from Dent (see PNYWR6 p. 253). The relationship between this river-name and the place-name Dent is problematic, it is uncertain whether Dent was primarily a location-name or the ancient name of the river, see *dinn.

a2) A form *de:w-jo- seems to underlie what may be a lost river-name Deuwy BT62 (VIII), Dyuwy BT60 (VI): see PT pp. 102-3.

A form *de:w-onā- may underlie river-names of the ‘Don’ type, including: Doon R Ayrs CPNS p. 212; see also SPN² p. 229 on the ‘pairing’ of rivers of the ‘Dee’ and ‘Don’ types, cf. Ptolemy’s Dēōiāna, a place on, and named from, the R Don Abd (PNRB p. 338, Isaac 2005 p. 192), but see also *dǭn.

A similar formation is not impossible for river-names of the ‘Devon’ type, but these are generally taken to be from *dūb-onā-, see dūβ, and also duβ[i]n.

* dewr (m as a noun)

Early Celt *dego- (see day) + -wiro- (see wir) > late Br *de��’wirə > MW deur, OBret deurr; OIr dagfer.

‘Bold, brave [man]’, used as both a noun and an adjective in Middle Welsh.

Breeze (1997) suggests that the plural, as an ethnic name, underlies Deura...anglice Deira HB61 (also Deur HB61 and 63; De[i]ri etc. in HE). The form deivyr CA VA (A5) etc. (alongside deur, dewr) may support this, but unmodified single-element forms like this are not typical of British ethnic names. At several points in CA it is unclear whether these words mean ‘Deira’, ‘Deirans’ or simply ‘brave men’; where deivyr does refers to the Deirans, it may reflect popular etymology or poetic word-play. On the long-continued use by Welsh writers of Deifr as a term for the English see Haycock 2013 pp. 10 and 32 n48. See also dār.

*dīn (m)

IE(NW) *dhǭhm- (zero-grade of *dhǭhom- ‘earth’) + -on- > eCelt *don-jo- > Br *donjo- > M-MnW dyn, Corn den, Bret den; O-MnIr, G duine, Mx dooinney; cf. Lat homō, humānus, OE guma, ON gumi.

For the Indo-European origins and cognates, see OIPrelIE §8.1 at p. 210 and §12.1 at p. 206. For Brittonic development, see LHEB §166(1), p. 595, and §167, pp. 597-9.

‘A human being, a person’.

A form with -an, or an archaic participial –and, probably underlies several place-names in Wales of the form ‘Dinan’, associated with standing stones: AMR lists records from five parishes, and
see Richards (1990/1), p. 378. A similar sense, ‘a little man’ or ‘something resembling a person’, could be appropriate in:

a2) Dinnand YNR (Danby) PNYNR p. 132: there is a boundary-stone here, see Coates CVEP p. 343.
Dinnans Wigtownshire PNGall p. 109: there are no obvious standing stones here, though there are promontory forts and iron-age settlements in the vicinity.
Dinnins, or Dinnings, Kirkcudbrightshire PNGall p. 109; the suffix here may be -īn, giving a similar sense. It is close to the Solway/ Ayr watershed.

However, sixteenth century forms for both Dinnans and Dinnins favour –u- in the first syllable, and Gaelic ā is frequently fronted and unrounded in Galloway place-names (PNRGLV p. 92): if these names are formed with dīn-, this could have replaced dīn-, which see.

dīn (m, earlier also n)

?IE(Celtic and Germanic only) *dheu-no- or *dheuh-no- > eCelt *dūno- > Br, Gaul duno- > OW(LL) din > M-MnW din, Corn *dyn (in place-names, CPNE p. 84), OBret din; O-Mr dún, G dún, Mx *dun (possibly in a place-name, see DMxPN pp. 101-2); cogn. WGmc *tūnaz > OE tūn ‘a farming settlement’ > ‘town’; Gaulish dūno- may have been adopted as LowWGmc *dīn > OE dūn ‘a hill’, but see Gelling in LPN p. 164 and ACPN p. 13 n59.

The IE etymology is very uncertain: it might involve the root *dheu-, see duβ[i]n, and see OIPrIE §13.1 at p. 223, ACPN pp. 12-13 with notes 57 and 59, ibid. pp. 73-4 and map 12.2, DCCPN p. 18, PNRB p. 275, and Jackson (1982a) at p. 33. For the development in Brittonic see LHEB §23, pp. 317-21.

In the Celtic languages, ‘a fort’, often – but not necessarily – a hill-fort. The relationship with Old English tūn and dūn is very problematic, and raises semantic issues that may well be relevant to the history of the Celtic word: is the sense primarily ‘a defensive enclosure’ or ‘a hill’? Perhaps ‘a place of refuge’ comes closest to the core sense.

The Brittonic word may have been widely replaced in the North by Gaelic dūn (see Watson, CPNS p. 372), and perhaps in compounds by Old English dūn (as a generic in second position), while interaction among the three languages may have complicated the semantics of each still further. Gaelic dūn, in its turn, is often confused with druim ‘a ridge’ (see drum), and Old English dūn often falls together with denu ‘a valley’ (see LPN p. 167).

The possibility is raised below (see (b2) Dunbar) that the fronting ŏ > ū > ũ may have been late in the north of our region; this would, of course, have increased the likelihood of confusion with Old English dūn and (if we accept the presence of Goidelic-speaking clerics in the area as early as the seventh century), Old Irish dūn.

It is notable that the Goidelic cognate dūn/ dùn does not occur in compound place-names in Ireland or Scotland (and Taylor notes important early fortified sites in Fife without dùn names, PNFif5 p. 360), though it is extremely common in (presumably later) name-phrases in both countries (see IPN pp. 75 – 9, MacDonald 1980-1); in Scottish Gaelic, it apparently came to be used of unfortified hills and hillocks (see Dwelly s.n., and MacDonald op. cit. p. 38, but cf. Taylor in PNFif5 p. 359). It is very rare or absent in Mann.

Another phonological consideration is the frequent devoicing of initial d- > t- when dīn is the generic of a name-phrase (cf. Tintagel Cwl and Tintern Mon).
If compounds with *Dūno- recorded in Classical sources do refer to man-made enclosures, they are among the oldest surviving ‘habitative’ place-names in Britain, and among the earliest to have personal names as specifiers, though these may well be names of deities or legendary ancestors (see Coates in CVEP, p. 5).

Among the Roman-British place-names, *Dunum [Sinus] (Ptolemy’s *Doūnōn kōlpas, PNRB pp. 344-5), probably on Tees Bay, stands out as being apparently a Brittonic simplex name (though a second element might have been lost in transmission). Otherwise, a number of compounds with British *dūno- are recorded on and south of Hadrian’s Wall. It is striking that none of these survive in any form, supporting the archaeological evidence that old iron age forts or their Roman successors were not generally kept in use in the immediate post-Roman period south of the Wall, although there was extensive re-use of hill-forts to the north (see Dark 2000, p. 193). However, in the Northumbrian heartlands, such forts may have been widely re-named with Old English *burh (as in the case of *Dīn Guoaroy HB61 and 63, = Bamburgh Ntb, and of Almondbury YWR if this was Cambodunum). Examples include:

Camulodunum PNRB pp. 292-3, Bede’s *Campodunum HE II.4, + *camb-, which see for discussion and reference.

Camulodunum PNRB p. 295 + deity-name Camulus (see PCB pp. 102, 457 and 472, DCML p. 141, DCM p. 66): apparently the Roman fort at Slack YWR, though the name may have been transferred from the major hill-fort at Almondbury YWR, or from a lesser one nearer to Slack (for Boece’s misidentification of this with Camelon Stg, see *cūlcen:).

*Lugudunum PNRB pp. 401-2 + deity-name Lugu-, see *luːy: unlocated, probably in the North; most scholars think north of Hadrian’s Wall, but see Londesborough alongside Leven Seat etc. under (b1) below.

Rigodunum PNRB p. 448 + *rī:-, probably the hill-fort at Castleshaw YWR.

Segedunum PNRB pp. 452-3 + *hīɣ-, the fort at Wallsend Ntb.

Uxelodunum PNRB p. 483 (add to the evidence for this name its appearance on the Staffordshire Moorlands Pan, see Anonymous (2003), pp. 324-5) + *ūčel: the fort at Stanwix Cmb.

a1) Din Fell Rox (Castleton) CPNS p. 372, PNRox p. 13: Dinley and Dinlaybyre nearby might be related to this hill-name, ? + -le; cf. Dinas Dinlle Crn DPNW p. 124, but Macdonald in PNRox, on the basis of 16th ct forms, sees OE *dīn-leaþ here, ‘a clearing by a hill’.

Dunion Hill Rox (Bedrule) PNRox p. 10: ? + plural suffix -jon [influenced by OF donjon > English and Scots ‘dungeon’].

Teinside Rox (Teviothead) PNRox p. 38: with devoiced initial, influenced by Scots teind ‘a tenth, a tithe’ [+ OE *sēd > ‘side’]. There is a hill-fort here, but the derivation remains doubtful. An alternative might be a lost river-name of the ‘Tyne’ type (see *ti-), perhaps an earlier name for the R Liddel, or one derived from OE denu, cf. R Dean MLo.

a2) Cnokdentwald Cmb: see *dīnn.

Dinnans Wig (Whithorn): see under *dīn.

Dinnins, or Dinnings, Hill Kcb: see under *dīn.

Dinley and Dinlaybyre Rox: see Din Fell above.

Gledinning Rigg Cmb (Nicholforest) PNCmb p. 105 + *gīnn-, or MIR/eG glenn-, + -an or -īn.

b1) A number of place-names might, albeit doubtfully, be derived from *Lugudūno- or, even identified with Lugudunum, above:

Londesborough YER PNYER p. 231 ? + *lūč- Wilkinson (2004) at pp. 88-9 equates this with Lugudunum (see above), but see under lūč.

Lothian CPNS p. 101 ? + *lūč- + plural suffix -jon, i.e. an ethnic name formed from *Lugudūno-, but the earliest recorded forms raise doubts, see discussion under lūč. Lothianburn MLo (Lasswade) CPNS p. 101, PNMLo p. 284? + *lūč-, which see for discussion, but also *lōd and *lūd.

Loudon Hill Ayrs (Darvel) CPNS pp. 198-9 ? + *lūč-.
b1) A possible compound with a descriptive specifier is:
Bowden Hill WLo (Torphichen) PNWLo p. 90, WLoPN p. 17 ? + bűvö-, Anglicised: there is a hill-fort here, but OE *boga-dūn ‘curved hill’ is likely. The form Bondba 1698 raises further doubts.

b2) A number of sites of known or probable historical importance belong here, some surviving, others having Anglicised or replacement names:
Dalmeny WLo CPNS pp. 104 and 515 n104, PNWLo pp. 3-4 ? + -mayn- (which see) ? + -in, or else the territorial name -*Mannan*, see *man*.

*Din Eidin* = Edinburgh MLo CPNS pp. 340-3: see discussion under Ė:dīn. Note that the earliest record, AU s.a. 638, refers to *Etin*: it is not certain whether dīn- was an integral part of the name in Brittonic usage.

*Din Guoaro* = Bamburgh Ntb PNNtb p. 10 ? + -waraj, which see.

*Dinsol yn y Gogledd* in Culhwch ac Olwen (ed. Bromwich and Evans (1992), see note on p. 567) is interpreted by Breeze (2000a) at p. 76, as + *sulu* and speculatively identified with Soutra MLo.

*Drumelzier* Pbl CPNS p. 421 + *sulu*: see discussion under †dīn-. This would imply that this important dialectal feature extended south of the Forth.

*Drumpellier* Lnk (Old Monklands) PNMonk pp. 3 and 11 = Edinburgh MLo CPNS pp. 345 + *peleidr*, plural of *paladr*: Gaelicised dūn-: this might be a transferred name, but see Drupnellier below.

b2) Other phrasal names which may have had dīn- as generic include:

Denovan Stg (Dunipace) CPNS p. 508, PNFESStg p. 40 + -afon, see *af*.

Dinckley Lanc (Blackburn) PNLanc pp. 70-1 + -CWd-, which see, [+ OE –lēah ‘a clearing, pasture, meadow’].

Dinduff Wig (Kirkcolm) PNRLV p. 79 + -duf; earlier recorded forms have –u-; cf. Dunduff Ff PNFfI p. 308.

Dinmont Lair Rox CPNS p. 372 ? + -mōnī [+ Scots lair ‘a fold’], but see also molt for Scots dinmont.

Dinwiddie Rox (Castleton) CPNS p. 372 + -wiö- + suffix –jo-. 

Dinwoodie Dmf (Applegarth) CPNS p. 372, PNDmf p. 5 + -wiö- + suffix –jo-.

Drumelzier Pbl CPNS p. 421 + -*medlur*, see *medel*, Gaelicised to dūn-, replaced by druim-, see above.

Drumellier Lnk (Old Monklands) PNMonk pp. 3 and 11 + *peleidr*, plural of *paladr*: identical in origin to *Dumpper* above; either might be transferred from the other, but there is no evidence for a fort here.

Dumfries CPNS pp. 421-2 + -prēs, which see for discussion; or else druim- or Gaelic druim-, or Gaelic dromn- ‘a hump’.

*Dumppert* Stg (Muiravonside) PNFESStg p. 32 + pert[h].

Duncarnock Rnf + -carn- + -ōg, or else Gaelic *dún-carnach*.

Duncow Dmf (Kirkmahoe) CPNS pp. 183 and 422, PNDmf p. 73 + -col, or else Gaelic *dún-cholt*.

Dundreich Pbl + -drich, Gaelicised if not Gaelic *dún-dreích* in origin.

*Dunduffel*, = Dun Daugh (New Monkland), Lnk PNMonk pp. 3-4 + -duβ- [+ OE hyll > – ‘hill’], but Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin.


Dungavel Hill Lnk (Wiston and Roberton) ? + -gafel or -goβel: (see goβ)

Dunipace Stg PNFESStg 39-40 ? + -i[r] + -bas, which see.
Dunmallard Hill Cmb (Dacre) PNCmb p. 187 ? + -me:l- + -arð, but see under me:l.

Dunree Ayrs (Cassilis) CPNS p. 199 ? + -riy, but probably Gaelic *dùn-righ.

Dunscarvie Dmf PNDmf p. 28 + *isgor.

Duntarvie, with Duntarvie Craig, WLo (Abercorn) CPNS pp. 36 and 147, PNWLo p. 16, WLoPN p. 24 ? + -terpin, or a lost stream-name formed with tarw- + -ed, Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin; see WLoPN p. 24.

Tantallon ELo ? + -tāl- + suffix –on, or –ceμn (see ceμ): Dentaloune or -ome on the Gough Map, 1355x66, favours din-: see discussion under tāl.

Temon, with Temon Beck, Cmb (Upper Denton) ERN p. 301, PNCmb p. 81 + -meyn: initial devoicing (in all recorded forms) may have been encouraged by Nenthemenou Lan Cart 9 etc., i.e. Neint-Tenmon ‘valley of the Temon Beck’ [+ ME -howe]: see discussion under mayn and nant. However, the hydronymic *tā- might be involved.

Timble YWR PNYWR5 p. 128 ? + -me:l, but early forms are inconsistent, a connection with OE tumblian, ‘to tumble’, cannot be ruled out.

c2) Poldean Dmf (Wamphray) PNDmf p. 129 + pol-.

*dīnas (f)

M-MnW dinas, Corn *dynas (in place-names, CPNE p. 85), apparently not found in Breton.

A derivative of din- + -as, ‘a fort, refuge, stronghold’.

Very common in Wales: see M Richards in ÉtCelt19 (1972), pp. 383-8. It is most often a simplex name, or one qualified by a separate word. Richards op. cit. lists 59 simplex and 29 with qualifiers. In the North, it seems to be restricted to hill- and stream-names in Galloway, the Borders and Lothian, a distribution suggesting that it was only used during the period of Cumbric expansion into these areas, the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Dīnas alternates with Dīn in Middle Welsh references to Din Eidyn. Note also the metaphorical usages, e.g. in CA A35, A37 and A44 (XLVIA), and BT57 (III).

a1) Simplex forms in the North generally show initial devoicing, d- > t-:
Dinnis Hill WLo (Bo’ness and Carriden) PNWLo p 147.
Tennis Castle Pbl (Drumelzier) CPNS p. 372.
Tinnis, with Tinnis Burn etc., Silk (Yarrow kirk).
Tinnis and Tinnishall Dmf (Canonbie) [Tinnishall + OE –halh].
Tinnis Burn (x2, in Dmf and Rox), both rising on Tinnis Hill on the Dmf (Langholm)/Rox (Castle ton) border CPNS p. 372.

c2) To judge by AMR, name-phrases with dinas as specifier are uncommon in Wales, and most that exist are formed with the definite article; all these in the North are doubtful:
Cairndinnis ELo (Traprain) CPNS p. 372 + *carn-, Gaelicised.
Carny Lnk ? + *carden -, but the 16th ct. form Cardindinas is probably not reliable: see carn and *carr.

*dīnn (originally n)
? IE (NW: Celtic and Germanic only) *dindo- > eCelt *dindo- > Br *dindo-; O-MIr, eG dind, dinn; cogn. OE tind, ON tindr, > ‘tine’.

A hypothetical Brittonic cognate of OIr dind, primarily meaning ‘a sharp point’, but associated topographically with ‘a height, a strong point, a notable place’: see MacMathúna (1989-90) at p. 152.

a2) Proposed, originally by Ekwall, ERN pp. 120-1, in:
Dent YWR PNYRW6 pp. 252-3 + -ed: the river-name Dee here is a late back-formation from Dent, though that could have been primarily the river-name, in which case the proposed etymology would not be appropriate, see dę:w. Discussion of this place-name has moreover been persistently muddled by the identification of this place with the lands in regione Dunutinga granted to Ripon according to VW17, and associated in turn with the semi-legendary chieftain Dunawd (< *Dönǭd < Donātus, see Morris (1973) p. 214n4). Early forms give no support for this identification; whatever the correct etymology for Dent, it certainly has nothing to do with Dunawd. If the *regio Dunutingas was around Dent, the name in VW is very garbled. If, on the other hand, the *Dunutingas were named after any Dunawd, their regio was not Dent.

a2) Other place-names that may preserve the same formation include:
Cnokdentwald Cmb (Dalston) PNCmb p. 132 + cnuc[h] [+ OE -wald ‘woodland’], but it could be dın- + -ed.
Dent Cmb (field-name in Millom) PNCmb p. 421 + -ed.
Dent, with Dent Hill, Cmb (Cleator) PNCmb p. 358 + -ed.
Dent Hill Wml (Stainmore) PNWml2 p. 76 + -ed; but probably named from Dent House, which was named after a family.
These may also be compared with Dinnet Abd.

dö

IE *tewe-/o- > eCelt *towe- > Br *towe- > O-MnW dy (also stressed form, neoBritt *tou > MW teu), Corn the, Bret da; early OIr to > O-MnIr, G do, Mx dty; cogn. Lat tuī, tīs, Gk seīu, seu, Skt tava, tē, and cf. IE zero-grade *twe-ino- > Gmc *þīnaz > OE þīn > ‘thine’, ON þín.

For IE forms and cognates, see IIEL §8.4, pp. 211-20; for the Brittonic forms, LHEB§pp. 641-3, and §198(2), pp. 656-7; for the Goidelic forms, GOI §443, p. 297, and §446, pp. 280-3.

Genitive of the second person singular personal pronoun, developing in Indo-European as a possessive adjective, ‘thy’, ‘thine’.

This occurs in place-names with the names of saints, usually in hypocoristic form. The first person singular mo ‘my’ is more common in Goidelic formations, but it does not follow with any certainty that those with the second person form are Brittonic, even where the saint’s name seems to be so. Examples include:

Baldernock EDnb + bod- = saint’s name *Ernǭg, but a Gaelic formation *both-d’Ernǭc, for Ernéne, is likely: see CPNS pp. 187-8 and Taylor (1996) at p. 104.
Carnetly Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 84 + cnar- = saint’s name *Eljǭ, for Eliud < Elidius: see LHEB §47(6), pp. 382-3, and CIB #60 at pp. 199-200 with note 1224, but see also cajr and jūð.
*dǭl (f)

IE *dholh₁ > eCelt *dālā- > M-MnW dǭl, ‘probably no such word’ in Corn (CPNE p. 334), nor, apparently, in Bret; ? adopted from Britt as early G dal, dol > G dail; the Prittenic form may have been *dǣl, cf Jackson 1955, p. 161; cogn. OE dæl, ON dalr > ‘dale’, Gk thólos ‘a vault’.

See LHEB §9, pp. 290-2, also the etymological discussion in PNRB at p. 340.

The root is associated with concavity, in place-names generally ‘a valley’. However, it seems to have fallen out of use in Goidelic and SWBritt, and to have survived only in WBritt and Prit, with the meaning ‘a water-meadow, a haugh’: see GPC s.n., EL1 p. 29 and PNCmb p. 55. Döl is very common in Wales as generic or specifier: the number of individual names containing this element in AMR amounting to several hundreds.

There may have been semantic influence from ON dalr > ME, Scots dale on usage in the Old North and Pictland, extending to Gaelic dail, which itself was very probably adopted from Cumbri or Pictish. Note that Watson frequently uses ‘dale’ for Gaelic dail in CPNS, though he points out that the geographical distributions of ON dalr and Gaelic dail are more or less exclusive (p. 415), so adoption of the P-Celtic word is more likely. In the Solway region, *dǭl, dail and dalr did co-exist, but the Celtic words are of course more likely to be in first position as name-phrase generics, the Scandinavian (or Middle English/Scots) in final position. Gaelic dail is also common in Ayrshire and Galloway, and occurs throughout southern Scotland (CPNS p. 414), usually with Gaelic specifiers, but in few cases a Gaelicised form of a former Brittonic name may be suspected: see, e.g., Dalgleish below. For the distribution of *dǭl/ dail in Pictland, see Nicolaisen (1996), p. 26. but see also Taylor 2011, pp. 85, 88 and 103.

Of particular interest is the number of names in Pictland formed with Gaelic dail plus a saint’s name (S. Taylor, pers comm). This suggests that *dǭl, possibly *dǣl in Pritenic (see above), might have been adopted specifically as a term for a piece of church land, maybe with semantic influence from OE dǣl ‘a portion’, > ‘dole’, Scots dale (for which see PNFin5 p. 349): see Dalleagles and Dalorrens below.

b2) Dalavan Bay Kcb (Kirkmabreck) PNGall p. 103 + *afon, see Æf, or else Gaelic *dail-abhaun.

Dalemain Cmb (Dacre) PNCmb pp. 186-7 ? + *mayn, but note the absence of lenition; Ekwall, DEPN(O) s.n., treats this as an ‘inversion-compound’ with an ON personal name, *dal-Máni.

Dalewascumin Cmb (Denton) Lan Cart + personal name –[G]wscolman ‘devotee of Colmán’ (probably Bishop Colmán of Lindisfarne).

Dalfibble Dmf (Kirkmichael) PNDmf p. 76 + *pebīl.

Dalgarlock Dmf (Closeburn) CPNS p. 449, PNDmf p. 14 + *carn- or *gar- (see *gar-) + *og, or else + Gaelic *gairmeach; whichever was the case, it was presumably a stream-name, cf. R Garnock Ayrs.

Dalglish Slk (Ettrick) + *gle:ss, or Gaelic -glais.

Dalgliesh, Nether, Ayrs (Maybole) + *gle:ss, or Gaelic -glais.

Dalkeith MLS CPNS p. 382, PNMLo p. 211 + -ced: the absence of lenition can be attributed to the Scots form Keith, name of the barony to the east, probably based on that of an ancient, wooded, territory with which Dalkeith may have been associated: see ced.

Dalleagles Ayrs (New Cumnock) + -gle:ss, or Gaelic *dail-eaglaise: even so, a possible relict of an early church estate, see MacQueen (2005) at p. 169 n13, and A. James (2009b) at pp. 145-6 n32 (suggesting that *dǭl-gle:ss might be equivalent to OE *eclēs-halh ‘detached or reserved portion of an ecclesiastical estate’, as in Ecclesall Stf, Ecclesall YWR).

Dalreagle Wig (Kirkinner) PNGall p. 103, PNWigMM p. 23 ? + *r[i]- + -gle:ss; but G *doire-riaghail is more likely, see dicussion under rī.
Dalry MLo CPNS pp. 144 and 200, PNMLo p. 124 - rīɣ or -wrūg, but Gaelic *dail-righ or *dail-fhraioch are possible; Dalry Ayrs is named from Rye Water, unless that is a back-formation, see *rī; St John’s Town of Dalry Kcb, is probably *dail-fhraioch or -ruigh ‘slope’. Dankeith Ayrs (Symington) Taylor 2011 p. 87 - cę:d: see Dalkeith above.

Deloraine, Easter and Wester Slk (Ettrick) CPNS p. 417 * urβaɣ > Urien, but Gaelic *dail-Odhràin, commemorating St Odhrán of Iona, is at least as likely, see above on *dail- + saints’ names in Pictland.

Dollerline Cmb (Askerton) PNCmb p. 55 - ar- + -river-name Lyne, see *lɛ:β.

*dǭn (f)

? IE *deiw- + *nu- > eCelt *dānu- > late Br *dǭnu-

See OIPrIE §8.3 at pp. 126-7.

A river-name of great antiquity and controversial etymology. Watson in CPNS pp. 211-12 derived river-names of the ‘Don’ type from *deiw- (see de:w) + -onā-. This is supported by the example of Ptolemy’s Deōiana, a place on, and named from, the R Don Abd (PNRB p. 338, and see Isaac 2005 p. 192), and it is probably correct in cases like Doon Ayrs (note in both Abd and Ayrs/ Kcb the proximity of rivers named Dee). However, the Don YWR was certainly Danu, which Jackson (1970) at p. 72 derived from a cognate of OIr danae > Ir dana, G dân, Mx daanagh, ‘bold’. This ignores the numerous rivers outwith the sphere of Celtic influence (especially in regions of Iranian linguistic influence) that apparently share the same root. Current scholarly opinion therefore favours an ‘ancient’ root, possibly *deiw,-nu-: see Nicolaisen (1957) at p. 245, Kitson (1998) at p. 88, and DCCPN p. 17.

The issue is complicated by the probable identity between the river-name and that of the goddess Dānu > Dôn, on whom see PCB pp. 290, 293-4 and 452-4, DCM p. 130, TYP pp. 327 and 549, and Green (1995) pp. 57-66. She again might be connected with OIr danae but for the records of a Vedic deity Dānu, herself associated with rain and moisture, and her son being the power that holds back the waters above the heavens. The identity of Dānu is further complicated by intertwining with that of Ana, Anu, on whom see Anaw.

As a footnote, the Gaelic adjective dàn ‘bold’ may be present + barr- + -ach in the hill-name Bardennoch Kcb (Carsphairn), Bardannoch on Pont’s map.

a1) The simplex river-name must in all cases have been adopted into Old English after the late British rounding of ą but before it was diphthongised > au, i.e. in the neo-Brittonic period, 6th – 8th centuries: see LHEB §9, pp. 290-2, and §11, pp. 293-6.

Don R Drh DDrhPN p. 35, and see PNRB p. 329 on Danum.

Don R, with Doncaster, Dunford Bridge, etc., YWR ERN pp. 126-8, PNYWR7 p. 126 (also Little Don R, ibid. p. 127), and see PNRB p. 329.

Doon R Ayrs CPNS p. 212: if this is *dǭn, the vowel may have been influenced by Gaelic dùn ‘a fort’, but see de:w.

*draγîn (m?)

?IE(NW) *dhergh- ‘a sharp point’) + -no- > eCelt *drageno- > Br plural *drageni- > M-MnW plural drain, MCorn plural drein > Corn plural dreyan; O-MIr draighean > Ir draighean, G draigheann, droigheann, Mx drine.
The status of the Indo-European (NW) root is doubtful, but for Germanic and Slavic cognates see OIPrIE §10.1 at p. 160. On the Brittonic forms, see LHEB §76, p. 445, and CPNE p. 88.

Collective noun, ‘thorns, thorn-bushes’, either Blackthorn (Prunus spinosa), Bramble (Rubus spp.), or Hawthorn (Crataegus spp.). The Brittonic languages all distinguish ‘a thorn’ (W draen (f), OCorn drain, Bret draen) from the singulative ‘a thorn-bush’ (W draenen, Corn *dr[a]enen, Bret draenenn).

c2) Either of the following could be MIr/early Gaelic formations:
Drumdryan MLo CPNS p. 144 + drum-, which see.
Dundraw Cmb PNCmb pp. 139-40 + drum-: loss of the final syllable could be due to Old Norse speakers substituting *draginn, which Middle English speakers ‘translated’ as drag- > ‘draw’, so ‘a drag, a steep slope’, omitting *-inn as this was taken to be the Scandinavian suffixed definite article: see also Coates at CVEP p. 286.
Pendraven Cmb (lost field-name in Upper Denton) PNCmb p. 82, but see discussion under pen[n].

don (m)

IE *dr̩k̂ - (zero-grade of *derk̂ - ‘see’, see *drích) + -ont- > Gk drákon, adopted as Lat draco[n]-, thence as MW dracon (alongside Latin draco adopted as Br *draci- > MW draic > W draig, OCorn druic); cf. IE *dr̩k̂ -si- > MIr [muir-] dris ‘a sea-monster’.

‘A dragon’. The form dracon is used in MW as an honorative for ‘a prince, a warlord, a great warrior’. 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).

In any case, neither of the following names is likely to be early:

c2) Pendragon Castle Wml (Mallerstang) PNWml2 p. 13 + pen[n]-, but this name (first recorded in 1309) is likely to have been a product of the later mediaeval enthusiasm for Arthurian romance. On Uthr Bendragon, see Bromwich (2006).
Poltragon Cmb (Bewcastle) PNCmb p. 62 + *pol-. The devoiced –lt- might reflect late Cumbric [-lt-], see LHEB §54(1), pp. 400-1 and note 1. However, the earliest form Poltraghaue 1485 leaves the etymology (proposed by Breeze, CVEP p. 287) in doubt: later forms are obviously influenced by ‘dragon’ and may derive from a miscopying of a name suffixed with ME –howe.

*drích (m)

IE *dr̩k̂ - (zero-grade of *derk̂ - ‘see’, see dragon) > eCelt *dricco- > Br *dricco- > MW drich > W drych; Olr dreach > Ir, G dreach, Mx dreagh.

Basically, ‘a look’, so ‘a facial expression’, and, in place-names, ‘an aspect, an outlook’, especially a favourable one on a sunny hillside. This is the case in Welsh place-names (AMR lists about 20 examples, although it seems not to be attested in non-toponymic usage, at least in Modern Welsh), and also in Scottish Gaelic (perhaps influenced by Cumbric/ Pictish usage, CPNS p. 414, PNFif5 pp. 356-7).
c2) Both of the following are probably Gaelic:
Dundreich Pbl CPNS p. 140 + dín-, Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin.
Pittendreich MLo PNMLo pp. 280-1 ? + peth- + [h]ín-; see discussion under peth.

*drum (m)

eCelt *drumbo- > Br *drumo- > M-early MnW drum > W trum, Corn *drum (in place-names, CPNE p. 89); O-MnIr droim > G druim, M dreym; adopted as Scots drum.

‘A back’: in place-names, ‘a ridge’.

Ptolemy’s use of drûmòs ‘an oak-wood’(<dóru, see dār), in the context Kalēdónios drûmòs = Caledonius Saltus (PNRB p. 290), suggests that Celtic *drumo- was mistaken for the Greek word, giving rise to the still-potent myth of Calidonia Silva/ Coet Celidon/ Great Wood of Caledon, on the non-existence of which see Smout, MacDonald and Watson (2005) pp. 20-5, and Rackham (2006), pp. 390-3.

This element occurs in place-names in Wales and Cornwall, but much less frequently than its Gaelic cognates; all but seven or eight of the many examples in AMR are apparently secondary formations with *drum added (in the late Middle to early Modern Welsh period?) to pre-existing names. In southern Scotland, and even in Cumberland, it is hard to be sure whether names have the Brittonic element, especially given the frequent confusion between Gaelic druim and dún (which itself could have replaced Brittonic dīn). See Drummond 2007, p. 34.

a1) Simplex names like Drem ELo CPNS p. 141, and Drum MLo CPNS p. 144, are likely to be Gaelic; Drum Kcb (frequent, e.g. in Lochrutton and New Abbey parishes) PNGall p. 113, is likely to reflect local Scots usage.

b1) Mochrum Kcb (Parton) and Mochrum Hill with Mochrum Loch Ayrs (Kirkoswald): see Mochrum Wig below.
Mochrum Wig PNGall p. 212, Brooke (1991a) at p. 320 + moch-, or else Gaelic *muc-druim, but either way, a very unusual compound form.
Muldrum, with Muldrum Burn and Forest, MLo (West Calder) PNMLo p. 395, WLoPN p. 29? + meĩl-, or else Gaelic *maol-druim, but note that early forms for Meldrum Abd, which might be supposed to have the same origin, show a mysterious first element Melge-, Melki-. Early forms show –ir-, Multron 1512 etc, up to Mulrane 18th cent., implying that the /l/ is epenthetic and leaving the original of both elements very doubtful.

b2) Drumaben MLo (West Calder) PNMLo p. 399 + pers. (deity?) n. –Mabon, see mab.
Drumburgh Cmb (Bowness) PNCmb p. 124 + *boch (see bich) or -*buch, which see for discussion. Early forms do not favour Gaelic *druim-buic.
Drumcross WLo (otherwise Crosston, Bathgate) CPNS p. 146, PNWLo pp. 83 and 87 + -*crojs, which see, or else Gaelic *druim-croise.
Drumdryan MLo (Marchmont) CPNS p. 144 + -*draŷ, or else Gaelic *druim-draiginn.
Drumkalladyr Ayrs, near the head of the R Nith, + *caled- (see *cal-) + -dufr, see both of these: the formation is probably secondary, with Gaelic druim-.
Drumlanrig Dmf (Durrisdeer) PNDmf p. 32 + la nerv, or else Gaelic druim- added to a Cumbrian simplex name; in view of the earliest records Drumlangryg 1384 etc., Gaelic druim- prefixed to Scots *lang-rigg < ON *lang-hryggr 'long ridge' cannot be ruled out in this location. Drumwalt Wig (Mochrum) PNGall p. 127, CPNS p. 180 ? +wel[t]-, but see PNWigMM p. 20. Dundraw Cmb PNCmb pp. 139-40 ? +-*draŷ, which see for discussion.
Drumbreddan Wig (Stoneykirk) PNGall p. 117, PNRGLV p. 91, Drumbretton Dmf (Annan) CPNS p. 15, PNDmf p. 2, and Drumbrydon MLo (Woodhall) PNMLo pp. 160-1, are probably all Gaelic formations, but of interest as they are formed with -Breatan ‘of Britons’, see Bríthon. Likewise, Drumalbin Lnk (Carmichael), ‘of Scots’, doubtless echoing the greater Drumalban to the north, see Morgan (2013) pp. 167-8.

c2) Mindrum Ntb PNNtb p. 143, DEPN(O) s.n. + mōnīδ-: see LHEB p. 355.

drus (m)


The precise history of the Celtic forms is ‘thoroughly obscure’ according to P. Schrijver (quoted in EGOW at p. 51). They exist alongside the more regular development eCelt *durā- > OW dor > W dōr, MCorn dor, Bret dor, OIr dor, cogn. Lat foris ‘outside’, OE dor > ‘door’ (also OE duro > northern ME/ early Scots dure), Gk thūrā-, Skt dvarau, and ‘in all major Indo-European groups’, OIPrIE §72 at p. 108, and see also DCCPN p. 18.

‘A door, doorway, gate, gateway’. It occurs in later Welsh place-names and in early Modern Welsh literature in the sense of ‘a narrow gap or pass’, but its presence in earlier Welsh toponymy is not certain. For Irish and Scottish Gaelic examples, see DUPN p. 59 and PNFi5 p. 356.

Whaley (2001), pp. 77-96, and in DLDPN pp. 348-9, argues for this element in the following, but see also *trǭs:

a1) Truss Gap Wml (Shap) PNWml2 p. 178, DLDPN p. 349 and plate 2.

a2) Trusmadoor Cmb (Ireby) DLDPN pp. 348-9 and plate 1 (not in PNCmb) + -μa [+ OE –dor ‘door’].

dūβ

IE *dhu-b- (?zero-grade of *dheu- + -b- ‘deep’, see dūβ[j]n and dūβr) > eCelt *dubo-lā- > Br, Gaul *dubō-lā- > OW du > M-MnW du, OCorn daw > Corn du (in place-names, see CPNE pp. 89-90), O-Mn Bret du; OIr dub > Ir, G dubb, Mx doo.


‘Black’. As a place-name element, common in hydronyms (see ERN pp. 129-35), and, later, in name-phrases.

Duabsis[Χ]s PNRB pp. 340-1, is reconstructed by Rivet and Smith as *dub-ab-isso- (i.e. + -αβ- + -isso-) ‘place on the dark water’, implying a lost river-name, ‘apparently in southern Scotland’.

For discussion of Kepduf in VK(H), possibly Kilduff ELo, see under *cif.

In Anglicised forms:
i) those with a short –u- either reflect neoBrittonic *duβ prior to the ‘new quantity system’ (circa 600? See LHEB §§34-5, pp. 338-44) or else shortening when adopted into Old English;
ii) those with –i- or –e- in name-phrases (c2) may reflect a weakened, pretonic, *döβ- (later sixth century, LHEB §§201-5, pp. 664-81);
iii) those with –ju-, ‘dew’, reflect a lengthened and fronted ū-, a development in Old Welsh, and presumably in Cumbric, of the 7th–9th centuries (LHEB §5(2), pp. 275-7 and §20(3), pp. 310-11), implying relatively late adoption into Old English (see Cardew (c2) below).

a1) Dove R YNR ERN p. 134 (which see for discussion of all rivers of this name in England), PNYNR p. 3.
Dove R YWR PNYWR7 p. 127.

a2) Stream-names + -ôg are possible in:
Devoke Water Cmb PNCmb p. 33: early forms indicate *duβ-, see above.
Cumdivock Cmb (Dalston) PNCmb p. 132 + cum[b], which see.
Moor Divock Wml (Askham) PNWml2 p. 201 [+ OE mor- ‘moor’].
However, it is not clear in the latter two cases what streams may have borne this name, and a Cumbric personal name Dyfog < *Döβǭg < *Dubāco might be involved. The early forms for Moor Divock favour *duβ-, but those for Cumdivock, weakened *döβ- > Dev- (see above).

River-names of the ‘Devon’ type are taken by Ekwall (ERN p. 124) and Nicolaisen (SPN² p. 228) to be duβ + -omā-. Glendevon WLo (Kirkliston) is probably a transferred name from Glendevon Per, itself named from such a river; see also PN Fif1 p. 37 for discussion of R Black Devon Fif. It would seem reasonable to include in this class a number of place-names in southern Scotland that seem to include a similar form (such as Devon, with Devonburn and Glendevon, Lnk (Lesmahagow), Devonshaw Hill Lnk, Devonside Lnk and Dowanhill Lnk) but as most of these are not obviously associated with rivers or substantial streams they are discussed under duβ[ï].

c1) Denis Burn Ntb (near Hexham), Bede’s Denisesburna, i. Rivus Denisi HE III.1, ERN p. 120, +-*ness: so Ekwall, but note Jackson’s scepticism, LHEB §67(7-8), pp. 421-4, and §204B(1-2), pp. 674-5. Otherwise maybe *dubn-issā-, see duβ[ï].

The ‘Douglas’ type of river-name is probably duβ- + a derivative of *glast- (see discussion under *gleiss). On the phonology, see LHEB §74(1), pp 436-8, §204B(2), p. 675, and §205, pp. 678-81, also Breeze’s (2015c, p. 174) discussion of Dubglas in HE 56. There are several in the North (see ERN pp. 129 ff.), including:
Devil’s Burn or Water Ntb PNNtb p. 62.
Douglas Muir Dnb CPNS p. 458.
Douglas R Lanc ERN p. 129, PNLanc p. 126, JEPNS17 p. 70.
Douglas Ing Wml (Hoff) PNWml2 p. 94 [+OE –ing ‘a hill’, EPNE1 p. 282]: maybe a lost stream-name, but could be from Douglas as a personal name here.
Dowllass Moss YWR (Ingleton) PNYWR6 p. 245, again cf. Dowlais.

A few stream-names are formed with duβ- + -*pol (or Gaelic *dubh-poll):
Dipple, with Dippool Water (= Black Burn), Ayrs CPNS p. 349.
Dipple or Dippool Water Lnk (→ Mouse Water) CPNS p. 349.
Dipple Burn WLo (Bathgate): J. G. Wilkinson pers. comm.
Dipple (= Blue Cairn, Kirkmichael), with Dipple Burn, Dmf (rising in Kirkpatrick Juxta) CPNS p. 349, PNDmf p. 82.
Glendowlin Wml PNWml1 p. 206 + glinn-, or Mr/early G glenn-, added to duþ- + -fín: A. Walker, pers. comm.

c2) Cardew Cmb PNCmb pp. 131-2 + cajr-: a good example of a late, Cumbrian formation, with *-dã-, see above, and Jackson (1963) at pp. 81-3.
Craigdews Wig (Mochnum), and Craigdhu Wig (x2, Glasserton and Kirkcован), both PNGall p. 82 + cre:γ-: cf. Cardew above, but these have been subject to Gaelic influence, if not Gaelic in origin.
Craigdow Loch Ayrs + cre:γ-, likewise Gaelicised or Gaelic in origin.

Dundaffel, ? = Dun Daugh (New Monkland), Lnk PNMonk pp. 3-4 + din- [+ OE hyll > ‘hill’], but Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin.
Ecclesdo YWR (stream-name in Kirkheaton) PNYWR2 p. 229 ?+ egleš-, which see.

c2) glinn- + -duþ, or Mr/early G glenn-dabh, occurs a number of times in the North:
Glen Dhu Cmb (Bewcastle) PNCmb p. 61, with pseudo-Gaelic antiquarian spelling.
Glendow, with Glendow Sike, Dmf (Ewes).
Glendowlin, with Glendow Burn and Fell, Ntb (Hartleyburn) PNNtb p. 94.

duβ[i]n, *doum, etc.

?IE *dhu-b- (zero-grade of *dheu-b- ‘deep’, see duþ and duifr) + -n- > eCelt *dubno-/lā-, also *dummo-/lā-, > Br. Gaul *dubno-/lā-, *dummo-/lā- > OW(LL) duain > MW dwvyn > W dwfn, dyfn, OCorn defen, duwen- > M-MnCorn down, M-MnBret doum, don; O-Mr domain > Ir, G domhain, Mx dowin, also OIr domun > Ir, G domhan, ‘the world, the universe’; cf. Gmc *dispaz > OE dēōp, ASend *dēp (ON djúpr) > ‘deep’.

The Indo-European status and etymology of the root is controversial: see OIPrIE §18.2 at pp. 292-3. It may involve the verbal root *dheu- ‘die, come to an end’, see din.

Celtic forms vary in three ways:

i) non-nasal –b- > –β- versus nasal –m- > –m-, see LHEB §97, pp. 483-6 especially p. 484 n3, and, on Continental forms, DCCPN p. 18;

ii) vowel –u- in South-West and West Brittonic versus –o- in Prtenic (and possibly in the ‘Brit/Prit’ of the North): see Koch (1980-2);

iii) absence or presence of an adventitious vowel in the second syllable, so the range of potential forms in the neoBrittonic of the Old North is expressed by the formula *du/ọβ/μ[i]n.

An adjective meaning ‘deep’. It may have borne a cosmological significance in early Celtic world-views, perhaps associated with cultic offerings to powers of the underworld: see PCB pp. 46-59, DCML pp. 170-1, Green (1986), pp. 138-50, and Woodward (1992), chapters 4 and 5.

It may have carried such connotations, or even have been a deity-name, in the ethnic name given by Ptolemy as Damn[óν]ioi for which Rivet and Smith, PNRB pp. 342-4, read *Damn-(alternatively, as Koch points out, *Domn-). However, Isaac (2005), p. 191, argues for IE *dm(h)2- (zero-grade of *dembh2- ‘put together, build’) + -no-n-io > eCelt damnonio-/lā-, cf. Welsh defnydd and OIr damnae, both ‘matter, material’, so the name may mean ‘men of substance’ or ‘builders’. See also P. Russell (2002) at p. 185. If the sites associated with them by Ptolemy are a reliable guide, their territory extended from the lower Clyde basin across the
Campsies and central Forth as far as Strathallan (Ardoch) and Strathtay (Inchtuthil, if that was Victoria): see Driscoll and Forsyth (2004) at pp. 4-11 and Fraser (2009) pp. 15-22.

Note that this occurs as an element in a personal name on the Yarrowkirk Slk stone: DVMNOGENI (for the variant reading DIMNO-, see CIB p. 120).

a1) Wilkinson (2002), pp. 139-43, drew attention to a number of place-names in central Scotland that apparently contain this element, though in monothematic (a1) forms, *dūβ-on- is equally possible. Any or all of them might contain a lost stream-name, presumably of the ‘Devon’ type (see dūβ), but apart from Devon Burn Lnk they do not have obvious associations with watercourses. Wilkinson’s suggestion that they might be associated with the Damnonii (see above) is interesting but speculative. They include: Devon, with Devon Burn, Devonburn (a settlement), and Glendevon, Lnk (Lesmahagow): see Taylor (2009) at pp. 87-8; for Glendevon WLo, see dūβ.

Devonshaw Hill Lnk [+ OE sceaga > ME/Scots shaw ‘a wood’].

Devonside Lnk [+ OE –side ‘side’].

The latter two are not apparently connected with Devon (Lesmahagow), see dūβ and Wilkinson (2002) at pp. 142-3. The modern form ‘Devon’ in all these cases probably reflects the influence of the English county-name, itself from the ethnic name Damnonii, PNRB pp. 342-3.

Dowanhill Lnk (Govan) [+ OE –hyll > ‘hill’]: possibly *doβ/μn here.

a2) Denis Burn Ntb (near Hexham), Bede’s Denisesburna i. Rivus Denisi HE III.1, could be *dubn-issā-, but see dūβ (c1).

c2) Blendewing Pbl (Kilbucho) + blajn-.

Cardowan Lnk (Glasgow) + cajr-: another possible *doβ/μn form.


Glendivian Dmf (Ewes) PNDmf p. 41 + glînn-, similarly modified.

Poldevine Dmf (Wamphray) PNDmf p. 129 + *pol-.

Dundyvan Lake Dmf (Closeburn) + *pol-: modified like Dundivy above [+ OE -lacu, here probably ‘a stream’, see EPNE2 p. 8].

A curious group of place-names across Lothian and Rnf are apparently of identical origin, though the first element is not certain and the meaning of the name-phrase is obscure. If they are *part[h] + -duβ[j][n], the formation may have been an appellative, perhaps a low-lying land or land with deep soil, though the early form (probably for Parduvine MLo, see PNMLo p. 112) Pardauarneburne 1144 suggests the second element may have been a stream-name, but doubtfully duβ[j][n].see CPNS pp. 372-3, PNMLo p. 112, and Wilkinson (2002) at p. 140 n7, and also *part[h]-. They are:

Pardivan ELo (Whitecraig) CPNS pp. 372-3.

Pardivan MLo (Cranston) PNMLo p.190.


Parduvine MLo (Carrington) CPNS pp. 372-3, PNMLo p.112

Perdovingishill Rnf (lost) CPNS p. 372, WLoPN p. 29 [+ OE –hyll > ‘hill’].

duβr (m)

?IE *dheu-b- ‘deep’ (see dūβ and duβ[j][n]) + -r- > eCelt *dubro- > Br, Gaul dubro- > OW dubr > MW duur > W dŵr, dŷr, O-MnCorn dour, M-MnBret dour; ? adopted as OIr dobur > Ir, G doborah, Mx *doobar (in place-names and compounds).
On the variable quality of –β-, consonantal or vocalised, see LHEB §67(3), pp. 418-19, and §67(8), pp. 423-4. This is reflected in Modern Welsh dŵr beside dwfr, and in the presence or absence of –v- in Anglicised forms.

‘Water’. Frequent in Brittonic river-names, and dohtar is common in Scottish river-names (CPNS pp. 453-6), though it is rare in Ireland and Mann, so the Gaelic usage may well have been reinforced by Cumbric and Pictish models. However, it should be noted that *dur[ī]a is regarded by some scholars as an ‘Old European’ hydronym (see De Bernardo Stempel (2000) at p. 99), so some of the river-names listed below may conceivably be ‘ancient’. See also ACPN p. 72 and DCCPN p. 18.

a1) Deer Burn Dmf (Kirkmichael) DPNmf p.76; Gaelic doire ‘oakwood’ (see dār) or OE dēor > ‘deer’ are both possible.

a2) Several river-names, or place-names formed from lost river-names, may be formed with the prefix rō- or rūδ-:
Carruthers Dmf (Middlebie) CPNS p. 368, PNDmf p. 91 + cājr-; see under cājr and rūδ.
Culruther, and Glenruther, Wig (Penninghame) PNgall p. 150 + cūl- or *cūl-, Glenruther + *glīnn- or early Gaelic gleam-; but probably Gaelic, see under *cūl.
Riddrie Lnk (Glasgow: the area south of the Molendinar Burn) + ìg: see Durkan (1986) at p. 284, and cf. Dourie and Pendourick below.
Rother R YWR EPNp. 348, PNYWR7 p. 136.
Rutherglen Lnk [+ Scots -glen].
Rutter Force, with Low Rutter, Wml (Drybeck) PNWml2 p. 99, but see also rejadər and trefə.

b1) As a generic in compounds, -duβr is regularly reduced to –der or –ter in Anglicised forms. This is seen in the numerous river-names, and names apparently derived from river-names, of the ‘Calder’ type, < *caled- (see *cal-) + -duβr:
Calder Loch Wig PNWigMM p. 20.
Calder R Cmb PNCmb pp. 7 and 427, EPN p. 60.
Calder R Lanc (→ Ribble) PNLanc p. 66, EPN p. 60.
Calder R Rnf EPN p. 60.
Calder R YWR PNYWR7 p. 121, EPN p. 61.
Calder Water Lnk (→ Avon).
North or Rotten Calder Lnk (→ Clyde).
South Calder Lnk (→ Clyde).
The Calders (East, Mid-, and West) MLo CPNS pp 105-7 and 455, PNMLo pp. 301 and 389, WLoPN p. 16: see discussion under *cal-.

b2) A lost stream-name duβr- + -īg may be implied at:
Dourie Wig (Mochrum) PNgall p. 112, Gaelicised as *dobhrāig or *duraich, see PNWigMM pp. 20-1.
Pendourick MLo (Newtongrange) CPNS p. 355 + pen[n]- + -īg, presumably preserving a lost stream-name.

Cawder Gill YWR (Skipton) PNYWR6 p. 72, but Smith, PNYWR loc. cit., considers ON *kald-erg ‘a cold shieling’ appropriate to the location.
Cawder Gill YWR (Skipton) PNYWR6 p. 72, but Smith, PNYWR loc. cit., considers ON *kald-erg ‘a cold shieling’ appropriate to the location.
b1) Other possible compounds with –dúdr include:
Allander Water Stg/EDnb SPN\² p. 240 ? + *al- (which see).
Cander R Lnk CPNS p. 455 + cand- or can[t].
Glaser, Water of, or Glazert Burn, Ayrs (Stewarton, Dunlop) + glās-; Glashdurr Blaeu, see PNF\⁴ pp. 47 – 8 (anent Glassart Burn Fif) and n5, and Clancy (2013b) p. 295; both this and the next could be Gaelic *glais-dobhar.
Glazert Water Stg (Campsie) + glās-; Glashdurr Pont, see PNF\⁴ loc. cit. n6.
Hodder R YWR/Lanc ERN p. 198, PN\anc p. 139, PNYWR\² p. 129 ? + *hōō-, but see under that heading.
Kinder R, with Kinder Scout etc., Drb ? + can[t]-, cę:n or cein- (see *ceμ-), but see also cönnerch and treβ.
Lugar Water, with Lugar village, Ayrs CPNS p. 433 + lūy-: more probably lūy- + -ar, i.e. *Loucarā- (cf. Loughor Glm, see Jackson (1948) at p. 57, and PNRB pp. 388-9), but the variant Lugal Water Stg, with Lugar village, Ayrs CPNS p. 433 + lūy-: more probably lūy- + -ar, i.e. Dowlache Lanc (Ince Blundell) P. B. Russell (1992), pp. 34-5 (not in PN\anc) ? + -luch, but see under dūβ and *gle:ss.

See also *polder.


c2) A formation similar to that of Welsh Glendŵr (Ang x3, Mtg) may be seen in:
Glenderamackin R Cmb ERN p. 179, PNCmb p. 15, DLD\PN p. 132 + *glînn- [+ MIr personal name –Machán probably added later].
Glenderaterra Beck Cmb ERN p. 179, PNCmb p. 15, DLD\PN p. 132 + *glînn- [+ an obscure personal name added later].

durn (m)

? IE *dor- (o-grade of *der- ‘to tear, to skin’) + -n- > eCelt *durno- > Br, Gaul *durno- > MW durn > W dvorn, Corn dorn, Bret dorn; O-MnIr dorn, G dörn, Mx doarn.

‘A fist’. In place-names in the North, this occurs only + -ūg, and refers to ‘fist-sized stones’, apparently collected for use as projectiles, though perhaps also as cobblestones. The same is true of Gaelic dòrnach, perhaps influenced by Cumbri/ Pictish usage, see CPNS pp. 404 and 488. There seem to be no parallels for such toponymic usage in Wales or Ireland.

a2) Dornock Dmf CPNS pp. 182-3, PND\mf p. 22 + -ūg, or else Gaelic dòrnach.

c2) Cardurnock Cmb PNCmb pp. 123-4 + cajr- + -ūg.

N.b. Baldernock ED\nb does not have this element: see bod.
E

eb- (m)

IE *h₁e₁kʷo- > eCelt *ekʷo- > Br, Gaul epo- > M-MnW eb-, ep- (both in compounds), O-MnCorn eb- (in compounds and place names, see CPNEp. 90), OBret eb > Bret eb- (in compounds); OIr ech > Ir, G each; cogn. Lat equus, OE eoh, Gk ἱππός, Skt āśva.

See OIPrIE §9.2 at p. 139, DCCPN p. 19, and LHEB §50 at p. 394.

‘A horse’. The most ancient Indo-European word for the animal, ‘nearly universal’ in the Indo-European languages (Mallory and Adams OIPrIE loc. cit.), though superseded in the Brittonic languages by the compound form *epalo- > W ebol, Corn ebel, Bret ebeul, and by more specific terms including cefel and march.


Ptolemy’s Epíakon, ‘a polis of the Brigantes’ (PNRB p. 360), probably the fort at Whitley Castle Ntb (Kirkhaugh), was probably based on a tribal name *Epjācoi, or a personal name *Epjācos, + -j- + -āco- (see –ǭg).


eβur (m, but earlier f?)

ECelt *eβu-/*a- > Br, Gaul *eβu-/*a- > M-MnW efwr, Corn *evor (in a place-name, CPNE p. 96), Bret evor; OIr iber > MIr ibhar > Ir iúr, G iubhar, Mx euar.

There is probably a relationship with IE *h₁e₁w- > eCelt *iwo-/*a- > W yw, OCorn (singulative) hiugin, MBret (singulative) iuguin; PrIr ivā- (in a personal name) > OIr éo; cogn. Gmc *ihwaz > OE th, ēoh > ‘yew’.

The early Celtic meaning is uncertain, see Schrijver 2015. In the Goidelic languages it is ‘yew’ (a yew-tree or collectively), but in Middle Welsh it is ‘cowparsnip, hogweed’ (Heracleum spp.), while in Breton it is ‘alder-buckthorn’ (Frangula alnus). On the yew in Celtic mythology, see PCB pp. 87-9 and DCM p. 380.

Although ‘a common element in Continental toponymy’ (PNRB p. 357, cf. ACPN p. 78, DCCPN p. 18), it is doubtful whether it was toponymically productive (in any of its meanings) in neoBrittonic, and even the Roman-British examples may involve a personal name *Eburos: see Jackson (1970) at pp. 73-4, and in LHEB p. 39, but note P. Russell’s reservations (1988), pp. 131-73.

Roman-British and early mediaeval forms with ebor- show Vernacular Latin influence, preserved in ecclesiastical usage of the place-name Eburācum, York (see below), in which Bede (for example) varies between –u- and –o-: see LHEB p. 34 and §5(1), pp. 274-5.
A lost Roman-British place-name *Eburo Cas[t]ellum, ‘apparently in southern Scotland or Northumberland’ (PNRB p. 358), may represent British *Eburo-dūnon or similar.

a2) *Caraverick Cmb (Hesket in the Forest) PNCmb p. 202 + *caj- + *-η-[r]- or *cajr- + *-dg or *-ǭg, but see also *haμar.

Ebroch Burn Stg (Kilsyth) PNFEStg pp. 47-8 ? + *-ǭg, but Pont’s Abbroch leaves this in doubt.

York PNRB pp. 355-7, PNYER pp. 275-80 + *-ǭg (but see discussion under that element, and Jackson and Russell references above). English speakers equated *ebur- with PrOE *evur > OE eofor ‘a boar’ (see OEG §331(2), p. 138), and replaced *-āc- > *-ǭg with wic. This must have happened between the lenition of *-b- and syncope of *-u-. Jackson (LHEB §197, pp. 654-6) dates this to the late fifth century, but Sims-Williams’s chronology would allow up to the early seventh century (CIB §3.7, p. 291); back mutation of *-e- in Old English began before 700 (OEG §210(1-2), pp. 88-9). For later developments in Old English and Anglo-Scandinavian, see Fellows-Jensen (1987).

*echwið (m)

MW echuit > eMnW echwydd.

A verbal noun, perhaps from the Indo-European root *seik- (‘pour out, overflow’) OIPrIE §22.11, p. 393). In Welsh poetic usage it refers to ‘a flow, a current, fast-flowing water’. Morris-Jones (1918) at pp. 68-70 considered that it could mean ‘a tidal current’, but Williams, PT pp xlii-iii, insisted that it could only be ‘a cataract of fresh water’. GPC gives ‘fresh water’ but queries ‘cataract’.

Yr Echwyd BT57(III) and BT60(VI), probably + ar-: Williams in his edition of *Armes Prydein (ed. Bromwich 1972, pp. 67-8) suggests it may be a calque on Catterick, taken to be *Cataracta (see cad), but see Breeze (2010, and 2012b at p. 62); the latter’s extension of the meaning to include ‘swamp, waterlogged, flooded country’ seems dubious. On Echwydd in hengerdd poetry see Haycock 2013 pp.29-30, nn40-1, questioning Williams’ earlier opinion that it may have been a regional name.

-ed

The early Celtic nominal suffix –eto-lā- > -ed, in Middle and Modern Welsh is used mainly to form verbal nouns, but in place-names, suffixed to nouns or adjectives, it may mean ‘having the quality of...’ the term to which it is added, or it may be understood as ‘territory’ (see DCCPN p. 19 s.v. etu-). In river-names, it seems sometimes to have been suffixed to ‘ancient’ forms that had presumably lost any semantic sense.

A lost river-name, perhaps for the Ribble or this stretch of it, probably underlies *Bremetenacum, the fort at Ribchester Lanc (PNRB p. 277): + brem- + -an- + -āco- (see -ǭg).

For *Agned see under *aŋgaw.

Examples of river- or stream-names, or places named after watercourses, which may have this suffix include:

Aberlady ELo + aber- + a lost river-name (now the West Peffer Burn?) *Iãc:β- or *Iloβ- (see under both these) + -ēd- + secondary suffix –īg.

Altigabert Burn Ayrs + alt- + [r]-, or Gaelic allt a’, + perhaps a lost stream-name gaβr- + -ed: see gaβr.
Armet Water MLo + *arβ-, or ar- (in river-names) + -m-: see both of these.
Caddon Water Skl + *cal-.
‘Calder’ + *cal- + duβr: for river-names of this type, see under *cal-.
Cato lowdy Cmb (= Lairdstown, Nicholforest): + cach- + perhaps a lost stream-name *loβ- + -ed-
+, + secondary suffix -ig: see cach and *loβ-.
Duntarvie, with Duntarvie Craig, WLo (Abercorn) CPNS pp. 36 and 147, PNWLo p. 16,
WLoPN p. 24+ din- + perhaps a lost stream-name tarw-, which see, + -ed, but see also terμn.
Irt R Cmb ERN p. 211, PN Cmb p. 17 + *ar- or ir-.
Irthing R Cmb/Ntb ERN p. 212, PN Ntb p. 213, PN Cmb p. 18 + *ar- or ir- + -inn (see -in), but see also arth.
Water of Ken, with Kenmure, Glenkens and Loch Ken, Kcb PNGall p. 162 + cũ[n]- + -ed-
+ -jā-, but can[d]- or cant- + -jā-, or *cōnεd, are equally possible.
Kent R Wml PNWml1 p. 8 ERN p. 227 + cũ[n]- + -ed- + -jo-, but see discussion under cũ[n],
also *cōnεd.
Lesudden Rox (St. Boswells) PN Rox p. 34 + *ũs[s]-, which see, + wĩn.n.
Lyvennent R Wml + *lεμ-μ-, see discussion of this (and of Lwyfenydd in poems attributed to
Taliesin) under *lεμβ.
Meggat, Water of, Dmf CPNS p. 375, PNDmf p. 134 + *meγ- or myũ[n]-, see both.
Megget Water Skl (to St Mary’s Loch) + *meγ- or myũ[n]-, see both.
Mite R Cmb + *meγ-, but see under that heading, and also mũhi.d.
Polterkened Cmb (Gilsland, ? = Peglands Beck)? + polter- added by Cumbric speakers to an
earlier stream-name -ceμ- (see *ceμ-, + -ed, but see also *cõnĩo.
Poutreuet Ntb (Falstone)? + *pol- + perhaps a lost stream-name treβ- + -ed, but see *pol, treβ,
and also *polter.
Prentieithn Rnf brinn- or prenn- + perhaps an ancient river-name tān-, see *tã-, + -ed, but the
sufffix here may be -at-; see discussion under prenn and *tã-, and also tãn.
Rossett Wml (Kendal Ward, Langdales) PN Wml1 p. 207 + rōs-, but ON hross-sætr ‘horse
shieling’ is the likeliest origin.
Teviot R (Rox, Skl) + *fĩ- + root-determinative -m- + suffix -jā- (see LHEB §98(2), p. 488,
§99, pp. 489-91, and §174(2), pp. 612-13); -ed here seems to be a secondary suffix added to the
ancient river-name by Cumbric speakers later than the eighth century.
Waren Burn Ntb ? + wern-, which see.
Werneth Che (Hyde) and Werneth Lanc (Oldham) + wern-, which see; on dialectal -eth see
Cubbin (1972-3), pp. 175-82.

A different semantic range, and possibly a suffix of ultimately different origin, may be present +
carw- in the ethnic name Carvetii, PNRB pp. 301-2. Likewise, a suffix indicating either an ethnic
group or an area of territory might be in the kingdom-names Elμed (see discussion under that
heading) and Reged (see under rag, *reg and rō-). A form with a long vowel, early Celtic *
-eito-/-ã- > British *-eto/-ã- > neoBrittonic *-e:d, is frequently mentioned as an alternative in the case
of territorial names, but it should be noted that there is no trace of the expected development of
this to -*wĩd (see LHEB §28, pp. 330-5).

Either a territorial sense, or else simply descriptive ‘having the quality of...’, is possible if this
suffix is present in:
The Calder’s (East, Mid-, and West) MLo may be *cal- + -ed- + -fĩ: see above and under *cal-.
Chevet YWR (Royston) PNYWR p. 278 * ceμ-
 The Cheviot Ntb PN Ntb p. 44 + * ceμ-, but see under that.
Cnockdentwald Cmb (Dalston) PN Cmb p. 132 + cuč[h]- + -din- or *-dinn-, see under all of
these.
Dent YWR PNYWR6 pp. 252-3 + dinn-, which see for discussion.
Dent Cmb (field-name in Millom) PN Cmb p. 421 + dinn- or dinn-.
Dent Hill Cmb (Cleator) PNCmb p. 358; ditto.
Dent Hill Wml (Stainmore) PNWml2 p. 72; ditto.
Langschevet Lanc (Bury) see PNYWR p. 279 + *čeu-, which see.
Menneting Bridge Wml (Patterdale) PNWml2 p. 226 + māyn-, which see.
Pind Hill Wml/YNR boundary + pen[n]-, which see.

Ęːdin

A Brittonic cognate of OIr étan (> Ir éadan, Gaelic aodann, Mx eddin) ‘a face’ (in place-names, a rock- or hill-face) has often been adduced to explain the name Din Eidyn, Edinburgh. Indeed, the Tigernach annalist (s.a. 638) equated the two words, using the genitive singular Etain where the Ulster Annal has Etin. However, there is no evidence for such a cognate (which would in any case require Brittonic *etino- rather than *etano- underlying the Goidelic form), and Watson’s view, CPNS p. 341, that ‘the meaning of Eidyn, Dùn Êideann, is quite obscure’, remains authoritative. See Scottish Place-name News 32 (2012), p.9, for note on A. Ahlqvist’s proposal involving a personal name attested in mainly Continental Celtic sources, in genitive singular, Atiānī.

There is, as Watson showed (ibid. pp. 341-2), some evidence to suggest that Ėːdin was the name of a district centred on the din. If so, it might well have been an ancient chiefdom which may have been incorporated at some stage into the confederacy of the Votādini (see wotǭd). For discussion of this place-name in CA, see Williams in CA pp. xxxvi-xlv, Jackson in YGod(KJ) pp. 75-8, and idem (1963) p. 70, but its legendary rather than historical-geographical status in CA and other mediaeval Welsh literature needs to be recognised.

Other place-names that apparently involve this form may well reflect folklore around a giant called Etin or Edin, though he was probably an OE eoten > Scots etin ‘a giant’ in origin, the form Edin turning him into an imaginary eponym of Edinburgh. This is very likely in the case of Edin’s Hall Broch on Cockburnlaw Bwk (Abbey St Bathans). It might apply too at Duneaton Lnk and the lost Dunedin Rox (CPNS loc. cit.). But see PNBute pp. 357-61, where Márkus considers the possibility of ON ping in Edin and associated place-names.

Carriden WLo CPNS p. 369, PNWLo pp. 25-6, presumably + cajr-, presents more complex problems. It may well be equated with Kair Eden, substituted for Penfahel (Kinneil) in an 11th century interpolated capitulum at the beginning of a 13th century manuscript of Gildas’s De Exidio Britonum (see M. O. Anderson, 1960, at pp. 101-2). However, neither this nor the certain early forms for Carriden, from Karrreden c1148 on, support any case for supposing that Cair Eidyn in Middle Welsh poetry refers to this place rather than Edinburgh. It was nevertheless the site of the Roman fort Velunia (PNRB p. 490, and see well), and was probably a place of some strategic importance in early mediaeval times. The name is obscure: its development may have been influenced by the biblical Eden. With that possibility in mind, it could be a relic of Ėːdin if that was a territorial name (as suggested above), but it is probably unrelated. A lost stream-name of the ‘Eden’ type might be entailed: see *īd-. But see also *carden.

eglē:s (f)

Gk ekklēsia adopted as Lat ecclesia > BrLat *eклēsia, adopted as Br *eклēs:ʃjā- > OW(LL) eculus > MW egluys > W eglwys, Corn eglos, Bret iliz; adopted from neoBritt as OIr eclais > Ir, G eglais; adopted as OE *eклēs in place-names.

Greek *ekklēsia* meant primarily ‘a legislative assembly of citizens’, and its earliest use in Latin was in this sense. In Hellenic Jewish usage (as in the Septuagint), it referred to the congregation in the Temple or a synagogue, and, by extension, to the Jewish community as a whole. The Christian Church adopted this usage from an early date in both Greek and Latin writings, both for local communities of Christians (as in the Apocalypse) and for the universal Church (following Matthew 16.18). From the 3rd-4th centuries, metonymic reference to a church building begins to be evidenced, though it is not common before the 6th century. So the main sense of British Latin *eclēsia*, British *eclēsjā-, was probably ‘a/ the Christian community, the Church (as an institution)’.

It was evidently used by the time of Old English adoption to refer to places, though whether it was a Brittonic place-name (in simplex form or as an element) by this time is doubtful (for differing views, see Barrow (1983) at pp. 6-7, Hough (2009), and A. James in ibid. at pp. 127-8, and under (a1) below). Whether or not it was so used, even in the sixth century it may not have indicated primarily a church building, but rather the habitation of a Christian community (an early monastery), and, like other habitatative terms, it probably included in such reference the area of land where that community held authority and on which it was dependent for maintenance (James op. cit. pp. 129-30).

There is no evidence that *eclēs* was adopted in Old English as a common noun, and may have been taken simply as a place-name without any awareness of its meaning or connotations (cf. afon, see Æfj-): the fact that it only occurs as a specifier with English generics favours this view (Hough op. cit. pp. 110-14). However, it is reasonable to see the English *eclēs* place-names as evidence for a pattern of British monastic settlements and/ or ecclesiastical landholdings in existence by the late 6th century, though not necessarily as evidence for Christianity in the late Roman or immediate post-Roman period. The surviving names themselves reflect the takeover of these landholdings by English-speakers (possibly, but not necessarily, the Anglian Church) and, in the case of the Old English names with *eclēs- as specifier, the later reorganisation and eventual break-up of *eclēs* territories (A. James op. cit. pp. 140-2, and see Barrow op.cit. and Taylor 1998 on the relationship between *eclēs/ eclais* place-names and later patterns of ecclesiastical and secular administration). Thus it is doubtful whether they are reliable guides to the actual locations of early church buildings or monasteries, or evidence for ‘Celtic survival’, whether linguistic or in any other sense. See also now: Elsworth, Daniel, 2011, ‘Eccles Place-Names in Cumbria’ TCWAAS 3.11, pp. 234-38.

a1) Simplex place-names may or may not be of Brittonic origin: *eclēs* may have first been treated as a place-name in Old English usage (see discussion above):


Égglis Stg (= St Ninians)  see Barrow (1983) at p. 6, MacQueen (1998), pp. 39-53, and James (2009) pp. 127-8; 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.

Regles Tower  MLo (Penicuik)  CPNS p. 153, PNMLo p. 63 *Æ[ǐ]r*-?, but ‘doubtful’ according to Barrow (1983), p. 3: a Gaelic descendant of OIr reiclēs ‘a recluses’s cell, an oratory’ is possible (Watson at CPNS loc. cit.).
In field-names and other ‘minor’ names, especially in Lancashire and Yorkshire, the Modern English surname Eccles, or a transferred name, cannot be ruled out if documentation is late, for example:

Eccles Tenement Lanc (Barnacre) JEPNS17 p. 96.
Eccles YWR (field-name in Stanbury) PNYWR3 p. 271.
Eccles Parlour YWR (Soyland) PNYWR3 p. 67.
Also Ecclesgrass Head and Exley Gate, see below. However see Faull and Smith (1980) and A.G. James (2009) p. 132 and note 15.

a1) Names in the North with OE *eclēs combined with an OE generic, which again might or might not have replaced a Brittonic simplex *Eglēs, may include:

Eaglesfield Cmb PNCmb p. 378 [+ OE –feld ‘open land in wooded country, wood-pasture’]; see A.G. James (2009) pp. 135-6 and p. 144 n16; the specifier might alternatively be a Scandinavian-influenced Old English personal name like *Egwulf < Ecgwulf, or a hypocorism like *Egel < Ecgel, but voicing of –c- before –l- is common in northern Middle English: see further Eggleston below.

Eaglesfield Dmf (Middlebie), identical to the above, and probably transferred from there by the Smith family who established the small town (several members of which were named Eaglesfield; M. Parker pers. comm.), but see discussion of Ecclefechan under (b2) below, and A.G. James (2009) p. 136.


Ecclaw Bwk (Duns) [+ OE –hlāw ‘a low, mound-shaped hill’]; see A. James (2009) p. 131; the absence of any trace of –s- makes this doubtful, OE āc > Scots aik ‘oak’ might be the first element.

Ecclerigg Crag, with Ecclerigg Farm and House, Wml (Troutbeck) PNWml1 p. 190 DLDPN p. 106, also Ecclerigg Hall Wml (Killington) PNWml1 p. 40, [+ ME –rigg ‘a ridge’]; again, absence of –s- leaves this uncertain: see Whaley in DLDPN loc. cit. and A. James (2009) p. 135.


Eccles Cairn Rox (Yetholm)/Ntb (Kirknewton) border [+ Scots/English ‘cairn’].


Eggleston, with Great and Little Eggleston Beck, and Eggleshope, with Eggleshope Burn, Drh DDhhPN p. 39 [+ OE –tūn, - hôp ‘an enclosed valley’]. Watts in DDhhPN sees another OE
personal name in these, but early forms do not compel this; however, *Egesburne* c. 1160 suggests that an obscure stream-name might be the origin, later forms being influenced by Egglestone Abbey a few miles down the Tees; see Hough (2009) p. 120 n6, A.G. James (2009) p. 135, and Padel (2013b) p. 28.

Egglestone Abbey YNR (Rokeby) PNYR p. 301 [+ OE –tūn]; again, an OE personal name might be involved, see Hough (2009) p. 120 n6, and A.G. James (2009) p. 135.


Exley Gate YWR (Penistone) PNYR1 p. 327 [+ OE –lēah]; only recorded from 1771, see above regarding ‘minor’ names.

Exley Head YWR (Keighley) PNYWR6 p. 3 [+ OE –lēah].


b2) Possible Brittonic name-phrases with *eglēs* as generic include:

Ecclfechan Dmf (Hoddom) CPNS p. 168, PNDmf p. 55 ? + *vechan (see bich): or else a female saint’s name *Bechan, or a Gaelic formation, *eclais-Féchin, commemorating one of the Irish saints of that name: see Taylor (1998 at p. 4), and A. James (2009 at p. 136) who suggests that this may have been a ‘small’ portion of an extensive church landholding, perhaps associated with the (British predecessor of the Anglian) monastery at Hoddom; Eaglesfield to the east might also have been part of such a holding, but the name was probably transferred from Cmb, see above.


egglesbreth Stg (= Falkirk) Nicolaisen (2011), pp. 60-73, PNFEStg pp. 32-6 ? + *brijth, see discussion under that element. The reference here is undoubtedly to a church building.

Taylor (1998, and PNFif5 pp. 361 and 365) considers that formations north of the Forth with (probable) saints’ names are likely to be Pictish in origin, though they could be Gaelic; in these examples further south, the identities of all the apparent saints are more or less obscure, but on balance they seem more likely to be Gaelic:

Eaglescarnie ELo (Bolton) see Barrow (1973) pp. 10-13 ? + *Carnǭg, or G *Cairneich, cf. Cairneach in the Leabhar Breathnach, see Ó Riain (2011) p. 158 s.n. Caomhlach, of whom he was a brother.


Eglismalesoch Lnk (Carluke) CPNS p. 196 + *mō- (1st singular possessive, see LHEB §188, pp. 641-3), but Gaelic mo- is more likely, see discussion under dū; ? + -Lősǭg (cf. Breton Loesuc), or G *Laiseach, Mo-Laise being a very common hypocorism for the Irish saints’ name Laisre, see Ó Riain (2011) p. 389, mentioning ‘forty-three bearers of that name [Molaise]’; see also discussion of Carluke under lūch.

c2) A small number of place-names in south-west Scotland may have *eglēs* or eaglaise as specifier; the balance of probability favours a Gaelic origin for most of these:

Bareagle Wig (Old Luce) ? + barr-, or else Gaelic *bārr na h-eaglaise: MacQueen PNRGLV p. 69, gives this Gaelic form, associating it with Glenluce Abbey, but in ibid. at p. 96, and in St Nynia (3rd edn, 2005), pp. 28-9 and 135, he implies Brittonic *eglēs. See also A.G. James (2009), pp. 139-40 and note 34.

Dalleagles Ayrs (New Cumnock) ? + dǭl-. Gaelicised, or else Gaelic *dail-eaglaise: see discussion under dǭl, and MacQueen (op. cit. 2005) p. 169n13.
Dalreagle Wig (Kirkinner) PNGall p. 103, PNWigMM p. 23 ? + dōl- + -î[r]-, may be the same as Dulleagles, but see also discussion under rijy.

Terregles Kcb CPNS p. 359 + tre[b]- + -î[r]-: see under those headings for discussion of dating, and see also MacQueen (1953-4) and idem (2005) pp. 28-9 and 57-8, and A.James (2009) p. 146 n37, and idem (2014b) pp. 22, 31–2, and 36; the only member of this group that is surely Brittonic.

*eil (m)

eCelt *al-jo- > Br *aljo- > M-MnW ail, eil; ORl aile > (in compounds) Ir, G –aile, Mx –ayl.

The Celtic root *al- is associated with weaving, and with the construction of fences, buildings, etc using woven wattles. So Welsh eil is ‘a shelter, a shed’, Old Irish aile ‘a fence, a palisade’, Irish/Gaelic buaile, Manx boayl, ‘a cattle-fold’.

Williams, PT pp. 85-6, saw this element in Alclüd, suggesting that it referred to wattle-built defences both here and at the unlocated Eil Mehyn BT61(VII), but see also *al and alt.

a1) Eildon Hills Rox PNRox pp. 7 and 40 [+OE –dūn ‘a hill’], but see discussion under *al.

b1) The Catrail Slk CPNS p. 181 ? + cad– analogical –r- (for ‘erroneous’ -î[r]-, cf. CPNE p. 7 and, for similar cases in Gaelic toponymy, SPN² p. 161). A discontinuous series of earthworks crossing upper Tweed, Yarrow, Ettrick and Teviot dales; both its archaeology and its etymology are obscure.

c2) Potrail or Powtrail Water Lnk (a headwater of the Clyde) CPNS p. 181n2 ? + *polter–.

ejthin (f)

IE *h₂ek-sti-n- > eCelt *actīnā- > OW(LL) eithin > M-MnW eithin, OCorn singulative eythinen > Corn eithin, OBret eithin; MRl aittenn > G, Mx aiteann (G also aitioin); cf. Lat acus ‘a needle’, ācer ‘sharp’, Gmc *aχus, *aχis > OE ār (Northumbrian æhher, ehher, see OEG §224 p. 95, ON ax) > ‘ear’ (of grain), Gk akōkḗ ‘a point, a sharp edge’, akiūtas ‘an awn’ (cf. Gmc *āχ-n- > ON aegn, late OE ægn > ‘awn’), akhnē ‘chaff’.

See LHEB §60, pp. 407-11, especially 410, and §173, pp. 609-11.

The Indo-European root *h₂ek- implies ‘pointed, pricking’, as shown by the various related words. The Celtic word generally means ‘furze, gorse, whin (Ulex spp.)’, though in Scottish Gaelic usually ‘juniper (Juniperus communis)’.

a1) Ightenhill Lan (Burnley) PNLng p. 82 [+ OE –hyll], but note Jackson’s reservations, LHEB p. 410. If this is ejthin, its adoption by English speakers would have to post-date –aχ– > -aj- and internal i-affection, so later than the mid-7th century (see the discussion of the phonology of *lejth). Survival of neoBrittonic, or later reintroduction of Cumbric/ Old Welsh, is not impossible here, see discussion of Alkincoats under alt and ec:d. However, a lost ancient stream-name *icht might be involved, as in Islip Oxf and, possibly, Ightfield Shr, see ERN p. 209, PNOxf p. 221, PNShr1 pp. 162-3.

c2) Carnethyn in the Inquisition of King David, ? = Carntyne Lnk, + carn–: but see also carneð and *carr.
Lanrechaithin Cmb (Burtholme) PNCmb p. 72, Lan Cart 6 and note + lanerc-: see LHEB §60 at p. 410, but also discussion under lanerc.

el-

IE *peli- (‘fill’) + -w- > eCelt *elu- > OW(LL) el-; OIr il-; cogn. Gk polús, Skt puru-.

A de-verbal adjective/ adverb, becoming in the Celtic languages a prefix, meaning ‘fully, much, many, various’, common in Brittonic personal names (see CIB ǂ38, especially pp. 119 (with n657) and 129 (with n736), and ǂ85, pp. 233-4).

Breeze (2002b) at pp. 165-6, sees this + -met (see *medel) in the kingdom-name Elmet, see discussion under Elμed.

-el

ECelt -*elo-/ā- > Br -*elo-/ā- > OW –el > M-MnW –ell.

In Cornish and Breton this suffix is indistinguishable from cognates of *-jǭl, which see, also CPNE pp. 138-9.

In Modern Welsh, a diminutive suffix, but in earlier usage simply nominal or locative.

It may be in Possil Lnk (Cathcart) CPNS p. 383 + powę:s- or * pōwę:s-, but here and elsewhere it could be OE –hylt > ‘hill’.

elβïð (m)

?IE *h₁elbh- > eCelt *alb- + -i jo- > Br, Gaul albjo- > OW elbid > MW eluit > eMnW elfydd; cf. O-MnIr, G Alba, adopted in Greek and Latin as Albion.

Whether this can be derived from IE *h₁elbh- ‘white’ (Latin albus), or indeed from any Indo-European root, remains a matter of controversy.

In Welsh (and, presumably, in early Celtic, British and Gaulish) this is ‘the world, the Earth’, hence ‘earth, land, country’. In the Goidelic languages it becomes progressively restricted, firstly to the island of Great Britain, then to the northern (mainly Celtic-speaking) part of Britain, and eventually to the Kingdom of the Scots. While Greek and Latin Albion, likewise referring to the island of Britain, was presumably adopted from British speakers, there is no direct evidence in any of the Brittonic languages for any meaning other than ‘the world’ or ‘earth, land’ in general. Indeed, the Classical usage may have initiated the Goidelic developments.

Note that Bede, HE I.1, regarded Albion as a quondam name, no longer current.

Elμed (gender uncertain)

The name of a British kingdom which survives, or is recorded, in the phrase ‘in Elmet’ appended to several settlement-names in YWR, on or near to the Magnesian Limestone belt and the ancient north-south routeway Leeming Lane (see *lę:ḇ) to the east of Leeds. They include Barwick,
Burton (Salmon), Clifford, Micklefield, Saxton, Sherburn, Sutton and Kirkby (Wharfe). Further south, on the R Don, High Melton might be *Alta Methelton in Elmete* 1281 (PNYWR4 pp. 1-3), and the Elmsalls and Elm Leys in the same area may possibly be derived from the name. These presumably reflect the eastern bounds of the kingdom where it bordered on the original Deira. How far it extended westward is unknown. On the strength of Bede’s account, *HE IV*.14, *regio Loidis* ‘the territory of Leeds’ is generally taken to have been part of Elmet, though his text does not necessarily entail that. The Tribal Hidage allots the *Elmedsǣtan* a modest 600 hides, implying in the (much debated) context of that document a small sub-kingdom, but it must reflect the situation after it had been annexed to Northumbria by Edwin around 616 (HB63). See, for speculative reconstructions, Faull (1980) pp. 21-3, and Koch (2007) map 21.3, and for a more critical consideration, Gruffydd (1994).

The etymology of the name has attracted speculation: see el-, *lę:β, –ed* and *medel* for recent theories.

*Elfed* is recorded as the name of a commote in Carmarthenshire, and an inscription from Caernarvonshire, CIIC381, commemorates one *Aliortus Elmetiaco* (sic). Whether the commote-name has the same origin as Elmet, and whether the inscription associates *Aliortus* with either of these, or with another, lost, place of this name, are questions beyond definite answer. On the perplexing allusions to *Eluet* etc. in mediaeval Welsh literature, see Gruffydd 1994, Haycock 2013, pp. 9-10, 27-8 n38, and 33 n49, and Clancy 2013 pp. 156, 158 and 171 n33).

-en


An adjectival suffix meaning ‘characterised, distinguished by...’. Rivet and Smith, PNRB p. 276 (and cf. p. 286), and Hamp (1989a), p. 110 and idem (1995) at p. 50, all equate it with the early Celtic agentive suffix –ēn-, but that does not seem necessary, though the two are likely to have been confused and to have eventually fallen together. It also falls together with the feminine forms of the suffixes –īn and –īm.

It occurs in *Bremenium* PNRB pp. 276-7, the fort at High Rochester Ntb, + *breµ-, which see: the form *Bre[gl]uoin* in the ‘Vatican Recension’ of HB implies *-ēn- > -e:n-, see Jackson (1949) at pp. 48-9, also idem (1970), p. 69, and LHEB §65, p. 41.

It may be present at Haskayne Lanc, see hesg, but the suffix there is probably singulative.

*Ẹ:s-

Early Celtic *ēs- or *ais- > Br *ę:s-; Latinised as Esus, Æsus, Hesus.

See LHEB §27(1), pp. 324-6, and §117, pp. 521-5.

Of uncertain etymology, and possibly non-Celtic, but this may have been in origin an honorative, ‘lord, master’: see Ross (1960-1). It may be present in the river-names *Æsis (Esino)* in Piceno, Italy (→ Adriatic) and *Æsius* in Bithynia, Asia Minor (→ Black Sea): both these are outside, though not far from, areas of Celtic linguistic influence. *Æso* =Avella, in Lérida, Spain, is well within such an area.
Esus is known as a Gaulish deity, chiefly from Lucan’s grisly allusion to human sacrifices being made to him in Pharsalia I.444–6, but also from monuments found on l’Île de la Cité in Paris and at Trier.

There is no direct evidence for his cult among indigenous Britons. However, forms of *E:s- occur in personal names on coins, and the fort-name Āsica or Esica PNRB p. 242, on Hadrian’s Wall at Great Chesters Ntb, is pretty certainly formed from the Latinised name + the Celtic adjectival suffix –icā- (see –īg), implying formation by troops bilingual in Latin and (Continental?) Celtic.

The district-name Ahse in VCA may well be derived from a metathesised *Āsīh, a Northumbrian Old English adoption of Āsica. It refers to some part of the area along the Wall between Hexham and Carlisle.
fīn (f)

Latin *finis* adopted to > OW(LL) *fin* > W *ffin*, Corn *fyn* Bret *fin*.

‘A limit, a boundary’.

c2) Fintry Stg  CPNS p. 364  + *-tref*: Fintray Abd is a Gaelicised form from Pictish *can-tref* (see can[d], and Watson CPNS loc. cit., also Nicolaisen, 1968, and idem 2011 p. 322), and the same may apply here (and to Fintry Abd and Fintry Ang), but the Fintry Hills are part of the Forth/ Clyde watershed, and the settlement lies where the direct route from Glasgow to the Fords of Frew crosses the Endrick Water, so it may possibly have been a ‘boundary-settlement’.

föntǭn (f)

Latin *fontāna* adopted to > OW *fontaun* > MW *finnaun* > W *ffynnon*, also SWBr *funtǭn* > OCorn *funten* > Corn *fenten*, OBret *funton* > Bret *feunteun*.


‘A spring, a well’. This may have been adopted into Old English as *funta*, but Gelling, *Signposts* pp. 83-6, sees that as a direct adoption from British Latin *funtō < fontis*, at least in the south, where it may refer specifically to wells with artificial structures (see also Hawkins 2015). However, this is unlikely to apply to the Font Burn Ntb, PNNtb p. 38, ERN p. 160: this seems to represent either a unique Brittonic adoption of Latin *fons*, *fontis*, or an Anglicised form of Brittonic *föntǭn* influenced by later Old English *font* ‘a baptismal font’.

c2) Mossfennon Pbl (Glenholm)  CPNS p. 378  + *mayes*.

Terringze an Ayrs (Cumnock)  CPNS p. 360  + *-tref* + *-yr*, with lenition of *f*, but this would be abnormal in Brittonic; the palatalisation indicated by *-ynge* may have arisen in Gaelic pronunciation, but see also under *tref*.

fos (f)

Latin *fossa* adopted to > OW(LL) *fos* > W *ffos*, Corn *fos*, M-MnBret *foz*.

‘A ditch, a dyke’. In Cornish, only an upstanding dyke ‘an embankment’ (CPNE p. 99), and in Breton ‘a grave’.

English speakers seem to have adopted the word three times:

(i) from British or British Latin: see ERN p. 163, DEPN(O) pp xxvii and 185, LHEB p. 252n1;
(ii) from Anglo-Latin, as evidenced only by some lost place-names (mainly stream-names) recorded in charters, see EPNE1 p. 185;
(iii) from Old/Middle French into Middle English, in the sense of ‘a drainage channel, a leat, an artificial watercourse’.

The only potential cases of *fos in the North are in river- and stream-names, and in settlement-names doubtless derived from these. These are only to be found in Yorkshire, where there are at least a dozen watercourses and as many settlement-names all of the ‘Foss’ type. This concentration, coupled with the fact that most are in the low-lying parts and several are known to have been artificially channelled, makes an English (in most cases, Middle English) origin likely. For the largest and best documented, the R Foss at York, see PNYNR p. 4.

**frūd (f)**

Early Celt *srutu- > Br *Σrutu- > 1Br *frutu- OW(LL) *frut > MW *ffrwt > W *ffrwd, OCorn *frot > Corn *frōs, Bret *froud; O-MnIr, G *sruth, Mx stroo.*

The Indo-European root may be either *sper- associated with ‘strewing, sowing’, or *sperh₁- ‘kicking’. See ERN pp. 462-3 and LHEB §128 p. 541; on the Cornish forms, see CPNE pp. 100-1.

‘A swift stream, a torrent, a flood’.

In Gaelic-influenced forms such as Renfrew, the final –d is successively devoiced, aspirated and lost: see CPNS pp. 349-50.

Friar Waingate Bridge Cmb (Gilsland) PNCmb p. 72: Todd (2005) at p. 91 suggests that ‘Friar’ could be < *frōū, cf. MW *frou, a by-form of **frūd**.
Fruid Water Pbl, a headwater of the Tweed.

b1) Renfrew CPNS p. 349 + rin[n]-, Gaelicised.
*gaβêl (f)

IE *ghabh- > eCelt *gab- + -al-jā- > Br *gabaljā- > OW(LL) gauayl > M-MnW gafael, Corn gavel; OIr gabâl > Ir gabhâil, G gabhail; ? cogn. OE gafol ‘a tribute, a tax’.

A verbal noun from an Indo-European root meaning ‘take, hold’. In the Welsh Laws, specifically ‘a pledge, a surety’, and it also came to refer to ‘kindred lands’, disjunct parcels of the gwely (Latin lectus, see weli), the tract of tribal land held jointly by the descendants of a (presumed) common ancestor. The relationship, etymological and semantic, with OE gafol is complicated: the primary sense of the latter is ‘tribute’, and it underlies the mode of tenure known in Middle English as gavelkind. There may have been some mutual influence or confusion between the Welsh and English words, but they were never synonymous.

It is doubtful whether any use of this word can be demonstrated in the North, but it might be in:

c2) Dungavel Hill Lnk (Wiston and Roberton) ? + din-, Mossgiel Ayrs (Mauchline) CPNS p. 278 + mayes-, but see goβ for discussion of *gôβêl and gobhail.

gaβr (f, but also m in British)

IE *kapr- > eCelt *gabro- > Br, Gaul *gabro-/ā- > OW(LL) gabr > M-MnW gafr, OCorn gauer > M-MnCorn gaver, OBret gabr > Bret gavr, gaor; OIr gabor > Ir gabhar, G gobhar, gabhar, Mx goayr; cogn. Lat caper, Gmc *gaber- > OE hefeor.

The initial and medial consonant-voicings are abnormal, but alternative derivation from *ghabh-r- (see *gaβêl) is semantically unconvincing.

The Indo-European root *kapr- means ‘a penis’, so *gabro- was primarily ‘a he-goat’, though in the Brittonic languages the unmarked form came to be feminine. In early compound place-names the sense was presumably masculine. For Continental examples, see ACPN pp. 34 and 79-80.

On goats in Celtic mythology see DCM p. 226 and (on a bronze figurine of a goat with enormous horns) Green et al. (1985).

Roman-British names with this element include:

Gabrantovicum sinus PNRB pp. 363-4 ? + -nt- (as a diminutive suffix, so *gabranto-‘a kid’), + -wico- in the sense of ‘a bay suitable for a harbour’ (but see wîg) in the vicinity of Bridlington or Filey YER. Jackson (1948) at p. 57 took gabrã- here to mean ‘a mare’, -nt- to be a participial suffix, and –vicum to reflect a root *wic meaning ‘fight, conquer’ (see discussion under wîg), yielding an ethnic name, ‘horse-riding warriors’. For objections to this interpretation of gaβr see PNRB loc. cit. Nevertheless, a tribal or personal name associated with a totemic goat (or kid) might be involved.

Gabrosentum PNRB pp. 364-5 + -hint, which see: possibly the fort at Moresby Cmb.

In stream-names in Scotland, i.e. most of those listed below, Gaelic gobhar may have replaced this element, but a Gaelic reinterpretation of woβer is also a possibility.
a1) Cover R YWR ERN p. 100, PNYNR p. 2, though the initial devoicing would be exceptional in this region. See also *cōī, *ber, bre[y] and woβer.

a2) Altigabert Burn Ayrs ? alt- + [r] - + -ed; Gaelic altt 'a' prefixed to an earlier, P-Celtic, stream-name *Gaβr-ed is more likely. –fired > -bert reflects Scots phonology.

c1) Yeavering, with Yeavering Bell, Ntb PNNtb p. 221 with soft mutation, + -brïnn, -hint, or -in: brïnn is most likely if it is primarily a name rather than a lost stream-name (perhaps of the College Burn). Note that Bede’s ad Gefrin, HE II.14, appears thus in Cambridge, University Library MS Kk V.16, but as ad Gebrin in London, British Library MSS Cotton Tiberius Axiv and Cii: both are early enough to be of philological interest. For discussion of this important place-name, see Hope-Taylor (1977), especially p. 15.

c2) Bangour WLo (Ecclesmachan) CPNS pp. 145-6, PNWLo p. 48 + ban[n]-, or Gaelic *beann-gobhar (see under ban[n]), or else *woβer.

Craigmore MLo (Newton) CPNS p. 137, PNMLo p. 331 ? + -gaβr, which see, or -woβer; cf. Craigowerhouse Fif (Auchtermuchty), PN Fif4 p. 119.

Craigmore MLo (Gilmerton) CPNS p. 137 ? + creag-, but see woβer; either way, the name is Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin, *creag-gobhar, and is in any case probably a modern, transferred name (see Dixon PNMLo loc. cit.).

Craigover Rox (Maxton) CPNS p. 137 likewise Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin, as are the next.

Craigower Kcb (Kells), and Craigower Wig (Inch), both PNGall p. 90.

Glengaber Dmf (x3: Holywood, Kirkconnel and Sanquhar) PNDmf p. 58 (Holywood; the other two lack early forms), and Glengaber, with Slk (Yarrow), with Glengaber Burn Slk/Pbl (now Fingland Burn) CPNS p. 138. ? + glînn-, or Gaelic *gleann-gobhar, or Scots gleann- prefixed to a Brittonic or Gaelic stream-name, and -β > -b- in Scots.

Glengower Dmf (Holywood) PNDmf p.58 ? + glînn-, or Gaelic *gleann-gobhar, or else *woβer.

Polgauer Cmb (Little Clifton) ERN p. 329, PNCmb p. 360 + pol-: a Middle Irish formation is possible here, but perhaps less likely.

*gal (?n, later m)


In the Celtic languages, ‘enmity, hatred’. A distinct nominal form meaning ‘an enemy’ fell together with the root-form in neoBrittonic, so the noun may mean either ‘enmity’ or ‘enemy’. It forms the Middle Welsh legal term galanas (occurring in the Leges inter Brettos et Scotos as galnes, galnys and galnix, Seebohm 1911 p. 313, see LHEB pp. 9-10), Middle Irish galannas, ‘a blood-fine, a wergild, paid to blood-relatives of the deceased’.

Jackson (1970), p. 74, sees this root in Galava, the Roman fort at Ambleside Wml, but see PNRB p. 365. The suffix –avâ- suggests a river-name, perhaps that replaced by ON Brathay, and the root might otherwise be *cal- or an ancient hydronymic. Association with the ethnic name Galïtai, the Anatolian Celts (Galatians), is doubtful, as that is probably related to the much-debated Keltoï (Celts) and Galli (Gauls); see ACPN p. 2n5.

a2) A similar river-name might underlie Gala Water, though forms recorded from 1237 on suggest Scots galwe < OE (Angl) galga ‘gallows’ (perhaps a back-formation from *galغا-sčēlas, Galashiels Slk, see CPNS p. 148); but see also *cal-. Gala Lane Ayrs (→ Loch Doon) may have
the same origin [+ SW Scots lane, ‘a slow, boggy stream’ < G lèana ‘a swampy plain or meadow’].

c2) Tregallon Kcb (Troqueer) CPNS p. 362, PNGall p. 261 + treβ- + plural –on; the plural would imply ‘enemies’: see GMW §30(b) p. 28 and §31(a) p. 31, and James (2014b) pp. 32 and 36.

*gār (m)


In the Brittonic languages, the verbal noun means ‘a word’, but if this is an element in ancient river-names, the sense would presumably be adjectival, ‘calling, crying, noisy’ in some way. As in the case of *cal- etymology (i) ‘call’, the semantic appropriateness of such a term is questionable, rivers apparently named with this element are not always ‘noisy’ ones: see PNRB p. 366. Some idea of a river-deity having oracular powers might be entertained, but as pure speculation.

In the North, a form *gār- + -awā- > neoBrittonic *garw might be postulated for several of the river-names considered under *garw, but see discussion there.

a2) Garnock R Ayrs CPNS p. 522 ? +n- + -ǭg, or else + carn-, but Gaelic *gairneach is likely. Dalgarnock Dmf CPNS p. 522, PNDmf p. 14 ? + dǭl- +n- + -ǭg, or else + -carn-, but again could well be Gaelic.

garth (m)

IE *ghorđho- (o-grade of *gherdh- ‘gird’), variant *gherto- > eCelt *garto- > Br *garto- > OW(LL) –garth (also gard) > M-MnW garth (also gardd), Corn *garth (in place-names, CPNE p. 102), Bret garz; O-MnIr, eG gort, G gart, Mx gart; cogn. Lat hortus, Gmc *gardaz > OE geard > ‘yard’, cf. also ‘garden’, AScand *garð > northern ME (and in Scots poetry and modern place-names) garth, cf. (from zero-grade) Skt grha- ‘a house, a home’. 
On the Indo-European roots, see OIPrIE §13.1 at p. 221; on –t- > -th- see LHEB §149, pp. 571-2; on the variation between –a- and –o-, see CPNE p. 35. See also *bűwarth.

The primary sense is ‘a girded place, an enclosure’, for livestock or cultivation. Forms and meanings may have been influenced by other words: Welsh garth is usually ‘a fold, a pen’ for animals, while gardd is generally ‘a garden’, perhaps reflecting Middle English and Norman-French usages, ‘yard/garth’ versus ‘garden’. More confusingly, homophony between lenited ardd and arō seems to explain senses like ‘a mountain ridge, a promontory’, though we should bear in mind that ridges were generally associated with cultivation and that promontories were often crossed with ditches and/or embankments. From these meanings, there was further extension to ‘a wooded slope, woodland, brushwood, thicket, uncultivated land’, wholly contradicting the earlier senses: see GPC s.v. and DPNW p. xlv.

The Goidelic forms may have been adopted from Brittonic and Pritenic. Watson CPNS p. 198, comments that ‘the number of names in the Glasgow district which begin with Gart- is notable, and may be due to British influence’ (see also CPNS p. 203, and, for a detailed survey of the interpretations of Gaelic gort/gart, McNiven 2007). However, few convincingly Brittonic place-names with this element can be identified:

a2) Gogar, with Gogar Burn, Stg (Denny) CPNS p. 210, PNFEStg p. 40, WLoPN p. 17, and Gogar, with Gogar Burn, MLo (Ratho) PNMLo p. pp. 352-3, ? + wo-, see *wogerð, but also coch, *cog, and discussion under *cor.

b1) Garlies Keb (Minigaff) PNGall pp. 141-2 + *fi:s[s], or else *garw-. Cf. perhaps Garlie Bank etc. in Fife, PNFi5 p. 384, but the Scots words garly, *garly, discussed by Taylor, apparently imply an exposed, northerly aspect and seem unlikely to be appropriate here. Note that Garlieston Wig (formerly Carswell, Sorbie) was named by or after Alexander Stewart, Lord Garlies, who developed the village in the third quarter of the 18th century: see PNWigMM p. 156 and Kirkwood (2007).

c2) Crewgarth Cmb (Ousby) PNCmb p. 229 + *cröw-, but see under that.

Trogart Ayrs (lost: in Carrick) CPNS p. 362 + trefə.

*garw

IE *ghers- > eCelt *gar- + -wo-/ā- > Br *garwo-/ā- > MW garu > W garw, Corn garow, MBret garu > Bret garv; OIr garb > Ir, G garbh, Mx garw; cogn. Lat horreō ‘I bristle’, Skt harṣati, and cf. (from zero-grade *ṛḥrs-) OE gors > ‘gorse’.

In the Celtic languages, an adjective meaning ‘rough, harsh, rugged, uncultivated’.

In the North, nearly all the possible cases are river-/stream-names, perhaps so named with reference to the character of the bed or channel as well as the flow of water. However it should be noted that a formation *gār- + -awā- could underlie these. Those in Scotland are in any case all Gaelicised, if they are not Gaelic in origin.

a1) Garf Water, with Abercarf (=Wiston), Lnk: see Barrow in Uses, p. 56, but see also carw.

c1) Garlies Kcb (Minigaff) PNGall pp. 141-2 + *fis[s], but more likely garth-, which see.

c1) Several burns in south-west Scotland are apparently *garw- + *pol, or Gaelic *garbh-pol: Garpal Burn Dmf (Sanquhar)
Garpel Burn Ayrs (x2, → R Ayr and → Loch Doon)
Garpel Burn Rnf (Lochwinnoch)
Garpel Burn Kcb (Balmaclellan) PNGall p. 142
Garpol Dmf (Kirkpatrick Juxta), presumably a former burn name.

c1) Garrochtrie Wig (Kirkmaiden) PNGall p. 143, PNRGLV p. 10 + -ūch- + -treß, but see discussion under treß.

c1) Several watercourses are of the ‘Garvald’ type, possibly *garw- (or else *gār- + -w-, see *gār), but note Watson’s observation, CPNS p. 140, that ‘it is rather notable to find [allt] in the modern sense of “burn” so early as 1210’, referring to Garvald ELo. Back-formation from a Brittonic or early Gaelic topographic name ‘a rough height or bank’ (cf. Garwall Hill Kcb, Minigaff) might be an explanation in some cases, but it would be surprising if so many were of that origin:
Garvald, with Garvel or Garrell Water Dmf (Kirkmichael) PNDmf p. 76.
Garvald ELo (the stream here is now Papana Water) CPNS p. 140.
Garvald Burn Lnk/Pbl border.
Garvald, with Garvald Burn (now Hope Burn) MLo (Heriot) PNMLo p. 236.
Garvald, with Garwald Water, Dmf (Eskdalemuir) PNDmf p. 36.

c1) Girvan Ayrs CPNS p. 32 ? + -īn with internal i-affection, so *gerw-īn, but note Garvane among mediaeval forms suggesting + -an. Nicolaisen (1970) s.n. ‘suspects a river-name of pre-Gaelic origin’ here. Any connection with Vindogara nearby is hard to reconcile with the early forms, but see discussion under gar[r].
Gorpool Dmf: see above, with Garpel.
Yarrow R Lanc ERN p. 478, PNLANC p. 127, JEPNS17 p. 71: Jackson, LHEB §73(1) at pp. 434-5, appears to accept tentatively Ekwall’s derivation of this from *garw, adopted as Old English *gærwe > geärwe, but the name is obscure and controversial. See further discussion under *ar in river-names, also aryant.
Yarrow R Silk CPNS p. 522 n476. Here, early forms do favour *garw-, or *gār- + -w-, but note Watson’s comparison with Jarrow Drh (though that is probably a tribal name *gerw < Germanic *gur- ‘mud’, which is hardly appropriate to the Selkirkshire river). For other etymological possibilities, see Patterson (2007).

gēn (m)

IE *gēnu- > eCelt *geno- > Br *geno- > OW(LL) plural genou (+ -ōü) > MW plural geneu > W gēn, plural genau ‘a mouth’, OCorn plural genau > Corn gen, plural ganow, OBret plural genou > M-MnBret plural genou; OIr gin ‘a mouth’ > Ir gion, G gion- (in compounds); cogn. Lat gena ‘a cheek’, Gmc *kenw-, *kinn > OE *ċinn > ‘chin’, Gk génus (also, from zero-grade, gnáthos) ‘the lower jaw’, plural génues ‘jaws, mouth’, Skt hanu ‘a jaw’.

See DCCPN p. 20.


gilβ (m, though f in Gaulish)

Early Celt *gulb-jo- > Br gulbjo-, cf. Gaul gulbiā-, > OW gilb > M-MnW gylf; OMnIr gulba, G guilb.

The Indo-European status of this Celtic root is doubtful, there are no definite cognates. See LHEB §166(2) at p. 596, and EGOW p. 61.

In Modern Welsh ‘a beak’. It occurs in place-names in Wales (in AMR) only in suffixed forms, including + –ĩn- (see –ĩn). OW gilbin > W gylfin, OCorn geluin, OBret golbin > Bret golvan; Gaelic gilbinn, is likewise generally ‘a beak’ (though the Breton word means ‘a sparrow’ and the Gaelic ‘a whimbrel’). In topographic names, the root-sense ‘a point’ can be assumed, perhaps (if –ĩn is diminutive) ‘a small headland’ (cf. OBret golban, + -an, ‘a headland’).

a2) Wh[e]r[en] Cmb (Upper Denton) Lan Cart 56 and 112 + –ĩn: see Breeze (2006c) at p. 331, but the absence of any trace of initial g- (lenition seems unlikely) and the preservation of the back vowel –u- rather than –ĩ- or –ɪ- (which would give OE –y- whether initially rounded or unrounded) both need explaining. The variant spellings also raise doubts.

gïnt (m)

Lat gens, gentis adopted as lBr *gento- > OW –gint (in personal names, see CIB p. 181) > M-MnW gytnt (cf. the Celtic cognates, e.g. W geni ‘be born’).

See LHEB §6(2), pp. 278-9 and CIB §27 at p. 97.

In mediaeval ecclesiastical usage, ‘a heathen, a gentile’ or ‘heathens, gentiles’, the singular and plural being identical; in Modern Welsh, ‘a tribe’.

c2) Pennygant Hill Rox (Castleton) CPNS p. 354 + pen[n]- + -ĩ[r]-. Breeze (2007c) interprets gint in its Modern Welsh sense as ‘a (foreign) tribe’, ‘an (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 9th century: both these claims are very questionable. Nevertheless, the definite article does favour a late, Cumbric, formation, see -ĩ[r]- and A. James (2008) at pp. 197-9, but see also cant.

Penyghent YWR6 pp. 219-20 and xi-xii + pen[n]- + -ĩ[r]-; Breeze (2006b) again sees a reference here to Scandinavian pagans: this is perhaps less problematic, and again the formation is likely to be late, but see also cant.

glan


Primarily ‘bright, shining’, with religious and moral connotations, so ‘pure, holy’ in most Celtic languages, extending to ‘beautiful, fair, white’.

For *Glannoventa see discussion under glān.

Otherwise, this is apparently only found as an element in river-names, probably early:

a2) Glen R Ntb ERN p. 177, PNNtb p. 94 + -jo- or -ī-; this is probably Bede’s fluvio Gleni HE II.14, and possibly the Arthurian battle-site Glein HB56. On river-names of the ‘Glen’ type see LHEB §161 at p. 589 and §168 at p. 602.

c1) Glauges Cmb (Denton) Lan Cart: Ekwall ERN p. 173 reads Glangles + -*elē:ss* or -*gle:ss*: see LHEB §74(1) at p. 438, but see also gleju-.

**glān (f, earlier n)**

Br *glānā* > OW(LL)-MW glān > W glan, O-MnCorn glan, M-MnBret glān.

Perhaps a vowel-grade variant of *glenno-*, see glinn, but the Indo-European and early Celtic antecedents are unclear for lack of cognates. See DCCPN p. 20.

‘A bank, a shore, waterside’.

In the North, this is found only in place-names from Roman-British sources:

b1) *Camboglanna* PNRB pp. 293-4 + cam[b]-: Rivet and Smith identify this as the Wall fort at Castlesteads Cmb. This might be the battle-site *Camlann* AC537: see cam[b], and, on the lenition of –g- that this would entail, LHEB §74(1), pp. 436-8.

c1) *Glannoventa (Clanoventa AI.481 etc.)* PNRB p. 367: the Roman fort at Muncaster Cmb; + -went, or else *glan-, but this is ‘less satisfactory’ in view of the textual evidence and location, according to Jackson (1971) at p. 70.

**glās**

IE(NW) *ghl- or *għl- (see glan) + st- > eCelt *glasto-/ā- > late Br *glasso-/ā- > O-MnW glas, M-MnCorn glas, Bret glas; Olr glass > Ir,G glas Mx glass; ‘cogn. OE *glās*2 ‘clear, bright, shining’ (in place-names, see EPNE1 p. 201).

For other comparanda, see under glān, and Green (1998), at pp. 187-8, on related words in the Germanic languages for ‘amber’, ‘resin’, ‘glass’ etc.

The earliest sense in Celtic, as in the Germanic languages, seems to have been ‘amber-coloured, yellow-brown’ (so equated with Latin fuscus in early glosses), but in all the Celtic languages it became generally ‘grey-green, grey-blue’, the colours of Roman glass. In river-names, it is frequently hard to disentangle from the related element *gle:ss*, and may also be indistinguishable from OE *glēs*2 mentioned above.

In the following, early forms tend to favour glās:

a1) Glaisdale YNR PNYNR pp. 132-3 (AScand *dal > ME –dale).
Glazebrook, with Glazebury, Lanc ERN p. 175, PNLanc p. 94, JEPNS17 p. 55 [+ OE brōc > ‘brook’, -byriġ].

Early records are lacking for Water of Glass, with Glass Rig, Dmf (Closeburn); it could be Gaelic.

a2) Cairnglastenhope Ntb (Simonburn) + carn- + -in [+ OE -hōp ‘an enclosed valley’, with ME epenthetic -t-]; adoption by English speakers must have predated internal i-affection (7th century, see LHEB §176, pp. 616-18), cf. W glasses (with i-affection). Cf. Corn *glazen (in place-names, CPNE p. 104), Bret glazen, ‘a green, turf’, (see Breeze in CVEP, pp. 160-1). Note that MW glæs-in is also ‘woad, borage (Isatis species)’. For a possible Pictish or Gaelic parallel, cf. Kinglassie Fif, PNFif1 pp. 448–9, though that might incorporate a saint's name.

Glasson Cmb (Bowness) PNCmb pp. 125-6 + -an; possibly a stream-name in origin, alternative etymologies include Mr glassán (glas + adjectival suffix), or OE *glǣsen ‘bright, shining’ (EPNE1 p. 203 s.v. *glæs², recte *glǣs², see JEPNS 1 p. 21), cf. Glasson Lanc PNLanc p. 209, and DEPN(C) s.n. Glazenwood Ess), or a derivative of Germanic *calasna ‘a boundary’, see DEPN(C) p. 251.

Glasson Lanc (Cockerham) PNLanc p. 171 + -in: early forms marginally favour + -in here, so the observations on Cairnglastenhope above may apply, as well as those on Glasson Cmb. If the origin was Mr glassán, the meaning ‘laver (Ulva sp.)’ might be relevant here. OE *glās-in, or a derivative of *calasna, are again possible, but see Breeze CVEP, pp. 160-1.

b1) For river-names of the ‘Douglas’ type, and others where '-glas' is generic, see under *głe:ss.

Glascaith Cmb (Askerton or Kingwater) Lan Cart 153 + -cę:d, which see.

Glasdur Burn Stg + -duβr: P. Kincaid pers. comm.

Glasert, Water of, or Glazert Burn, Ayrs (Stewarton, Dunlop) + -duβr: Glashdurr Blaeu, see PNFif4 pp. 47 – 8 (anenet Glassart Burn Fif) and n5, and Clancy (2013b) p. 295; both this and the next could be Gaelic *glas-dōbhar.

Glasert Water Stg (Campsie) + -duβr: Glashdurr Pont, see PNFif4 loc. cit. n6.

Glasgow Lnk CPNS p. 385 + *cönü.

Glaskeith Cmb (lost: not the same place as Glascaith above, see Todd 2005, p. 93) Lan Cart + -cě:d.

A compound *glās-dīr may be present in three places in south-west Scotland, but see also *clas: Glasterlands Ayrs (Rowallan, Kilmaurs) [+ Scots –landis].

Glaister's Kcb (Kirkpatrick Durham) PNGall p. 146 [+ Scots pl. –is].

Rig o’ the Glaster Wig (New Luce) PNGall p. 146 [+ Scots rigg o ‘ridge of’ and pl. –is].

c2) Barglass Wig (Kirkinner) PNGall p. 24, PNWigMM p. 96 + barr-, if not Gaelic. Ecclesgrass Head YWR (field-name in Horsforth) ? + egle:-, with -glās replaced by OE gers > -‘grass’: suggested by Thomson (1964), pp. 51 and 55, but an English formation is more likely, see egle:.

Kinglass WLo PNWLo p. 30 + pen[n]-, Gaelicised, or else Gaelic in origin.

Knockglass Wig (x4: New Luce, Inch, Old Luce and Portpatrick) PNGall p. 181 + *cnuc[h]-, but probably Gaelic.
*glę:ss (m)

IE(NW) *ghl- or *għl- (see glan) + st- (see glās) > eCelt *gla:*st- + -iː > lBr *glass*:jo- > MW gleis > early MnW glais; O-MIr glais > Ir glaise, G *glais (in river-names, CPNS pp. 456-8), Mx glais, glass- (in river-names).

For the Indo-European roots, cognates and comparanda, see glan and glās.

A nominal form related to glās, meaning ‘a stream, a rivulet, a watercourse’, see Nicolaisen (2011) p. 24. It is often difficult to distinguish from glās, and in Anglicised forms from Old English glæs² (EPNE1 p. 203), though where it is the generic, this nominal form is more probable (see under (b1) below). Otherwise, early forms are the only, often uncertain, guide.

a1) Cleslyhead Rox (Southdean) PN Rox p. 35 [+ OE –lēah- ‘a clearing, pasture, meadow’ + -hēafod > ‘head’], implying that *Glę:ss may be a lost name for a headwater of the R Jed, but see also *clę:ss.

b1) Compounds with dūβ- (which see for references) are included here as a nominal form would be expected as the generic, i.e. ‘black stream’, though it may have been a different derivative of *gla:*st-:

Devil’s Burn or Water Ntb PNNtb p. 62.
Douglas R Lanc ERN pp. 129 - 33, PN Lanc p. 126, JEPNS17 p. 70.
Douglas Ing Wml (Hoff) PN Wml2 p. 94 [+OE –ing ‘a hill’, EPNE1 p. 282]: maybe a lost stream-name, but could be from Douglas as a personal name here.


Dowlass Moss YWR (Ingleton) PNYWR6 p. 245, again cf. Dowlais.
Dunsop R, with Dunsop Bridge, YWR PNYWR6 p. 212, ibid. 7 p. 127 [+ OE –hōp ‘an enclosed valley’].

b1) Conglas Lnk (burn in East Kilbride) CPNS p. 458 + cū[n]-; cf. Cingleis in LL, Conglass burns in Arg and Bnf, and other examples cited by Watson, CPNS loc. cit., and Taylor PN Fif 1 p. 46 (anent Inverkunglas); both scholars treat such names as Gaelic, though being a close compound, an early, P-Celtic, formation is likely; however, see also under cū[n].

Glaugles Cmb (Denton) Lan Cart + gleːju- (or read Glan-, see glan), or else -*[clę:ss.

c2) Dalgleish Slk (Ettrick) + *dǭl-, or else Gaelic –glais (dative singular).

Dalgliesh, Nether, Ayrs (Maybole) + *dǭl-, or else Gaelic -glais.

glę:ju

IE(NW) *ghl- or *għl- (see glan) + -iː > eCelt *glai:-wo-/a- > Br *glas*:wo-/a- > OW gloiw > MW gloew > W gluyw, OCorn gliu > Corn *glow (in place-names, CPNE p. 105), OBret -gloeu; cf. O-MnIr glė, G glè; cf. Lat glūs > OFr glu > E ‘glue’, Gk gloia ‘glue’.

For the Indo-European root and further comparanda see glan. The relationship between the P- and Q-Celtic forms is problematic, see LHEB §27 at pp. 325-30 and PNRB p. 369 (on Glevum, Gloucester).
‘Bright, clear, shining’, especially of liquids. The cognates suggest ‘glutinous, sticky’, but this is not apparent in Celtic usage.

a1) Gloster Hill Ntb PNNtb p. 94, probably a transferred name, but it might be from a Brittonic stream-name *Glę:ju- + OE -ěaster added subsequently; cf. Gloucester, see PNRB p. 369.

c1) Glaugles Cmb (Denton) Lan Cart + *clę:ss or -*gle:ss (or else read Glen-, see glan).

*glën (m)

Early Celtic *glenno- > Br *glenno- > M-MnW glyn, Corn *glynn (in place-names, CPNE pp. 104-5), Bret glenn; OIr glenn > Ir, G gleann, Mn glion.

Of obscure origin, though IE(NW) *ghḷ- or *ĝhḷ- (see glan) could well be in the background. Seemingly restricted to Insular Celtic. Adopted from Middle Irish/ early Gaelic into Scots and northern Middle English as glen, see LPN p. 123.

‘A valley’, typically a substantial but relatively narrow one (see ELL p. 27). As a place-name element it is much more common in Goidelic (especially Gaelic and Manx) than it is in Brittonic (see Whaley in DLDPN p. 400). Moreover, while Scots speakers formed some names of the ‘Rutherglen’ type with Germanic specifier-generic order, they may well have created others with ‘Glen-’ in first position (so-called ‘inversion compounds’) on the analogy of Gaelic formations. That being the case, most (b2) forms with ‘Glen-’ in southern Scotland are probably Gaelic or Scots even where the second element is a Brittonic or ancient river-name. However, note Watson’s observation, CPNS p. 140, that ‘[“glen”] appears over thirty times [in Peebleshire] ... some of the instances may be Welsh’: if so, they would be secondary formations, perhaps influenced by the popularity of the element in Gaelic, and so dating from the late Cumbric period of the 10th-12th centuries.

For For R Glen Ntb and simplex river-names of this type, see glan. For The Glen Wml (Nether Staveley) see PNWml1 p. 174 and DLDPN p. 131.

b1) Fingland (x4) and Finglen, all in Pbl CPNS p. 140, presumably Gaelic *fionn-gleann, but a Brittonic form + wînn- might underlie these. Rutherglen Lnk + rô- or rûô- + -duhr: the final element is likely to be Scots –glen (see above).

b2) Glenbarton Dmf (Langholm) CPNS p. 184 (misplaced ‘in Annandale’) ? + Brithon; probably early Gaelic *glen-Bretan, like Glensaxon nearby, see *Sachs.

Glencairn Dmf PNDmf p. 47 ? + -carn, which see.


Glencrosh Dmf (Glencairn) PNDmf p. 47, and Glencross or Glencorse Dmf (Closeburn) CPNS pp. 180 and 486, PNDmf p. 15, both + -crojs, or else Gaelic *gleann-croise.

Glendaramakin R Cmb ERN p. 179, PNCmb p. 15, DLDPN p. 132 + -dufr, which see [+ MIr personal name –Machán probably added later].

Glendaraterra Beck Cmb ERN p. 179, PNCmb p. 15, DLDPN p. 132 + -dufr, which see [+ an obscure personal name added later].

Glendevin, Lnk (Lesmahagow) Taylor (2009), pp. 87-8 + -duf[i]n, which see. (Glendevin WLo (Kirkliston) is probably a transferred name from Glendevin Per: see düf).

Glen Dhu Cmb (Bewcastle) PNCmb p. 61 + -dûf, which see.

Glendinning Rigg Cmb (Nicholforest) PNCmb p. 105 + -dîn- + -an or –în: MIr/eG glenn- is possible here.
Glendivan Dmf (Ewes) PNDmf p. 41 + -duβ[i]jn, which see.
Glendow, with Glendow Sike, Dmf (Ewes) + -duβ.
Glendue, with Glendue Burn and Fell, Ntb (Hartleyburn) PNNtb p. 94 ) + -duβ.
Glengaber Dmf (x3: Holywood, Kirkconnel and Sanquhar) PNDmf p. 58 (Holywood; the other two lack early forms), Glengower Dmf (Holywood) ibid., and Glengaber Slk (Yarrow), CPNS p. 138 ? + -gaβr, but see under that, and below.
Glenuoch Kcb (Balmaghe) PNGall p. 149 + -lúch - or *luch- + -ar: see below, also lúch and PNRB pp. 389-90 for discussion of this place-name in relation to *Luécovia.
Glennicking Wml (Patterdale) PNDmpl p. 222-3, DLDPN pp. 132-3 + redín, which see.
Glensax pbl CPNS p. 356 + *Sachs, which see for discussion.
Glensaxon Dmf (Westerkirk) CPNS p. 356 + *Sachs, likewise.
Glenturk Wig (Wigtown) PNGall p. 151, PNWigMM p. 112  ? + turch.
Glentennmont Dmf (Langholm) CPNS pp. 180 and 399, PNDmf p. 86 ? + -tā-, -tan- or -tān-, ? + -ī[r]-, + -mönïδ, but see below and under tā, tan, tān and mönïδ.

b2) The following are cases where the second element is probably a Brittonic or ancient watercourse-name, so ‘Glen-’ is likely to be a later addition (see above, and under the elements listed as specifiers); the same may well apply to Glengaber, Glenuoch, Glentennmont, Glenturk and others listed above:
Glencoynne, with Glencoynne Beck, Cmb (Watermillock)/ Wml (Patterdale) ERN pp. 178-9, PNCmb pp. 15 and 254, PNWml2 p. 222, DLDPN pp. 131-2 + -can[d], -cant, -cē:n or -cōn: see discussion under cant.

Glencres Cmb (Kirkoswald) Lan Cart ? + -*tres.
Glendowlin Wml PNWml1 p. 206 + -duβ- + -lūn.
Glennkens Kcb see under cant for Water of Ken.
Glernruthr Wig (Peninghame) PNGall p. 150, PNWigMM p. 112 + rō- or rūδ-, + ar or -duβr: see also cūl- and *cūl for discussion of Culruther.
Glentanner Water Slk SPN2 p. 244 + -tā- (which see) + -n- + -ar.

Glentref ELo CPNS p. 142 + -tarw.
Glentreske Wml (lost field-name in Patterdale) PNWml2 p. 228 + *tres- + -ōg.
Glentress Pbl (x2, Innerleithen and Peebles) CPNS p. 444 + *tres.

\[\text{goβ}\] (m) and \[\text{gōβe:l}\] (f)


The –n- from the nasal-stem root survives in all the Goidelic languages (though in some Scottish and Irish dialects the nominative form gobha has been generalised to the genitive singular, see PNFeStg p. 388), and in the plural forms in all the Celtic languages, Welsh gobain etc.


c2) Barnego Stg PNFEStg P. 70, and Brenego Ayrs (Tarbolton) SPN2 p 213 ? + brinn- or prenn-, + -ī[r]-, but see brinn.

Minigaff Kcb PNGall p. 211, and Minnygap Dmf (Johnstone) PNDmf p. 65, both + mōνïδ- or mōνju-, Gaelicised.

Br *goba-ljā- > OW gobail > MW geueil > W gefail, O-MnCorn gofail, OBret gobail > Bret govel.
‘A smithy, a forge’.

c2) Mossgiel Ayrs (Mauchline) CPNS p. 278 + mayes-, or else *gafiel, or Gaelic gobhail (genitive singular) ‘of a fork’ (for which see Guthrie 2004 at p. 5).

*grif (m)

Gk grúps, grúpos, adopted as late Latin gryp[h]us, thence as late British *grifo- > M-MnW griff; OIr gri > Ir grijbh, G grijbh, cf. Mx griffag.

On *-p/-ph- in British Latin and late British, and epenthetic –t, see LHEB §51 p. 396.

‘A gryphon/griffin’, the eagle/lion beast of Classical mythology and later mediaeval heraldry. Used in the Celtic literatures of birds of prey and carrion, and metaphorically of warriors. The curious usage in Modern Welsh for ‘a tadpole’ and ‘frog or toad spawn’ is recorded in GPC only from 1547. In Irish and Gaelic, the meaning extends by synecdoche to ‘a talon, a claw’.

a1) Gryfe R Ayrs/Rnf CPNS p. 470: Breeze (2000b) suggests *grif as the origin of this river-name. If so, the reference was more probably to a bird of prey than to tadpoles. Watson suggests Gaelic grijbh, but in the sense of ‘a claw, ... from the claw-like shape of the stream’, but again the appearance of, or favoured perch of, a bird of prey seems more appropriate, perhaps the osprey, cf. Dwelly s.v. grijbh. Cairngryffe, with Cairn Gryffe Hill, Lnk CPNS ibid. + carn is all the more likely to involve a large bird; it could be Brittonic or Gaelic.

gronn (f?)

IE(NW) *ghron- (o-grade of *ghren- ‘grind’) + -t- > eCelt *grontā- > Br *grontā- > OW(LL) gronn; cf. Gmc *grunduz > OE grund > ‘ground’, ON grund ‘a grassy plain’, grunnr ‘a shallow’, etc.

On the etymology, see CPNS p. 379, also Ekwall’s discussion of R Granta Camb in ERN, pp. 183–4.

‘A bog’. Apart from the occurrence in LL, this word is attested in British Latin in HB75 and Asser’s Life of Alfred (four times), in some Anglo-Saxon charters, in HR s.a. 1040, and in Irish Latin in at least five sources or contexts. While the word seems to be Brittonic in origin, adopted into the English, Welsh and Irish forms of insular Latin, it seems to have become extinct in Welsh and SW Brittonic, but it was apparently current in Pictish, whence it was adopted into Gaelic as a toponymic element (see Taylor 2011, pp. 102–3, and in PNFif 5 pp. 392 – 4). However, its status as a productive place-name element south of the Forth is doubtful.

a1) Gormyre WLo (Torphichen) CPNS p. 379 (as Gromyre), PNWLo pp. 93–4 [+ ON mýrr > ‘mire’], but OE gor > Scots goor- ‘mud, filth’ is much more likely.

c2) Balgornie WLo (Bathgate) PNWLo p. 85. This is a Gaelic formation, *baile-gronnaich, incorporating the element adopted from Pictish. It may have been introduced from north of the Forth by Gaelic speakers, but a Pictish term could well have been current here; cf. Pitgorno Fif (Strathmiglo), PNFif3 pp. 702–3.
gweβr

IE *g"yeh₃- (verbal root, ‘live’) + -bhr → eCelt *gwebro-lā- > Br *gwebro-lā- > OW guhebr- (in a stream-name), (LL) guefr- (in a stream-name), Guebr- (in personal names) > M-MnW chwefr- with various suffixes, Corn *whevr- (in a stream-name, CPNE pp. 240-1).

The etymology is problematic, as is any relationship with gwefr ‘a thrill’ or gwefr ‘amber’. See also *weβr.

‘Lively’. For its use in stream-names, see Padel’s discussion in CPNE, pp. 240-1, and Breeze (2006c) at pp. 328-9.

a2) Cumheueruin, Cumeuerwyn Cmb (Kingwater; also possibly another in Walton) Lan Cart 151 and 204 ? + cum[b]- + -in or -winn, but see also *haμar.
Torweaving MLo (West Calder) PNMLo p. 94, WLoPN p. 19 ? + torr- + -in: suggested by Wilkinson, or else + -*weβr-, or G *torr uaimhinn ‘hill of horror, detestation’ (sic, not ‘devastation’).
The root-sense in the Celtic languages is ‘dirt’, preserved in OW halou glossing *stercora* ‘dung’, and compare the Breton, Latin and Goidelic usages noted above. However, in insular Brittonic, senses developed of ‘marsh, moor’, and ultimately ‘rough, uncultivated land’. On these developments in Cornish, see Padel, CPNE p. 125, and Thomas (1961-7). The family of ‘salt’ words is thought to be cognate: see *halě:n*, but also DCCPN pp. 29-30.

b1) Halltree MLo (Stow) PNMLo p. 365 + *treβ* [any OE or ON first element can be ruled out]. Hallbankgate Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 85, Hullerbank Cmb (Hayton) PNCmb p. 88, and lost Hulverhirst ibid. + *breɣ*, which see.


*halě:n* (m)

IE *seh* + -(e)l- > eCelt *sāl- > Br *Σāl- > OW plural halou (+ -öü), LL hal, OCorn haal > Corn hal, Bret hal ‘saliva’; OIr sal ‘dirt’ > Ir, G sal, Mx sall-; cogn. Lat saliva.

‘Salt’. In the Celtic languages, the root seems to have remained primarily verbal, cf. O-MnIr, G, Mx verbal root *saill- ‘to salt, to cure’; the substantive *sāl- developed a different semantic range, see *hāl*, and for wider etymological considerations, DCCPN pp. 29-30. The noun meaning ‘salt’ was formed from this verbal root + *-eino-* > -ẹ :n. The two Welsh forms, halen and halwyn reflect unstressed and stressed forms respectively of the suffix in neoBrittonic or Old Welsh, the –wyn form being the more ‘regular’, and perhaps influenced by association with wïn. Modern Welsh *hâl* is indeed probably a back-formation from halwyn, treating the second syllable as a dispensible adjective < wïn: see GPC s.v.

a1) Elvan, Water of, with Elvanfoot, Lnk CPNS pp. 468-9; proposed by Breeze (2002f), but see *al- and references there.

*haμar* (f/m)

i) IE *sem- > eCelt *samo- > Br *Σamo-, Gaul sam > OW ham > M-MnW haf, M-MnCorn haf, OBret ham > MBret haff[ŋ] > Bret hañv; OIr sam > Ir samh ‘early summer’; cogn. Skt samā ‘season, half-year’.

ii) Early Celtic *sam- + -ārā- > Br *Σamārā-; cf.OIr samrad > Ir, G samradh, Mx sourey; cogn. Gmc (North and West) *sumaraz > OE sumor > ‘summer’.

The suffix –āro-/ā- is primarily adjectival, but is the basis of a number of certain or possible Celtic river-names in continental Europe and beyond, see ACPN pp. 32-3 and 106 and DCCPN p.
30. The meaning, ‘summery’, may have implied ‘flowing (even) in summer’. The names below may preserve stream-names of the form *hafar or suffixed versions of that.

However, a later formation compounding early British *Σam- with the verbal noun *-arā- > Modern Welsh ār ‘arable land’ (< eCelt *arā- < IE *h₂erh₂-y- ‘plough’, see under *arbh) gave rise to Welsh hafar, Cornish havar (in place-names, see CPNE p. 127), and cf. Breton havreg, awrec. GPC and CPNE give the meaning of this as ‘land left fallow in summer’, though ‘land cultivated in summer (and left fallow in winter)’ might make better etymological and agricultural sense. AMR shows around nine examples in Welsh place-names.

a2) Caraverick Cmb (Hesket in Forest) PNCmb p. 202 + *caj- + -|[r]r-, or cajr-, + -iŋ- (which see) or -iŋ: either a stream-name *Samārā/īcā- or ‘summer-arable’ + suffix, but see also eβur. Cumheuerin, Cumeuerwyn Cmb (Kingwater, and possibly another in Walton) Lan Cart 151 and 204 + cum[b]- + -in or -winn. See Todd (2005), especially at p. 99. If the second element is -heuer-, it shows double i-affection, possibly reflecting an archaic plural of the ‘summer-arable’ word, though a stream-name *Samārānā- might have remodelled by Cumbric speakers. See cum[b] and winn, but also gweβr. King Harry Cmb (Cumwhitton) PNCmb p. 79 + *cejn- (see *ceμ), or Middle Irish cenn-replacing pen[n]-, + -iŋ. Again, a stream-name *Samārā/īcā- is possible, but cf. Breton havreg ‘arable land’. Early forms again show double i-affection, here attributable to the suffix, -iŋ.

**harð**

IE *h₂erdu- (see arð) > eCelt *ardu- > Br, Gaul Ardu- > M-MnW harđd.

Apparently a by-form of arð, developing from metaphoric senses like ‘exalted, noble’ (cf. OIr ard) to M-MnW ‘beautiful’.

Harthkyn Cmb (lost field-name in Ponsonby) PNCmb p. 428, and Hartkin, Hardkin Wml (Bampton) PNWml p. 190 ? + *-cejn, see *ceμ. harð is proposed by Breeze (2002e) at pp 310-11, for Harthkyn; Armstrong et al. in PNCmb suggest Gaelic *ārd-choin ‘height of [the] dog’, comparing Ardkinglass Arg (but that is probably *ārd- + -choin-glaíis ‘height of [the] dog-burn’). Smith in PNWml says of Hartkin ‘the name may well refer to the valley of the Heltondale Beck where it narrows into a deep ravine. The second element is doubtless ME kyne “crack, chasm” or ON kinn “declivity”’, + OE heard > ‘hard’. However, the Middle English personal name Hardekin < late OE Heardcyn (‘a moneyer of Edward the Confessor, and probably a continental’ Reaney 1967, p. 214) might well be the source of either of these place-names.

**heð (m)**


From the verbal root ‘sit’, in the Celtic languages ‘peace, tranquillity’.

a2) Haydock Lanc (Winwick) PNLanc pp. 99-100, JEPNS17 p. 56 + -iŋ, but see also *heio̱.
*heið (f)

IE *ses(j)- > eCelt *sasjā- > Br *Σasjā- > MW heyd > W haidd, (not recorded in Cornish), Bret singulative heizen; cogn. Skt sasyam ‘grain, crop, fruit’.

‘Barley’ in Welsh and Breton.

a2) Haydock Lanc (Winwick) PN Lanc pp. 99-100, JEPNS17 p. 56 + j-ǭg, but Jackson, LHEB §174(3), pp. 612-13, considers this ‘not a very satisfactory etymology’; see also *heð.

hely

IE *selg- > eCelt *selg- > OW helgh-, helch- > MW hely, hela > W hely, OCorn helhi- > MCorn helghy- > Corn helghiya, OBret olguo > MBret –[h]olch; OIr selg > G sealg.

See EGOW p. 82, DCCPN p. 30, and LHEB §87, pp. 466-8.


helig (f)

IE (WC) *sal(ik)- > eCelt *salicā- > Br *Σalicā- > OW (LL) helic > MW helyc > W helyg, OCorn singulative heligen > Corn helyk, Bret haleg; OIr sailech > saileach (also sailech, genitive singular of analogical sail), G seileach, Mx sallagh; cogn. Lat salix, Gmc *salzaz > OE (Anglian) salh > ‘sallow’, Scots sauch, also ON selja > northern English sell, seal, Gk (Arcadian) helikē.

‘Willows’, collective noun.

c2) Tarelgin Ayrs (Ochiltree) CPPNS p. 360 + treβ- ?+ -i[r]-, + singulative suffix -en: see Breeze (2002f) at p. 110.

hen

IE *sen- > eCelt *seno-/ā- > Br *Σeno-/ā-, Gaul Seno- > O-MnW hen, M-MnCorn hen, O-MnBret hen; OIr sen Ir, G sean, Mx sheen; cogn. Lat senex, Gr hénos ‘last year’s’, Skt sana-.

See LHEB §115, pp. 517-21, EGOW p. 82, ACPN pp. 109-10 and 347 (map), PNRB p. 455.

‘Old’, usually a pre-positioned adjective.

c2) Trahenna Hill Pbl (Broughton) CPNS p. 369 + torr- or treβ- ?+ -anheð, which see. This seems closer to the form Trahennanna (1st edition Ordnance Survey) than -henlan (see lann) proposed by Breeze (2006f) at p. 57. However that record may be an error, map-forms from Blaeu onward have –henna or –hannah (A. Hunt pers. comm.). Otherwise, a personal name might be involved.
**hēs[s]** (f)


For eCelt *sīdo- see DCCPN p. 31, and ACPN pp. 111-12. For the Brittonic forms, see LHEB §116, p. 521, and §122(3), pp. 530-4, and see also heō, *anheō and *hǭđo.

‘A seat, a dwelling-place’. The word has no direct descendants in the Brittonic languages (but see heō). Ir síodh and G seasg, seisg, Mx shiast; cf. Gmc (West) *sagjaz > OE seċġ > ‘sedge’, and cf. Gmc *sagjo- > OE seċġ ‘a sword’.

‘Sedge’ (Cyperaceae family) and coarse grasses, the semantic developments in Celtic and Germanic reflecting the sharp-edged leaf-blades of such plants. A metonymic extension to ‘bog, marsh’ is seen in the singulative Hescenn Judie in LL, as in Breton hischent and Old Irish sescenn > Irish seisgeann, Gaelic seisgeann.

The derivatives of IE *sek- ‘cut’ and *se(n)k ‘dry up’ often fall together (e.g. in the Manx homonym shiast, both ‘sedge’ and ‘dry, barren’), and it is possible that ‘hesk’ or ‘hask’ in place-names reflects a variant of hesb, feminine of hisb, which see. However, the following names appear to be either from the singulative hesgen (which also occurs in Welsh place-names as hesgin, see ELl p. 47) or from suffixed forms with –en or –in, or else from the metonymic sense ‘bog, marsh’ referred to above.

a1) Hesk Fell Cmb (Ulpha) DLDPN p. 165 (not in PNCmb).

a2) Barcheskie Kcb (Rerrick) PNGall p. 22, and Barhaskin Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 25, both + barr-, or Gaelic bàrr- or baile-sheisgeinn, + -in or singulative –in (see above). MacQueen’s bàrr a chas-ceuma ‘height of the footpath or...steep way’, PNRGLV p. 70, is appropriate to the location of Barhaskin, but phonologically questionable.

Haskayne Lanc (Halsall) PNLanc p. 120: on the vowels see LHEB §6(4), pp. 281-2 + -en or singulative –en.

Heskin Lanc (Eccleston) PNLanc pp. 130-1, JEPNS17 p. 74 + -in or singulative –in (see above).
hīɣ (m as noun)

IE *segʰ- > eCelt *sego- > Br, Gaul Sego- (in personal names, > *Σego-) > OW –hig (in a personal name) > M-MnW adjective hy (not found in Corn or Bret) ; Mr seg > Ir, G seagh; cogn. Gmc *sigjaž > OE siġe, ON sigr, ‘victory’, Gk ἐkhō ‘I hold, stand firm, cling on’, Skt sahas- ‘victory’.


The verbal root meaning ‘conquer, subjugate’ is the source of Celtic words for ‘strength’ and, adjectivally, ‘strong’. In Modern Welsh the meaning has moved to ‘bold, impudent’, and in the Goidelic languages, especially Scottish Gaelic, to mental strength, ‘sense’ in both the psychological and semantic ‘senses’.

It is recorded in the North only at Segedunum PNRB pp. 452-3 + -dīn, the fort at Wallsend Ntb.

hint (f, but earlier also m)


See OIPrIE §15.7, p. 250 and §22.12, pp. 395-6, DCCPN p. 30, LHEB §6(2), p. 278 and n2, and §§115-16, pp. 517-21, and CIB §27, pp. 95 and n95, also ibid. pp. 251-2, 290 and 293 on the dating of –en- > –īn-.

‘A way, a path’, from the Indo-European verbal root meaning ‘go’.

Although attested in the English Midlands (see Gelling Signposts p. 101), its only certain appearance in the North is in the Roman-British place-name Gabrosentum PNRB pp. 364-5 + gaβr-, possibly the fort at Moresby Cmb. This is evidence for Br *Σento- rather than the ‘regular’ *Σintā- which underlies W hynt and Corn –hint: see LHEB and CIB references above.

The suggestion that a deity-name *Sentanā- ‘traveller, wanderer’ might underlie the ethnic name Setantii and the river-name Seteia (PNRB pp. 456-7) requires an improbable grafting of an early Goidelic form *Sēt- onto Brittonic suffixes (Cúchulainn’s given name Sētanta raises similar problems, see CPNS p. 25, DCM p. 102). An ancient river-name unconnected with the root *sent- seems more likely to underlie these (and any connection between the Setantii and Cúchulainn remains doubtful); but see Breeze (2006b). Seteia was probably the River Mersey, and Portus Setantium a site (Meols?) on the Mersey estuary (D. J. Breeze 2017, 5).

*hīsb

IE *sisk- (reduplicated form of *se[n]k- ‘dry up’) > eCelt *sixc- + -wo-/ā- > Br *Σiscwo-/ā- > M-MnW hysb, feminine hiesb (not recorded in Cornish, though Morton Nance (1938) gives hesk, see below and under hiesg), Brez hiesp; cf. Mr sesc > Ir, G seasg, Mx sh[i]ast; cogn. Lat siccus.

See OIPrIE §20.9, pp. 345-6 (also §11.7 at p. 196 for the o-grade *sok- ‘sick’).

‘Dry, barren, sterile, exhausted’, of land or livestock (only the latter in Goidelic).

Besides the following, see also under hesg for the possibility that names listed there involve a variant of feminine *hesb (cf. Cornish hesk above).

a2) Hespin Wig (Whithorn) PNGall p. 156 feminine *hesb- + -ēn: perhaps a lost stream-name. Garrahaspin Wig (Stoneykirk) PNGall p. 142 feminine *hesb- + -ēn [+ Gaelic gàradh ‘a garden, a yard’]: on –a- for –e- see LHEB §6(4), pp. 281-2. Again, possibly a lost stream-name.

*hūō

MW hawd > W hawdd, Corn hueth.

The etymology is obscure: an IE *sōd-, lengthened o-grade of IE *sed (see hōō), may be involved.

‘Easy, prosperous, pleasant’. It often occurs as in stream-names, e.g. Hoddnant Crd, Howey Brook Rdn; and see DPNW pp. 197-8 (Honddu) and 281 (Llanthony) for further examples in Wales, CPNE p. 135 for several in Cornwall, and PNShr1 pp. 153-4 on Hodnet Shr, where *hūō describes a valley rather than a watercourse.

c1) Hodder R Lanc/YWR border ERN p. 198, PN Lanc p. 139, PNYWR7 p. 129 + -dufr, though Jackson, LHEB p. 519, followed by Watts DEPN(C), considers this ‘uncertain’.

*hu-

IE *[h₁]su- (zero-grade of *[h₁]esu-, formed on *[h₁]es- ‘be’) > early Celt *su- > early British *Σo-, Gaul Šu- > late Br *hō- > OW hi- etc. > M-MnW hy-, OBret ho-; OIr so, su-; cogn. Gk eu, Skt su-.

See OIPrIE §20.6, pp. 336-7, DCCPN p. 31, LHEB §199(c), p. 659, and GOI §365, p. 231.

A (leniting) prefix meaning ‘good, well’, seen in Welsh hydryf etc.

Ekwall sees this in:

a2) Humber R ERN pp. 201-4, PNYER p. 8 ? + -[a]mb-?, see *amb-, and LHEB §112, pp 509-13, but see also *hū-.

*hū- and *hul or *hūl
IE * seuh₃ > eCelt *seu- > eBr *Σ₃-.

The primary meaning is ‘to set in motion’; in referring to liquids it means ‘boil, seethe’, but also ‘soak’, ‘steep’ and ‘rain’.

Ekwall, ERN pp. 355-8, associates this IE root with a group of river-names in England and Wales, and its zero-grade *suh₃ with Gaulish Suminā-, etymon of the Somme and other river-names in France.

Seven R YNR ERN p. 358, PNYWR p. 6 + -inā-, cf. Suminā-, but see LHEB §§98(2) and 99, pp. 488-91, §115, pp. 51-21, and §205, pp. 678-81.

* seuh₃ + -l- > eCelt *seul- > eBr *Σol- > neoBrittonic *hūl may underlie river-names of the ‘Hull’ type, cf.R Sill in Germany. Alternatively, IE zero-grade *suh₃ + -l-, meaning ‘curdle, ferment’ (cf.Skt surā-, an intoxicating drink of some unknown kind, and see OIPrIE §16.3, pp. 260-2), would have developed as eCelt *sulā- > early British *Σulā- > neoBrittonic *hul. A third possibility is IE *solh- ‘dirt’, which may be related to * seuh₃ + -l-: cf.Lat salebra ‘a rough, uneven stretch of road or verse’, and Gmc *salwa- > OE sol ‘mud’ and solu ‘filth, mire’, ON salaw-, > ‘sallow’.

a1) Hull R YER ERN p. 201, PNYER p. 6.

*hwaen (f)

M- early MnW chwaen.

Of uncertain etymology.

‘A chance, an occurrence, an exploit’. This occurs in place-names in eight parishes across north Wales from Flintshire to Anglesey (AMR, searching *chwaen*), but its precise meaning in toponymy is unclear. Breeze (2002f) at pp. 111-12, suggests ‘battle-site’ in those listed below, but any notable event, stroke of luck etc. might equally well be invoked.

These are all + treβ-, or possibly *truch-, neither of which is found with the Welsh examples; -i[i]- may or may not have been involved. Initial hw- is unlikely to have developed to cγw- before the extinction of Cumbric, and it would not have been preserved in most Old English dialects (see LHEB §§ pp. 525-7). However, Breeze (2002f) at pp. 111-12 draws attention to the strongly aspirated hw- surviving in northern Middle English and Old to Middle Scots (Scots ‘quh-’, see OED under wh-). Early forms for Torquhan and Troughend in particular may favour this, but see also wïnn.

c2) Torquhan MLo (Stow) PNMLo p.370 (not mentioned by Breeze).
   Troquhain Ayrs (Kirkmichael) CPNS p. 362.
   Troquhain Kcb (Balmaclellan) PNGal  p. 262.
   Troughend Ntb (Otterburn) PNNtb p. 201.
For the etymology, see *[h]ín, of which the West Brittonic ī[r] > Welsh y[r] is taken to be a variant development. see also LHEB §198(2), pp. 656-7, and EGOW pp. 94-6.

The definite article. In the North, this raises several matters for debate:
i) the apparent existence of another form of the article, *[h]ín, which see for discussion;
ii) The predominance among reasonably certain cases of ĵ[r] of combinations with either pen[ṇ]- or treβ-: see below.
iii) The findings of Padel (CPNE pp. 6-7), Flanagan (1980) and Toner (1999), that name-phrases of the form ‘noun + definite article + noun’ are relatively late formations in both Cornwall and Ireland, though the earliest examples could be from the tenth century, more certainly the eleventh.
iv) Padel’s observation (op. cit. p. 6) that ‘[t]he definite article in [the Celtic languages] is used more frequently than in English. It can come and go quite freely, so that for many names it is impossible to say whether they “originally” contained it or not’. This is especially true in environments like treβ- ī[r]-N, compare Nicolaisen’s discussion of comparable Gaelic formations, SPN² pp. 214-16.
v) The observations of both Padel (loc. cit.) and Nicolaisen (op. cit. p. 161) that the article is used ‘incorrectly’ in some Celtic place-name formations with common generics, suggesting that it had been reduced to a meaningless connective element.

These considerations taken together seem to point to a relatively late, Cumbric-period, origin for place-names in the North containing ī[r]. Their distribution, especially in the case of treβ- ī[r]-N formations, may reflect Cumbric-speaking (re-)colonisation of the Southern Uplands and hill country around the Solway basin during this period (see A. James, 2009, at pp 197-9).

Note cases where an initial article ĵ- causing lenition may have been elided, e.g. Giffen Ayrs (Beith), see *ceμ- and *cöfïn, Grougfoot WLo (Bo’ness and Carriden), see crūg, and, doubtfully, Drea Pbl (Stobo), see treβ, and Regles Tower MLo (Penicuik), see eglє:ς. The possible falling together of ār and ī[r] should also be taken into account, as in the case of Yr Echwïd, for which see under *ecĥiaŵd.

Formations with pen[ṇ]- (see under that and under the specifiers for discussion) include:
Pendraven Cmb (lost field-name in Upper Denton) PNCmb p. 82 + -aflon, see āβ-, but also discussions under pen[ṇ] and treβ.
Penicuik MLo CPNS p. 355, PNMLo pp. 333-4 + -*cog.
Pennersax Dmf (Middlebie) CPNS pp. 180, 396, PNDmf p. 94 + - Says.
Pennique Burn Ayrs (Dalmellington) ? + -ẽd (M. Ansell, pers. comm.)
Pennyant Hill Rox (Castleton) + -cΛ or –gïnt.
Pennymoor Rox (Oxnam) CPNS p. 354, PNRox p. 31 + -mūr.
Penyghent YWR PNYWR6 pp. 219-20 + -*geint, see cΛnt, or plural of -*gïnt.

Formations which may have treβ- + ī[r]- include those that follow. Again, see under treβ and under the specifiers for discussion. Cases where the presence of the article is uncertain are marked “?’ before the specifier; cases where the specifier is in doubt have ‘?’ after it:
Tareλtin Ayrs (Ochiltree) CPNS p. 360 ? + *heλgen, see heλg.
Terregles Kcb CPNS p. 359, PNGall p. 258 + -*eλgє:ς.
Trabroun ELo (Haddington) CPNS pp. 359-60 ? + brïnn or –bronn.
Trabrown Brw (Lauderdale) CPNS pp 359, 363 ? + -brīnn or –bronn.
Traiflatt Dmf (Tinwald) CPNS p. 359 ? + -*lad, see lēid.
Trailltrow Dmf (Hoddon) CPNS p. 359 ? + -*tirulliad.
Tranent ELo CPNS p. 360 ? + -nent, see nant.
Traquair Pbl (Innerleithen) CPNS p. 360 + river-name Quair, see *weī- and *wejr (note that there is no evidence for the article in recorded forms for Troqueer Kcb and Trowier Ayrs).
Terrygian Ayrs (Cumnock) CPNS p. 360 + -fōntōn?
Travercreig (Durrisder) Dmf PNdMf p. 34 +-crēg.
Traverlen MLo (= Duddingston) CPNS p. 360 ? + -līnn.
Treales Lanc (Kirkham) PNLanc p. 152, JEPNS17 p. 88 + -fī:s[s]. Trearne Ayrs (Beith) CPNS pp. 361-2 + -onn? But may be Old English.
Trevercarcou Dmf/Kcb (unlocated) –cajr- + -coll, or + -carreg-, or + -*carrōg-, + -ōū. Trevergylt Cmb (Irthington) +
Tranent ELo CPNS p. 360  ? + -nent, see nant.
Trenery Cmb (Dalton) LanCart 49 +
Trenery Cmb (Upper Denton) ERN p. 301, LanCart 9 etc. +*
Trelalow Cmb (Brampton?) Lan Cart 28 +
Trelawnyvaidd Wml (Penningham) PNWml2 p. 148 ? + -nent, see nant.
Trevur, see *
Trévergylt Trevercarcou Lanc (Kirkham) PNLanc p. 152, JEPNS17 p. 88 + -fī:s[s].
Trewen Stg PNFEStg 39 under
Trewethen Lanercost (Waterhead) PNCmb p. 116 + -mayn.
Troxhlagh Ayrs (Girvan) CPNS p. 360 + -crēg.
Trowery Hill (anc. name in Newby) PNWml2 p. 148  ? + -nent, see nant.
Trowie Ayrs (Beith) CPNS pp. 361-2 + -onn? But may be Old English.
Trowie Ayrs (Girvan) CPNS p. 360 + -nent, see nant.
Trowery Hill (anc. name in Newby) PNWml2 p. 148  ? + -nent, see nant.

Other instances may include the following; few are certain, so see discussions under the various elements:
Altivolie Burn Wig (Stoneykirk) PNgall p. 5  ? alt- + -boly.
Alkincoats Lanc (Colne) PNLanc p. 51 + al- or alt- + -tan- + -cē:d; otherwise may have alt- + -īn.
Altigabet Burn Ayrs  ? alt- + -gaβr- + -ed.
Artemawh Cmb (Brampton) Lan Cart ? + arō- + -*mōn.
Barnlurch Rnf + bod- + -*mōnach.
Barnego Stg PNFESStg P. 70  ? + -brīnn- or prenn+ -goβ.
Blanyvayird Wig (Penningnham) PNgall p. 43 + blajn- + -bhīrō (see barō).
Breno Ayrs (Tarbolton) SPN2 p 213  ? + -brīnn- or prenn+ -goβ.
Caraverick Cmb (Hesket in Forest) PNCmb p. 202 + *cajr- + -eβur- or -*hāmar-, + -īg- or -ōg-:
or else + cajr-.
Carnwath Lnk CPNS p. 386 + carn- ? + -wīzd; or else *cajr- + -nōwīō.
Carrfran Dmf (Moffat) ? + *cajr- or carreg- + -brān.
Carrycoats Ntb (Throckington) PNNtb p. 40  ? + -cajr- + -cē:d; or else named from the Carry Burn, see *carr.
The Catral Sklp CPNS p. 181  ? + cad- + analogical –c for ‘erroneous’ –(r)-, see above) + -eil?
Culbraten Wig (Penningham) PNgall p. 97, PWNGMM p. 23 + *cūl- or *cūl- + -Brīthon.
Cumreich Cmb (Irthington) + cum[b]- + -?; or else cum[b]- + -brīth.
Dalreagle Wig (Kirkinner) PNgall p. 103, PWNGMM p. 23  ? + *dōl- + -eβur-; but see also under rīf.
Dunipace Stg PNFESStg 39 – 40  ? + dīn - + -*bas, which see.
Enterkine Ayrs (Tarbolton), and Enterkin Burn and Pass Dmf (Durrisdeer) PNdMf p. 33, ?
*neint- (see nant) + -can[d], -cant, or čē:n as stream-name (perhaps with ‘incorrect’ definite article, see above).
Glentenmont Dmf (Langholm) CPNS p. 180 and 399, PNdMf p. 86 ? + glīnn- + -tan-
+ -mōnō, but see also tā and tān.
Knockietore Wig (Old Luce) PNgall p. 182 + cnu[c][h]- + -torr.
Knockycoyd Ayrs (Colmonell) + *cnu[c][h]- + -cē:d.
Launcreries Cmb (Brampton?) Lan Cart 28 + lanerc- + -? -mīs- + -an.
Launcrereini Cmb (Dalton) LanCart 49 + lanerc- + - wyni (see *oyn) or -*riēinsi (see *rijaun).
Minneygap Dmf (Johnstone) PNdMf p. 65  ? + mōnō- or mōnju- + -*cīb.
Nenthemenou Cmb (Upper Denton) ERN p. 301, LanCart 9 etc. + *nent- (see nant) + -*mīn- + -ōū [or ME –howe]; or else + -Temon- (see dīn, tā and mayn).
More complicated is the ‘Esk’ class of river-names. These are taken by Nicolaisen (1957 p. 241, and see Kitson 1998 p. 92) to be formed with *h₁is- + root-determinative –k- > early Celtic *iscā-. Other scholars (see PNRB pp. 376-8 and DCCPN p. 20 for references) derive the Roman-British place-name Isca (Exeter and Caerleon, reflecting the river-names now Exe and Usk) from IE *pιsk- ‘a fish, primarily trout’ (zero-grade of *peiksk- ‘mark, spot’; cf. OIr iás, Lat piscis, Gmc *fiskaz > OE fisċ >’fish’; see OIPrIE §9.4 at p. 146, and Hamp 1974). However, the relationship between the northern ‘Esk’ river-names and Isca is not straightforward. Rivet and Smith, PNRB pp. 376-8, explain i- > e- in terms of British Latin pronunciation, but this is less persuasive in the northern examples. The relationship between *iscā- > *esc and Old Irish esc ‘water’ > Irish easc, Gaelic easg, both ‘bog, marsh’ (alongside Old Irish uisce > Irish uisce, Gaelic uisge, Manx ushtey, all ‘water’), is likewise unclear, though the Goidelic word could have influenced the ‘Esk’ names north of Hadrian’s Wall. The rivers in this group in our region are: Esk YNR. ERN p. 151, PNYNR p. 7, PNYWR7 pp. 140-1; see Jackson (1971) at p. 75 and in LHEB §41, p. 362, §92, p. 473, and §117, p. 521-5, Nicolaisen (1957) at pp. 230-40, and Kitson (1998) at p. 92 and n32.

For Urr R. Kcb see or.

A parallel form with the suffix –arā- was proposed by Ekwall s.n., and supported by Nicolaisen, op.cit. p. 239, for the R Aire, but Smith, PNYWR7, pp. 118-20, favoured Old Norse eyjar ‘islands’ (replacing OE *pa eġ >’the islands’), see also DEPN(C) s. n., and discussion under *lǭð of a possible earlier name for this river.

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**iid (m as noun)**

IE *pīh-, (zero-grade of *peih-, ‘fatten, be fat’) + -t- > eCelt *itu- > Br *itu- > OW it > M-MnW yd, Corn eys, Bret ed; O-MnFr, G ithub, Mx eeh; cf. Gmc *faitaz > OE fiette > ‘fat’, cogn. Gk pīdūo ‘I gush’, pīdax ‘a spring’ (and possibly pītus ‘a pine-tree’), Skt pī ‘swell, overflow’.

See OIPrIE §16.1 at p. 257, §16.3 pp. 260-2, also §10.1, pp. 156-9.

In the Celtic languages, ‘grain, corn, wheat’, but the root has a wide range of connotations including senses of ‘welling up, overflowing, gushing out’ appropriate to river-names. For its occurrence in British personal names, see CIB ǂ65 at p. 209 and ǂ84 at p. 233 with n1464. However, Hamp (1989a) at p. 110 proposes an alternative etymology for this element in river-names, from IE *ped[s]- ‘a foot’ in its verbal use, ‘to fall’ (as in OE ġefetan ‘to fall’ and Sanskrit padyate ‘falls’: see OIPrIE §22.14 pp. 400-1, also is-).

With a nasal suffix (see Hamp 1995 at p. 50), this element forms river-names of the ‘Eden’ type: Eden R Wml/Cmb ERN pp. 142-3, PNCmb p. 12, PNWml1 p. 6. This is probably Ptolemy’s Itoúna, PNRB p. 380: see LHEB §136, p. 554, §154, pp. 576-8 (with Watts’s note on the Old English development, DEPN(C) s.n.), and §204(A2), pp. 672-3; pace Williams PT pp. 37-8, where he reads *rywin idon for kywym dom in ms, this name is unlikely to be present in BT56(II), see Haycock 2013, p. 28 n39 and refs, but also Clancy 2013, p. 168 n6. Another *Ituno-ā in this region is implied by Ituncelum PNRB pp. 380-1, +-ūchel: it is unlocated, though Rivet and Smith loc. cit. favour a coastal site near Beckermet Cmb. On Iton in Cynddelw’s elegy for Owain Gwynedd see Haycock op. cit. pp. 27-8 n38.

Eden Burn, with Castle Eden (which is probably Iodene australis in Historia de Sancto Cuthberto §21) and lost Yoden, Drh DDRhPN p. 38. Eden Water Rox/Brw, with Ednam Rox PNRox p. 18.

A name of the ‘Eden’ type might be the second element in two difficult names: Carriden WLo CPNS p. 369, PNWLo pp. 25-6, presumably +-cajr- see Ε:δύν.


**-īg, -ęg**

Early Celtic adjectival suffix *-ico-/ā- > -īg (masculine), -ęg (feminine). The sense is similar to that of -ǭg, which see, and see P. Russell (1990), pp. 80-4.

Where, as in many place-names listed below, i-affection seems to be lacking, the formation may have been from the feminine *-icā- > -ęg, or else from -ǭg (perhaps, in Scotland and Cumbria, via a Gaelicised –eich or –aich).

The Roman-British form*-icā- is seen in Aēsica, see *Ε:s-.

For Bede’s Aebercurnig etc. see discussion of Abercorn WLo under corn. Aberlessic in VK(H) shows internal i-affection; for discussion of this name see *flūs.

Aberlady ELo CPNS p. 460 +aber- +-łę:b- or *loβ-+ -ed-; -īg would have been a secondary suffix here. Annick Water Ayrs ? + Anaw-.
European demonstrative pronoun *demos*, which are 

Candie Stg (Muiravonside), also *Candie Stg* (Grangemouth), PNFESTg pp. 41-2 + *cant-, but note lack of i-affection.

Caravellc Cmb (Hesket in the Forest) PNCmb p. 202 + *cajr- + -iř-, or + *cajr- or + *ebru- or + *haurr-: see discussions under both *efjur* and *haurr*. In either case the suffix could have been –ōg.

Carncastle Wml (Waitby) PNWml2 p. 26 + *carn-, but i-affection absent.

Catlowdy Cmb (= Lairdstown, Nicholforest) PNCmb p. 105 + *caft-, + *loβ-, + -ed-: see discussions under *cach* and *loβ-.

Corsick Rox (Smailholm) PNRox p. 35 + *cors- or crojs-, but i-affection absent, so may have been + –ōg or mood. – Wic: see Macdonald, PNRox loc. cit.

Endrick Water Stg/Dnb: see + *anderig.

Errick Kcb (Girthron): see + *anderig.

Errick Burn WLo (Linlithgow) ? + *ar- in river-names, but see under that.

Ettrick R Slk ? + *ador-.

King Harry Cmb (Cumwhitton) PNCmb p. 79 + *cejn- (see *cejn), or Middle Irish *cenn-* replacing pen[n]-, + *haurr-, which see: early forms show double i-affection.

Loskie, Big and Little Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 204 + *losg-.

Logie Braes and Water WLo (Torphichen) PNWLo p. 96 + *lúy-, but cf. Luggie Burn.

Luggie Burn WLo (Torphichen) in S Lewis (1846) vol. II p. 552 s.n. Torphichen ? + *lúy-, or cf. Luggie Burn below, or else Gaelic *logaigh < log ‘a hollow, pit or ditch’.

Luggie Burn Wnk-EDnb CPNS pp. 242-3 ? + *lúy-, but see under that.

Luskie Water Kcb (Twynholm) + *losg-

Luskie Dam and Plantation Kcb (Dalry) + *losg-

Luskie Hill Kcb (Twynholm) PNNall p. 205 + *losg-

Mailzie Burn, with Corsemalzie and Culmalzie, Wig PNGall pp 78 and 207 + *mayl-, which see (+ *cors-).

Mendick Pbl (West Linton) CPNS p. 400 + *múin-, which see.

Mosscally ELo (Haddington) CPNS p. 378 + *mayes- + -coll-, but i-affection absent, so maybe -ōg Gaelicised as -aich.

Pantlaurig Bwk (Duns) CPNS p. 374 + *pant- + -laβar-: see pant.

Partick Rnf CPNS p. 386 + *pert[h]-, which see.

Pendourick MLo (Newtongrange) CPNS p. 355 + *pen[n]- + -duβr- in a lost stream-name *Duβrig.

Pirnie Rox (Maxton) CPNS p. 351, PNMLo pp. 367-8 ? *brīn- or *prenn- or else -ōg Gaelicised as -aich, or – in plural -ōü.

Pirnie Braes ELo CPNS p. 351 likewise.

Pirniehall Dnb (Kilmarnock) likewise [+ Scots –heuch ‘a steep bank, ravine’].

Polhiedick Cmb (lost field-name in Burtholme) PNCmb p. 73 + *pol- + -lįd-, see both of these.

*'[h]in*

Early Celtic *sindo-/ā- > Br *Σindo-/ā- > OW inn, ir > M-MnW hyn, y[r], O-MnCorn hen, an, O-MnBret hen[n], an; Olr sin, intl., > Ir, G sin, an, Mx shen, yn.


The Celtic definite articles are generally taken to be reduced forms of the demonstrative, as shown above (the second item in each pair from Old Welsh onward being the reduced form). The demonstrative *sindo-/ā- is itself ultimately derived from an emphatic development of the Indo-European demonstrative pronoun *so*. Old Welsh *ir > Middle to Modern Welsh y[r] is seen as a
modified form of *[h]in, the expected outcome of *Σindo-/ā-. However, many issues of controversy surround these etymologies.

Jackson’s tentative observation that “Tallentire appears to contain the Brittonic definite article in the form en’ LHEB p. 10 (but note the footnote) has sometimes been raised to a general proposition that *[h]in was the definite article in the Brittonic of the North. However:
i) [i[r] is well-attested in the North, being considerably more common than *[h]in even allowing the most conservative reckoning for [i[r] and the most generous for *[h]in;
ii) possible cases with *[h]in are all in areas where Goidelic influence is likely;
iii) and several of these have the presumed article before a dental stop, where –n- > -r- could have been inhibited or reversed.

These points, along with the general considerations regarding the definite article presented under [i[r], suggest that - if the syllable in question is to be regarded as a form of the definite article at all rather than as a meaningless connective intrusion – it is at least as likely to be a Cumbric variant influenced by the Goidelic article an and/or by a following dental stop, as a survival of the presumed neo-Brittonic *[h]in.

Possible cases include:
Badintree Hill Pbl (Tweedsmuir)  ? + bod- + -treβ, but see bod.
Carnenuat (lost)  ? + carn- + -wi:δ, but see under those elements.
Craigantyre Wig (Stoneykirk) PN Gall p. 81  ? + cre:γ- + -fir, or Gaelic *creag-an-fir.
Craigentye Wig (Glasserton) PN Gall p. 85  ? cre:γ- + -fy, or Gaelic creag-an-tighe.
Laggangarn Wig Brooke (1991) at p. 311  ? + *lech- + -*worei or -wo- + -riw, but see under each of these.
Manhincon Wig (Craighlaw) Brooke (1991)at p. 320 ? + mayn- + -cū[n].
Pittendreich MLo PNMLo pp. 280-1 ? + peth- + -*drïγ.
Polintarf Water, with Polintarf, Pbl CPNS p. 453 + *pol- + -tarw, Gaelic-influenced if not Gaelic in origin.
Tallentire Cmb PNCmb pp. 324-5 + tal- + -fir; see above.
Treesmax Ayrs (Ochiltreee) CPNS p. 362 + treβ- + -ôch [+ Scots plural –s].

-īn, -en and –īnn


An adjectival and, in place-names, toponymic suffix, added to nouns or adjectives. In Anglicised forms it is generally indistinguishable from the diminutive: early Celtic *-inno-/ā- > Br *-inno/ā- > OW –inn/-en > M-MnW –yn, -en , Corn –yn, -en, Ir, G -in, -ēin; but without clear reason, a diminutive sense should not be assumed. Feminine forms fall together with –en, and confusion with –an is also frequent.

See also *celeuin, *cê:rōin, jās (for *jesīn), *mūy[n], and *merin (in which the suffix is apparently diminutive).

An interesting ethnynomic use is found in Votǎdini, see wotōd.

For all the examples listed below, the element proposed as preceding the suffix should be consulted (many are doubtful). Absence of internal i-affection is frequent: lost stream-names with feminine *-în- may be involved in several cases even where *-en has reverted to –in under the influence of the –n. In many cases, it is impossible to be sure whether the name is a Brittonic or Gaelic formation (and if Gaelic, whether the suffix is toponymic or diminutive), or even a Brittonic name to which Gaelic speakers added the suffix. Loss of –n from this suffix (whether
Brittonic, Pictish or Gaelic) is very frequent in Scots usage, whereas radical –n in other elements is generally preserved. Taylor (PNFif5 pp. 407 – 11) reviews scholarly discussion of this suffix in place-names, and concludes, 'there is clearly still much more to say about this small particle, which eagerly awaits a Scotland-wide study'; this list may contribute examples in southern Scotland and northern England for such a study:

Alkincoats Lanc (Colne) *al or alt
Barcheskie Kcb (Rerwick) hesg
Barhaskin Wig (Old Luce) hesg
Cairnglastenhope Ntb (Simonburn) glās
Cantin Wiel Wig (Minigaff) can[d] or cant
Carlowrie WLo (Dalmeny) lařar, lór or lowern
Carnetly Cmb (Farlam) jūō
Carntyne Lnk *earneō
Carrington MLo cajr
Cocken R Drh (Chester-le-Street) coch
Cockin Wml (Kendal) coch
Cockrossen Kcb (Tongland) rōs
Cumheueruin Cmb (Kingwater; also possibly another in Walton) *gweβr
Dalmeny WLo māyn
Dinnins, or Dinnings, Hill Kcb *dīn
Garrahaspin Wig (Stoneykirk) *hīsb
Girvan Ayrs garw
Glasson Lanc (Cockerham) glās
Glendinning Rigg Cmb (Nicholforest) dīn
Heskin Lanc hesg
Hespin Wig (Whithorn) *hīsb
Irthing R Cmb/Ntb arth or –ed
Knocking Tofts Wml (Brough) *cnuc[h]
Leeming Bar, Beck and Lane YNR lę:β
Lessens Kcb *liː[s]s
Levern Water Rnf lařar
Mossminning Lnk (Lesmahagow) *mīyn
Ouse Burn Ntb *jās
Pirnie Rox (Maxton), Pirnie Braes ELo (Pencaitland), Pirniehall Dnb (Kilmaronock), all brīnn or prenn
Rossendale Lanc rōs
Rossington YWR rōs
Tarmonath Fell Cmb (Geltsdale) torr
Torweaving MLo (West Calder) *gweβr or *weβr
Wlw[er]en Cmb (Upper Denton) gilβ
Yeavering Ntb gaβr.

īnīs (f)

ECelt *inisī- > Br *inisīi- > M-MnW ynys, Corn enys, OBret inis, enes > Bret enez; O-MnIr inis, G innis, Mx inish; adopted from G as Scots inch; ?cf. Lat insula, but the etymology is unclear.

‘An island’. In place-names, frequently a relatively dry piece of land in a marshy or flood-prone location, cf. Old English ēġ, LPN pp. 36–44.
It is difficult to distinguish the Brittonic and Goidelic forms in Scotland, where either is likely to be Anglicised as *inch. In Gaelic toponymy *oileán > *eilean is more generally used for islands, but *innis is used quite frequently for ‘a haugh’, see Murray 2014, p. 134.

In Broninis VW36 appears to be a close compound + *bronn- (which see), though it could conceivably be a Latin dative plural based on a British *bronn-*īnoi (see –īn), an improbable ethnic name. See Breeze in CVEP pp. 147-9 for discussion and speculative location at Durham.

a1) Ince Blundell Lanc (Sefton) PNLanc p. 118, JEPNS17 p. 65.
Ince in Makerfield Lanc (Wigan) PNLanc p. 103, JEPNS17 p. 58.
Inch Wig PNGall p. 159, PNRGLV pp. 11-12: named from a former island in the Loch of the Inch, so probably Gaelic.
Inch WLo (Bathgate) PNWLo p. 84, probably Gaelic.

b2) Inchinnan Rnf CPNS p. 193 + saint’s name *Winnian, Gaelicised – *Fhinnéin, probably a Gaelic formation.
Inchkeith Bwk (Lauder) CPNS p. 382 + -ceːd, which see.
Inskip Lanc (St. Michael-on-Wyre) PNLanc p. 161, JEPNS17 p. 94 ? + *-cib, but see discussion under that element.

C2) Lanrecorinsan Cmb (Brampton?) Lan Cart 28 + lanerc-, ? + -[r]-, ? + -an: see discussion under lanerc.

*Ir

IE *puh- (zero-grade of *peuh- ‘clean’) + -r- > eCelt –ūro-/ā- > Br –ūro-/ā- > M-MnW *ir, Corn ēr; O-MnIr ār, G ār, Mx oor; cogn. Lat pūrus.
‘Fresh, clean, pure’.
This may be present in the following, but an ancient variant of *ar in river-names might be involved, and OE *irre > ‘ire’ has been suggested.

a1) Irwell R Lanc ERN p. 213, PNLanc p. 27 [+ OE (Anglian) -wella].

a2) Irk R Lanc ERN p. 211, PNLanc p. 28 ? + -ōg; see also *iurch.
Ir R Cmb ERN p. 211, PNCmb p. 17 ? + -ed.
Irthing R Cmb/Ntb ERN p. 212, PNNtb p. 213, PNCmb p. 18 ? + -ed- + -iūn (see -iūn), but see also *ar in river-names, and arth.

*Is-

IE *peds- ‘a foot’ + -s-hupe < ‘beneath’ > eCelt *ed-su- > Br *issu- > M-MnW is-, Corn *is- (in place-names, CPNE pp. 136-7), Bret is-; OIr īs-.

See EGOW p. 97, GMW §226, pp. 202-3. The etymology is speculative.
‘Below, under, at the foot of’. In Middle Welsh, *is* also serves as the comparative adjective, ‘lower’ (GMW§42 at p. 41), and in Welsh place-names it is often used in contrast with *uwch*- to refer to the ‘lower’ part of a territory in relation to its chief place: see Richards (1964-5).

Ekwall PNLanc p. 264 (supported by Coates CVEP pp. 319 and 344) adduces a form *is-ceμn* (see *ceμ-*) to account for the following:
The Chevin YWR (Otley) PNYWR4 p. 204.
Shevington, with *Scheyynlegh* and *Scheyynhulldiche*, Lanc (Standish) PNLanc pp. 128 and 263-4, JEPNS17 p. 71 [+ OE –tūn, -lēah, -hyl, -dič].
**jās (f), *jesīn**


From a verbal root meaning ‘boil, simmer, foam’, the Modern Welsh noun means ‘a boiling, a stew’, but also figuratively, ‘a shiver, a thrill’.

The adjective *jesīn > Modern Welsh iesin ‘sparkling, radiant’, and so ‘handsome’, is presumably from *jes-īno-/ā- (see īn). This adjective may well be an element in the personal name Taliesin, but note that Iestyn, cited s.v. iesin in GPC, is probably from Justīnus: see CIB p. 228 n1428 and references.

a2) Ouse Burn Ntb ERN p. 318, PNNtb p. 153. Breeze (1998, reprinted in CVEP, pp. 72-3), invokes the adjectival form*jesīn for this stream-name, but an early stream-name derived from the same root + diminutive *-īno-/ā- (see īn) would perhaps be more likely. Either way, loss of -n would be common in late Northumbrian Old English (OEG §472, p. 189). Otherwise, it might be from an OE *ġēose, cognate with ON gjósa > ‘gush’; the history of derivatives in English of IE *gheus- > Germanic *geu-s- is complicated and full of problems. The modern form Ouse Burn has been influenced by that of the R Ouse YNR, but early forms show that it is not a member of the ‘Ouse’ family of river-names, for which see ERN pp. 313-17.

**-jǭl**


An adjectival suffix. The morphology and phonology, especially the vowel-quantity in the early stages, are uncertain. The semantic force of the suffix is also obscure.

Discussion of place-names that appear to contain this element is complicated by the possible existence of a noun *-jǭl (< *jāl- ? < IE *jehil-), perhaps meaning ‘late-bearing or unfruitful land’: for a review of the evidence and arguments see Sims-Williams (2005), also Coates's discussion of the island-name Yell (2007b).

Petteril R (Cmb) PNCmb p. 23, ERN p. 323 pedwar-, which see; Breeze (2001d) proposes *-wal as a variant of *-jǭl, but this name may need to be considered alongside the difficult group of river-names in the south-west, including Buckrell and Chackrell Dev, Chickerell Dor, Cheverell Wlt, Deveral, Keveral and Tregatherall Cwl, see DEPN(C) s.n. Chickerell.

Tindale Fell, with Tindale Tarn etc, Cmb (Midgeholme) ERN p. 426, DEPN(O) s.n., PNCmb p. 36 + river-name Tyne (see *tī-). A beck flows from the tarn into the South Tyne, and perhaps *tīn-jǭl was its name, or (if the noun *jāl is involved) it may have been a district-name, but it remains obscure. The modern form is obviously influenced by Tyndale nearby.
jūð (m)

IE *yeudh- > eCelt *jeudo- > eBr *joudo- > IBr *jūdo- > OW iud- (in personal names, see LHEB pp. 346 and 562 n1) > M-MnW udd, OCorn iud- (in personal names, see LHEB p. 347, CPNE p. 140, and CIB p. 113 n615), OBret iud- (in personal names, see LHEB and CPNE locs. cits.) > MBret iez- (in personal names); cogn. Skt yudhuati ‘fights’, and cf. Lat iubeō ‘I command’, Gk hušminē ‘a battle’.

The root senses are both ‘stir up, arouse’ and ‘fight’, the verbal noun being ‘a military leader, a warlord’.

This is presumably present in Iudeu HB65, Giudi urbs HE I.12; merin iodeo CA B25 (XCIXB) apparently includes the same name, perhaps in a Pritenic form (see Koch, YGod(K) p. 27). The suffix is obscure, but for the phonology see LHEB §38(B) at p. 357. For an alternative etymology, proposed by Alexander Falileyev, involving the root *īw- ‘yew’, see Clancy (2013a) p170 n29. For discussions of the location, offering (contentious) alternatives to the traditional identification with Stirling, see Fraser (2008) and Clancy loc. cit.

c2) Carnetly Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 84 + carn- or cajr- + -in- [+ OE –hlāw ‘a mound’]: see Breeze (2006c) at p. 328. Otherwise –dō- + a saint’s name, see dō.

Lanrequeitheil Cmb (Burtholme) PNCmb p. 72, Lan Cart 149 + lanerc-: this might be formed with the personal (saint’s?) name Jūðhael, on which see CIB Ž41 at p. 133, and pp. 277-8, but see also cē:d.

jurch (m)

IE(WC) *york[s] > eCelt *jorco- > Br *jorco- (Gaul Iurca feminine personal name) > OW feminine diminutive iurghell > MW yurc > W iwrch, O-MnCorn yorch, OBret iorçh > M-MnBret yourc’h, Vannetais dialect iorh; cogn. Gk dzórks, [dz]orkás.

See OIPrIE §9.2 at p. 142, EGOW pp. 98-9, and LHEB §202(2) pp. 667-70.

‘A roe-deer, roebuck’.

Cloch Minuirc, AU and AT s.a. 717, might be [+ *clog-] + maŋ-: see CPNS p. 387.

There are two watercourses named Afon Iwrch in Denbighshire, and this has been suggested as the origin of the River Irk Lan, but see *Ir.
laβar (m or f)

IE(NW) *plab- ‘lick’ > eCelt *lab- + -ero-/ā- > Br, Gaul labaro-/ā- > MW llavar > W llafar ‘loud, noisy’, OCor lauar glossing sermo, Bret laver ‘a word’; OIr labar > Ir, G labhar; cogn. Lat lambo ‘lick’, Gmc *lap- > OE lappian > ‘to lap’ as in ‘lap up’, Gk láptein ‘to lap up’.


The verbal root is probably related to IE(NW) *leb- ‘lip’, and possibly derives from a form of *[s]lei-b-, see *leːβ; whether or not it is ultimately related, remodelling of ancient watercourse-names from that root cannot be ruled out.

In the Celtic languages, the verbal root *labr- means ‘talk’, so the adjectival form is ‘talkative, boastful’, the nominal ‘a chatterbox’ or ‘a boaster’.

a1) Laver R YWR ERN p. 238, PNYWR7 p. 130. For Afon Llafar Meur see DPNW p. 215, and others in AMR; for Continental parallels ERN loc. cit.

a2) In stream-names, laβar combines with the suffixes –onā- (see –ān), -ācā- (see –āg), -ācā- (see –āg) and –ānā- (see –ān), also DCCPN p. 140 s.n. *Labr[oc]inum. These are common to Brittonic and Goidelic, so distinguishing between them can be difficult.

Caerlaverock Dmf, Carlawerock ELo (Tranent), and possibly Carlaverick (Rox or Slk), but the latter may be an error for Caerlanrig (Rox), see lanerc; CPNS pp. 367-8, PNDmf p. 6 + cajr- + -āg or –āg. Perhaps based on a lost stream-name *labarōg/āg, or else + personal name –Lūarch (> Modern Welsh Llywarch), see under cajr. Influenced by Old English læferce > Middle English laverock ‘a skylark’ (Laverick Stone Cmb (Kirkhampton) and Laverock Law ELo probably contain this word).

Carlowrie WLo (Dalmeny) PNWLp p. 5 + cajr- + -ān. Again, possibly a lost stream-name *lafarīn, but see also lōr and lowern.

Laver Burn Ayr CPNS p. 433 –āg. Panlaurig Bwk (Duns) CPNS p. 374 + pant- + -āg: probably a lost stream-name *labarīg. See also the note under lanerc.

On the ‘Laver’ group of stream-names, see SPN² p. 228, and De Bernardo Stempel (2007) at p. 151n45:

Lauren Water (Luss) Dnb CPNS p. 431 + -an.

Lavern Burn Dmf (Durrisdeer) + -an.

Levern Water Rnf + -an or –ān.

Louran Burn Kcb (Minigaff) CPNS p. 431 + -an; misplaced by Watson in Wig.

Lowran or Lowring Burn Kcb (Kells) PNGall p. 204 + -an; otherwise Gaelic *leamhraidhean ‘of elms’ (see *lem). In either case, a remodelled *leːβ stream-name may be in the background.

*layn (f)

Early Celtic *lag-ānā- (see –ān) > Br *lagōnā- > M-eMnW llain; OIr láigen > Ir, G laighean.
See O’Rahilly (1942).

In Irish and Scottish Gaelic, usually ‘a spear’, but the root *lag- is associated with sharp-edged weapons and tools generally, and M-eMnW llain (which may be an adoption from Middle Irish) is ‘a blade’, most often of a sword.

The British form may be present + -tjo- in Lagentium PNRB p. 383, the fort at Castleford YWR, see Jackson (1971) at p. 75. Breeze (2002) revived the proposal that this was based on an earlier name for the R. Aire, but see *[sl]̊- and *lǭd; an ethnic name is possibly in the background, cf. the Laginoi in north-western Asia Minor (ACPN p. 273).

**lanerc or *lanrec (f)**

Br *landā- (see lann) + -arcā- > OW(LL) lannerch > M-MnW llannerch.

The suffix -arcā- may be diminutive, cf. early Modern Welsh glosses llan = Latin area, llannerch = areola (see GPC, and Williams 1952). If so, and assuming a secular sense for lann (which see), the meaning would be ‘a small (cleared, and possibly enclosed) area of (former) scrub, waste, fallow or wooded land’, perhaps comparable in Cumbric place-names to ON þveit. The common interpretation, ‘a glade’ may over-emphasise the woodland connotations.

The examples from the North mostly show single –n- and non-spirant –rc. Jackson, (1955a) at p. 164, regarded the latter as a Pritenic feature, but it was probably also present in northernmost Brittonic.

The cluster of names with this element in and around the middle Irthing valley, recorded mainly in the Lanercost Cartulary (Todd 1997), is of particular interest. Jackson argued, in LHEB §149, pp. 571-2, that the absence of spirant lenition from these names may indicate that [-rk] > [-rz], which he dated to the late 6th century in West Brittonic, occurred later or not at all in northern Brittonic/Cumbrian (assuming as he did that these names were adopted by Northumbrian English speakers on their arrival, again in the late 6th century). However, this begs several questions, and his later opinion on the similar feature in Pritenic (1955a loc. cit.) suggests an alternative view that these names may reflect much later colonisation of the district by settlers from further north (though not necessarily from Pictland): see A. James (2008) at p. 200.

Several forms also show metathesised –rec, which may be compared with Landrick Per (x2) and Lendrick Ang and Knr. R. A. V. Cox (1997) shows that such metathesis was characteristic of Gaelicised forms of this word. This may be relevant to the names north of the Forth, and even to the local pronunciation of Lanark recorded as Lainrick. However, it is doubtful whether the names in the Lanercost Cartulary are Gaelic or Goidelic-influenced. See also Nicolaisen (2007) at p. 120 and A.G. James (2009a) at pp. 151-2.

a1) Lanark CPNS p. 356: see above.
   Lanerton Cmb PNCmb p. 115 [+ OE –tūn ‘a farm’].

b2) Lanercost Cmb PNCmb p. 71 + personal name *Ōst: though unrecorded, such a name could be a neo-Brittonic form for the Latin Augustus, via Vernacular Latin *Agust- > late British *Ayust or *Awust, cf. Welsh Awst, the month of August. See I Williams (1952) at pp. 67-9, and cf. Coates in CVEP, pp. 54-5, on Aust Glo, but note Watts’s reservations, DEPN(C), p. 27. Such a personal name need not necessarily date the place-name formation to the post-Roman period, it could have been current much later. The Augustinian priory was established here around 1166: Williams loc. cit. thought this ‘a happy coincidence’, but it is not wholly impossible even at that date that a (dialectally northern) Cumbric-speaking community existed here, or was introduced in
association with the foundation, and that *Awst here is a late Cumbric hypocorism for Augustine. If so, the other lanerc names, and other late Cumbric names in this area, could have been associated with the same foundation. See A. James (2008) loc. cit. and (2009a) loc. cit.

Lanrechaithin Cmb (Burtholme) PNCmb p. 72, Lan Cart 6 and note + -ejthin: note the exceptional (but very early) –ch- in this record of c1170, replaced by –c- or –k- in subsequent records.

Lanrecorins Cmb (Brampton?) Lan Cart 28 ? + -r- ? + -r-: see Breeze (2006c) at p. 326.

Lanrekereini Cmb (Nether Denton) Lan Cart 49 ? + -r-? + -üwn (see *oŋ and Breeze (2006c) at p. 326), or + -rieini, plural of *rijajn (which see; A. Walker, pers. comm.)

Note that this is not a variant of Lanrechaithin as stated in PNCmb at p. 72: see Todd (2005) at p. 93 and p. 102 n37.

Lanrequeitheil Cmb (Burtholme) PNCmb p. 72, Lan Cart 149 ? + -cȩ:d [+ OE –hyll > ‘hill’] A. Walker, pers. comm., or + personal (saint’s?) name -Judhael, see *jǭð and Breeze (2006c) loc. cit.

Drumlanrig Dmf (Durrisdeer) + *drum-, which see.

Records for Panlaurig Bwk confirm that this was not -lanerc, see under laβar.

lann (f)

IE(NW) *londh- (o-grade of *lendh- ‘open land, waste’, cf. linn) > eCelt *landā- > OWlann > M-MnW llan, Corn *lann (in place-names, CPNE pp. 142-5, and see also Padel 1976-7), OBret *lan > Bret *lann (in place-names); OIr lann > Ir, G, Mx lann; probably adopted from Celtic as Mediaeval Latin landa and OFr lande, > ME launde > ‘land’.

See LHEB §111, p. 508, and §12, pp. 509-13, and EGOW p. 100.

Etymologically, ‘open land’, scrubby waste or open woodland, but in the prehistory of the Insular Celtic languages coming to refer to such land when enclosed and brought under management of a systematic kind.

In most of the Brittonic languages, a series of specifically ecclesiastical senses evolved, probably in the order:

i) an enclosed cemetery without a church (see T. James in Uses at p. 115, Padel 1976-7, Petts 2009 pp. 122-6);

ii) the home of a religious community, a monastery in a broad sense;

iii) the main church and Christian site in a fair-sized district;

iv) a church building;

v) a chapel.

Such uses are ubiquitous in Wales and Cornwall (though in both its precise significance in individual names is rarely apparent; see Padel 1976-7 and CPNE pp. 142-4, and Petts 2009 p. 124), it is quite frequent in Britanny, and it occurs (presumably as a Gaelic adoption of Pritenic usage) in Pictland (see see CPNS p. 286, Taylor, 1998, at p. 3, and PNFif5, pp. 419 – 20).

However, evidence for any such church-related senses in the Old North is thin. None of the names below (except very doubtfully Llan Llee[n]awc) are formed with saints’ names, the nearest
such formation to the south of our region is on the Wirral at Landican (Thingwall) PNChe4 pp. 266-7, and in no case (except, again very-doubtfully, Lincluden) is there any reason to suppose the generic referred to a cemetery, monastery or church building.

Whether secular or ecclesiastical in sense, it is not common in the North (contra Smith’s assertion at EPNE2 p. 16, supported by Jackson, 1969a, at p. 48). Several of those listed below are more or less doubtful.

The Roman-British form is seen in Vindolanda PNRB p. 502, the Roman fort at Chesterholme Ntb, + wïnn-

Camlann AC537, is interpreted by Bromwich and Evans in Culhwch ac Olwen (English edition, 1992), p. 85, as cam[b]- + -lann, but see discussion under cam[b], also glann and -c ôl:n.

Llan Llee[n]æwv in BT29 (XL) might be named after Laenauc, father of Guallauc, in a genealogy in BL ms Harley 3859. Alternatively, it is conceivable that this is a saint's name, perhaps a Cumbric-adopted form of Mfr *Lennoc, which could be from Leannan, said to be St. Patrick’s bell-ringer (Ó’Riain 2011 p. 395). Rowland (1990), p. 101 n102, pointed out that Staylenok Cmb (Millum), PNCmb p. 417, may contain the same personal name, though an ‘Irish-Norse’ formation with *Lennoc is quite possible here, see PNCmb p. 417 (where the personal name is derived from Mfr Lend). Staylenok need not, of course, be the same place as Llan Llee[n]awc, or anywhere near it; see also Clancy (2013) p. 171 n34, and lc:n.

a1) Landis Kcb (New Abbey) PNGall p. 192, site of the Abbot’s Tower by Sweetheart Abbey. Maxwell thought this ‘probably the Welsh ilan’, but a Scots origin is more likely.

b1) These compounds – which appear to be dependent determinatives (tatpurusa), possibly in early use as appellatives – form a distinctive class on their own:

Echline WLo (Dalmeny) CPNS p. 147, PWLo p. 7, WLoPN p. 24 ? + eb:- the recorded forms are from Gaelic eachlann (dative singular) ‘at (a) horse-paddock’, but a Brittonic/Pritenic *epo-

landa- > *eblamn may well underlie this.

Ketland Wml (Warcop) PNWml p. 85 ? + cê:d-, but see under that heading.

Pencaitland ELo CPNS p. 355 + pen[n]- + -cê:d:- see discussion under the latter, and note that the earliest record, Pencallet c1150, raises some doubt as to the final element.

Old Pentland MLo, with the Pentland Hills, PNMLo p. 280 + pant- or pen[n]-: Drummond (2005) suggests that Blaeu’s Pentlandhills may show a trace of late Cumbric devoiced [l], Anglicised as [l], but as it is not reflected in other records or in modern pronunciation, it may well be a (Dutch-influenced?) engraver’s error.

Trahenna Hill Pbl (Broughton) CPNS p. 363 + torr- or treθ-; + -hen:- see Breeze (2006d) at p. 57, but see discussion under hen and *anheð.

c2) Lamplugh Cmb PNCmb pp. 405-6 + *bluch: in view of the absence of lenition, nant- may have been replaced here (see Quentel (1955), pp. 81-3, and Padel (1980-2) and in CPNE, pp 143-

4 and 170, for similar substitution of iann by nant in Breton and Cornish place-names). Lincluden Kcb (Terregles) + river-name Cluden, see clûd and -an; the Benedictine nunnery here was probably endowed by Earl Uhtred in the 1160s, but its location in the parish of Terregles might hint at an earlier ecclesiastical site or landholding, see under egles; however, lack of lenition favours lînn-.

c2) The ‘Lambert’ group of place-names might be from lann- + -pert[h]. Few early forms are available, and those that are favour –p- without lenition (which would be expected whether the formation is a compound or a name-phrase). The Norman-French or Flemish personal name Lambert (from *Land-bergt, a cognate of Old English Landbeorht) has doubtless influenced
them, and may, in some cases, be the origin (as in Lambert Bwk, in an area with evidence of Frankish settlement):
Lambert Ladd Wml (Barton) PNWml2 p. 213 [+ E dialect ladd ‘a standing stone’, see PNWml1 p xviii]: a standing stone on a boundary in Askham (A. Walker pers. comm.).
Lampart Ntb (Haltwhistle): this is close to the Lampert Hills, below.
Lampert Hills, with Lambertgarth, Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 85.
Pouterlampert Rox (Castleton) + *polter- (J. G. Wilkinson, pers. comm.)

-le (m, but probably earlier f)

IE *legh- ‘lie down’ > eCelt *legā- > Br *legā- > OW(LL) –le > M-MnW lle, MCorn le, MBret le; cf. OIr laigid ‘lies down’ > Ir lúg, G laigh, Mx lhie; cf. Lat lectus ‘a bed’, Gmc *ligjan > OE liegan > ‘lie (down)’, Gk lékhos ‘a bed, a bier’.

‘A location, a place’. In place-names, it may be in origin a generic in compound formations, but is effectively a suffix that probably remained productive well after 500. It is always likely to be confused with Old English lēah ‘a (settlement in a) clearing, pasture or meadow’, and even with hyll > ‘hill’.

Dinley, with Dinlaybyre, Rox (Castleton) CPNS p. 372, PN Rox p. 13 ? + din-, which see, under Din Fell.
Penhill or Penny Hill YNR (West Witton) PNYNR p. 256 + pen[n]-: Penle 1202, but -hyll is still much more likely here.
Pumplaburn Dmf (Wamphray) CPNS p. 180, and Pumpland Burn Dmf (Tinwald), ? + pīmp-, which see for discussion.
Trously MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 350, PNMLo p. 371 + *trōs-: *trōs-le could well have been an appellative.

*lēːβ, *lēːμ, *līn

A very difficult group of roots is adduced in consideration of a number of river-names, especially those of the ‘Leven’ type, along with (possibly) a group of territorial or district names.

A possible starting-point may be the IE root *[s]lei-, with its zero-grade *[s]li-, ‘polish, smooth, make level’. Derivatives used in place-naming have connotations of ‘flat, low-lying land’, through which a watercourse might be seen to ‘glide smoothly’ (and it is striking that most of the rivers under consideration do answer to this description). See A. James (2010), and also under *lejth, *lēːμ and *līm.

a2) River-names of the ‘Leven’ family may derive from *lēb- or *lēm- with a suffix -no/ā-, or participial -[a]mono/ā- (see LHEB §§98-9, pp 486-91 and §204(A) p. 672, and, on -[a]mono/ā-, De Bernardo Stempel 1994). Cf. Welsh llwyfan ‘a floor, a platform, a stage’, from *(s)leib/m-anā- > *lēb/m-anā- (see LHEB §28(1), pp. 330-1) and Middle Irish lēben, Modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic leibheann, which refers to a wide range of level surfaces, natural or artificial, though it may be a loanword from Brittonic. Perhaps related, and common in place-names, are Middle Welsh llyvyn > Modern Welsh llyfn, along with Cornish leven (DPNW p lv, CPNE p. 148), and Old Irish slemon, becoming Modern Irish steamhain, Scottish Gaelic steamhuinn: all these mean ‘polished, slippery, smooth’. If slemon and llyvyn are from the zero-grade form *(s)li-b/m-nā, the survival of initial s- in these supports the derivation of the whole family of Celtic ‘smooth, level’ words from *[s]lei-/ *[s]li-.
The most ancient recorded name of this type is Ptolemy’s *Lemannónios kólpos*, CPNS p. 19, PNBR p. 387. It was presumably somewhere in the vicinity of the Firth of Clyde. It may be associated with the R Leven Dnb (see below), but *kólpos* is ‘a gulf, a bay, an arm of the sea’ and there is no such feature directly associated with the river-mouth. It may refer to Gare Loch or Loch Long, though these are separated from the Lennox lowland by fair-sized hills and by the Rosneath peninsula between the two lochs; it might have been a name for the Firth of Clyde. Moreover, Ptolemy’s -έρ- suggests a short vowel in the first syllable, so it cannot be assumed that *Lemannónios kólpos* incorporates the element *lēman-*: we may have to reckon with an ancient hydronymic element *leman-,* with a short first syllable, whose meaning and relationship (if any) to *[s]lei* must remain obscure. Sims-Williams in ACPN, p. 83, lists *Lemannónios kólpos* under the heading LÉMO: ‘elm’ (see *Ieːm*, though his footnote acknowledges the etymological uncertainty surrounding this word); Isaac, (2005) at pp. 196-7, acknowledges also the ecological improbability of ‘elm-water’, but neither addresses directly the possibility of a short -έρ- form *lem-*.  

a2) Two river-names of this type in the Old North appear to be from a form with -b-:  
Leven R YER ERN p. 251, PNYER p. 72.  
Leven R YNR ERN p. 251, PNYNR p. 4.  
Both were in areas of primary Anglian settlement, so it is likely that the proto-English speakers encountered them as *leːfjan* < *lēb(a)n-* with a non-nasal medial consonant which Old English speakers would have treated as [v], having no intervocalic [b] (if the suffix were *-mn-*, see above, the -b- would have arisen from simplification of the cluster -bmn-). In the 5th century, *leːfjan* with a nasal would still have been audibly different. See A. James (2010) pp. 68-9.

Most of the other examples are usually assumed to have had a nasal determinative [-m-]. This is suggested by the possible connection between these ‘Leven’ names and the Roman-British names containing the element *Leamanā-,* as well as the apparent association of some of the northern examples with the Welsh or Gaelic forms of words for ‘elm’: however, both these lines of thinking raise problems, see below and under *Ieːm*. If the early Celtic form was *lēbnā*, nasalisation of [-b-] in the cluster [-bn-] would have been normal, i.e. *lēbnā* would become *lēmnā*, and the Yorkshire Levens would have to be explained by the intrusion of a svarabhakti vowel inhibiting nasalisation, *lēbVnā*. If, on the other hand, the suffix was –anā, we need to consider a parallel stem *lē-m-*. Indo-European *(s)lei-m-* gives (West and North) Germanic *slīmaz*, English ‘slime’, Latin *limus* ‘mud’, and Greek *leimōn* ‘a wet place’ and *leimáks* ‘a slug’, so an early Celtic *lēmanā-* may well have existed alongside *lēbanā- as a river-naming term*, and its meaning would have still been to do with slippery surfaces and slithery movement: see A. James (2010) pp. 71-3, and Taylor’s discussion of R. Leven Fif, PNFin2 pp. 45-7.

a2) Leven R Lanc ERN pp. 250-2, PNLanc p. 191, DLDPN p. 209.  
Leven Seat Lnk/WLo border WLoPN p. 19: a hill-name, not associated with any river. Possibly *leːfin*, the Cumbric equivalent of Welsh *llwyfan* (see above) in the sense of ‘a hill with a gently-sloping top’, cf. Leeming below.  
Lyne R, with Black Lyne and White Lyne, and settlement-names Dollertine, Kirklinton and Westlington, Cmb ERN p. 251, PNCmb pp. 21, 55, 101-2 and 117: *gweith argoet llwyfein BT60(VI)* is identified with this river by Williams PT pp xlv- xlv and p. 77n., + ar- + -ceːd: see also under *Ieːm*.  
Leven R Dnb CPNS p. 119: modern Gaelic *Abhainn Leamhain*, and *Leamhain* is the modern Gaelic name of the loch too, while the suffixed form *Leamhnaich* names the surrounding district, Lennox (for Lomond, and earlier Gaelic *Laominn*, *Loamunn*, see *lúmon*). Note again that *Leamhain* is identical to the genitive singular or nominative plural of the modern Gaelic word for ‘elm tree’, *leamhan*, see *Ieːm*, and see above for Ptolemy’s *Lemannónios kólpos*.

a2) Other names that may be from suffixed forms of these roots include:

Lyvennet R Wml PNWml I p. 10 (and see also pp xxx-xxxii) ? + an- + ijo-: the location or district-name Layuenid in BT58(IV), 61(VII), 62(VIII), 65(IX) and 67(X) is associated with this river by Hogg (1946), pp. 210-11, followed by Williams, PT pp xlix-xlvi and pp. 57n and 109n; see A. James 2010 pp. 75-6 and Clancy 2013 p. 157: see also under *lēmu. Leeming Bar, Leeming Beck and Leeming Lane, YNR ERN p. 247, PNYNR p. 227 ? + -in. Leeming Beck is a very modest stream running down the east side of the ridge, though Ekwall ERN loc.cit. sees the stream-name as primary and tentatively derives it from OE lēoma ‘light’. But Leeming Lane is a route of great historic importance, and the name, if it is from *lēm-, may refer to the fairly broad, level area on the ridge-top around Leeming Bar. However early forms like Lienmic c1200 leave it in doubt. Leaming House Cmb (Watermillock) PNCmb p. 257, DLDPN p. 209 ? + -in, but probably English dialectal Leaming ‘an ancient road or a place on such a road’ (see EDD s.v.), which is probably from Leeming Lane YNR. See A. James (2010) pp. 76-7, also *lēmu.

Those in the North include:

a1) Lyne R Ntb ERN p. 275-6, PNNtb p. 138: the vowel could have been lengthened in a neoBrittonic monosyllable *lin or ME inflected *line. Like others of the ‘Leen’ type (see ERN p. 247, PNHrf pp. 6-9, PNNtt p. 5), this runs across in low-lying country.

a2) Laringham Hill, with Lyneringham, ELo (field-name and lost name respectively, in East Linton) + ar- [+ OE name-forming suffix -ing- + -hām ‘a farm, an estate’] (W. Patterson pers. comm., and see references in A. James 2010 at pp. 84-5 and n83). Apparently a stream-name of the ‘Lynher’ type, maybe an earlier name for the Hedderwick Burn. See ERN pp. 275-6 and Padel DCornPN p. 112.

A form *li-m- may likewise derive from zero-grade *(s)li-, or else from *phl-, (zero-grade of *pleh-, ‘pour, fill up’) > eCelt *limo- > Welsh llif, ‘a flood, deluge, stream, current’ (see A. G. James 2010 at pp. 80-1), and either way could be present in:

a1) Limereg Stg (Slamannan) PNFEStg pp. 42-3, the reference being to the Black Loch nearby [+ ON hryggr > Scots rigg, ‘a ridge’], but see also *lim.

**lech (f) ‘slab’**

?IE(WC) *lehow- > eCelt *liacc– > Br *liacc– > OW(LL)-MnW llech, MCorn lech– > Corn legh, Bret lec ‘; OIr liac (genitive singular of lia) > MIr lecc > Ir, G leac, also Ir, G leachd, Mx lhiaght ‘a grave’; cogn. Homeric Gk λᾶς, and cf. Gk λευσίν ‘to stone’; adopted as Scots leck.

The etymology is uncertain. An alternative IE(NW) *plk-, zero-grade of *plek-, is proposed by GPC, but there are no cognates for *plk-, and *plek- is evidenced only in West Germanic, in a lengthened, å-grade, form *plāk- (e.g. Middle Dutch plak > French plaque > ‘plaque’). See further DCCPN p. 22 s.v. lic[e]co-.

‘A slab, a slate, a flat stone’, in place-names also ‘a shelf of rock’. It is generally difficult to distinguish Brittonic from Goidelic forms in place-names. If Goidelic, the reference is perhaps
more likely to be to a grave (actual or legendary), but Dwelly lists several other senses including 'declivity' and 'summit of a hill'.

Lech wên in BT56(VII) is probably a place-name, see PT p. 41, note to line 29, and see melïn and win[n].

b2) Laggangarn Wig Brooke (1991) at p. 311 + -hjîn-, + -wo- + -riw, or + -woreîi, but see discussion under riw and woreîi.

Lakewolf Cmb (Dalston) PNCmb p. 134 + personal name –Ulph: for the suggestion of a legendary memory of Ulpius Marcellus, who governed Britannia in the later 2nd century, see PT p. 83, note to BT61(VII) line 11. If such a figure is involved here, the name may well be a Goidelic ‘grave-name’.

Lechbernard MLo (Leadburn)/ Pbl (Newlands) boundary PNCmb plxxix, note to p. 134 + Norman-French personal name –Bernard (from a Frankish cognate of OE Beornheard). Apparently a boundary-stone, probably another Gaelic ‘grave-name’.

Legbranock Lnk is of interest as it may be *leac-Breatnach, a Gaelic name for a feature or monument ‘of the Britons’: see Brïthon, and Breeze (2000a) at p. 72.

*lech (f) ‘lair’

Welsh llech is a verbal noun from llechu ‘lurk, shelter, hide’, and cf. lloc ‘a fold, a pen’.

‘A hiding-place, a lair, a lodge, etc.’.

Proposed by Coates (2001-2) for the generic in:

b1) Beverley YER PNYER p. 192 + *beβr-, or a river-name of the ‘Bibra’ type, or else Old English beofor, see discussion under *beβr. Coates explains -*lech becoming Old English –lič in this name either by identification with the OE suffix -līċ ‘like’ (or even with –līć ‘a corpse’), or else a Brittonic *lec-jon or similar. However, OE *lec[e] ‘a stream, a bog’ (EPNE2 p. 10 s.v. *lǣc[ē], and see *lejth) might equally have been influenced by –lič, or have been subject to raising of [e] before the palatal [ē]. For OE *liēc[ē] as a variant of *lec[ē], see PNYER loc. cit., also Blair (2001). Although such pre-palatal raising is not evidenced in the canonical texts for Northumbrian Old English, Beverley is quite likely to have been influenced by south-Humbrian developments, and in any case *lec[e] and its variants is a problematic word evidenced only in (mainly southern) charters.

*led (m as a noun)

IE *plth2- (zero-grade of *pleth2- ‘spread’) > eCelt *leto- > Br *leto- > MW llet > W lled, Corn lès, OBret let- > Bret led; OR let > Ir leath, G leth, leath-, Mx lhieh, lhìatt-; cogn. late and mediaeval Latin plat[r]us, planta > ‘plate’ etc., Gk plataús ‘broad’ (Gmc *flataz > ONflatr > ‘flat’ is problematic, as IE –t normally becomes Gmc *d-). See also *leθir and fidan.

The root-sense is ‘spread out, broad’ and this is preserved in the Brittonic languages in both nominal and adjectival forms (the comparative form, early Celtic *letis ‘wider’ fell together with MW llet, see GMW §42 at p. 41). However, via semantic extensions like ‘lying to one side’, ‘folded over’, Middle to Modern Welsh lled- as a prefix comes to mean ‘half, semi-’, see DPNW pp. 292-3 s.n. Lledrod (interpreted as ‘a semicircular defensive enclosure’); Taylor considers a possible Pictish use of *let- in this sense in Lindifferon Fif (Monimail) PN Fif4 pp. 592-4, and cf.
Watson's interpretation of Larbert below. In the Goidelic languages, a similar divergence of meanings developed, 'side' and 'half'. Confusion with leːd is possible.

a2) Leader Water Brw CPNS p. 471 + -er < *-ার্জā-, cf. Afon Lledr Crn; see -ar, but also lōwadr.

b1) Larbert Stg CPNS p. 357, PNFEStg pp. 31-2 + -pert[h], or else leːd-; Watson interprets this as 'half-wood'.

b2) Paisley Rnf CPNS p. 194 + *pasgel-, or else *lethir, but see also bassaleg and discussion there.

leːd (adjective)

IE *p[h]ː- (zero-grade of *pel[h]ː- ‘be grey’) + -t > eCelt *leitoː-ā- > Br *leːtːoː-ā > OW(LL) luit > MWluid > W llwyd, OCorn –luit, lot-, MCorn łys > Corn los, lūdž, OBret loit > Bret louet; M-MnIr liath, G liath, Mx lheath; cogn. Lat pallidus > OFr pale > ‘pale’, Gk πελτίς, Skt pālitā-; and cf. Gmc (N & W) *falwaz > OE(Anglian) falu > ‘fallow’.

See LHEB §28, pp. 330-5.

Primarily ‘pale, faintly-coloured’, typically of animals. ‘Grey’ is often appropriate, but other light tints can also be indicated by this adjective. It is common in Welsh place-names, though llwydd ‘success’ and llwyth ‘tribe, family’ do occur in place-names and can be confused with llwyd. Confusion could also arise with *led.

b1) Larbert Stg CPNS p. 357, PNFEStg pp. 31-2 + -pert[h], or else *led-.

Linlithgow WLo PNWLo pp. 53-4 + -cōũ, with + ānn- as a secondary formation. Or else -*lejth-, which see. Apparently interpreted by Gaelic speakers as *liath cu ‘grey dog’ (PNWLo p. 54).

c2) Carsluith Kcb (Kirkmabreck) PNGall p. 62 + cors-: see Brooke (1991) at p. 349; but could be G *cars-Luaithe, ‘carse of (the) Luath’, a stream-name meaning ‘swift’, probably the Carsluith Burn.

leːd or *lad (m)

IE(NW) *leːdː- (possibly < *hʷel- ‘flow’, see *al-, + -Vt-) > eCelt *latːoː- > Br, Gaul latjo- > M-MnW llaid, MCorn līs, Bret lēiz; OFr laith, and cf. Mlr lathach > Ir laitheach, G lāthach, Mx laagh.

See DCCPN p. 22. See also *lud.

The root sense is ‘wet, moist’ (OIPrIE §20.9 at p. 347), the meaning in the Celtic languages is ‘mud, mire’.

It is very curious that both the names below seem to carry some Anglicised trace of the late Cumbric devoiced [h]: see LHEB §93, pp. 473-80.

a2) Polthledick Cmb (lost field-name, Burtholme) ERN pp. 329-30, PNCmb p. 73 + pol+ -iːg, or + jǭg (see –ǭg) if the formation was *lad-jǭg.
c2) Trailflat Dmf (Tinwald) CPNS p. 359 + treβ + ñ[ñ]: see Breeze (2000c) pp. 56-7.
**lejth**

?IE(NW) *leg- + past participial -t > eCelt *leyto-/ā- > Br *leyto-/ā- > MW lleith > W llaith, MCorn negative av-lethiš ‘dried, hardened’, M-MnBret leizh; OIr legaid ‘melts, dissolves’; possibly cf. OE *lac[ē], *lec[ē], etc. in place-names (see EPNE2 p. 10) > northern English and Scots lache, leche etc. ‘a marsh, a boggy stream’, and OE *læċcan ‘moisten, irrigate’ > ‘leach’ (see OED under vb²), but see also luch.

The etymology is controversial. For IE(NW) *leg- see OIPrIE §22.11 at p. 394. Alternatively a vowel-grade variant of IE *lok- (see luch), or of IE *[s]lei- (see *lęβ) could be involved. For -χt- > -jθ- see LHEB §60 pp. 407-11.

Whatever the etymology, the semantic range of the verbal root is around ‘dissolve, drip, melt, ooze’, so this participial adjective means ‘damp, moist’.

Probably only found as a river-name (or other watercourse-name), presumably of early origin. None record any trace of the velar in –gt- > -χt-: on the significance of this see Sims-Williams (1990) at p. 242 (he may underestimate the quantity of names adopted into Old English with this phonology: besides all the ‘Leith’ hydronyms, there are those from ejthin and nejth, which see).

a1) Leet Water Bwk SPN² p. 29, or else OE læte > ‘leat’ EPNE2 pp. 11-12: this has at least influenced the name.
Leith R Wml, unless this is a back-formation from OE hlīþ, ON hlíð, ‘a slope, a hillside’.

a2) Leithen Water, with Innerleithen, Pbl + -an.
Leyden MLo (Kirknewton) PNMLo p. 144, WLoPN p. 27 + -an [or + OE –dūn ‘a hill’]: but not (as Dixon says) on the Water of Leith; see also līdan.

c1) Linlithgow WLo CPNS p. 384, PNWLo pp. 53-4 + -*cōü, + līnn- in secondary formation, or else -lęd-, which see.

c2) Carleith Dnb (Duntocher) ? + cajr-, a lost stream-name?

**lęμ (f)**

IE(NW) h₁elem, or *lei-m- (perhaps cf. *[e]-lei- ‘bend’) > eCelt *lemā- or *lēmā- > MW singulative lliuion > W llwyf, OBret singulative limn; OIr place-name Līamain, and cf. MIr lem > Ir leamh[án], G leamb[an], Mx lhieuan; cogn. Lat ulmus (adopted as OE ulm[trēow] > ‘elm’).

See OIPrIE §10.1 at p. 160 and DCCPN p. 22. The etymology is controversial. Cognates like Latin ulmus and Russian ilem favour a short vowel, but Welsh llwyf (and the Irish place-name Līamain) imply a long vowel. Hamp (1982b) at pp. 43-4 proposes derivation from *[s]lei-m- (see *lęβ) > eCelt *lemā-, which is more satisfactory for Celtic but raises problems for the Latin and Slavonic forms. His assumption that elms are characteristically ‘slippery’ is more true of the American Slippery Elm (Ulmus rubra), with its viscous cambium, than it is of European species. Admittedly, Irish leamhán can mean ‘cambium’ (of any tree), but this is probably due to the
influence of *sléamhán* which can also mean ‘cambium’ (again, see *lẹ:β*). For further references and discussion, see PNRB p. 387, ACPN p. 83, and A. James (2010), pp. 77-80.

In Brittonic, a collective noun, ‘elm-trees’. Like other tree-names, it is sometimes used of other genera, so Old Breton *linn collou* glosses *tiliae* ‘limes’ (and English ‘lime’ may have arisen from *lem* replacing Old English *lind*). However, confusion between elm and lime is unlikely in the North, where lime was probably not native anywhere. A group of Cornish and Breton words with a root (or a pair of separate but confusable roots) *elμ/*eμl are used for both elms and aspens or poplars (CPNE p. 92): this might be a variant of *lẹ:μ*.

The only native elm in the North is the Wych Elm, *Ulmus glabra* (and the proto-Indo-European word probably referred to the eastern subspecies, *U. glabra ssp. montana*). Unlike the suckering species found in the south and east of Britain, Wych Elm did not typically form single-species stands or elm-woods, but (before Dutch elm disease) occurred as scattered trees or groups of trees in mixed broadleaf woodland, especially with ash (Rackham, 2006, pp. 356 and 360-2, but note Leuchold WLo is Gaelic *leamh-choille* ‘elm-wood’ PNWLo p. 8, and cf. PNFif1 pp. 272-3 on Leuchat). Elm would have flourished on rich alluvial soils alongside other trees, but it dislikes flood-prone conditions and is unlikely to have been a common riverside tree. Ash-elm woods occurred on more elevated, well-drained, base-rich or alkaline soils, again not typically by rivers. Exposed hilltops and moorland, especially acid, would certainly not have favoured elm.

The absence of elms, in contrast to oak, ash, beech, holly, yew, etc, from Celtic myth and legend is striking. See Turner (1966-8) at pp. 116-19.

Place-names which might contain this element are also considered under *lẹ:β*, which see for details.

Ptolemy’s *Lemannónios Kólpos* belongs with a group of names (mostly hydronyms) recorded in Classical sources that contain the string ‘leman[n]’. These are most usually ascribed to the Celtic ‘elm’ word, but see PNRB p. 387, ACPN p. 83 and references. There may be a connection with the R Leven, see below and under *lẹ:β*.

Most of the rivers of the ‘Leven’ type flow through territory where elms would have been common in mixed woodland, though not dominant nor typical of the riversides. The R Lyne, with Black Lyne and White Lyne, and settlement-names *Dollerline*, Kirklington and Westlington, Cmb (ERN p. 251, PNCmb pp. 21, 55, 101-2 and 117), may be identified with *Llwyfein* BT60 (VI). This implies British *le:meni-, but it could be a reinterpretation of an ancient river-name by association with the ‘elm’ word, which would have become *luïv* by c700 (LHEB §28(3) pp. 333-5). The same could apply to the Gaelic *Leamhain* for the R Leven Dnb and Loch Lomond (see above for Ptolemy’s *Lemannónios Kólpos*). Likewise, R Lyvennet Wml (with *Luyuenid* in BT58(IV), 61(VII), 62(VIII), 65(IX) and 67(X)) may preserve a Cumbric reinterpretation of a river-name *lēbeneto- or *lēmeneto-. The process of reinterpretation suggested here should be compared with Kitson’s proposal regarding the ‘Derwent’ river-names, see *derw*, and see also the discussion of these ‘Leven’ names under *lẹ:β*.

Leeming Bar, etc, YNR and Leaming House Cmb are both on limestone ridges: ash-elm woods could have been present at least on the slopes below, but see *lẹ:β*.

The ‘Lyme’ names are mostly on (or explicitly ‘under’) the acid millstone grit uplands of the Dark Peak, where elms would certainly not have been common. For these, see *lim*.
*leμrajth (m)

IE *μ[l]akt- > eCelt *lacto-, + *lemo- ‘weak, lukewarm’ > Br *lemo-lagto- > M-Mn north W llefrith, OCorn leuerid (see CPNE p. 148), Bret livrizh; OIr lemlacht > Ir, G leamhnacht; cf. Lat lac, Gk gála.

See LHEB §60, pp. 407-11.

The etymology of *lemo- is uncertain, the Indo-European root proposed in GPC lacks cognates. The development of syncopated –m’l- to –μr- in neoBrittonic, and to –μn- in Goidelic, is phonologically intelligible, though unusual.

The root-sense is ‘lukewarm milk’, i.e. milk fresh from the cow.

Insula Leverith, recorded 1182 (1208), is apparently Cramond Island in the Firth of Forth: see Breeze (1999b) at pp. 43-4. Insula presumably represents inís.

lẹ:n or lujn (m)


A Celtic etymology, IE *leuk- (see lūch) –n- > eCelt *lugno-, was proposed by D. M. Jones (1953), and, with preferable eCelt *lucno-, by P. Russell (1985). Either would have become neoBrittonic *lujn > *lu:n, the same outcome as lẹ:n < lignum. However, if the place-names below preserve Anglicised forms with –e- (and, in the cases of Lenzie and Catterlen, palatalised –n-), they support the derivation from Latin.

In Modern Welsh, ‘a thicket of small trees and bushes, an area of low woody and shrubby growth’.

a1) Lenzie, with Lindsay Beg, EDnb: see above, but if this really is an Anglicisation of a pre-700 neoBrittonic form (LHEB §28, pp. 330-5), the implications for historical geography are striking!

a2) Staynlenock Cmb (Millom) PNCmb p. 417 + -ǭg [+ AScand steinn-], but this may be a personal name *Lēŋǭg, cf. Llan Lleenawc in BT29(XI, see PT pp lvi-lvii) and Mr Lennōc PNCmb p. 417. See Rowland (1990), p. 101 n102, Clancy (2013) p. 171 n34, and discussion under lann.

c2) Catterlen Cmb PNCmb p. 182 + caedir-: early forms (1158 etc.) with –leng, like Lenzie above, may preserve a palatalised –n-, i.e. *[lēɲ].

*lēθrir (f)

IE *pleth- (zero-grade of *pleth- ‘spread’, see *led) + -t- > + ? IE *tēt-s- (see *tīr) > eCelt *lētā-tīrsā- > lBr *let’īrjā- > MW llethir > W llethr, also lledr in place-names, Corn *lether (in place-names, CPNE pp. 147-8); OIr leittir > Ir, G leitir.
‘A steep slope’. Both the meaning and the form *lledr may suggest Irish influence, but see Padel, CPNE pp. 147-8. In any case, the element is much more common in Irish and Gaelic place-names, see IrPN p. 110, DUPN pp. 94-5, CPNS pp. 487 and 510, and I. A. Fraser (2008).

In northern England, ON látr ‘a lair, a shelter’, is often a possibility alongside leitir. See discussion of Latrigg Cmb, PNCmb pp. 321-2 and DLDPN p. 207, also Latrigg Wml and other names with ‘Latter’- DLDPN pp. 207-8. Similar considerations apply to Latterhaw Crag Wml (Patterdale) PNWml2 p. 226 and Ledderhowe Wml (Stainmore) PNWml2 p. 77. In none of these is Brittonic *lethr likely.

b1) Paisley Rnf ? + *pasgel: see Ross (2001) p. 172, but see also *led, and discussion under bassaleg.

lïdan

IE *plth- (zero-grade of *pleth- ‘spread’, see *led) + -n- > eCelt *lit-ano-/ā- (see -an) > Br *litano-/ā- > OW(LLL) litan > M-MnW llydan, also M-eMnW lledan, M-MnCorn ledan, OBret litan > M-MnBret ledan, O-MIr lethan > Ir leathan, G leathann, Mx lean; cogn. Gk platanós.

‘Broad, wide, flat’, in place-names nominalised as ‘a level place’ or ‘a broad slope’. See ERN pp. 241-2 for examples in England, and DCCPN p. 23, and ACPN pp. 84-5 for examples throughout Europe and Asia Minor.

This element occurs in Lit[al]nomagus PNRB p. 394 (see also p. 245), on or to the north of the Antonine Wall, + -μa.

a1) Leyden MLo (Kirknewton) PNMLo p. 144, WLoPN p. 27: suggested by Wilkinson, WLoPN loc. cit.; Gaelic leatha[n] is typically Anglicised as Letham, Lethan etc. (see PNFif5 p. 423), but cf. Leden Urquhart Fif (Strathmiglo) PNFif4 p. 696 for a possible Pictish parallel. Wilkinson (pers. comm.) would now withdraw his alternative suggestions, *Lugudunon (see lūɣ) or OE læah-denn. See also lejth.

*līm (gender unknown)

Latin līmen ‘a threshold, a lintel’, or līmes ‘a boundary, a limit’, adopted into British > neo-Brittonic *līm.

This putative adoption was proposed by Coates (2003-4) as the etymon for the district-name Lyme. Although there is no evidence for such a loanword, this seems a more satisfactory explanation than those invoking forms of *leːβ, leːμ or *lum[m] (see each of these).

‘Lyme’ names in the North include:
These reflect a linear territory which extends south into north-east Cheshire:
Lima Clough, with Lime Farm, Che PNChe1 p. 144
Lyme Handley, with Lyme Park, Che PNChe1 p. 198
Lymford Bridge Che PNChe1 p. 56
Lyne Edge Che (Dukinfield) PNChe1 p. 278
Lyne Edge Che (Mottram) PNChe1 p. 317.
A second group, which may be a continuation of these, lies beneath the SW scarp of the Peak around the head of the R Trent, and extends west along the watershed between the R Tern and R Weaver: see discussion in PNChe1, pp. 2-6.

While Coates excluded Limb Hill Drb (Dore) from this class of names, the short vowel can (as he acknowledged, op. cit. p. 49 n4) be explained as a back-formation from the adjacent Limb Brook, PNDb p. 11, PNYWR7 p. 131, which is on the Drb/YWR boundary (formerly that between Mercia and Northumbria). The vowel would have been shortened before the consonant cluster -mbr-.

Limerig Stg (Slamannan) PNFEStg pp. 42-3 is close to the southern boundary of Stirlingshire, which runs through the Black Loch, so might possibly be *lim- [+ ON hryggr > Scots rigg, ‘a ridge’], but see also *lēːβ.

### līn


Early Modern Welsh llion is a plural form, meaning ‘floods’. Indo-European *pelh₁- is associated with ‘filling’ and ‘pouring’, while derivatives of *[s]lei- suggest ‘flatness, smoothness’ (also ‘slipperiness, being polished’). Either could be appropriate for hydronyms. For fuller discussion, including consideration of the following names, see under *lēːβ, and see also lēːβ.


a2) Laringham Hill, with Lyneringham, ELo (field-name and lost name respectively, in East Linton) Bain (1887) + -ar- [+ OE name-forming suffix -ing-] + -hām ‘a farm, an estate’; see A. James (2010) at pp. 84-5 and n83.

### linn (n, later m)

IE *lndh- (zero-grade of *lendh- ‘open land, waste’, see lann) > eCelt *lindon > Br, Gaul lindon > OW lin[n] > MW lynn > W llyn, OCorn –lin in a compound > Corn lyn, OBret lin > M-MnBret lenn; OIr lind, lend > M-MnIr lind, G linne, Mx lhing.

For doubts regarding this etymology, see DCCPN p. 22 (any apparent Germanic cognates could well be adoptions from Celtic).

Jackson, LHEB §112(2), pp. 511-13, dates the assimilation of –nd- to –nn- to the late 5th ct, but Sims-Williams, CIB pp. 74-83, 283 and 290-5, shows this could have been as late as the early 7th ct.
In Welsh place-names the meaning is generally ‘a pool’, including ‘a river-pool’, but in the other Celtic languages the meaning is wider, in place-names referring to streams, marshland and seapools (see ACPN p. 84 for the full range of early examples), and as a common noun, to various liquids (blood, oil, etc.), and in the Goidelic languages coming to mean primarily ‘drink’.

A particular use in Gaelic place-names is for ‘a pool beneath a waterfall’, and this is adopted in Scots generally. However, a different and unrelated word, Northumbrian OE *hlynn* (recorded as a feminine noun only as a gloss on *torrens* in the Rushworth Gospels, John 18.1, but cf. OE *hlynn* masculine ‘noise, din, tumult’, and verb *hlynnan* ‘be noisy’) underlies the dialectal usage of *linn* in Northumberland and in S and SW Scots for ‘a waterfall, a cataract’. In much of southern Scotland, these two senses of *linn* are indistinguishable: see OED s.v. *linn*, DSL s.v. *lin* (DOST) and *linn*¹ (SND).

**Líndon** PNRB p. 393, according to Ptolemy ‘a pólis of the Damnonioi’, was probably at the southern end of Loch Lomond – Balloch according to Watson, CPNS p. 33, or Drumqhassle near Drymen according to Rivet and Smith, PNRB loc. cit.

Note that the battle-site Dùnnichen or Nechtansmere is referred to in HB57 as *lin garan* ‘lake of cranes’, presumably preserving the Pictish (and/or proto-Welsh) name.

**a1)** Linn Rock Kcb (Balmaclellan) overlooks a small burn flowing into a pool now dammed as a reservoir.

Lyne Water, with Lyne Kirk and West Linton, Pbl Ross (2001), p. 149, gives *Lyn* c1190, which favours *linn* as a river-name here: there are no marked cascades or waterfalls to support *hlynn* or *linn*, and the terrain is very different from that associated with river-names involving *lëβ* or *fin*.

Linhouse Water MLo is first recorded as Line/Lyne Water (J. G. Wilkinson pers. comm.)

Names formed with Old English or Scots elements are likely to have OE *hlynn* or Scots *linn* in one of its senses (see above), but some could preserve a Brittonic single-element name of a pool or stream, e.g.: Linburn MLo (Kirknewton) WLoPN p. 27.

Linstock Cmb (Stanwix) PNCmb p110, or else OE *lin* ‘flax’: see Gelling and Probert 2010, 81 and 85n2, citing R. Coates.

East Linton ELo, but W. Patterson (pers. comm.) writes ‘I’m pretty sure...[East] Linton must have been named from the *hlynn* or *linn*, which is still a picturesque feature.’

Linton Rox PNRox p. 25: ‘a great part of Linton Parish was formerly under water; cf. The Lake, which is now drained’ Macdonald PNRox loc. cit.

**b1)** Where –*lin* is recorded as second element, it is rarely possible to rule out –*hlynn* if the first element could be English, –*linn* if it could be Scots, or –*linne* if it could be Gaelic. The following could be Brittonic:

Bazil Point Lanc (Lancaster) PNLanc p. 175 ? +bas-, see Coates, CVEP p. 318, but evidence for –*finn* here is lacking. An OE personal name *Basa* (cf. Basingstoke Hmp) + -hyll > ‘hill’ is
formally possible, and favoured by the earliest from *Basul* 1199x1206, though it would have applied to a feature other than the low-lying point.

Buckland Burn Kcb (Kirkcudbright) PNGall p. 50 + buch-: but probably a Scots formation.

Cameron Stg ? + cam[b]-, but see cóel:n.

Cameron Lane Kcb (Balmaghie) PNGall p. 57 + cam[b]-, which see [+ SW Scots lane 'a slow, boggy stream' < G lèana 'a swampy plain or meadow'].

Camling Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 57 + cam[b]-: could be Gaelic.

Darling How, also Darlinhou and Darelin, Cmb (Wythop) PNCmb p. 457 + derw-, see discussion under dār.

Gilsaughlin Wml (Cliburn) PNWml2 p. 136 - sîch-, which see [+ ON gil- 'a ravine'].

Glendowlin Wml (Yanwath) PNWml1 p. 206 - glïnn-, which see, + -duβ-: A. Walker pers comm.

Lowlynn Mill Ntb (Lowick) + river-name Low, see luch.

Stirling ? + *üstriw-, see *ister.

b2) Lincluden Kcb (Terregles) PNGall p. 196 + river-name Cluden, see clūd and -an, but also lann.

Lincom Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 196 - cam[b]-, which see.

Linlithgow WLo PNWLo pp. 53-4, CPNS p. 384: probably a secondary formation on a pre-existing -*lejth- or -luit- + -*ciü.

c2) Bedlay EDnb (Cadder), with Bothlin Burn, + bod-, Gaelicised to *bod- ‘a clump’ + -leathann ‘broad’ (see fidan), but could be a compound (b1).

Croglin Cmb PNCmb p. 183 ? + crūg-, but the location favours ON krókr- > 'crook', 'a bend' + OE -hlynn 'a torrent'.

Traverlen MLo (= Duddingstone) CPNS p. 360, and see Barrow (1980), p. 40 + treβ- + ñ[r]-, but see also wūr for *wūr-len.

Tail o’Ling Wml (Bampton) PNWml2 p. 197 ? + tāl- (which see) + ñ[r].

*li:s[s] (m or f)

Early Celtic *liisso-/ā- > Br *liisso-/ā- > M-MnW llys, Corn * lys (in place-names, CPNS pp. 150-1), Bret lez; OIr les > MIr lis > Ir, G lios.

On the vowel-length, see LHEB §35(2) at p. 343, and the note on Leece Lanc below. On the gender, see GMW §34, p. 34.

Judging by Old Irish, the reference was originally to a pallisaded enclosure (in contrast to an embanked ráth, see rōd), and thence to the open space around a house within such an enclosure, so, roughly speaking, 'a courtyard' (see Toner 1998-2000. pp. 21-2). In the Brittonic languages, *lix[s] developed to 'a court, a palace, an administrative centre', though the implication of high status may not always be present in Brittonic place-names: see Padel, CPNE pp. 150-1, for his reservations regarding the significance of *lys sites in Cornwall (where it may even be ironic, ‘a ruin’).

In Ulster and Leinster lios apparently superseded ráth as the preferred term for a chieftain’s dwelling (typically a ring-fort) by the tenth century (Toner op. cit. p. 30, see also Flanagan, IrPN pp. 111-15, and McKay, DUPN p. 154 and examples indexed there), though even in those regions it is not associated with major centres of power, and eventually in both Irish and Scottish Gaelic it declined to the yard or enclosed garden of any house. On the other hand, A. MacDonald, (1987, pp. 50-1) argues that in Scotland, where Gaelic lios is much less common than in Ireland, its meaning probably came under the influence of Pictish usage, and so is associated with places of administrative importance. Taylor (2009 pp. 71-4, also PNFin5 pp. 426-8) argues further that
they may have had special ecclesiastical significance; of those listed below, Kirkliston, Lasswade, Lesmahagow and Leswalt all became mediaeval parishes, and Lesmahagow and possibly Lessnessock are formed with (Irish) saints’ names. All examples south of the Forth are listed below, although Lesmahagow and Lessudden are likely to be Gaelic formations, and others may be.

a1) Leece Lanc (Urswick) PNLanc p. 209: Ekwall favoured OE lēas, plural of lēah, ‘clearings’. Jackson, LHEB §35(2) at p. 343, disagreed, and scholarly opinion remains divided (compare Mills 1976 p. 104, with Watts in DEPN(C) s.n.); a reasonably sure parallel for simplex *Li:s[s] is Liss Hmp. If this name is Brittonic, it was adopted by English speakers after the new quantity system, i.e. probably after 600 (see LHEB §§34-5, pp. 338-44, and Sims-Williams 1990 at p. 240). See also Edmonds (2013) at p. 22.

Kirkliston WLo and MLo PNWLo pp. 39-40, PNMLo pp. 159-60 [+ OE –tūn ‘a farm’, later + Scots kirk- in an ‘inversion’ formation]. The Catstane and associated burials on the eastern edge of this parish imply a high-status centre of power in the early Christian period: see I. Smith (1996); on the Barony of Liston, see PNMLo and PNWLo loc. cit.

Listonshiels MLo (Currie) PNMLo p. 203 [+ OE –tūn, + Scots –shiels ‘huts, bothies’]: associated with the Barony of Liston?


Listens Ayrs (Dalry) MacDonald (1987) p. 42 likewise; poorly documented, possibly transferred from Lessens Kcb.

b1) Garlies Kcb (Minigaff) PNGall pp. 141-2 + -garth or -*garw. This was a power-base and stronghold by the 13th ct, see Brooke (1992) at p. 319; could be Gaelic *gart- or garbh-lios. For Garlieston Wig, see under garth.


Lessnessock Ayrs (Ochiltree) MacDonald (1987) p.42 ?-ness- + -ōg, perhaps a lost stream-name; otherwise this might be a Gaelic hypocorism *Nessóg for a saint’s name such as Neas (a female saint associated with N.E. Ulster, see Ó Ríain 2011 p. 514).

Lessudden Rox (St. Boswells) PNRox p. 34 ? + -ed- + -winn but see under that element; J. Macdonald gives OE lēs- ‘meadow’ + -side- ‘side’ + -*winn ‘pasture’.

Leswalt Wig CPNS p. 180, PNGall p. 195 ? + -wel[t], which see for discussion. Restalrig MLo (Edinburgh, South Leith) PNMLo pp. 135-7 + -?; Dixon gives northern English leстал- ‘a heap of rubbish, a dunghill’ + Scots –rigg ‘ridge’.

c2) Treales Lanc (Kirkham) PNLanc p. 152, JEPNS17 p. 88 + trebf- + -ï[r]-: see discussion under both these elements regarding the likelihood that trebf- + -ï[r]- is a late, Cumbric toponymic formation, probably from the short period of Scandinavian rule over the Fylde in the early 10th ct. See CPNE p. 151 for comparable place-names in Cornwall, Wales and Brittany.

*loβ

IE *lop- (o-grade of *lep- ‘peel’) > eCelt *lop- > O-MIr lobur > Ir, G lobhar, Mx lour-, also OIr loboid > Ir, G lobhaid, Mx loaid; cf. Gk lepís ‘a scale, a peel’, léprā ‘peeling skin, leprosy’, adopted as Lat lepra > OFr lepre, adopted as M-MnE ‘leper’.
A verbal root associated with ‘peeling away, decomposition, decay’, especially of diseased, leprous skin. In Old Irish, lobur- means ‘weak, diseased (especially with leprosy)’, and the verb lobaid ‘decays’.

The status of any derivative from this root in Brittonic is very doubtful. The Juvenetus gloss lobur: infirmus is surely Middle Irish, not Old Welsh: see LHEB pp. 50-1 and §33, pp. 337-8.

Aberlady ELo CPNS pp. 460-1 ? + -ed + -ig, + secondarily aber-. Watson, CPNS loc. cit., following the hint in the Aberdeen Breviary, identifies this as the ostium fetoris of VK(H), making Aberlessic (ibid.) the mouth of the nearby Gosford Burn. However, see Jackson’s objections (1958), pp. 290-1, also King (2014), and discussions under *lęβ and *lus.

Catlowdy Cmb (= Lairdstown, Nicholforest) PNCmb p. 105 perhaps a lost stream-name + -ed-, + secondarily -ig, + subsequently *cach-, which see [or OE cacc-]; Watson, CPNS p.101 associates this with Lothian, but see discussion under lūch; see also Breeze (2018).

*lǒd (m?)

Early Celtic *lātō- > Br *lāto- > M-MnW llawd; O-MnIr láth, early G lath.

The early etymology is doubtful. A relationship with Gmc *flōðuz > OE flōd > ‘flood’ is possible, but the Indo-European *plo- adduced for this is questionable. Greek plúein ‘flow’, plōtós ‘flowing’, a likely cognate of *flōðuz, may be from IE *g’els-, cf. Skt galati ‘flows’.

‘Rut, heat’ in animals ready to mate. In Irish, and possibly also in Welsh, poetry, it can mean the ‘ardour’ of a warrior, and, by metonymy, ‘a warrior’.

c1) Leeds YWR PNYWR4 pp. 124-5 ? + -is. Jackson (1946 and 1947) proposed an ethnic name (probably based on an early river name, presumably that of the Aire), *Lātissi- or similar, Latinised as *Lātenses, British Latin *Lōteses, adopted as OE *Lōdīs > Loidis, as in HE II.14, with OE i-mutation.

Ledsham YWR PNYWR4 p. 49 [+ OE –hām ‘a farm, an estate’] and Ledston YWR PNYWR4 p. 50 [+ OE –tūn ‘a farm’] are probably both from the same ethnic and regio name as Leeds. Lothianburn MLo (Lasswade) CPNS p. 101, PNMLo p. 284 ? + -an, but see discussion under lūch, and also *lud.

Tralodden Ayrs (Old Dailly) perhaps a stream-name + -an, + secondarily treβ-, but see also *lud.

log (m?)

Lat locus ‘a place’ adopted as Br *loco- > OW loc > MW lloc, MCom *lok (in a place-name, CPNE pp. 151-2), MBret lok (mainly in place-names); OIr loc > Ir log, G lag, Mx lagg.

See EGOW p. 106.

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 ‘a religious house’, and eventually ‘a chapel’. Secular senses proved more dominant in the Goidelic languages, and the word fell together in Scottish Gaelic with lag ‘a hollow’.
Lok is common as a place-name element (though not otherwise) in Brittany, where it is associated with minor chapels rather than ancient parishes, and is probably not early; in Cornwall it occurs only once (Luxulyan CPNE pp. 151-2, where Padel sees 'an outlier of the Breton distribution', and (while it is hard to distinguish *llog in recorded forms from lloc 'pen', llwch 'pool', or llech 'slab'), there seem to be few if any convincing examples in Wales.

Latin locus occurs on two or three inscribed stones in southern Scotland:
CIIC515 Yarrowkirk Slk: early-mid 6th ct. IN LOCO..., the burial-place of two PRINCIPES, lay Christian aristocrats.
CIIC519 Whithorn Wig: late 6th – early 7th ct. It 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. IN LOGI (or LOCI) ... PETRI APVSTOLI may indicate the dedication of the monastery. See Craig (1997) at pp. 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 NICOLA1 is almost certainly anachronistic, the amendment of this to NINIAVI is exceedingly speculative. See LHEB §9, p. 291, and CIB ǂ17 at p. 49 and n174 for discussion of phonological issues arising from these, and CIB p. 363 for the dates. See also C. Thomas (1998) for discussion of locus in these inscriptions. On Bede’s use of locus (for Lichfield Stf), see J. Campbell (1979) at p. 35.

For discussion of Locus Maponi PNRB pp. 395-6, see *luch, but note Padel CPNE p. 151 favours log here.

In eastern Scotland north of the Forth, ‘Logie’, ?*log-ín, appears to be an important element in parish- and other names, see Clancy (2016), pp. 25 - 88.

b1) Clancy (2016), in appendix 2, pp. 71 – 80, considers possible evidence for log as a place-name element in southern Scotland in these four place-names:
Lochkindeloch Kcb (= New Abbey) + ? pers. n.
Lochmaben Dmf + pers. n. Mabon, see mab.
Lochwinnoch Rnf + saint's name Winnoch (= Winnian).
Loquhariot MLo (Borthwick) ? + -worčd: but see discussion under that heading.

c2) Barloke Kcb (Borgue): see *luch.

logðd (f)

Lat locāta, British Lat *logāda, adopted as Br *logādā- > M-eMnW llogawd.

In insular Latin, probably ‘a piece of land set aside’ in some sense: cf. Ælfric’s Glossary 115.21 locatus: behyring ‘a lease, a letting’, and in Modern Welsh llogawd ‘something partitioned off’.
In Middle to early Modern Welsh, one sense of the adopted word is ‘a monastery’, but when this usage developed, and whether it was contemporary with or later than the use of log in that sense, is unknown.

a2) Arlecdon Cmb PNCmb p. 335 + ar- [+ OE –denu ‘a valley’]. Perhaps this was associated with the monastery of St Bees, which probably originated as an Irish foundation in the 10th ct, named after the Irish St Bega (possibly 7th ct), and which held land in this parish in the later middle ages. See Coates, CVEP p. 285. Ekwall, DEPN(O) s.n., followed by PNCmb loc. cit., proposed OE *earnlacu ‘eagle-stream’, but note Watts’s doubts, DEPN(C). Otherwise *ar-loch, see luch.
c2) Barlocco, with Barlocco Isle, Kcb (Borgue), not in PNGall? + barr-; the proximity of Barlocco (Borgue) to the early Christian site on Ardwall Isle, probably monastic at least in the later phases (see C. Thomas 1967), may be significant, but Gaelic bàrr- or baile- + -locha 'small loch', is also appropriate here; see the next entry, and A.G. James (2011b).

Barlocco Kcb (Rerrick), with Barlocco Bay and Barlocco Heugh, PNGall p. 26? + barr-; there is no loch here (being on porous limestone), but nor is there any known early monastic site nearby, though one on Hestan Isle is a possibility, see James op. cit., and for Barloke and Barluka see luch.

*lôn*

IE *pl- (zero-grade of *pel- ‘fill’) + -n- > eCelt *lāno-/ā- > Br *lāno-/ā- > MW laun W llawn , Corn lun; O-MnIr làn, G làn; cogn. Gmc *fulh- > OE full > ‘full’, Skt pūrṇā, and cf. (from lengthened grade *pēl-n-) Lat pēlus.

On the etymology, see GOI §215(1), p. 131.

‘Full, abundant’. A possible but unrecorded homonym, a Brittonic cognate of Old to Modern Irish slán ‘healthy’, might be relevant to the river-names below: cf. the R Slaney (Sléine) in south-east Ireland.

a1) Lune R, with Lancaster and Lonsdale, ERN pp. 270-1, PNLanc pp. 167-8 and 174, JEPNS17 p. 97. Wilkinson (2004) suggests that *Lānum was the name of the Roman fort at Lancaster (cf. PNRB pp. 383-4 for an unlocated place of this name probably north of the Antonine Wall). This would reflect a river-name *Lānā-. The variations between a and o in recorded forms for Lancaster and Lonsdale reflect both the late Old to early Middle English shortening of the vowel and the location near the dialectal isophone boundaries between [an] and [on], and [āŋ] and [oŋ]: see Trudgill (1990), pp. 32-5 and 40-1. However, forms with Lane- may imply adoption by Germanic speakers as early as the fifth century.

The vowel in the river-name retained its length and was subject to northern ME raising, [ō] > [ū]. Lune R, with Lonton, YNR ERN pp. 270–1, PNYNR p. 4.

*long (f)*

Early Celtic *longā- > Br *longā- > M-MnW llong; O-MnIr, G long, Mx llong.

On the phonology, see LHEB §4, pp. 272-3.

‘A ship’. Originally probably any boat, its association with larger sailing vessels being influenced by Latin navis longa. The Latin adjective is, nevertheless, unrelated to the Celtic noun.

Rivet and Smith see a tribal name, *Longovices, behind Longovicium PNRB pp. 398-9, the Roman fort at Lanchester Dhr, + -wīg, though the formative –ō- is unexplained. The English town-name probably preserves the first syllable, its development having been influenced by identification with OE lang ‘long’, which survives as lang in northern English: see DDrhPN p. 70.
lūr (m)

'?IE(NW) *plh₁- (zero-grade of *pelh₁- ‘set in motion’) + -r > eCelt *lāro- > Br *lāro- > OW laur > MW laur > W llawr, OCorn lor > Corn lur, OBret lor; O-MnIr lār, G lär, Mx laare; cogn. Gmc *flōruz > OE flor > ‘floor’.


‘A floor, a flat place, earth’.

c2) Carlowrie WLo (Dalmeny) PNWLo p. 5 + cajr- + -īn, but see also laβar and lowern.

Iē *leuk- (see lūch) > eCelt *leuc- + -sco- > Br *loysco- > OW losc- > MW losg > W losg, O-MnCorn losc, Bret losk; cf. OIr verb loiscid > Ir loisce, G loisg, Mx losht, Ir noun loisco ‘a burn, a scald’.


‘A fire, a conflagration’, from verbal root *leuk-. By metonymy, in place-names, ‘a burnt place, a place cleared by burning’.

a1) Luce, Water of, Wig PNGall pp. 204-5; but see under *lūs.

a2) Newton Arlosh Cmb (Holme E Waver) PNCmb p. 291 + ar-, which see; otherwise *lūs- + -ǭg, see under *lūs.

losg (m)

IE *leuk- (see lūch) > eCelt *leuc- + -sco- > Br *loysco- > OW losc- > MW losg > W losg, O-MnCorn losc, Bret losk; cf. OIr verb loiscid > Ir loisce, G loisg, Mx losht, Ir noun loisco ‘a burn, a scald’.


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c2) Aberlosk Dmf (Eskdalemuir) CPNS p. 460, PNDmf p. 35 + aber-, which see; again, otherwise *lūs- + -ǭg, see under *lūs.

A number of topographic names in Kirkcudbrightshire might involve this element: these are hill-names, where Gaelic loisgte is otherwise possible: Craiglosk Kcb (Balmaclellan) PNGall p. 88, (+ creːg- or Gaelic creag), Loskie, Big and Little (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 204, and Luskie Hill (Twynholm) PNGall p. 205, these + -ǭg; three more names refer to watercourses or adjacent marshy areas, so *lūs- or Gaelic lus possible: Corselusk Strand (Kells, ? + cors-), Luskie Burn (Twynholm), and Luskie Dam and Plantation (Dalry), these + -ǭg.

lost (f)

IE(NW) *luh₁- (zero-grade of *leuh₁- ‘hunt’) + -st- > eCelt *lustā- > Br *lustā- > OW(LL) lost > M-eMnW llost, M-MnCorn lost, Bret lost; M-MnIr, eG los; cf. ON lustr ‘a cudgel’, and/or ljóstr > eMnE lister, northern English and Scots leister ‘a two-pronged fishing-spear’.

The etymology is uncertain. For the proposed Indo-European root, see OIPrIE §22.15 at pp. 402-3.
If the etymology above is correct, the original reference was to some kind of hunting weapon. However, it is chiefly used in the Celtic languages (metaphorically?) for ‘a tail’, although other senses such as ‘butt, back end’ and ‘penis’ should be taken into account.

a2) Lostock R, with Lostock Hall (Walton-le-Dale) and Lostock Bridge (Ulnes Walton, Croston), PNLanc p. 127+ -ǭg. Ekwall in PNLanc sees this as primarily a settlement-name, cf. Lostock Hall (Eccles) and Lostock (Bolton-le-Moors) elsewhere in Lancashire (PNLanc pp. 39 and 42, and see JEPNS17 p. 37). He derives all these from OE hlōse- ‘a pig-sty’ + -stoc ‘place, a secondary settlement’ (see also Ekwall, 1936, at p. 41). However, in DEPN(O), s.n. Lostock Grahm Che, he suggests that *lostǭg might be a Brittonic word for ‘a beaver’, though note that Middle Cornish lostek glosses vulpes ‘a fox’. Dodgson, PNChe2 p. 189 follows Ekwall’s earlier interpretation, hlōse-stoc, for Lostock Grahm.

c2) Troloss Lnk (Elvanfoot) CPNS p. 362 + treβ-; Watson compares G gasg ‘a tail’, ‘often applied to “a tail” of land, i.e. a place where a plateau ends in an acute angle and narrows down to vanishing point’, though this seems doubtfully appropriate here.

lǭwadr (m? earlier n?)

IE(WC) *leuh- ‘wash, bathe’ > eCelt *lew- + -atro- > Br *lǭwatro-, Gaul lautro- > (not found in Welsh or Cornish) MBret louazr > Bret laouer; OIr lōthar > Ir, G lothar; cf. Lat lavo ‘I wash’, Gmc *laufrom > OE lēaðor, ON laʊðr, > ‘lather’, Gk loutrón ‘a bath’.

‘A washing or bathing place’, so, in the Goidelic languages, ‘a trough, basin or channel’, either natural (a firm, shallow river-bed) or artificial. See discussion by Jackson (1970) at p. 75, and Rivet and Smith in PNRB, p. 384.

Both the above refer to Lavatris PNRB loc. cit., identified as the Roman fort at Bowes YNR. The name may have been formed from a Brittonic name for the river now Greta (< ON grjót-á ‘boulder-river’).

River-names are likely to underlie the following:
a1) Lauder Bwk CPNS p. 471: the relationship between this name and the river-name Leader is extremely perplexing, see *led. Breeze (2000a) offers an alternative etymology from *lawedr, cf. MW llawedrawr ‘a heap of ruins’.

Lowther, with R Lowther, Wml ERN pp. 266-7, PNWml1 p. 9 and 2 p. 182: early forms are similar or identical to those for Lauder, the development of intervocalic [d] to [ð] being sporadic but not unusual in Middle English. Ekwall, ERN p. 267, alternatively suggests ON *laʊðr-á ‘lather, foam river’, but see Watts’s phonological objections, DEPN(C) s.n.

lowern, *lewïrn, (both m)

IE *wlo- > eCelt *lop- + -erno- > Br, Gaul lowerno- > OW(LL) laguern, leuynr, louern (in place-names, LL pp. 207, 142, 175) > M-eMnW llywern, llewyrn (see below), OCorn louern > Corn lowarn, OBret Louuern-, Loern (in place- and personal names) > Bret louarn, Vannetais dialect luhern; OIr loarn (in personal and ethnic names); cf. Lat vulpēs, Gk alōpós, Skt lopāśa ‘a jackal, a fox’.

‘A fox’, though note that Schrijver in the works cited above argues that forms with lewï- are not plurals < *lowerni-, but derived from *lowernjo- and mean ‘a fox-like thing, a will o’the wisp’.

In West Brittonic, as in Goidelic, this seems to have survived mainly or exclusively in place- and personal names. See Breeze in CVEP pp. 67-9 on this element in river-names, and Padel (1978) at p. 24 n10 for personal names.

In CA LXXXVIII, Pais Dinogad, the phrase llewïn a llwyvein is apparently a formula referring to a pair of hunters’ quarries, either or both being, perhaps, garbled forms of words related to lowern: see Williams’s note to CA line 324, Jackson’s to YGod (KJ) p. 151, and Jarman’s to YGod (AJ), line 1012.

a2) Balernock Dnb (Garelochhead) Ross (2001) p. 23 + bod- + -ōg: possibly -*lewïrn-, see above, in a lost stream-name, or a personal (saint’s?) name, *Lewïrnōg.
Balornock Lnk CPNS p. 202 + bod- + -ōg: again, a lost stream-name, or a personal (saint’s?) name, here *Lowernōg.
Carlowrie WLo (Dalmeny) PNWLo p. 5 + cajr-: possibly translated as Foxhall (PNWLo P. 41), see Wilkinson in WLoPN p. 22. Or else + -laβar- or -lǭr-.

luch (m), *loch


The etymology of this group of words is problematic. For the early developments see OIPrIE §§.8 at p. 128, GOI §80(a) note, DCCPN p. 23 s.v. locu- and EGOW p. 103, but cf. Hamp (1994) at p. 12, proposing a non-Indo-European root *lak-.

Jackson, following Förster, sees the Old to early Modern Welsh forms as adopted from Old Irish (LHEB §146 at p. 568), but cf. Sims-Williams (1996) at pp. 39-40. Hamp, loc. cit., sees them as having been influenced by early Celtic *leuco-/ā- > Br *lo:co-/ā- > neoBritt *lūch > M-MnW lluch “bright, shining”, also ‘lightning’. See under lūch for discussion of this and also of early Celtic *luco-/ā-, another possible influence.

The meaning in Brittonic is generally ‘marshy or brackish water’, whether in a pool, a lake or (as often in Welsh, Cornish and Breton place-names), a dune slack, tidal creek or marshy estuary.

The Brittonic word was adopted into Northumbrian Old English (10th ct. gloss in the Lindisfarne Gospels) as luh, becoming northern English and Border Scots lowe, lough, pronounced /lu/’, as in The Loch of the Lowes Kcb (Minigaff) and Skl (Yarrow), Lowes Loch Kcb (Balmacellian), Lough Cmb (x2: St Cuthbert Without and Plumpton Wall; also Ortonlogh with Lough House in Orton, and the Loughe, a meadow in Waverton: PNCmb pp. 149, 234-5, 145 and 160) and The Forest of Lowes (1329) Ntb – this was the district lying west of the North Tyne, with Broomley, Crag, Greenlee, Grindon and Littlow Loughs within its bounds. However, where a final fricative consonant, /ɣ/ or /χ/ is evidenced, Goidelic origin or influence may be involved, see DOST s.n. loch.
Rivet and Smith, PNRB pp. 394-6, see *loco- or *loc- in two Roman-British place-names: Locatrebe + treð: unlocated, probably associated with a crannog (or crannog-dwelling folk) in southern Scotland, or a Roman fort-name derived from such a name, such as the one at Glenlochar Kcb (see Lochar Water Kcb below, but also lūch). Locus Maponi + deity name Maponus, see mab: they identify this as Lochmaben Dmf, with Gaelicised loch-, but Padel, CPNE p. 151, favours log, which see. They reject an early British *louco- in Ptolemy’s Loukopibia, though Hill (1997) p. 27 argues for its appropriateness at Whithorn: see lūch.

a1) North or Goswick Low, R, Ntb PNNtb p. 137. South Low, R, with Lowlynn Mill and Lowick, Ntb ERN pp. 264–5, PNNtb p. 137. Black Low, R Ntb PNNtb p. 137. All these may be from a form of this element with short –o-, though Coates, CVEP pp. 242-3 and 255, argues for a Goidelic origin. Lowlynn may be + -fínn or OE(Ntb) hlýnn > northern English linn (see finn). The North Low is a short, tidal river; the South Low a more substantial watercourse with a marshy estuary, in which the Black Low is a tidal creek. Note that Aber Lleu, the reputed site of the assassination of Urien, can only be identified with any of these if the name had been re-modelled in Welsh legend as lleu < lūy, see lūch.

a2) Arlecdon Cmb PNCmb p. 335 + ar- [+OE –denu ‘a valley’]: a *loch form? But this is an inland location, and see *logǭd. Lochar Water, with Lochar Moss, Dmf PNDmf p. 110 ? + ar; both this and the next entry may have a river-name of the ‘Loughor’ type, but lūch- ‘marshy or brackish water’ is very suitable for either; Gaelic luachair ‘rushes’ (Juncus spp.) is also plausible, and see also under lūch. Lochar Water Kcb, with Glenlochar (Balmaghee), PNGall p. 149 + glīnn- (or Gaelic gleann- or Scots glen- ) + ar; or else lūch, which see regarding the possible identification with Loukopibia.

b1) Barloke Kcb (Borgue) PNGall p. 26 + barr$: Barloke Moss being a small eutrophic bog overlooked by hills, this, or Gaelic *bārr-locha, seems likely. Maxwell, PNGall loc. cit., compares Barlocco (Borgue) and Barluka (Twynholm) PNGall p. 26; there is a small loch near Barlocco (Borgue) and a very small one below Barluka Hill, but no loch in the vicinity of Barlocco (Rerrick, not in PNGall): see logǭd. Dowlache Lanc (Ince Blundell) (not in PNlanc): P. B. Russell (1992) proposes + duþr-, but see also duþ $ and *gəlss$. Barlue Hill Kcb (Balmaghee) PNGall p. 26 (listed as Barlue, presumably once a farm-name) ? + barr-, or Gaelic baile- ‘a farm’: either way, it could be based on a lost stream-name from lūch. Note its proximity to Lochar Water, above.

b2) Leuchold WLo (Dalmeny) PNWLo p. 8 ? + -wel[t], which see: Wilkinson, WLoPN p. 27, proposes lluch ‘bright, shining’ here, see above and under lūch. Loch Ryan Wig + *rīþ-on-, see *rīþ for this and luch reon in BT34: Gaelicised to loch$.

c2) Carluke Lnk + caj$: well inland, but note Boghall to the south, with several pools. Otherwise + -lūch, which see.

lūch, lūy

See OIrPrIE §20.3 p. 328, also §20.2 at pp. 325-6, DCCPN p. 22 s.v. *leuco-*, LHEB §18(3) p. 307 and §75(3) pp. 441-2, and CIB §80 pp. 225-7.

‘Bright, shining’, as a colour term, ‘white’, but note the zero-grade *luk-* > eCelt *luco-/ā- > eMnW *llug* and O-MtIr *lōch* > Ir *loch*, G *lōch*, all meaning ‘(shining, reflective) black’. The latter might be present in, or have influenced, some hydronyms: see King (2005), also Taylor’s discussion of Lochty Burn Fif, PNFifi pp. 46-7. Another related word that might possibly occur in place-names is early Celtic *leuco-/ā- > Br *lōcocc-/ā- > neoBritt *lūch* > M-MnW *lluch*. ‘bright, shining’, also ‘lightning’, see under *luuch* for discussion of both of these.

On the cult of the deity *Lugos* (MW *Llew*, Ir and G *Lugh*) see PCB pp. 319-24, DCML pp. 135-6, DCM pp. 270-2 and 274-5. However, the supposed connection between the deity-name and the root *leuk-* is problematic: see DCCPN p. 23. The form *Lugos* reflects middle Roman-British (and late Gaulish) phonology, with Br *lōcocs < *leuocos < *leucos; for subsequent developments see LHEB §75(3) p. 441.

Ancient instances include:

**Leucaro**: Watson CPNS, p. 433, and Jackson (1948), p. 57, associated this with the Lugar Water Ayrs (see below), proposing + *-ar*. However, Rivet and Smith, PNRB pp. 388-9, accepted Jackson’s revised opinion (LHEB p. 688 n2) that this was on the R Loughor Glm, deriving the latter from a ‘by-form’ *Luccarā*: see also Pierce (2002), pp. 33-4 and DPNW p. 302. *Loukopibia*, *Loukopiábia* PNRB pp. 389-90. Rivet and Smith, following LHEB §18(3) n1, p. 307, read this as *Leuc-owjā*, Latinised *Leucuvia*, cf. R Luggie below. A *pōlis* of the *Novantae*, so unlikely to be associated with the Luggie. Rivet and Smith propose the Roman fort at Glenlochar Kcb (see below, but also *luch* for *Locatrebe*), but see Hill (1997), p. 27, on the possibility that it might have been Whithorn. *Lugundunum* PNRB pp. 401-2: Rivet and Smith read as *Lugudunum*, + *-din*. The location is unknown, though probably in the North: see Leven Seat, Londesborough, Lothian, Loudon and *Luggd[uí]re* below.

**Aber Lleu**, the site of Urien’s assassination according to *Canu Llywarch Hên* (Williams ed., 1935, p. 15, see also Rowlands (1990) pp. 91, 99n62 and 561), though presumably close to *Metcaud* (Lindisfarne), is unlikely to be any of the Rivers Low Ntb, unless a Middle Welsh poet reinterpreted the Anglicised name (Sims-Williams (1996) p. 38 n44 and 40-2): see *luch*, and Coates in CVEP pp. 242-3 and 255.


On early river-names of the ‘Lugg (Hrf)’ type, see ERN p. 268

a1) Lugate, with Lugate Water, Mlo (Stow) PNMLo p. 366 [+ ME/Scots –*gate* road], implies a former stream-name, either *lōch* or Ntbn OE *luh*, see *luch*.

a2) Lochar Water, with Lochar Moss, Dmf PNDmf p. 110 ? + *-ar*, but see *luch*. Lochar Water Kcb, with Glenlochar (Balmaghie), PNGall p. 149 ? + *-ar*, see above regarding *Loukopibia*, but also under *luch*.

Logie Braes WLo (Torphichen) PNWLo p. 96 ? + *-ig*, but cf. Luggie Burn below. Lugar Water, with Lugar, Ayrs CPNS p. 433 + *-ar* or –*dušr*, which see. If not the source of the fort-name *Leucaro* (see above), it could still be from *Leucarā*.

Loddon (Brk) type are generally taken to be from *s.n., An early place
Judging by the cognates, the meaning is ‘mud, mire, mucky water’.

IE (NW) *lud- (zero-grade of *leuh₃-t-, see *leid), or else *lu- + *t-, ‘excrement’, > eCelt *lut₃ > Br *lut₃-, cf. Bret loudour ‘swamp’; O-MnIr, G (Sutherland dialect) loth; cogn. Lat lutum.

Judging by the cognates, the meaning is ‘mud, mire, mucky water’.

An early place-naming element in Continental Celtic (see DCCPN p. 23, and PNRB pp. 403-4 s.n. Lutudarum, but for an alternative view see Breeze, 2002g). British river-names of the ‘Loddon (Brk)’ type are generally taken to be from *lut₃-n₃-, or else *lut-an- (see –an): see ERN p. 258.
a2) Lothianburn MLo (Lasswade) CPNS p. 101, PNMLo p. 284 has been identified by Barrow (1985) as a stream-name of the ‘Lodden’ type, but see also *lǭd and lūy. Tralodden Ayrs (Old Dailly): the burn here may have had a name of the ‘Lodden’ type, but see also *lǭd: + treβ- in a secondary formation.

**lum[m]**

IE *plu*-sm- > eCelt *lusmo-/>ā- > Br *lummo-/>ā-> MW *llum > W llwm, Corn *lom (in place-names, CPNE pp. 152-3); OIr lomm > Ir *lom- (in compounds), G *lom, Mx lomm; cf. Lat *plūma ‘down, soft feather’.

See GOI §152 p. 94.

‘Naked, bare’. If the Celtic word is from IE *plu-, the underlying sense is ‘plucked’.

Turner (1966-8) proposed *lumm-jo-, ‘bare, exposed land’, for place-names of the ‘Lyme’ type, but see discussion of these under *lim.

**lumon (m)**

Early Celtic *loimono- > Br *lumono- > eMnW *llumon; cf. OIr làem > Ir, G *laom, probably adopted as Scots *lum and early Modern English (northern) *lumbe; cogn. Lat *lēmen ‘light’, and cf. ON *ljómi ‘a beam, ray of light, radiance’.

The etymology is very difficult. A relationship with IE *leuk- (see *lǭch) and/or Latin *lūmen seems probable, but the Goidelic (and implied early Celtic) forms are perplexing.


For Gaelic *laom in hill-names, note Kenlum Hill (Anwoth) and Kendlum (Rerrick), both Keb: *ceann-*laoim ‘beacon-head’.

Watson’s suggestion, CPNS p. 212 n1, that ‘Standard’ in northern English and southern Scottish hill-names arose from a confusion between this element and Welsh *lluman ‘a standard’ is maybe too ingenious.

a1) Ben Lomond Dnb/Stg border, with Loch Lomond Dnb CPNS p. 212: the Anglo-Scots name for the loch is probably from that of the mountain, likewise the Old Welsh *stagnum Lumnony, lacus Lumnou (HB 67, and see Haycock 2013 p.26 n.36 for references in mediaeval Welsh literature), but unlike the modern Gaelic *Leamhain, which is derived from the river-name, see *leːβ-. However, the earlier forms *Laoiminn, Laomuinn are cognate with, but not adopted from, *lumon and imply that the name was known to Goidelic speakers from an early date. Hamp loc. cit. points out that, like the Lomond Hills Fif (PNFif2, pp. 47-8) and *Pumlumon (Plynlimon) Crd/Mtg (DPNW p. 401), Ben Lomond is likely to have been perceived as a central point, probably the meeting-point of several territorial boundaries, where a signal beacon and/or ritual fire may well have been frequently lit.
*lury (m)

IE *lorgeh₂r > eCelt *lorga- > Br *lorga- > M-MnW llwry, llwrw, MCorn lergh, lyrch > Corn lorgh, Bret lerc’h; O-MnIr lorg, G lorg, lurgh, Mx lorg; ? cogn. or adopted as ON lurkr ‘a cudgel, a club’.

See OIPrIE §15.4 at p. 246 and LHEB §87 pp. 466-8.

‘A path, a track’. It is hard to disentangle this sense in the Celtic languages from those relating to ‘a cudgel, a staff’, along with ‘a shank’ etc., nor is it clear whether these all have a shared origin or have become homonyms. In Irish and Scottish Gaelic place-names, lorga[ŋ], lurgann, refer to long, low ridges, presumably perceived as ‘shanks, shins’: CPNS pp. 412 and 522 n485, IrPN p. 117, DUPN pp. 44, 71 and 102.

c2) Tralorg Ayrs (Old Dailly) CPNS p. 361 + treβ-: Tralorg Hill is a possible ‘shank’, but it is crossed by a routeway first recorded in 1774; the final –g reflects Gaelic influence.

*lūs (f)

IE *h₁leudh- + past participial –t > eCelt *ludtā- > Br *lussā- > M-MnW llus, Corn *lus (in a place-name, CPNE p. 155, and see ibid. p. 147 s.v. les), Bret lus; O-MnIr, G, Mx lus.

The verbal root-sense is ‘grow, spring up’, cf. OE lēodan ‘grow, spring up’, Skt rudh, rodhati ‘sprout, shoot up’). In the Celtic languages it is specifically associated with plants, in the Brittonic ones mainly as a collective noun for ‘bilberries, blaeberries (Vaccinium myrtillus)’ and other heathland berries, though the secondary plural, Welsh lllys[ŋ]au, Cornish losow (singulative les), Breton louzou, serves for ‘plants’ in general and especially ‘herbs’ (see CPNE p. 147). In the Goidelic languages, lus is ‘a plant’, again especially ‘a herb, a green leafy vegetable’.

Aberlessic in VK(H) is seen by Watson, CPNS p. 460, as incorporating a lost river-name *luss-īco (with internal i-affection, see –īg, and cf. Cornish *lesek in a place-name, as proposed by Padel CPNE p. 147) + aber- in a secondary formation. On the identification of this place, see under *loβ.

a1) Luce, Water of, Wig CPNS p. 522 n439, PNGall pp. 204-5: a Brittonic sense may be preferable to a Goidelic one as this is ‘mainly a moorland river’, Maxwell PNGall loc. cit., but a more ancient sense of ‘springing up’ may be appropriate. Otherwise, some other derivative of *leuk- may be involved, or this may belong to the ‘Lox’ family of ‘ancient’ river-names, whose meaning may be ‘twisted’, < IE *lok-seh₂, cf. MrIr lose ‘crippled’, ‘lame’, Gk loksós ‘crooked’, Lat luscus ‘one-eyed’, see Isaac 2005, p. 196, but also LHEB §126, p. 536 especially n. 2, and see also losg.

a2) Newton Arlosh Cmb (Holme E Waver) PNCmb p. 291 + ar-, which see; this etymology would imply a lost stream-name to which the comments above on Luce would apply; but see also losg.

a2) Aberlosk Dmf (Eskdalemuir) CPNS p. 460, PNDmf p. 35: this too implies a lost stream-name, perhaps *luss-āco- (see –āg) or similar, + aber- in secondary formation. Again, presumably a moorland burn.

Corselusk Strand Kcb (Kells) ? + cors- + –ōg.
-μa, may (n, later f)

IE *meɡ[h₂]- (zero-grade of *meɡ[h₂]- ‘great’) > eCelt *mago- > Br *magā- (see PNRB p. 406 s.n. Magis, but cf. Gaul magos, mages-, -magus, ‘a dwelling’, see DCCPN pp. 23-4)

OW -ma, -ua > M-MnW –fa, also ma- in place-names, O-MnCorn *–va (in place-names, see CPNE pp. 155-6), OBret –ua, Bret *–va (in place-names); OIr mag > Ir magh (also má in p-pls, see IrPN pp. 118-19), G magh, cf. Mx adverb magh ‘outwards, forth’, < OIr < i-mmach, GOI §130, p. 83. See also mayes.

Anglicised –ma or –va, the former at a time when the [μ] was still audibly nasal (see LHEB §99, pp. 489-91), and CPNE pp. 155-6.

‘A piece of open land, a plain’, developing to ‘cultivated land, an arable field’, and ultimately just ‘a place’, though in the form of a lenited suffix it generally implies a specialised place in some sense. On the semantic development see Mac Giolla Espáig (1981), also PNRB p. 287 and Williams (1945) p. 32, and for Gaelic magh in place-names, CPNS pp. 550-3.

The word occurs as a simplex Roman British place-name at Magis PNRB pp. 406-7, possibly the fort at Burrow Walls Cmb (Workington), and as generic in a compound at Lit[α]nomagus PNRB p. 394 + fidan- (which see for discussion of the location).

Mathreu BT61 (VII) is a compound with ma- as specifier, + -treβ (with spirant mutation, see LHEB §183, pp. 634-5), compare the Welsh p-n Mathafarn Mtg (Llanawrin). It could, however, be a miscopying of machreu ‘a shed, a pigsty’ (see moch and *crom), which is recorded as a Welsh p-n in the Black Book of Carmarthn (the only possible example in AMR is Mochre Angl). The context implies a coastal location, with gwylein ‘seagulls’, somewhere in the Old North. See PT p. 81. Note also the diminutive form with -īn in eil mehyn BT61 (VII), ‘an enclosure with wattle hurdles’? See PT pp. 85-6.

The line o berth maw ac eidin CT29(XI) might be amended to include a place-name with this element + pert[hl]-, but see under that.

a1) Maghull Lancs (Halsall) PNLanc p. 119, JEPNS17 p. 66 [+ OE hale, dative of halh, here ‘at dry ground in marsh’, Gelling 1984 p. 107, but cf. LPN p. 129]; *may- adopted by OE speakers as *meγ-; or else OE pers. n. *Maga-, or OE mæγðe- ‘mayweed’.

b1) Drevay PLL (Broughton) CPNS p. 363 [+ treβ-: Watson points out ‘what seem to be traces of an old settlement’ here, and there is indeed a major hillfort, with a number of settlement sites around it, on Drevay Hill. Breeze (2006d) associates this place-name with the Arthurian battle-site Tribruit HB56, invoking initial voicing, consonant dissimilation and apocope. The forms from 1577 on Drayway, Dravay, Drevay, suggest OE *draγ-weg ‘draw-way, a haulage-route’: this place is on the short but steep alternative to the ancient route between Clydesdale and Tweeddale over Drevay Hill, see A. James (2009d).

Posso PLL (Manor Valley) + powe:s-, which see for discussion.

Trusmadoor Cmb (Ireby) DLDPP p. 348-9 + drus- or trōs-, see these for discussion [+ OE -dor > ‘door’].
mab (m) and *Mabon*

eCelt *mak*°- > Br map- > OW map > M-MnW mab, OCorn mab > Corn māp, OBret map, mab; PrIr (Ogham) maqqi- > OIr macc > Ir, G, Mx mac.

A connection with IE *mabh-* ‘young’ (which in turn may be related to *məgh[h]-* ‘great’ via the verbal root *magh* ‘be able’, also ‘increase, grow’, see *-a* and *mabhλ*) is likely but not certain: see OlPrIE §12.1, pp. 204-5 and EGOW p. 109.

‘A son, a young man’.

In *Maporitum* PNRB p. 412 + -rid, paired with *Tadoritum* (see *tad*), there is the suggestion of some local legend or religious cult, the ‘son’ and ‘father’ being legendary or divine figures. The location of either place is unknown, but was probably in southern Scotland. See also DCML, p. 176, on the Gaulish ford-goddess, [P]ritona.

Elsewhere, it is seen in the divine or personal name form:

eCelt *mak*°ono- > Br, Gaul (pers. n.) Maponos > OW(LL) (pers. n.) Mabon

‘Great (divine) son or youth’: on the deity so named, see PCB pp. 463-6, DCML p. 140, DCM p. 286. *Maponus* appears on dedications on several Roman altars in the north (RIB 583 Ribchester, 1120, 1121 and 1122 Corbridge, 2063 near Brampton), also on a silver pendant (RIB 2431 Chesterholme/ Vindolanda); see *Locus Maponi* below. He becomes a figure of Welsh folklore and literary legend, and a common personal name: Anglicised *Maban* is the name of the chanter brought from Kent to Hexham by Abba, HE V2 (see LHEB §11 at p. 295 n1).

Note that eCelt *mak*°agno- > W maban, OIr maccán, ‘baby boy, little son’, is related but not identical (see *-an*). The Pictish name *Maphan* AU725 (for 726) is probably a patronymic formation, *map-han*, again not identical (see Jackson, 1955a, p. 145 and ESSH p. 222n7).

*Maban i Gian* CA A9 (IX A) and B11 (XXII B) probably represents an eCelt form with the suffix -ono-, i.e. ‘great son’, rather than the diminutive; this, and his association with *Maen Gwynwr*, probably *maun* + *Gwun gwn* < Venicones, a people of Strathmore or Fife, supports an early origin for such an honorative usage.


*Locus Maponi* PNRB pp. 395-6, and see *Maponus* above ? + log- (see Clancy 2016, pp. 75 – 7) or + luch- (see Rivet and Smith, PNRB loc. cit.): if this is correct, this is probably Lochmaben Dmf, with Gaelicised *loch*.

a1) Mabbin Hall Wml (Levens), with Mabbin Crag Wml (Whinfell), PNWml 1 pp. 92 and 143: [+ ON -haugr > ME –howe]; probably a Scandinavian or English formation, referring to Mabon as a figure in local folklore, or else to a person of that name

c2) Carmaben Lnk (Dolphinton) CPNS p. 367 + cair-: if this is a Cumbric (9th – 12th ct.) formation, *Mabon* here is again likely to be the legendary figure, or otherwise a personal name, and *maban* ‘little son’ is not impossible - it is not necessarily a ‘pagan’ site.

Drumaben MLo (West Calder) PNMLo p. 399 + *drum*.

Lochmaben Dmf: ? + luch-: see *Locus Maponi* above.
Lochmabenstone Dmf (Gretna) CPNS pp. 180-1 + *clog-, Gaelicised [+ OE stān > ‘stone’, Scots stane].
Munmaban Pbl (Kirkurd) CPNS pp. 399-400 + mōniō- or mōnju-, see mōnō- and mōnju for reference and discussion: again, probably a personal name or legendary figure, or maban ‘little son’.

Mabonlaw Rox (Roberton) is an OE (+ -hlāw) or Scots (+ -law) formation, preserving the name Mabon either from a pre-existing Cumbric name, or from local legend, or as the name of some locally significant individual.

*magē:r

Lat māceria > BrLat *macēria, adopted as Br *macērjā- > OW(LL) pl macyrou > M–MnW magwyr, Corn *magoer (in p-ns, CPNE p. 156), OBret macoer > MBret pl magoarou > Bret moger.

See Coates (2005) at p. 49.

'A wall'. The root sense has to do with moistening (cf. Gk másson "knead"), so 'a mortared wall’ may be implied. Ekwall’s interpretation, ‘a ruin’ (PNLanc p. 94), is given as a sense for MnW magwyr in GPC, and as a possible meaning for Magwyr Mmn in DPNW, p. 309. On the other hand, Classical and mediaeval usage of māceria, and Middle Welsh magwyr, is for boundary walls, and ones enclosing or dividing fields, gardens and suchlike plots of land, not for defensive walls or the walls of buildings. As Owen and Morgan, DPNW loc. cit., note, there are important walls at Magwyr.

a1) Makerfield Lanc PNLanc pp. 94-5: a territory including what became the Newton and Warrington hundreds. See Kenyon 1988-9 p. 25, also under coh for discussion of Cochboy and Maserfelth.

mayēs (m)

IE *mag[hl]- (cf. –ma) –st- > eCelt *magentu- > Br *magentu- > OW pl maessid, (LL) mais, > M-MnW maes, M-Mn Corn mēṣ, OBret maes > Bret maez.


Primarily, ‘open land’, an expanse relatively level and free of trees, developing to ‘a field’ in a general sense, though see below regarding 'Moss-' formations.

b1) Ogilface WLo PNWLo p. 97, CPNS p. 378 + ogel- or ūchel-; lenition is regular in a close compound or after a pre-positioned adjective (GMW §20, pp. 15-16), devoiced /l/ may here reflect confusion with early Gaelic fás 'an abode' (see *was), or Gaelic fās 'empty', or dissimilation in Scots, but see Taylor’s discussion of Duniface Fif (Markinch), PNFif2, pp. 425-6.

Watson, CPNS p. 378, suggests that a number of places in south Scotland with 'Moss-' are Brittonic name-phrases with mayēs-; if so, the term may have acquired some specific sense in Cumbric usage such as 'a common, shared field'. However, a few may be ‘inversion compounds’ with Scots moss- ‘marshland’: see MacQueen (1956) at p. 140. Possible Brittonic formations are: Mossbrock Gairy (also Mossbrook) Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 213 + *brīch, see brīth and discussion there.
Mosscolly ELo (Haddington) + -coll-?+ -íg or -őg, Gaelicised as -aich.
Moscow Rnf (Kilmarnock) + -coll.
Moss Derry Kcb (Girthon) ?+ -deru, see dår.
Mossfennon Pbl (Glenholm) CPNS p. 378 + -fönŋ.
Mossmaul Kcb (Twynholm) PNGall p. 213 ?+ -ej,...

See also fin for Macef en Che.

mayl (m)

IE *maγ[h]₁- (zero-grade of *meγ[h]₁- ‘great’, cf. –μa) –l- > eCelt *magalo- > Br, Gaul mag[a]lo- > MW mail > M-eMnW mael, OBret ma[e]l (in pers. ns.); O-MnIr màl, G màl, (also màel in pers. ns.); cf. Lat magnus, Skt mahā-, and from e-grade, OE miċel > ’much’, ON mikill, Gk megálos,

See LHEB§86, pp. 463-6.

‘A chief, a prince, a great man’. The root is associated with ‘growth, increase’, cf. W magu, Bret maga, ‘to feed, nourish, make to grow’ and cf. nab. In place- and personal names, it may be adjectival, literally or metaphorically ‘high’, see Williams (1945) p. 20. See also mě:l, which may be confused with this element.

It occurs frequently in Brittonic personal names, notably on the inscribed stone CIIC498 at Chesterholme Ntb: Brigomaglos (+ brey-), see Jackson (1982b) and CIB i38 p. 127, i48 p. 171, i65 p. 207, i74 p. 221.

It occurs in the fort-name Maglona PNRB p. 407 + -onā-, perhaps a personal or deity-name (used as a river-name?), though the formative –j- might be expected. It was probably the name of the fort at Old Carlisle Cmb.

It may be the first element of Maelmin HE II.10, Milfield Ntb, if –ae- represents neoBrittonic -ay- (cf. LHEB §86 at p. 463); if so, it presumably has an adjectival relationship to the second element of the compound, -mōniō or –min? But see also *mal and mě:l.

It is perhaps present in:

a2) Malzie Burn, with Corsemalzie and Culmalzie, Wig (Mochrum) PNGall pp 78 and 207 + -íg (+ cors-): as a stream-name, this may preserve the root sense of ‘growing’ or ‘nourishing’. Plenmeller Ntb (Haltwhistle) PNNtb p. 158 + blajn- + pl. suffix –ôr: the term mailor occurs in the Welsh Laws as a territorial unit, see mayn, but also mě:l (for mj:lf[ programmes]).

c2) Barmeal Wig (Glasserton) PNGall p. 27 + barr-, or else -mě:l. Mossmaul Kcb (Twynholm) PNGall p. 213 ?+ mayes- [or Anglian OE mos > Scots moss- in ‘inversion compound’ with G màel, perhaps as a personal name, or else with OIr mail > G maol, see mě:l].
mayn (m, earlier n?)

Br *magno- > OW(LL) main > M-MnW maen, M-MnCorn men, MBret me(y)n > Bret maen.

On the gender, see Hamp (1974-6b).

Plural forms vary in Middle Welsh, with *mein alongside meini (the normal MnW form), and, as -ai- and -ei- vary indiscriminately in MW spellings, it is not always possible to distinguish singular from plural in early forms of place-names: see CPNE p. 161, and discussion of Mony brig, Manor, Menzion and Penveny below.

‘A stone’, generally one having some special significance or use.

This, in the Latinised form Magnus (PNRB pp 407-8, and see Jackson (1970) at p. 76), was the name of the Roman Wall fort at Carvoran Ntb. The Latinised form is doubtless on the analogy of the dative plural of *magnus ‘great’, but it implies that the British form was probably plural.

Cloch Minuirc AU and AT, s.a. 717, site of a battle in which Scots of Dalriada defeated Britons (ESSH p. 218), may well have been a boundary-mark: for a possible specifier, see *jurch, and see CPNS p. 387: + *clog-.

Koch sees a place-name in kat ymynuer BT61(VII): he identifies mynuer with Manor Pbl, see below.

‘Man’ occurs frequently in the names given to standing stones, especially in Cumbria, e.g. Knock Old Man Wml (Long Marton) PNWml2 p. 116, Old Man of Coniston Lanc (Coniston) PNlanc p. 195 n2, DLDPN p. 255, and see Dickinson (2005) p. 53: it is hard to say whether Cumbric *main had any influence on these.

a1) Mony brig Wig (Leswalt) PNRGLV pp. 94-5 plural meyi- [+ Scots –brig ‘a bridge’]: MacQueen, PNRGLV loc. cit., gives G muine ‘a thicket’ (see mönju), but the earliest form is Meny brig 1426.

Two important place-names appear to be formed with mayn + plural suffix –ǭr (> MW -awr, an archaic form ‘mostly in early poetry’ GMW §30(b), p. 28). However, the term maenol, in south Wales spelt maenor under the influence of English ‘manor’, occurs in the Welsh Laws as a territorial unit (see GPC s.v. maenor, and LHD p. 363 – whether it is related to mayn is uncertain, but it is possible that such a term is implicated in these names:

a2) Manor, with Manor Water, Pbl CPNS p. 383: Manor was apparently a district-name, from which the river was named, cf. Castleh hill of Manor; if it is * mayn—ǭr, the eponymous ‘stones’ may well have included the early Christian inscribed stone CIIC 511 and a cross nearby of which the base still remains.

a2) Plen meller Ntb (Haltwhistle) PNNtb p. 158 + blajn- + -mayn- + –ǭr, in view of the earliest form Plemmeneure (alongside Playsmaleuere) 1256, but see mayl (noting that mailor also occurs as a territorial unit in the Welsh Laws), and also mę:l (for mę:lbrel[Ɂ]).

Other suffixed forms may include:

a2) Dalmeny WLo CPNS pp. 103-4 and 515 n104, PNWlo pp. 3-4 + din-, plural meini, or + -i:n (cf. MnW meinin ‘made of stone’), but see also *man-.

Menzion Pbl (Tweedsmuir) ? + plural suffix –jön; there is a small stone circle here.

b1) Penveny Pbl CPNS p. 354 + -meyni, lenited plural of mayn: the lenition implies an early compound formation here, perhaps with an appellative usage, ‘end-stones’, marking the
extremity of a boundary (see M. Higham (1999) at pp. 90-1, and under pen[n]) or cf. MnW penfaen ‘headstone of a grave’.

b2) Manhincon Wig (Craiglaw) Brooke (1991) at p. 320 ? + -in- + -cū[n].
b2) Menneting Bridge Wml (Patterdale) PNWml2 p. 226 + -ed [? + ON þing ‘a meeting-place’: there is a standing stone here, A. Walker pers. comm.]
c1) Toathmain Wml (Shap Rural) PNWml2 p. 172, also Tothman Wml (field-name in Soulby) PNWml2 p. 24 ? + -cū[n].
c1) Temon, with Nenthemonou, Cmb (Upper Denton) ERN p. 301, PNCmb p. 81 ? + *dīn- or *tā-:

c2) Dalemain Cmb (Dacre) PNCmb pp. 186-7, DLDPN p. 92 + *dōl- [or else ASand dal- + ON pers. n. Māni or G pers. n. Maine].

Penmanscore Slk (lost) CPNS p. 354 + pen[n]- + -maɣn- [+ OE –scoru ‘a score, a scratch, a carved mark’ (EPNE2 p. 113)]: perhaps, as Watson suggests, an inscribed stone, but note that ‘score’ can mean a boundary-line (see OED s.v. ‘score’ sb. §2OE), so maybe a boundary-stone? However, the absence of evidence for lenition in the recorded form leaves the possibility of an early compound here in doubt (cf. Penveny above).

Patervan Pbl (Drumelzier) + *polter-, or else –ban[n], but either way the lenition would be irregular, so pol- + -terūn seems preferable.

The root-sense has to do with ‘softening’, but the MW adjective mal means ‘rotten, corrupt’, compare the Goidelic verbal root macl- (there is also a MW masculine noun mal or mall, ‘malt’).

Breeze (2001c) proposes this element + -*mīn in Maelmin HE II.10, = Milfield Ntb, but see also mayl and mêl.

*mal

IE *ml(h)j] (zero-grade of *mel(h)i) > MW mal; cf. (IE *ml(h)i)k- or -k”- > ) Olr malc- > G malc ‘rot, putrefy’; cf. (IE *ml(h)i) -d->) Lat mollis ‘soft’, Gmc *malżjan > OE meltan > ‘melt’ (also wk. vb. meltan ‘to melt (grain)’), Gk bradūs ‘slack’, Skt mrdu- ‘soft, tender’.

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a1) Milk, Water of, Dmf, CPNS p. 460, PNDmf p. 112; Watson suggests this root + -k-jā-, cf. Goidelic malc-, but a different formation is involved if the Goidelic had -k”-; Johnson-Ferguson mentions OE meolc used of rich pasture, Smith EPNE2 p. 38 s.v. meolc notes that it occurs in stream-names and may refer to the colour of the water; a Northumbrian OE name is not impossible here, if the secondary name Abermilk were a later Cumbric formation.
*mamm (f)

IE *m₃-₄₄m- (probably reduplicated form of *m₃-₄₃m-) > Br *m₄₃m₄₃ > W mam, Corn mam, Bret mamm; OIr mám, mam > Ir mám, mama, G màm, Mx mam, mamm (but see below); cogn. Lat mamma ‘breast, mummy, granny’, Gk màmmē ‘mummy, granny’.

See Jackson (1969a) at p. 49 and Broderick (2009) at pp. 41-2.

While this formal etymology can be supplied, [mamma] is obviously such a primal articulation that the normal philological principles are hardly applicable.

Apparently both ‘breast’ and ‘mother, mummy’ in the Brittonic languages, though in Modern Welsh and Cornish only ‘mummy’, and it is not used of hills in recorded Welsh, Cornish or Breton. Nevertheless, in place-names, the reference is presumably to breast-shaped hills, cf. bronn.

In the Goidelic languages, the situation is still more complicated, with OIr mám and its descendants having senses of ‘a yoke’ and ‘a handful, a fist-full’ – these may be from a different origin from *mamm – while OIr mam, Middle to Modern Irish mama, ‘a breast’, which are probably from Latin mamma, also appear as mám; mám/màm can also mean ‘a rounded hill’ in Irish and Scottish Gaelic (and also, along with Manx mamm, ‘a blain, an inflamed swelling’), while the sense ‘a breast’ is absent from later Scottish Gaelic and from Manx.

See also mönïδ, mönju, mǭr, and under mūr.

*man-

IE *m₃n- (zero-grade of *men- ‘jut, project’, see mönïδ, *mönju and *mönǭg)

> eCelt *m₁n- > Br *Mon-, Man- (in p-ns), cf. (< IE participial *m₃₇₇m₃₇m₃₆> W mant ‘mouth, lip’; OIr Man- (in p-ns); cf. (< IE o-grade *m₁n₃> O-MnIr, G moniu ‘upper back’; cf. (IE *men-) Latin mentum ‘chin’, prōmineō ‘I project’.

The Indo-European status of this root is supported by Hittite and Avestan forms, see OIPrIE §18.5 at p. 298, but cf. Sims-Williams (2000) at pp 3-4.

See also mönïδ.

The root implies ‘projecting’, especially of facial and other bodily features: in place-names, the sense is presumably ‘outstanding, prominent, high’.

With the suffix –awā-, it is seen in the North in the territorial name Manaw HB14.62, CT59(V) (and probably CT29(XI)), and in OIr forms at AU[582]583, AT[579]583, AU[710]711, AT[710]711, but see LHEB §47(1), pp. 375-6, YGod(KJ) pp. 69–75, and discussion of
Clackmannan under *clog. Elsewhere, a similar form underlies the Isle of Man, *Ellan Vannin (see PNRB pp. 410-11 and DMxPN p xi) and *Ynys Môn, Anglesey (see PNRB pp. 419-20, DPNW p. 17). There are as many as fourteen related place-names in Ireland (Anglicised Mannin etc.: D Mac Giolla Easpaig at SNSBI Conference, Douglas IOM, 7.4.2001). *Manaw, like *Ynys Môn and some of the Irish places, is not outstandingly mountainous, and some other sense seems needed. A deity-name, perhaps associated with water, might be indicated – cf. the legendary personal name *Manawydan/Mannann (see PCB pp. 412 ets, DCML pp. 139-40, DCM pp. 285-6) – or else an ethnic name: see Muhr (2002) at p. 41.

The line *o berth maw ac eidin CT29(XI) might be amended to include a place-name with *pert[h] + *Manaw (but see *pert[h]). In mediaeval Welsh literature generally, especially in the poetry, *Manaw is used of a more-or-less legendary location in the North that could equally well be the Isle of Man or *Manaw Gododdin, but is best not equated with either; see Haycock (2013) pp.10 and 30-1 n44, and Clancy (2013), pp 160-1; this applies, for example, to *mynaw in BT 59 (V), pace Williams at PT p. 63.

The name *Manaw may be preserved in:

c2) Dalmeny WLo CPNS pp. 103-4 and 515 n104, PNWLo pp. 3-4 + *dīn-: early forms may favour *man- with analogical Gaelic genitive sg. –*an, but see also *mayn and -*in. The specifier may be a saint’s, or other personal, name, see A. Macdonald, PNWLo loc. cit., also Taylor’s discussion of Kilmany Fif, 2010 p. 457. However, the territory-name *Manaw is possible here in a Gaelic formation with genitive –*an: contra Watson, CPNS p. 104, Dalmeny could have been close to the eastern end of that territory.

Slamannan WLo CPNS p. 103, WLOPN p. 4, with *sliabh ‘hill-pasture’, again with a Gaelic genitive form –*Mannan.

Clackmannan, across the Forth from our area, is probably + *clog-, Gaelicised *clach-, again with analogical gen. sg. –*an.

Pace Watson and Macdonald (CPNS and PNWLo loc.cits.), there is no overriding reason why all three of these should not have been included in, or affiliated to, the territory of *Manaw. The specifier –*mayn occurs in the earliest forms for Dalmeny and Slamannan; it does occur also in the earliest form for Kilmany Fif PNIFif4 pp. 456-7), which is most unlikely to have been associated with *Manaw, but the origin need not have been the same in all cases.

*mann (m or f)

IE *mendo/eh₂ (zero-grade of *mendo/eh₁) > eCelt *mando/ā- > Br *manno/ā- > W *man, Corn ?nam; cf. OIr *mennar (from the IE e-grade *mende/oh₂? But see DIL s.v.); cogn. Lat *menda, mendum, Skt mindā.

‘A spot, a blemish, a bodily defect’.

A remote possibility in:
c2) Carmunnock Lnk CPNS pp. 196 and 367 + *cajr-, cor- or *cōr- + *ǭg; however, Jackson (1935) at pp. 31 and 59, reads MW *mannog as a variant of *bannǭg, see *bann; see also *mönach.

march (m, also f)

IE(NW) *marko- > eCelt *marco/ā- > Br *marco/ā- > OW *march- (+ suffix) > M-MnW march, Ocorn march > Corn margh, OBret *marh > Bre *marc’h; OIr *marc > Ir, G marc, Mx
mark- (in compounds and as verbal root); cogn. Gmc (N and W) *marΧjōn > OE mearh, *mēre > ‘mare’.

See OIPrIE §9.2 at p. 141, and EGOW p. 110.

‘A horse’. It is unclear how the meaning differed from that of *eb-, cefel, and other words.

The Welsh homophone, or metaphorical use of the same word, march- can mean ‘great, large’ in some place-names and other compounds: see Richards (1967). However, in Marchmont below, and in several of Richards’s examples, ‘horse’ is a reasonable interpretation.

c1) Marchmont Rox CPNS p. 399 + -mōnō: the pronunciation of –ch- and the form –mont show Norman-French influence. A name for Roxburgh Castle, presumably deriving from the site on which it was built. It may have been ‘horse hill-pasture’, but an assembly-place for warhorses is conceivable here. From the castle name are derived the titles of the Earldom of Marchmont (held by a branch of the Hume family), and of one of the Heralds in Ordinary of Scotland (not in use at the time of writing). Marchmont Brw (Polwarth) and MLo (Edinburgh) are transferred names, associated with the earldom.

*með-

IE *[s]me-thr-y- > eCelt *medjo-/ā- > Br, Gaul *medjo-/ā- > M-MnW meidd, mei- in compounds, Crn *með- (in place-names, see CPNE pp. 158-9), OBret –med, -met ; cf. OIr mid > MIr mide > Ir midhe, and OIr med ‘a balance’ > Ir, G meadh; cogn. Lat medius, Gmc *meðja- (and cf. Gmc mīđa- > OE midd- > ‘mid-’, A-Sc mīð-), cf. Gk mēsos, Skt madhya-. See DCCPN p. 25, and LHEB§69, p. 426.

In early Brittonic, a suffix ‘mid-’, in place-names either ‘at the middle of…’ or ‘the central…’. For Continental examples, see ACPN pp. 91-2.

It is seen in the Roman-British place-names:
Mediobogdum PNRB p. 415 (not listed in ACPN) + -būyō, which see.
Medionemetum PNRB pp. 416-17 + -nūed, which see.

For Medgoet in Lebor Bretnach, see *meðgōd.

*medel (f)

IE *h2meh₁, (zero-grade of *h2em- ‘mow’) –t- > eCelt *met- +-elā- > Br *metelā- > [OW – metetic ‘pruned’] > M-MnW medel, OCorn midil; OIr meithel > Ir meithil, eG meithle; cf. (<IE *h₂meh₁-t-) Lat metō, Gmc *mēdwo- > OE mǣdwe > ‘meadow’.

‘Reaping or mowing’ as an abstract noun, also ‘a reaping or mowing party’. Used figuratively of warriors as ‘reapers of enemies’, e.g. of Owain ap Urien in BT67(X), cf. the Latin cognomen Metellus.

Breeze (2002b) at pp 165-6, sees this root -*med, in the sense of ‘warriors’, + *el-, in Elmet, but see under Elμed: the lack of any territorial- or ethnic-naming suffix makes this doubtful.
c2) Drumelzier Pbl CPNS p. 421 + dīn- + -medel- + -wūr, plural of wūr, cf. MnW medelwyr ‘reapers’: again, ‘warriors’ may be implied. Note also Drumalzier, with Drumalzier Greens, Stg (Dunipace) PNFESStg pp. 357 and 227, perhaps a transferred name.

*meðgǭd (f)


Proposed by Coates, CVEP p. 241, for Metcaud, Medcaut HB §§63, 65, i.e. Lindisfarne; in Lebor Bretnach this is Medgoet, which looks like með- + -cē:d, but ‘mid-woodland’ is obviously inappropriate. Coates suggests that *meðgǭd ‘might be regarded here as a conceptual parallel, though not a precise one, to “holy”’ (in Holy Island). It is unparalleled in Celtic toponymy.

*mēɡ-

IE *h₃meigh- > eCelt *mēɡ- > Br *mēɡ- > OW*muig- (cf. W mwygl ‘soft, tender’); cogn. Skt megha- ‘cloud’, and [IE zero-grade *h₃migh- >] Gmc *mīg-staz > OE mist ‘mists’, Gk omikhē ‘cloud’, Skt mih ‘mists’, or else: IE *h₃meigh- > eCelt *mēɡ- etc. as above; cogn. Lat meiō, mict-, Gk omeikhā, Skt mehati, all ‘urinate(s)’.

IE *h₃meigh- means ‘mist, drizzle’, IE *h₃meigh means ‘urinate’.

An ancient stream-name, *mēɡ-etō- (see –ed), may be represented by:

a2) Meggat Water Dmf, with Megdale (Westerkirk) CPNS p. 375, PNDmf p. 134. Megget Water Slk (to St Mary’s Loch) CPNS p. 375. Meggetland MLo (Edinburgh)

But see also *mïɣ[n] for all of these.

Mite R Cmb ERN pp. 294-5, PNCmb p. 22, DLDPN p. 240: this is Ekwall’s proposal in ERN (though not in DEPN(O) s.n.); Watts in DEPN(C) s.n. compares the river-names Migandi in Iceland and Migande in Norway; see Whaley’s full discussion in DLDPN, and Breeze’s alternative proposal under mūchīd.

mę:l (as noun, m or f)

?IE *mai- > eCelt *mai-lo/ā- > Br *mę:l-ō/ā- > OW moil > M-MnW moel, Corn *moyl (in p-ns, CPNE pp. 167-8), M-MnBret moal, Vannetais dial moel; OIr mail > Ir, G maol, Mx meayl.

See LHEB §27(1a) pp. 326-7 and §27(3) pp. 328-30.

The meaning of IE *mai- is unclear: cognates (including E ‘mole, a discoloured spot on the skin’) suggest ‘pollution, soiling’, or perhaps ‘eruption, fermentation’, so the relationship with the Celtic words is uncertain.

‘Bare, bald’: as a noun, used in place-names for a conical hill with a smooth, rounded summit, or one bare of trees. On the meanings and distribution of Gaelic maol, see Murray 2014, pp. 51 and 60 – 2.
In southern Scotland, it is in many cases difficult to determine whether the element is Brittonic or Gaelic. Confusion can also arise with *maïl*, which see.

It is commonly taken to be the first element in *Maelmin* HE II.10 (Milfield Ntb), see B. Cox (1975-6) at p. 24 and Hope-Taylor (1977) pp. 15-16 and n8; Breeze (2001c) questions whether -ae- would have been used by Bede for neo-Brittonic *[ę]*, though Jackson observes (LHEB §27(2A), p. 326) that OE *[ǣ]* was substituted for *[ę]* ‘exceptionally in the Anglian area’ (cf. Mallerstang and Mellor below), and in any case the spelling may well reflect Irish influence, cf. Melrose below. For alternative proposals for *Maelmien*, see *maïl* and *mal*.

a1) In the following cases, OE *maːl* ‘a cross’ *meːle* ‘a meeting, a battle’, or *meːle* ‘stained, multicoloured’ (perhaps a lost stream-name), or an OE personal name *Melli* (cf. *Molli*), are all possible alternatives (see JEPNS17 p. 101):

- Mell Fell, Great and Little Cmb (Hutton) PNCmb p. 212,
- Melfell Wml (Murton) PNWml2 p. 103,
- Both + ON fjall > northern English ‘fell’.
- Meldon Ntb PNNtb p. 140,
- Meldon Hall and Hill Wml PNWml2 p. 109,
- Both + OE dūn ‘a hill’.
- Melling Lanc (Halsall) PNLanc p. 119, JEPNS17 p. 66.
- Both + OE –*ing*.

a2) Watermillock Cmb PNCmb p. 254 + *ǭg* [+ OE weðer or ON veðr, ‘wether’, perhaps replacing *wiːd- + ū[r]-]: there may well be a connection with Little Mell Fell (above).

b1) Falgunzeon Kcb (Kirkgunzeon) PNGall p. 135 + st’s n –Wïnnjan (Cumbric Gwïnnian): the form *Boelwynyn* 1175x85 could be for lenited *moel- with Irish orthographic b- for *[v]*, rather than Maxwell’s G fāl- ‘a garth, pen, fold’: see Brooke (1991), at p. 319, but see also *pol*. On the saint’s name *Wïnnjan*, see Clancy (2001) for discussion of place-names commemorating Winnian and Finnian, and his controversial identification of these with Nynian.

b2) Dunmallard Hill Cmb (Dacre) PNCmb p. 187 + dīn- + + *meːl* + -arδ, or Mlr *dīn- + -ard, but early forms favour Jackson’s suggestion, PNCmb loc. cit., Mlr *dīn-mallacht ‘fort of curses’.

c1) Melrose Rox CPNS pp. 179, 496, PNRox p. 26 + -rōs: *Mailros* in VCuthA and HE III.26 shows Goidelic influence, and, although Melrose is often cited as a classic example of a Brittonic name (e.g. Nicolaelsen SPN² pp. 7-8) an Irish origin is not impossible, cf. Coates’s views on Lindisfarne, CVEP pp. 241-59. *Mellros Barrs* Wml (f.n. in Soulby) PNWml2 pp. xi and 24 + -rōs: but probably from surname Melrose.

A formulaic appellative + *-bre[y]* is common, cf. *Moelfre* (x 7) DPNW p. 324, Mulvra etc. in Cwl, CPNE p. 167 (see also Padel 2013b p. 13):

- Mallerstang Wml PNWml2 p. 13 [+ON –*stong* ‘a pole’, either a wooden stake or a unit of measurement] the –a- implies that *[ę]* was adopted as OE *[ǣ]*, see LHEB §27 (2A), p. 326.
- Mellor Lanc PNLanc pp. 73-4: the earliest form, *Malver* c1130, again implies OE *[ǣ]* for *[ę]*.
- Mellor Drb, close to our southern boundary and later transferred to Che, PNDrb p. 144; also Mellor Knoll Che, PNChe1 p. 169, near Mellor Drb.
- Mellor Knoll YWR (Bowlad Forest Higher) PNYWR6 p. 214: Smith associates this with the surname Mellor, from Mellor Lanc above.

Plenmeller Ntb (Haltwhistle) PNNtb p. 158 + blajn-, but see *mayl* and *mayn*. 
c2) Barmeal Wig (Glasserton) PNGall p. 27, PNWigMM p. 98 + bar[r]-, or else Gaelic –maol, or mayl.
Carnesmoel Wig (= Kirkinner) PNGall p. 171, CPNS p. 182, Brooke (1991) p. 320 ? + -carn or –carnē, or else Gaelic *carnas mhaoil.
Carmyle Lnk (Old Monkland) CPNS p. 367 + carδ- or else Gaelic *carnas mhaul.
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Carnesmoel Wig (= Kirkinner) PNGall p. 171, CPNS p. 182, Brooke (1991) p. 320 ? + -carn or –carnē, or else Gaelic *carnas mhaoil.
Carmyle Lnk (Old Monkland) CPNS p. 367 + carδ- or else Gaelic *carnas mhaul.
below); cf. Lat ēmungō ‘blow one’s nose’, mūcus, Gmc *smuegan > OE smugan ‘slip away from’, Gk apomūssō ‘blow one’s nose’, Skt muñcāti ‘lets slip (a horse, etc).

The etymology is problematic: if the Welsh word is derived as shown above, an exceptional stress-shift seems necessary to explain *mũgen > *mïgen rather than *mõgen > **mï:gen, while Brittonic *mïg and Pritenic *meg may reflect a zero-grade *muc-jo-, the form *meg implying Pritenic u (without i-affection) > e (Jackson 1955, p. 161). See also *mūged.

While the IE root implies various forms of ‘slime, slippery substance or movement’, the Welsh word means ‘a bog, a marsh’. Pritenic *meg seems to have remained in use as a Pictish place-naming element (see CPNS pp. 374-6, PNFif5 pp. 441-2), but south of the Forth it occurs (if at all) only in stream-names:

a1) Meggs Myre Stg (Slamannan) PNFES Stg p. 41 [+ ON myrr > ‘mire’].
Migdale Rnf (Kilmacolm) [+ ME/Scots –dale].

Meggat Water Slk (to St Mary’s Loch) CPNS p. 375 + -ed.
Meggotland MLo (Edinburgh) PNMLo p. 145.
Mennock Water Dmf (Sanquhar) PNDmf p. 116 + -ǭg (possibly –jǭg); given the earliest record is Minnock 1660, Johnson-Ferguson’s suggestion, ‘Gaelic mèineach, abounding in ore or mines’ is ingeniously appropriate.

But see also *mēg-.

Forms that might possibly contain *mũ[y][n] are difficult to distinguish from Gaelic min, which in place-names generally refers to ‘a level plain, a field’ but may also mean ‘soft, boggy’; see also *min:

a2) Mossminning Lnk (Lesmahagow) CPNS p. 378 + -in (a second occurrence of this suffix in the etymological history of the word, this time as a diminutive?), + mayes-, or else Scots moss-, as a secondary formation?
c2) Barmeen, with Barmeen Hill, Wig (Kirkcowan) PNGall p. 27, PNWigMM p. 96 + bar[r]-, or else a Gaelic formation, *bàrr-min.

*mīl (f)

Lat mīlia ‘thousands’, adopted as Br *mīliā- > MW myl > W mil, M-MnCorn myl, M-MnBret mil; O-MnIr mile, G mile, Mx milley.

Nowadays, ‘a thousand’, but in earlier usage probably ‘thousands, a great number, a host’. It falls together in Welsh with mil ‘a soldier’ (< Latin miles).

Proposed by Breeze (2000b) in: c2) Carmyle Lnk (Old Monkland) + cajr- or carn-: if this is Caruil in the Inquisition of David (see Durkan (1986) at pp 279 and 290), that shows lenition, absent from the present-day form. But see also mē:l.
*mïμεd (m or f?)

IE *meh(i)-met- > eCelt *mimet- > Br *mimeto- or –jā; cogn. Skt mimāti ‘bleats’, and cf. Gk mimikhmós ‘a neigh’.

The cognates (see OIPrIE §21.3, pp 359-63) suggest a wide range of sounds made by humans or animals; in a stream-name, figuratively perhaps ‘speaking, murmuring or mumbling’.

Ekwall, ERN pp. 293-4, proposed this as an ancient river-name in:
a1) Mint, R Wml PNWml 1 p. 11: the preservation of the internal nasal [m-] (> [n-] before [-t-]) implies early adoption by English speakers, when the nasality was still apparent: see LHEB §§98-100, pp 486-95.

*mïn (m, also f?)

?IE *mïn- (zero-grade of *mend- ‘suckle’) > eCelt *mand- > Br, Gaul mand-, mann- > M-eMnW myn, Corn myn; OIr menn.

SeeACPN pp. 89-90, DCCPN p. 24, and PNRB pp. 411-12 s.n. Manduessedum.

‘A kid’

Breeze (2006c) suggests a plural form, + -ű cf. MW mynneu, in:
Nenthemenou Cmb (Midgeholme) Lan Cart 9 etc + neint- (see nant) + -[r]-.

Some names with ‘min’ listed under mõnõ could conceivably have this element.

*mïn (m)


‘A lip’ or ‘a sharp edge’, in place-names ‘edge, brink’, perhaps 'tip' (see CPNE p. 167).

This is favoured by Coates (in preference to mõnõ, which see) in Maelmin HE II.10 (Milfield Ntb), + mayl-, *mal-, or mçl-; see also Breeze (2001c).

It is possible in:
Mindork Wig PNGall p. 211 + -turch, or else mõnõ or mõnju, or Gaelic *muine-d'Torc (with eclipsis - dental mutation – which would be notable here, see ÓMaolalaigh (1998) at pp. 25-30).

See also *mïyn[n] for Barmeen and Mossminning.

moch (m, also f)

eCelt *mocco- > Br, Gaul mocco- > OW(LL)-MnW moch, MCorn mogh > Corn moh, OBret moch > Bret moc ‘h; OIr muc(c) > Ir, G, Mx muc, Mx also muck.
‘Pigs, swine’: in the Brittonic languages, collective.

If Mathreu BT61(VII) should be read *Mochreu (see PT p. 81), it is a compound + -*cröw, which see, but also -*ma.

c1) Mochrum Wig PNGall p. 212, also Mochrum Kcb (Parton) ibid., and Mochrum Hill Ayrs (Kirkoswald) ? + -drum, which see, and see also Brooke (1991a) at p. 320.
Muckra Slk CPNS p. 138, and Muckraw WLo CPNS p. 147, PNWLo pp. 96-7, are probably Gaelic, but possibly relating to a Brittonic formation + -*cröw or –rǭd: see under both of these.

c2) Powmuck Burn Dmf (Eskdalemuir) PNDmf p. 38 + pol-, again probably Gaelic.

möi

IE (*mōghr, lengthened o-grade form of *meghr, ‘great’, + comparative suffix >) *mā-jōs > eCelt *mājōs > eBr *mājōs > lBr *mōjis (or eBr *māiōs > lBr *maijōs) > OW mōi > MW moe, mui > W mwy, Corn moy, OBret mōi; OIr mó, mão > Ir –mó, G –mó, Mx -moo; cf. Lat maior, Skt mahiya.

See LHEB§38(B), pp. 356-8, and §47(2D), p. 380.

‘More’, comparative of maur ‘great’: in early place- and ethnic names, the sense may be ‘very great’ or (especially if a deity-name is involved) be associated with growth and increase.

Maia PNRB pp. 408-9, the fort at Bowness-on-Solway Cmb, is either feminine singular, perhaps a deity-name (cf. the cult of Maia in Rome, see OCD s.n.), or else neuter plural: see PNRB loc cit.

Maetae PNRB p. 404, with the ethnonymic suffix –atai, were a people, or confederation of peoples, in the central Forth valley. They were presumably the Miathi referred to by Adomnán, VC I.18, and their name may well be preserved in:

a1) Myothill Stg (Denny) CPNS p. 59, PNFESStg pp. 309-10, as well as in Dumyat across the Forth.

mölin (f)

LLat molīna adopted as lBr *molīna- > OW (or OBret?) pl melinon > M-MnW melin, O-MCorn melin > Corn belin (CPNE p. 160), OBret molin > MBret melin, millinn- > Bret milin, Vannetais dialect melin; adopted from Brit as OIr muleend > Ir,G muleann, Mx mwyllin.

See LHEB§157 pp. 581-3, §166(2) pp. 595-6, §171, p. 605, EGOW p. 112.

‘A (water-powered) mill’.

This may be present in:
b2) Molendinar Burn Lnk (Glasgow) CPNS p. 386: the second element is obscure. Mellingdenor in VK(J) is a locus, not a stream-name, but it might refer to the mill (or pl) after which the burn was named. A Goidelic origin, or at least influence on the form, cannot be ruled out.
*molt (m)

eCelt *molt- > Br *molt- > M-MnW moltt, O-MnCorn mols, MBret mout > Bret maout; OIr molt ‘a ram’ > Ir molt, G mult.

‘A wether, a castrated ram’ – in the North, ‘a wedder’ - though in earlier usage it was perhaps, as in OIr, ‘a ram, a tup’. In place-names, the reference might be to an annual ‘noutgeld’, a levy in kind.

c2) Caermote Cmb (Torpenhow) PNCmb p. 326 + cajr-; but recorded too late for any certainty. Carmalt Cmb (Workington) PNCmb p. 455 + cajr-; again, only a late record. Knockmulf Kcb (Rerwick) PNGall p. 184 + *cnuc[h]-. Gaelicised, if not Gaelic in origin. Dinmont Lair Rox CPNS p. 372 + ?:: may be from Scots (and northern English) dinmont ‘a wether between first and second shearing’; this word appears as dinmult in a St. Andrews document of 1202, indicating that Gaelic mult is the second element, though the first element is obscure, and a P-Celtic formation may underlie it; see PNFif5 p. 662 with n15, and cf. Drumdymmond Fif (Wemyss) ibid.1 p. 580, but see also din and mónìò.

*môn (m)

Br *mâno- > M-MnW mawn; cf. OIr món > Ir món, G mòine, Mx moanee.

‘Peat, moss, turf’

c2) Artemawh Cmb (Brampton) Lan Cart ? + arð- + -i[r]-: A. Walker, pers comm., suggests reading –mawn.

*mônach (m), manach

Gk monachós, adopted as Latin monachus, adopted as lBr *monacho- > M-MnW mynach, also OW(LL) pl meneich > W manach, Corn manah, Bret monac’h, manac’h; O-MnIr, G manach, Mx managh.

*Mônach was probably a more ‘correct’ form than vowel-harmonised manach and comparable forms in Cornish, Breton and the Goidelic languages, though the preservation of [-ɛ] even in the latter reflects ‘learned’ influence: see LHEB§62, p. 412.

‘A monk’: ‘in place-names, the singular seems to stand for the plural’ Padel, CPNE p. 156.

c2) Barmulloch Rnf + bod- + -i[r]-, Gaelicised, but perhaps not Gaelic mullach ‘top, summit’ in origin, in view of -monoc in 12th ct forms, recording a grant of Malcom IV 1153x65. Romanno, with Romanno Bridge and Romanno Grange, Pbl (Newlands) CPNS pp. 153-4 ? + rõd- (see discussion under rød), but Gaelicised and possibly Gaelic in origin. This was a grange of Holyrood Abbey from the mid-12th century, and Newbattle Abbey held land here at the Reformation, but a ‘Celtic’ monastic property may have preceded it. See CPNS loc. cit., Durkan (1986), and D. Hall (2006) p. 157. Carmunnock Lnk CPNS pp. 196 and 367 + cajr-, cor- or *côr- + -ǭg. but see also bann and mann.
mönιð (m), mïnïð

IE *mon- (o-grade of *men- ‘jut, project’, see man-, *mönju and *mönõg) > eCelt *mon- + -iJo- > Br *moniðo- > IBr monedo- (in pers. n., CIC413) > OW(LL) minid > M-MnW mynydd. M-MnCorn meneth (see CPNE pp. 163-4), OBret mened > M-MnBret menez; adopted from Pict or Cmbc into eG as monid, moned > G monadh; cogn. Lat mons, montis.

See LHEB §, pp. 272-3, §38(A), pp. 348-56, and §§201-5, pp. 664-81, and CIB i13, p. 23 and n8, i15 at pp. 35-6, i26 at pp. 88-90, i84 at p. 231. Note that Jackson (1968-9) at p. 49 favoured mïnïð as the headword, but in accordance with the general policy for the present work, and reflecting the majority of early forms for likely examples in the North, neoBritt mïnïð is used here: mïnïð may be regarded as the Cumbric form (late 9th – 12th cts).

Firstly, ‘a prominent hill or ridge’, extending to ‘an extensive tract of upland, hill-ground, heath-moor’, typically, though not necessarily, used for rough grazing; later it came to mean ‘common unenclosed pasture’, typically, but not necessarily, upland pasture. For discussion of the tension between the topographic and pastoral senses, see Taylor in Uses at p. 3 and Barrow in ibid. at pp. 62-7, and compare the range of senses listed in GPC s.v. mynydd. Watson, CPNS p. 390, suggested that its adoption and survival in Gaelic as monadh showed ‘lack of a handy synonym’, but Taylor’s discussion of Gaelic sliabh (2007) pp. 99-136 calls this in question.

Latin mont- was adopted into OE by the late 9th ct (in the OE Orosius and the Alfredian Cura Pastoralis) as munt, later reinforced by Old French mont > English ‘mount’. The meaning in the Brittonic languages was probably further modified in later mediaeval and modern times by the influence of Latin mons and these derivatives. English/ Scots ‘mount’ is of course associated with ‘mountain’, but mïnïð certainly needs not imply any great height.

It is rarely possible to be sure that a place-name in the North has mïnïð rather than Gaelic monadh or one of the Old French or English/ Scots forms referred to above, though mediaeval and modern forms with ‘mon’, mont’ or ‘mount’ may disguise original Brittonic simplex names (for example in the group of ‘Mount’ names in the south-east Pentlands, near Mendick). Forms with ‘min’ or ‘mon’ may also be from *mïn, *mïn or *mönju, which see.

A number of place-names with this element are found in literary and historic sources associated with the Old North:

Arvynyd BT60(VI) + ar-: it is paired with Argoet (see çę:d) to name the extremes of the territory from which Owain summoned his forces, but the location of either place is pure guesswork.

Calchuynid, + çalch, in the Middle Welsh form of a personal name in the genealogy of the Gwýr y Gogledd, and in MW verse in BT: Watson, (CPNS p. 343) endorsed Skene’s identification of this with Kelso, but Jackson (1955b) at p. 83, was very doubtful.

Maelmin, HE II.10, Milfield Ntb, ?+ mayl-, mal- or me:l-, but see discussion under these, and also mïn.

Minit Eidyn CPNS p. 341: associated with, but not necessarily an alternative name for, Din Eidyn, Edinburgh, see Ëðin.

Mynydd Bannawg in Culhwch ac Olwen line 597 (English ed Bromwich and Evans, 1997, see pp. 123-4 for notes): see ban[n], and note that mynydd is a poetic appellative here, not necessarily an actual place-name.

Mynydawc Minuaur in CA X,XI (10,11) etc. + çog: Koch, YGod(K), pp xlvi-xlvii, argues that this is not a personal name but a place-name or a poetic appellative, perhaps for Din Eidyn, but see Padel (1998) at p. 50, along with references in Haycock (2013) p. 38 n94.
preserves an earlier name of the Gilston Burn.

Polmont, with Polmont Hill, Stg CPNS p. 400, PNFEStg p. 39 + Pethmont

origin:

Kilmond YNR is recorded as Kinmount Tower Dmf (Canonbie), but this may be a transferred name.

Kinmont Cmb (Corney) PNCmb pp. 364 –

Great Kinmond Wml (Orton) PNWml 2 p. 47.

Kilmond YNR is recorded as Kinemund PNYNR p. 305, but is less likely to have a Brittonic origin: it might be a transferred name.

Pethmont Ayrs (Hawkhill) CPNS p. 400 + pett- : probably a Gaelic formation.

Polmont, with Polmont Hill, Stg CPNS p. 400, PNFEStg p. 39 + pol- , if not Gaelic; it probably preserves an earlier name of the Gilston Burn.
mönju (f)

IE *mon- (o-grade of *men- ‘jut, project’, see man- and *mönǭg) > eCelt *mon + -owiā- > Br *monowiā- > OW (LL) Minuensis ecclesia, Menevia (p-n, = St Davids/ Tyddewi Pmb) > W Mynyw; OIr cell Muini (p-n) > M-MnIr, G muine, (in p-ns), Mx muinney.

See LHEB §47.2(A), at p. 378. For Goidelic p-ns, see CPNS pp. 200 and 498, IPN p. 124, DUPN pp. 108-10 DMxPN p. 213.

The root implies a hill-word, but in Celtic languages today, ‘brushwood, bush, scrub, thicket’.

Forms with ‘Mon-’ may preserve a Cumbric form with a still-rounded vowel, though the influence of Gaelic monadh is more likely, and in any case such forms are indistinguishable from those from mōnīō.

However, Breeze (2004), pp. 121-3, favours this element in several place-names listed under mōnīō (b2), viz. Minigaff Kcb, Minnygap Dmf, Monynut ELo and Munmaban Pbl; others under that heading where this may be relevant include Mumrills Stg.

*mönǭg (m)

IE *mon- (o-grade of *men- ‘jut, project’, see man-, mōnīō and *mönju) > eCelt *mon- + -āco- (see –ǭg) > Br *monāco- > MW mynauc > eMnW mynawg, OCorn –monoc (in pers. n.), OBret – monoc (in pers. ns.).


Literally, ‘an outstanding man’, so ‘a nobleman, a prince’; also used adjectival, ‘noble, princely’.

Possibly in:

c2) Carmunnock Lnk CPNS pp. 196 and 367 + cajr-, but see discussion under *mann.

mōr (m)

IE *mori- > eCelt *mori- > Br, Gaul mori- > OW mor- in a compound, and (LL) mor > M-MnW mōr, Pictish mūr (see PNFi1 p. 41and ibid.3 p. 593), O-MCorn mor, OBret mor- in compounds > M-Mn Bret mor; O-MnIr, G muir, Mx moor; cogn. Lat mare, Gmc *mari- > OE mere > ‘a mere’.

See also *merin, and see OIPrIE §8.3 pp. 125-7, and ACPN pp. 92-3.

In the Celtic languages, ‘the sea’, though in early usage it might possibly have referred to large bodies of water inland. For northern examples in mediaeval Welsh literature, see Haycock 2013, pp.25-6, nn32, 34 and 35.
Morikambé eíschysis  PNRB pp. 40-1 + -cam[b], which see: probably Morecambe Bay Lanc, though the modern name is an antiquarian revival, see PNLANC p. 176 n1.

Vindomora  PNRB pp. 502-3 + wînn-: Ebchester Drh. Rivet and Smith favour ‘a broadening of the river water, or a small lake’, and Watts, DDrhPN p. 37 gives ‘bright waters’, but Jackson’s doubts, (1970) at p. 81, are justified: there is no trace of any substantial body of water here. See also ACPN p. 92 n44.


mór

IE(WC) *meh-· ‘grow’ + -ro- > eCelt *māro-/ā- > Br, Gaul māro-/ā- > O-MW maur > MnW mawr, OCorn muer > Corn meur, OBret mor > Bret meur; OIr mór > Ir mòr, G mòr, Mx moar; cf, from IE o-grade, ON mærr ‘famous, great’ (of persons).

See OIPrIE §19.2 at p. 320, EGOW p. 110, and LHEB §11, pp. 293-6, and §13 pp. 299-301.

‘Large, great’.

Not common in place-names in the North, and hard to distinguish Brittonic from Goidelic.

c2) Cairnmore Wig (x2: Kirkmaiden and Mochrum)  PNGall p. 55  + carn-, but probably Gaelic * càrn-mòr.
Cairnsmore Kcb (x3: of Carsphairn, Dee and Fleet) PNGall p. 55  + carneδ-, which see, but probably Gaelic *carnas-mòr.
Clockmore Slk (Yarrow)  + *clog-, but Gaelic *cloch-mòr is likely.
Mumrills Stg (Polmont) PNFEStg p. 35  ? + mònιǭ- or *mònju- + locational suffix –el, or else Gaelic monadh-mòr [+ in either case a locational suffix –el [+ Scots plural –is, or else –hyllis ‘hills’], but see *mamm and mùr; recorded forms allow little confidence.
Pillmour Burn ELo  + pol-, which see.

*morβ

IE *mer-· ‘die’ + -b- > eCelt *merbo-/ā- > Br *merbo-/ā- > M-MnW merf; OIr meirb > Ir,G meirbh; cf. (from IE o-grade *mor-) Gmc *marw- > OE mearu ‘tender, soft, delicate’.

W merf means ‘insipid, lifeless’.

Breeze (2001a), pp. 21-5, suggests that this is represented at Morbio (PNRB p. 420), possibly either Piercebridge Drh or Greta Bridge YNR. If so, it is an o-grade variant of Brittonic *merβ, comparable to Gmc *marw- (see above); such a variant is conceivable as an early stream-name, the meaning would presumably be something like ‘weakly flowing’. Breeze further proposes that the stream in question is the Dyance Beck at Piercebridge, which is < ODan dyande ‘marshes’ (DDrhPN p. 36).
müchïd or müchïð (m)

?OW muhit > MW muchyd, also MW muchud > W muchudd.

The etymology is obscure: see EGOW p. 115. muhit may be OBret rather than OW, see LHEB p. 64, but cf. EGOW loc. cit. The inconsistency in forms of the final syllable is, in any case, baffling.


Breeze, CVEP pp. 70-1, proposes this for:
a1) Mite, R Cmb ERN pp. 294-5, PNCmb p. 22, DLDPN p. 240, but note Whaley’s objections in DLPN, and see *męg.

*müged (f)


The Celtic verbal root *mūc- seems to mean primarily ‘smother, asphyxiate’, and as a verbal noun, ‘smoke, steam, fog’. Its semantic range may reflect the falling–together in early Celtic of IE(NW) *(s)muk(h)- above with the zero-grade of another IE(NW) root, *meug-, with the sense ‘conceal’, so ‘smother’; *(s)meug- (see *mïyn) may also have been involved (compare OlPrIE §8.2 at p. 125, §20.8 at p. 340, §20.9 at p. 348 and §22.14 at pp. 400-1). The relationship between this Celtic root and Scots mug, English ‘muggy’ and Scandinavian mugga is likewise unclear, but there is surely some connection.

To complicate matters further, the suffixed form falls together in MW with myged ‘honour, respect, glory’, < Br *miceto- < eCelt *mic- + -eto- (? < IE *meig/k- ‘blink’, cf. Lat micāre ‘flash, flicker’). The M-MnW use of myged for ‘incense’ seems to combine the senses of both etymons.

While ‘glory’ may be a more desirable meaning, ‘mist’, or possible ‘concealment’, is likely to be entailed by the form Mocetauc AC (only in BL Harley ms3859). Since Skene, this battle-site has been identified as:
a2) Mugdock Stg (Strathblane) + -ōg: see Macquarrie (1993).

mūr (m)

Lat mūrus, adopted as Br *mūro- > O-MW mūr > MnW mūr, not recorded in Cornish, MBret mūr; O-MnIr mūr, G mūr.

‘A wall’, typically a substantial masonry wall. Readily confused with Scots mūr ‘moor’. 
c2) Carmuirs Stg (Larbert) CPNS p. 370 + cajr- [+ Scots plural –is, referring to Easter and Wester Carmuirs]; the site of a Roman fort immediately north of the Antonine Wall.
Mumrills Stg (Polmont) PNFEStg p. 35 ? + *mamm-, which see, + locational suffix -el [+ Scots plural –is]: an Antonine Wall fort. Recorded forms give little support for this proposal, see also mōr.
Pennymuir Rox (Oxnam) CPNS p. 354, PN Rox p. 31 + pen[n]- + -i[r]-: close to the watershed now forming the Anglo-Scottish border, so perhaps a boundary name, see under pen[n]: there are major Roman and other earthworks here, though the only stone structures appear to be dry-stone walls of unknown antiquity; see under -i[r]- for discussion of date of the name-formation.
nant (m or f)

IE *nm-t- (zero-grade of *nem-, see *nijed) > eCelt *nantu- > Br, Gaul nanto- > OW -nant > M-MnW nant, O-MnCorn nans, Bret ant; cogn. Skt namati ‘bends, bows’.

See LHEB §107, pp. 502-5, DCCPN p. 26 (also p. 168 s.n. Nemausus), EGOW p. 129 (s.v. pennant), and ACPN pp 93-4.

The Indo-European root-sense is ‘bend, bow, sink down’, so in the Brittonic languages, ‘a valley’. A feminine form *nantā- underlies Modern Welsh nant (f) ‘a brook’, and this may well be present in stream-names in the North. However, the difficult case of Nanny Burn (see below), and the several forms with nent, raise the possibility of a northern Brittonic hydronym *nantjo- or *nantjōn-. Alternatively, nent might in some cases preserve a genitive singular or nominative plural form (Watson, CPNS p. 390 discussing Tranent ELo, gives neint as a plural form, though this is not among those listed in GPC), or be due to reduction in unstressed positions in Anglicised forms: see ERN pp. 319-20 s.n. Pant for Ekwall’s discussion.

a1) Nent R Cmb (also settlement name in Alston) PNCmb pp. 22, 175, ERN p. 300: as a simplex, presumably a hydronym *nantjo- or *nantjōn as above.

a2) Nanny Burn Ntb (near Bamburgh) PNNtb s.n., ERN p. 298: if this is from *nantjōn-, adoption from Brittonic into Old English must have been later than OE i-mutation (and assimilation of Brittonic nt > nh, LHEB §§107-8, pp. 502-8), but earlier than West Brittonic internal i-affection (LHEB §174(2), p. 612), so presumably in the earliest phase of Northumbrian settlement during the 6th century. However, note that Coates, CVEP p. 366, lists it as ‘ancient’, not Celtic. Cf. the two rivers Nanny in Ireland (Co Galway and Co Meath)?

b1) Sechenent Cmb (lost field-name in Midgeholme) PNCmb p. 73, ERN p. 355, LanCart 189-90 etc. + sīch-, which see for discussion: -nent may be reduced in low-stress here.

b2) Enterkine Ayrs (Tarbolton), and Enterkin Burn and Pass Dmf (Durrisdeer) PNDmf p. 33, *neint- + -i[r]+ -can[d] ‘white’, -cant ‘boundary’, or a stream-name of the cę:n type (perhaps with ‘incorrect’ definite article, see under i[r]).

Lamplugh Cmb PNCmb pp. 404-5 + bluch: on Lan/m- for Nan[t]-, see Quentel (1955), pp. 81-3, and Padel (1980-2), pp. 523-6, and in CPNE, pp 143-4 and 170. Nenthemenou Cmb (upper Denton) ERN p. 301, LanCart 9 etc. + -Temon- (PNCmb p. 81, presumably this was originally a stream-name: see dīn, tā and mayn), or + -i[r]- + -min- (Breeze (2006c) at p. 330, not mentioning Temon), + plural suffix -ōū [or ME -howe]: nent- is again difficult to explain.

c2) Tranent ELo CPNS p. 360, SPN² p. 214 + torr- (which see) or treβ- + i[r]-: Watson sees -nent as plural (see above), but here it could be an archaic genitive singular, or a lost stream-name.

Poltinan Cmb (now Castle Beck, Naworth) PNCmb p. 8 + polter-, which see: presumably a phrasal formation, with nant in genitival relationship to polter-; but see also terμïn.
*neð (f)

IE *knit− (zero-grade of *kónid− ‘dust’) > eCelt *snedā− > Br *nedā− > M-MnW nedd, Corn nedh, MBret sgy nezhen; OIr sned > Ir sniodh, G sneadh; cogn. Gmc *χnitō− > OE hnitu > ‘nit’, cf. Grk kónis ‘dust’.

‘Nits, louse-eggs’.

Proposed by Breeze (2004), pp. 121-3, in:
c2) Monynut ELo (Oldhamstocks) CPNS p. 399 + mōnju-, or mōnīo-.

*nejth

IE *neig−t− > eCelt *nicto-/ā− > Br *neχto-/ā−; OIr necht > Ir, G nighte, Mx nieet; cogn. Gk (a)niptos ‘(un)washed’, Skt nikta− ‘washed, purified’.

See OIPrIE §22.9, pp 389-90, and, for developments in Brittonic, LHEB §60, pp 407-11. See also *niō.

The etymology is problematic, as IE *gʷ normally gives eCelt b: gʷt may have become gt and been generalised through verbal forms (e.g. OIr nigid ‘washes’).

The root is verbal, ‘to wash, to cleanse’, the form with –t- being the past participle, ‘washed, purified’.

The personal name *Nechtano- > Pictish Nehhton, Cumbric or Pictish Neitano > Neithon (Irish-influenced Nec(h)tan), Middle Welsh Nwyth(y)on, was popular among Christian rulers and churchmen in the North, especially among the Picts. For discussion see CPNS p. 211, LHEB loc. cit. and p. 708 (note to p. 410), also Jackson (1955a) at pp 145, 164-5, 173-4 and 176, and in YGod(KJ) p. 48n1, C. Thomas (1994) pp. 178 and 182 n31, CVEP pp 97-9, and CIB i51 p. 179, declaring ‘NEITANO is likely to be a Pictish form’. Forms of this name are probable or possible in Cambusnethan Lnk, + *cambas- (see cam[b]), and Carnytne Lnk+ *carr− + -an or -in (but see below).

In river-names:

a1) Nith R CPNS pp. 27, 55 and 514 (note to p. 55), which see for discussion, also PNDmf pp. 25-6; but see nōwīō.

a2) Carnytne Lnk ? + *carr− + -an, or else carn- (which see) + -eithin: but see above, also *carden and carneō.

Nethan R Lnk CPNS pp. 210-11, SPN² p. 228 + -an.


Note: Poltreneth Burn Ntb (Falstone) PNNtb p. 160 is probably an error for Poutreuet, arising from confusion with Polterheued and Powterneth Beck, both nearby in Cmb: see under pol and polter.
*ness (f)

IE *ned- + -st- > eCelt *nestā-. Br *nestā-; cf, from a-grade *nad-, German nass ‘wet’, Greek nótiōs ‘wet’, Skt nadi ‘flowing water, a river’.

An ancient or early Celtic hydronymic word, falling together with ON nes ‘a headland’, but perhaps present in:

a2) Lessnessock Ayrs (Ochiltree) MacDonald (1987) p.42 ? + lis[s]- + -ōg, but see under lis[s].

Denis Burn Ntb (near Hexham) ERNp. 120 + duð- or duð[i]n, but see LHEB §67(7-8), pp 421-4, and §204(B1), pp 6.

*nīð

IE ? *nid- (zero-grade of *neid-) > eCelt *nido-/ā- > Br *nido-/ā-.

The etymology of the family of river-names that includes Nidd YWR and Neath Glm, as well as at least six in northern Continental Europe, is very uncertain. Supporters of the ‘Old European’ hypothesis favour an IE root as above, meaning either ‘flow’ or ‘shine’ (in the latter case, a relationship with *nejth might be possible). However, there is a lack of convincing non-hydronymic cognates to support this. For discussion of British examples, see PNRB p. 425 (on Nidum, Neath Glm) and Kitson (1996) at p. 94; Taylor’s discussion of the ethnonym Niduari, PNFi5 pp. 494-6 anent Newburn Fif, should also be consulted.

a1) Nidd R. YWR PNYWR7 pp. 132-3, ERN pp 302-3; on the date of adoption into English, see LHEB §35(2) at p. 343. For an alternative etymology, see Breeze (2000d), pp 27-33.

Some river-names under *nejth might involve this element.

nīμed (neuter, later f)

IE *nem- (see nant) > eCelt *nem- + -ēto-/ā- (see ed) > Br, Gaul nemēto-/ā- > OW(LL) nimet > MW niued > eMnW nyfed ‘strength’. OCorn *neved (in p-ns, CPNE p. 172). MBret nemet ‘a wood’; O-MIr nef[i]med > Ir, G neimheadh, neimhidh; cognates Lat nemus, Gk nēmos, Skt namati ‘bows, worships’.


If the above etymology is correct, the root-sense is ‘to bow’, with connotations of ‘submit oneself to, worship’. However, in West and Central Indo-European, this and related forms refer to ‘a sacred grove’; for such groves in pagan Celtic cultures, see DCML p. 108 and PCB pp 59-65. In Brittonic toponymy, the pagan connotations seem to have remained (see CPNE p. 172 for Cornish examples, and PNFi5 p. 454 for possible Welsh ones), but the word seems to have been adopted from P-Celtic by Middle Irish/ early Gaelic speakers and used by them (especially in
Pictland) to refer to Christian sites, and subsequently to Church landholdings and consecrated ground (see CPNS pp 247-50, Barrow 1998b, and in Uses, pp 56-9, Taylor PNFif3 pp. 499-500 and ibid. 5 pp. 452-5, the last questioning Barrow’s view that places so named were necessarily pagan sites appropriated to Christian use).

Ancient examples in the North include: *Medionemetum* PNRB pp 416-17 + *með-*: a fort somewhere in central Scotland, perhaps midway along the Antonine Wall (maybe the one at Castlecary EDnb), but a place perceived as ‘central’ by pre-Roman Celtic speakers is at least as likely. *Nemthur, Nemptor*, in Fiacc’s hymn to St Patrick (late 8th ct?): scholia on this hymn in the *Vita Tripartita* identify this place with *Ail Cluaide* (Dumbarton), while the *Vita Quarta* places it ‘in the plain of *Campus Taburniae*’, and interpret its meaning as ‘heavenly tower’ (CPNS pp. 246-7, DIL s.v. nemed). However, it is probably from *nemēto-dūron*: there may well have been a connection with the territory called *Neveth*, see Rosneath below.

While Taylor (PNFif5 p. 454) takes the view that ‘it is quite possible that our place-names in Scotland, in the light of their distribution, are of British and Pictish rather than Gaelic origin’, the two examples in our region leave the question open:

a1) Newholmhope Pbl (Manor), earlier *Neuway, Newey* [+ OE –hop, here ‘enclosed valley’ of Newholmhope Burn]; Gaelicised or Gaelic in origin, but this is the location of the 6th cent. (1st half) CONINIE stone CIIC 511, so the place-name may well refer to a site or landholding with pre-Gaelic Christian origins; see Barrow 1998b, and in Uses loc. cit. (though the question is complicated by the fact that the inscribed name appears to be a Latinised form of Old Irish *Conind*, see CIB ǂ48 n922, and for the dating, ibid. p. 363).

c2) Rosneath Dnb CPNS pp 55 and 246 + ros-, but, again, could well be Gaelic: this was apparently part of a territory called *Neveth* c1199, *Neved* 1225, which included the Rosneath peninsula, and probably extended west of Gare Loch, and south towards Cardross (Watson CPNS loc. cit., and see Nemthur above); around 1200, the territory was in the King’s gift, it is impossible to say whether it was an earlier Church landholding, or had any pre-Christian significance.

**nöwïð**

IE*new* > eCelt *now-jo-ā/* > Br, Gaul novio-, novijo- > lBr *nowiðo-/ā/* > OW nouid, neguid > MW newyd > W newydd, M-MnCor noweth, newyth, OBret nouuid, neuaid > Brez nevez; OIr *niāe* > Ir nua, G nuadh, Mx noa; cogn. Lat nōvus, Gmc *nujaiz* > OE nēowe > ‘new’, Gk nēos, Skt nāvas.

See LHEB §38(A1) pp 348-51, §48(2) p 384, and §171(2) pp 605-6, and EGOW p 122, and ACPN pp. 95-6.

‘New’. In ethnic and river names, perhaps ‘fresh, lively, vigorous’: see CPNS p. 27.

This is the basis of the ethnic name *Novantae*, + participial suffix –ant- (see –and): see PNRB pp 133-4 and 425. *Wyr e nouant* CA LXVII (A40) is taken by Koch, YGod(JK) pp lxxxii-iii, to refer to these people, although Williams reads *nofant* ‘blood-stained’, see Clancy (2013) pp. 159 and 173 n43. On the possibility that the eponym of *Kaer Nefenhir* in a poem to Llywelyn the Great by Prydydd y Moch (c. 1215) is *Novantorix*, ‘ruler of the Novantae’, see Haycock 2013 p.14.

a1) Nith R Dmf/ Kcb PNRB pp 133-4 and 428, CPNS pp. 27, 55 and 514 (note to p. 55), PNGall p. 217, PNDmf pp. 25-6: if the Classical forms, Ptolemy’s *Nouuiou (potamoĩ ekbolai)* and
Ravennas’ [Pai]novius, are correctly identified with this river, the alternatives *nejθ and *nið must be ruled out. See also Wilkinson (2002) at pp 143-5.

c1) The compound nōwið- + -dreθ (lenited treθ) may not necessarily be a very early formation, as common adjectives may have been optionally pre-positioned well after the general shift to post-position. Moreover, even if it was of early origin, such a formation could well have remained in use as a common appellative as late as the Old Welsh/ Cumbric period, when any names of the ‘Niddry’ type could have originated:

Longniddry ELo CPNS p. 363 [+ OE lang > ‘long’].
Newtryhill Stg (Denny) PNFESTg p. 32 [+ OE hyll > ‘hill’].
Niddrie MLo (Liberton) CPNS p. 363, PNMLo pp. 294-5.

Niddry, with West Niddry, WLo (Kirkliston) CPNS p. 363, PNWLo pp 43-4.

c2) [Chef] Carnenuat lost, Rnf? in the Inquisition of King David + *cajr-, or else + carn-? + -i[r]- + -wi:ð, which see. This is not the same place as Carnwath Lnk.
Carnwath Lnk CPNS p. 386 ?+cajr- or carn-, with syncopation in Gaelic or Scots, or else -wĩ:ð, which see [early forms –wid 1165, 1179 etc, -withe 1315 etc., rule out ON -vað ‘a ford’, though that may have influenced the modern spelling].
Tranew Ayrs (Kirkmichael) CPNS p. 361 + treθ-, the specifier replaced by Gaelic -nuadh: cf. the ‘Niddry’ type names above.
Tranewath Lanc (Ashton, Lancaster) PNLanc p. 253 ? + treθ- [influenced by ON -vað ‘a ford’].
(m)

IE *h₂ok-* (o-grade of *h₂ek-* ‘be sharp’) > IE(WC) *ok-* > eCelt *āc-co- > Br *ācco- > OW och > M-MnW awch; cogn. iLat oca ‘a harrow’, Gmc (W and N) *ajjō- > OE ēcg > ‘edge’; and cf. OW ocolouín ‘a whetstone’, ocit ‘a harrow’, acrorion ‘cruelty’, OBret ocolo-, occro-, acer- (all in compounds); Olr acher ‘bitter’, Mlr ochair ‘edge’; cf. Lat acies ‘sharp edge, point’, medi-ocris ‘middling, between extremes’, Gk oksús ‘sharp’ and ókris ‘a jagged point’. See also *ogel.

See Jackson (1975-6) at p. 44, and, for related words in the Celtic languages, OIPrIE §10.4 at p. 167 and §15.3 at pp 242-3, DCCPN p. 27, and EGOW p. 124.

‘An edge, a point, sharpness’. It is not otherwise evidenced as a place-name element, but might possibly be in:

c2) Treesmax Ayrs (Ochiltree) CPNS p. 362 ? + treβ- + -ih'inn- [+Scots plural –s].

-ǭg

IE *-āk-* > eCelt *-āco-lā- > Br -āco-lā- > OW -auc > MW -awg > W -og, OCorn -oc > Corn -ek, OBret -oc > Bret -ec, -uc; ? adopted as Mlr -āc > Ir -āg, G -ag, Mx -agh; cogn. Lat -ācus, ?OE -oc (but see GOE §351 and n3, and §574(4) and n2), Gk -achos.


Adjectival and nominal suffix, indicating ‘being of the kind of’, ‘association with’, ‘abounding in’, the stem-word. It occurs very widely in river-names, hill-names and other topographic names, see CPNS 447-50. In Wales, Cwl and Brittany, it is often suffixed to plant-names, sometimes to those of other natural resources, but this does not seem to be a characteristic pattern in the North, see Padel 2013b, pp. 14-16.

Jackson (1970), at pp 74-5, and also in LHEB at p. 39, suggested that, when combined with (what appear to be) Roman-British personal names, it may have borne the sense ‘estate of ... ’, e.g. Eburacum, Epiaicum; however, like P. Russell (1988), he found little clear evidence for this.

-āco-lā- occurs frequently in Roman British and Continental Celtic personal names (see P. Russell 1988), and came to be used as a hypocoristic or diminutive suffix: this is common with saints’ names (being adopted into Irish / Gaelic), and is reflected in some place-names, e.g. Lochwinnoch Rnf (+-*Winnǭg < *Winn[iau], Winnian). In later usage with personal names, it sometimes acquired a pejorative sense, but it is doubtful whether this can be traced in any place-names.

Replacement with Gaelic -(e)ach (itself < eCelt *-āco-lā-) is, of course, likely in southern Scotland, and either suffix is normally anglicised as –ock (Barrow in Uses at pp. 38-9). Even in earlier records it is often uncertain whether the form is Brittonic or Gaelic as ch may represent /k/ or /χ/ (PNFif5 pp. 277 and 460), and where the anglicised form is –ick or –ie it is often
impossible to judge whether the underlying form was Brittonic –ǭg or –īg, or Gaelic -aich or -eich.

British –āco- is seen in: *Bernāco- or *Birnāco- (+ *bern-, see LHEB pp 701-5), or *Brenāco- (see brinn).

Bravoniaicicum (fort at Burwens, Kirkby Thore Wml) PNRB pp. 275-6 + * brōüan - + formative –i-.

Bremermecacum (fort at Ribchester Lanc) PNRB p. 277 + ?river-name *Bremetā-, see *breŋ. *Calacum (? fort at Overborough Lanc) PNRB p. 288 + ?river-name *Calāgā-, see *cal-.

Eburacum (York) PNRB pp. 355-7, PNYER p. 275 + eʃur-: see above, and under eʃur.

Epiacum (? fort at Whitley Castle Ntb) PNRB p. 360 + ?personal name *Epios or ethnic name *Epiācoi, see *eb-.

Mocetauc AC s.a. 750 (only in ms Harley 3859), site of a battle at which the Britons defeated the Picts, maybe Mugdock Dnb (Strathblane), ? + *müged. Koch in YGod(JK), pp xlv-vii, argues that Mynydauc [Mwinuaur] is not a personal name but a place-name or poetic appellative, perhaps for Din Eidyn; see mënǭ-.

Bannacauc (VCadoc), Mynydd Bannawg (Culwhoch ac Olwen), is used in mediaeval Welsh literature to define the boundary between the Britons of the North and the Picts: see ban[n]. Kernach in VK(J), is likely to be either Carnock or Cairnnoch, both of which are in St Ninians parish Stg: see carn-.

Names in the North that certainly or probably have this suffix include the following: in each case, refer to the headword(s) indicated:

Aberlosk Dmf  ? lost river-name *Lusǭg, see -*lūs-, but also losg
Balernock Dnb lowern
Balornock Lnk lowern
Bannockburn Stg bann, see above re- Bannacauc
Bardnnoch Kcb tân, but see also *dantǭg
Barrock, with Barrock Fell, Cmb barr
Barrock, High and Low Cmb barr
Bladnoch R Wig bōd, -an
Brackach brijth
Cadottrell Wml see ūch
Caerlerveck Dmf laʃar
Cairnnoch Stg carn-: see above, re- Kernach
Cam Beck Cmb cam[b]
Cammo MLo cam[b]
Cammock YWR cam[b]
Cammock Beck and House Cmb cam[b]
Caraverick Cmb eʃur, haŋar (otherwise –īg)
Cardurnock Cmb durn
Carmunnock Lnk bann or *mann
Carnock Stg earn: see above, re- Kernach
Carrock Fell Cmb *carr
Castle Carrock Cmb *carr
Charnock Richard, etc., Lanc  ? lost stream-name *Cern-, see carn
Corra, with Corhouse, Corra Linn and Fincorra, Lnk *eor
Corsick Rox cors, crojs (otherwise –īg)
Corselusk Strand Kcb ? + cors- + -*lūs-
Corsock Kcb (x2) cors
Crachoctre Brw *crach or creːg (otherwise ūch)
Craddock YWR lost river-name *Caradog, see carad
Craigdilly Slk crēig, tāl
Crec(h)loc Cmb crēig, crīch
Crechok Cmb crīch
Crummack YWR *crum[b], which see for discussion of other similar names in YWR
Crummock Beck Cmb *crum[b]
Crummock Water Cmb *crum[b]
Cumdiovck Cmb dūβ
Dalgarncok Dmf carn or *gār
Devoke Water Cmb dūβ
Dornock Dmf durn
Duncarnock Rnf carn
Ebroch Burn Stg eβur
Glencorest Cmb *tres
Glencorse MLo crojs
Glentreske Wml *tres
Haydock Lanc heō, *heiō
Hullockhowe Wml coll
Kevock Mills MLo čę:d
King Water Cmb cant, čein, *ceu, cū[n]
Kirkintilloch Dnb tal
Lavery, R Ayrs laβar
Lessnesssock Ayrs ness
Lostock Lanc lost
Lostock, R Lanc lost
Mennock Dmf *mïy[n]
Moor Divock Wml dūβ
Moscolly ELo coll (otherwise –īg)
Mugdock Stg *müged, see above re- Mocetauc
Partick Rnf pert[h]
Penhurrock Wml *carr
Penruddock Cmb *red, rūd
Pirnie Rox, Pirnie Braes ELo Pirniehall Dnb, Pirnie Lodge Stg, all prenn
Plentridoc MLo *red or tri-
Poltlhedick Cmb lečid (otherwise –īg)
Tercrosset Cmb *eras, crojs
Tradunnock Ayrs see *dantōg and redōn
Trevercarcou Keb see *carrōg
Watermillock Cmb mēl, mę:l.

*ogel (n?)

*hok- (see ōch) > IE(WC) *ok-elo-/ā- > eCelt *oceolo-/ā- > Br ocelo-, Gaul ocel[1]ō.

The Indo-European root *hok- ‘be sharp’ seems to be implied by this P-Celtic word for ‘a promontory’. It is quite well-attested in Classical sources for place-names in Britain and on the Continent, although no words directly derived from it are recorded in any Celtic languages. See PNRB p. 246, ACPN pp 10, 31-2 and 96-7, and DCCPN p. 27. See also ūchel.

Examples that may have been in the Old North include:
*Aualnocelum PNRB p. 246 + alauno- (see *al-): ‘apparently in SE Scotland’, but Coates (1980-1) at p. 70, finds this reconstructed form ‘incredible’.
*Cintocelum PNRB p. 308 + cint-: ‘unknown, but apparently in Scotland’.
*Ituncelum* PNRB pp. 380-1 + *idun* (see *id*): probably in north-west *Britannia*, the Solway region.

*Ocelum* PNRB pp. 138 and 429: either Flamborough Head or Spurn Head.

a1) Ogle Burn ELo (Oldhamstocks/ Innerwick) Taylor 2011, pp. 91-2 and 95.

Ogle Linn Dmf (Johnstone) PNDmf p. 65, Taylor 2011, pp. 91-2 and 95; or Britt *ogell* lively stream’, or Gaelic ògail ‘youthful’.

c1) Ogilface WLo  CPNS p. 378, PNWLo p. 97 + -mayes with lenition; or else ëuchel-. See Taylor 2011, pp. 89 and 92-3.

*oyn (m)*

IE(NW) *h₁es-n* > eCelt *ogno* > Br *ogno* > M-MnW oen, OCorn oin > MCorn oan > Corn òn, Bre oan; OIr úan > Ir, G uan, Mx eayn; cogn. Lat *agnus*, OE verb *ēanian* > E (dialects) *yean* ‘to lamb’, Gk *amnós*.

Plural: eCelt *ognī* > Br *ūynī* > W *wīn* (dialectal) wyni, Corn *eyn*, Bre *ein*.

‘A lamb’. A plural form ancestral to *wyni* is suggested by Breeze (2006c) at p. 329, in:

c2) Lanrekereini Cmb (Nether Dalton) PNCmb p. 72, Lan Cart 49 + *lanerc* - + *i[r]@, but see also rijajn.

onf (f)

IE *h₁es-n* > eCelt *osni* > Br *onni* > OW(LL) sgv *onnen* > M-MnW onn, O-Mn Corn sgv. onnen, MBret onnn > Bre *onn*; OIr *uinnius* > Ir uinneas, G sg *uinsean*, Mx unjin; cf. (IE *h₁es-k*) Gmc(W & N) *askiz* > OE *æsċ* > ‘ash’, cogn. Lat *ornus* ‘elm’, Gk *oksūē* ‘beech’, also ‘a spear-shaft’.


It mayoccur in *Treueronum*, + *treβ* - + *i[r]@, in the *Inquisition of King David*. This may well be Toney Hill Rox (Ancrum), see Durkan (1986) at pp 293-4 and Clancy (2008) at pp. 103-5, and the elusive *Tryorne* Rox (CPNS p. 361) may be a form of the same name.

Trearne Ayrs (Beith), CPNS pp. 361-2, may be a similar formation (or else OE *trēow-aern* ‘a timber house’); see Clancy (2008) pp. 99-114 for full discussion of this name.

Or

IE *h₂erh₂os* > eCelt *orā* > Br *orā* > O-MnW or, Corn or, OBret pl. *orion, erion*; OIr *or* > M-Mnl or, G oir; cogn. Lat *ōrā*, OE *ōra*.


‘A border, boundary, limit’.

-öü


Plural morpheme, increasingly generalised to other noun-stems. See GMW §30(b) n1, p. 29.

It may occur in a number of place-names in the North, see under the suffixed element:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place Name</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Broughna (Mochrum) Wig</td>
<td>bronn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadzow (= Hamilton, Lnk)</td>
<td>ç:ød</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carcow Dmf (Sanqhar)</td>
<td>carreg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carcowe Wml (Barton)</td>
<td>carreg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardrona Pbl (Innerleithen)</td>
<td>*trön</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cargo Cmb</td>
<td>carreg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carnethy Hill MLo</td>
<td>*carneð</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carraw Ntb (Newbrough)</td>
<td>39-40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castle Cary Stg</td>
<td>cajr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gannow Lanc (Burnley)</td>
<td>gën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nenthenemou Cmb (Midgeholme)</td>
<td>*mïn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penratho ELo (lost)</td>
<td>rǭd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penvalla Hill Pbl (Stobo)</td>
<td>wal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pirnie Rox (Maxton)</td>
<td>prenn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pirnie Braes ELo</td>
<td>prenn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pirniehall Dnb</td>
<td>prenn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pirnie Lodge Stg (Slamannan)</td>
<td>prenn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powcady Cmb (Walton)</td>
<td>cad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratho MLo</td>
<td>rǭd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Torpenhow Cmb</td>
<td>pen[n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treuercarcou Dmf or Kcb</td>
<td>carreg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallow Crag Wml (Shap Rural)</td>
<td>wal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
P

*paladr (m)

IE *\(k^\circ \)el (zero-grade of *\(k^\circ \)el ‘turn’) > eCelt *\(k^\circ \)al-atro- > Br *palatro- > MW paladyr > W paladr (cf. MW pal, Corn pal, Bret pal, all ‘a spade’); OIr cealtair ‘a spear’.

The IE etymology is uncertain, as the semantic relationship is far from obvious, but the root *\(k^\circ \)el yields a wide diversity of meanings in various languages, such as Latin colō ‘I till (turn the earth over?)’, Greek pēlō ‘I move’, Sanskrit carati ‘moves, wanders, drives’: see OIPrIE §22.3 at pp 377-8. The early Celtic word may have originally referred to some sharp tool, a goad or a hoe.

In the Brittonic languages, it means ‘a shaft, a beam’ (originally, perhaps, one of the relatively slender roof-timbers in an iron-age roundhouse): in Welsh poetry, it is especially ‘a spear-shaft’. The plural *peleidr (MnW peleir) in fort-names may indicate chevaux de frise, arrays of spiked stakes to impede attackers.

c2) Dunpender ELlo (Prestonkirk, = Trarain Law) CPNS p. 345 + din, Gaelicised dùn.
Drumpellier Lnk (Old Monklands) CPNS p. 345, PNMonk pp 3 and 11: perhaps a transferred name from Dunpender, or vice versa.

pant (m)

Br *panto- > OW(\(L\)L) pant > M-MnW pant, Corn *pans (in p-ns, CPNE pp 174-5), Bret *pans (in p-ns).

The etymology is quite obscure: Lloyd-Jones’s proposal, of adoption from Latin p\(a\)nt\(u\)m ‘formed, shaped’, has been generally rejected: see LHEB §59 pp 406-7.

‘Hollow, valley bottom’, also (presumably by metonymy), a stream-name.

It occurs in southern Pictland as far north as Angus, but infrequently (S. Taylor pers comm), and in Cornwall and Brittany it survives only in place-names. It is most common in the West Brittonic regions, Wales and the North: a river-name like Pont Ntb is undoubtedly early, but other examples like the field-names in YWR and Wml, may reflect Cumbric-period resettlement, even adoption into local OE dialects.

a1) Pant Ayrs (Stair) CPNS pp. 191 and 373.
Pant Wml (field-name in Longsleddale) PNWml1 p. 164.
Pant YWR (field-name in Austwick) PNYWR6 p. 231.
Pant Foot YWR (field-name in Ingleton) PNYWR6 p. 248.
Pantend Wml (Lupton) PNWml1 p. 47 [+ ‘end’].
Crossgill Pants Cmb (Alston) [A-Sc c\(r\)os- + -\(g\)il].
Pantath Dmf (Mouswald) PNDmf p. 104 [+ A-Sc -\(p\)veit > ME -\(t\)waite ‘a clearing’].
Pont R, + Ponteland, Ntb PNNtb p. 159 [+ OE -\(\acute{\e}\)a-, + -\(l\)ond > ME -\(l\)and added later, in Ponteland].
Pont Burn Drh DDrhPN p. 96.
Pontheugh Brw (Cockburnspath) pant- is more appropriate here than pont [+ Scots –heuch ‘a steep bank or steep-sided valley’].

b2) Old Pentland, with Pentland Hills, MLo PNMLo p. 280 + -lann, but see penn. Panbryde Ayrs (Colmonell) CPNS pp. 373-4 + saint’s name Brīd < Mr Brigde. Panlaurig Brw (Duns) CPNS p. 374 + -laβar- + -īg-, a lost stream-name? Recorded forms do not support –lanerc.

Panbarthill ELo (Dunbar) CPNS p. 374 + pert[h] with loss of –t and soft mutation: as pant is masculine, lenition implies a proper compound, ‘valley-thicket’.

Panbarthill Hill and Sike Dmf (Tundergarth) PNDmf 122, Pappert, with Pappert Hill and Papperthill Well, Dnb (Bonhill), Pappert Hill, with Pappert hill Crags, Lnk (Shotts), Pappert Law Slk (Ettrick), all CPNS p. 357, might all likewise be + pert[h]: they show no trace of lenition, so may be phrasal formations (b2), but are in any case very doubtful, see discussion under pert[h], and Taylor’s discussion of ‘pepper’, PNFif5 pp. 466-8.

part[h] (m), pǭr (m)

Lat part- (oblique forms of pars, or possibly a cognate early Celtic root) adopted as Br *parto- > OW pard, part, parth > M-MnW parth, OCorn –bard, -barh (in compounds), OBret parth > MBret parz (but also MBret perz > Bret perzh); OIr –cert (in descert ‘southern part’, see DIL s.n.), also adopted from Britt as Mr pairt > It pāirt, G pàirt, Mx paart.

See LHEB §148 pp. 570-1, §150 pp. 572-3, EGOW p. 127, and PNFif4 pp. 256-7 on Parbroath (Creich) FIF (misplaced by Watson CPNS p. 373, in Forfarshire = Ang).

‘A portion of land’.

In the absence of early records, it is difficult to distinguish part[h] in place-names from pǭr (Brit *pāro- > OW(LL) –peur (verb), pory (verb) > M-MnW pawr (also parlas, porfa (see –mu), pori[o] (verb), etc.). Corn *peur (possibly in p-ns, CPNE p. 184), Bret peur). This was adopted from Brittonic or Pritenic into Gaelic as pòr, pùir (see CPNS pp. 376-7, Jackson 1955a p. 161, idem 1972 pp. 44 and 68-9, and Taylor 2011 p. 105). In the Brittonic languages, words derived from pǭr refer to ‘pasture, grazing land’, but Gaelic pòr means ‘seeds, grain, crops’, so Jackson (1970 pp. 44 and 68-9, supported by Taylor PNFif5 p. 473) considers that the Pictish word meant ‘cropland’.

a2) Perihou Cmb (Upper Denton) Lan Cart (not in PNCmb) ? + pl –jöü: A. Walker pers. comm., but the long vowel should not have been affected by –j-, and the MnW pl is porion; Old English *pearre- ‘an enclosure’, or (less likely in the North) peru- ‘a pear-[tree]’, + AScand –haug > ME –howe ‘a hill, a mound’ is preferable, see Jackson 1955a p. 161.

b2) Five place-names across Lothian and Rnf are apparently of identical origin, though the first element is not certain and the meaning of the name-phrase is obscure (see Wilkinson (2002) at p. 140 n7, and discussion under duβ[i]n):

Pardivan ELo (Whitecraig) CPNS pp. 372-3.

Pardivan MLo (Cranston) PNMLo p.190.


Parduvine MLo (Carrington) CPNS pp. 372-3, PNMLo p.112

Perdovingishill Rnf (lost) CPNS p. 372, WLoPN p. 29 [+ OE –hyll > ‘hill’].
**pasgel (f)**

Lat *pascuum* or *pascua*, 'pasture', adopted as Br *pase* - M-MnW *pags* - in compounds, Corn *pask*, Bret *pask*: + instrumental suffix –ēlā - > MW *pasgell*.

This word is only first attested by Edward Lhuyd (1707, see GPC).

‘Pastureland’.

c1) Paisley Rnf ? + *lethir* or -*led*: Ross (2001) p 172, but see *bassaleg*.

**pebîl (f)**

Lat *pāpiliō* ‘a butterfly’ > VLat *papiliō*, adopted as Br *papil* - MW *peyll* > W pl *peyll*, sgv. *pabell*; OIr *pupall* > Ir *puball*, G *pubull*.

The intervocalic [–b–] would have been adopted as a fricative in Northumbrian OE, it is unlikely that it would have been treated as a stop before the 9th ct. This implies that the place-names containing this element are formations of the Cumbric period, 10th – 11th cts, subsequently adopted into early Scots. See LHEB §135, pp. 553–4, OEG chapter X, especially §530, p. 210, §545–6, pp. 214–16, §565, pp. 219–20, and Smith C. 1983, p. 939.

The Vernacular Latin word, perhaps soldiers’ slang, is recorded from early 3rd ct on (GLL, MLWL). It was used for ‘a tent’, and the wide range of temporary buildings used in Classical and mediaeval times. In place-names in the North, it would presumably refer to temporary bothies used in connection with summer grazing (or, rather, to the sites where these were regularly erected) in the large-scale transhumance practised in the Cumbric period – either shielings in the hills, or assembly places where livestock was gathered together (and traded) in spring and autumn. In Welsh place-names AMR shows around ten examples, see DPNW p. 87 for Cilybebyll Glm (additionally, AMR lists six examples of Babell - and one Babel! - as a Modern Welsh chapel-name referring to the biblical Tabernacle, see DPNW p. 20); it seems to be unknown in Cornish or Breton.

The MW plural was *pebbolleu* < *pebîlou* (+-ōü, see GMW §30c, pp. 29 – 30), but *peyll* was apparently used collectively, ‘a camp’, becoming plural in Modern Welsh, with *pabell* as singulative.

Internal i-affection, according to Jackson (LHEB §§170-6, 604-18, cf. CIB §§75, 184-90), was a separate development occurring in proto-Welsh (and so in West neoBrittonic) in the seventh century. Jackson (1955a) does not mention absence of this as a Pictish feature. *pebîl* is likely to underlie Peebles, Pibble, Daluble, Mosspebele. However, 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 (or, in Pauples Hill, Gaelic influence).

a1) Papple ELo (Garvald): not a hill-top site, so perhaps a gathering place.

Pauples Hill Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 222 [the –s implies the name was heard as a plural by English/Scots speakers]. Probably ‘shielings’ here, see PNWigMM p. 17.

Peebles CPNS p. 383: [again + English/Scots plural –s]: presumably this was ‘a camp’ (see above) or a 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. (Nicolaisen’s inclusion of this among place-names ‘which were originally names of natural features’, SPN2 p. 226, is baffling).
Pibble, with Pibble Hill, Kcb (Kirkmabreck) PNGall p. 223. This could be Gaelic: Maxwell suggests ‘a place of assembly’, associating it (and Welsh *pabell*) with OIr *popull* < Latin *populus* (see DUPN pp. 55 and 112). Whether it was *pebil* or Gaelic *pobull*, it could still have been a place of (livestock) assembly, but the location would favour a shieling.

c2) Cairnpapple Hill WLo PNWLo p. 3, WLoPN 17-18 + -carn; or + OIr *popull*, cf. Pibble above, or else an ‘inversion compound’ formation + OE *papol* ‘a pebble’.

Dalfibble Dmf (Kirkmichael) PNDmf p. 76 + *dǭl*. Mosspeeble Dmf (Ewes) PNDmf p. 42, *maves*: a shieling is likely.

**peβïr**


The etymology is entirely obscure.

‘Bright, radiant’, occurring as a river-name (or in place-names derived from river-names) and in northern Britain only in Pictland and Lothian, with the important exception of R Peover Che (ERN pp. 322-3 and PNChe1 p. 33).

a1) East Peffer Burn ELo (North Berwick) CPNS p. 452. West Peffer Burn ELo (Aberlady) CPNS p. 452. Peffer Mill, with Innerpaffray, MLo (Liberton) CPNS p. 452, PNMLo pp. 83, 295: both locations are on the Braid Burn, which was probably formerly another *Peffer Burn*; a headwater of the Braid Burn, and a house near Peffer Mill, were named Clearburn: that could be a translation (or coincidental equivalent) of *Peffer Burn*, but see *ciȝjar*.

**pedwar**


‘Four’.

a2) Petteril R (Cmb) PNCmb p. 23, ERN p. 323 ? + adjvl. suffix –wal (variant of *-jǭl*, which see): Breeze (2001d), compares MW *petrual* > W *petryal*, *petryell* ‘a rectangle’, referring either to some Roman military structure or to Roman ‘centuriation’, rectangular allotments of land; for Breeze’s case for such a landscape feature here, see also idem (2002c); however, evidence for centuriation anywhere in Britain is elusive, see Fowler (2002) p. 317.

The ordinal, ‘fourth’. The Gaelic noun G ceathramh became an important place-name element in the central Middle Ages, ‘a quarterland’ (see CPNS p. 236, and Oram 2000, pp. 236-40). However, in Brittonic, it occurs only in Petuaria, the name of the main town (presumably civitas capital) of the Parisi, at, or in the vicinity of, Brough on Humber YER. The name perhaps referred to a division (pāgus) of their territory: PNRB pp. 437-8.

*peir (m)

IE *kʷer- > eCelt *kʷar- > Br *par-jo- > MW peir > MnW pair, OCorn per, Bret per; O-MnIr, G coire; cogn. Gmc *χwer > OE hwer, ON hverr, Skt caru-.

See OIPrIE §15.1, pp. 239-40, LHEB §92, p472.

‘A cauldron’, in place-names ‘a hollow’. Occurs in about a dozen place-names in Wales according to AMR, but not apparently in Cornwall.

c2) Cathpair MLo (Stow) PNMLo p. 362 + ɛːd-.

pejth (m)

eCelt *pecto- > Br *peχto- > OW(LL) peith- (in compound) > W paith.

The etymology is obscure. The association of this word with the ethnic name ‘Picts’ in MW Peithwyr is probably, like Latin Picti ‘painted people’, a fanciful etymology (see Broderick 2014, pp. 20 – 1).

While used in Middle Welsh literature of ‘desert, wilderness, ravaged and abandoned land’, the basic sense is probably more neutral, ‘a plain, open pastureland, moorland’.

Breeze (2001a), pp. 21-5, suggests that Dixio etc., PNRB p. 339 s.n. *Dictum, an unlocated fort near Wearmouth, should be read as *Pictum and derived from this root, but the phonology involved is questionable (see above), and the proposed landscape history seems very speculative.

pen[n] (m)

eCelt *kʷenno- > Br, Gaul penno- > OW penn > M-MnW pen, OCorn pen > Corn pedn, O-MnBret pen(n); OIr cenn > Ir, G ceann, Mx kione.

‘No exact parallel’ in other IE languages, see EGOW p. 129 and DCCPN p. 28. For Continental examples, see ACPN pp. 97-8.

‘A head’: but in place-names it may be ‘top, summit’ or ‘end’, perhaps especially the higher end of a long hill or ridge, or the elevated end of a hill-spur, as if it were perceived as a lion couchant.

‘Hill’ is an inadequate, maybe misleading, interpretation: see Padel in CPNE pp. 177-8, and Gelling’s rejoinder in LPN pp. 210-13 (where she suggests ‘high, promontory-type ridge’), also DPNW p. lxii. In coastal names, ‘headland’ is probably appropriate (LPN p. 210).
Alternative or additional meanings that have been suggested are more controversial, including: ‘Chief’: proposed by Smith EPNE2 pp. 61-2 (but not taken up by Jackson, 1969a, p. 50), and supported by Gelling loc. cit.; Padel at CPNE loc. cit. does not consider this adjectival usage, but at pp xv-xvi he points out that formations with pen[n]- in first position may be specific-first compounds (and not necessarily ‘early’, pre-500; see note to (b2) below); ‘Boundary-point’, especially of a projecting angle in a boundary-line, suggested by Higham (1999), at pp 90-1, but such ‘points’ are anyway likely to be topographic summits or river-sources (senses listed in DPNW loc. cit.).

Fieldwork, documentary research, and distribution analysis which allows for regional and diachronic variation, are all needed to clarify the semantics of this element.

Pen[n] is common throughout most of Britain south of the Antonine Wall, common enough in England for Smith (loc. cit., and cf. LPN p. 143) to suggest that it was adopted into OE. Indeed, OED s.v. pen sb¹ says ‘in some localities, esp. in the south of Scotland, used as a separate word in names of hills...rarely as a common noun’, and CSD gives ‘a pointed conical hill’ s.v. pen², ‘ch[ieffy] S[outh], ch[ieffy] in place-names’ (I cannot find a comparable sense in DSL). It is quite possible that simplex (a1) forms like Penchrise Pen were named analogically by Northumbrian English or later Scots/ northern English speakers, but it is doubtful whether it was ever a meaningful or productive English or Scots toponymic element (and, as Smith observes, it is often indistinguishable from OE penn > ‘a pen, an enclosure’).

In the North, its apparent absence from Northumberland is notable. It seems to be uncommon in Ayrshire, Galloway and the Solway region, but, as Watson pointed out (CPNS p. 354, pace Nicolaisen SPN² pp. 211-12), replacement by Goidelic cenn is possible here: names in Kin-might well conceal earlier pen[n]- formations (see examples below, cf. also Kingarth Bute, PNBute pp. 221-4 and 566, but see also *ceμ-).

It is rare in the Pictish regions (SPN² loc. cit., and PNFi5 pp. 156 and 465): again, replacement by cenn or, in these parts, benn (unrelated, see ban[n]), is possible. On the possibility that pen[n] might have influenced the sense and usage of benn > Gaelic beann, beinn, see ban[n].

For examples on the Continent, see ACPN pp. 97-8.

In early Welsh poetry, the phrasal name Pen Coet occurs twice in BT, 29(XI) and 61(VII): compare Pencaitland and Penketh below, and see discussion under cę:d. Penprys CT63(XII), + ·prēs, is seen by T. O. Clancy (cited by Gruffydd (1994) at p. 71) as an earlier name for Dumfries, see discussion under prēs. Pen Ryonyd yn y Gogled TYP. 1, later modified to Penryn Rioned TYP. 85 (see also TYP p. 229), may have been a place associated with Rerigonium, see rīɣ. O Bentir in the awdl on the death of Domnall Brec, CA LXXIXAB may refer to a location near Falkirk Stg (Jackson, YGod (KJ) p. 98), or it might be a Brittonic form for Kintyre, as proposed by Williams (CA p. xli). On these and other, hard to locate, place-names with Pen- in mediaeval Welsh literature, see Haycock 2013 pp. 9, 21-2 nn21-2, and 36 n86.

(a1) Names listed by OED as (implicitly) English/ Scots formations (see above) include Eskdalemuir or Ettrick Pen, Lee Pen, Penchrise Pen (a particularly striking case, see *crïs), Skelfhill Pen. ‘Pen[n]’ is very commonly followed by OE hyll > ‘hill’. Again, some of these may be English/ Scots in origin, for example the Pen Hills or Penhills in Rox, YNR (but see (a2) below), YWR, and Wig, and the possibility of OE penn > ‘pen, an enclosure for animals’ should not be overlooked. There are several minor names with ‘pen-’ on the North Yorkshire Moors, which Smith excluded from PNYNR for lack of early forms and their indistinguishability from OE penn.
Examples where an original pen[n] is reasonably likely include several where OE hyll > 'hill' has probably been added, though it impossible to say whether these were originally Brittonic simplex names, compounds simplified by English speakers, or English formations using an element adopted in toponymy (see Padel 2013b p. 32):

Pendle Hill and Forest Lanc, with Pendleton, Lanc (Whalley) PNLanc pp. 68 and 77, JEPNS17 p. 48 [+ OE –tūn ‘a farm’].

Pendlebury, with another Pendleton, Lanc (Eccles) PNLanc pp 41-2, JEPNS17 p. 35.

Peneilly Cairn Kcb (Balmaclellan) PNGall p. 222.

Penhill or Penny Hill YNR (West Witton) PNYNR p. 256 +OE –tūn ‘a farm’.

Penhill, with another Pendleton, Lanc (Eccles) PNLanc pp 41-2, JEPNS17 p. 35.

Penhill or Penny Hill YNR (West Witton) PNYNR p. 256 +OE –tūn ‘a farm’.

Penhill or Penny Hill YNR (West Witton) PNYNR p. 256 ? –le, which see, but hyll is much more likely here.

Penielheugh Rox (Crailing) CPNS p. 354, PNRox p. 17: Watson suggests + -wal, but Macdonald sees ‘absolutely no evidence for this’; maybe –hyll, ‘hill’, has been added twice (cf. Pendle Hill in current usage, and Pinnel Hill Fif (Aberdour) PNFif1 p. 81); the third element is Scots –heuch ‘a precipice, crag, steep bank’. The spelling has very probably been influenced by biblical Peniel, Gen. 32 vv 24 and 30. See also Pines Burn, below.

Penny Hill occurs five times in YWR, including:

Penny Hill YWR (Clayton) PNYWR3 p. 256.

Penny Hill YWR (Gisburn Forest) PNYWR6 p. 169.

Penny Hill YWR (Clayton) PNYWR3 p. 256.

Penny Hill YWR (Gisburn Forest) PNYWR6 p. 169.

early forms for both of these suggest that they were ‘Pen Hill’; the others may be from OE peniģ ‘penny’, likewise Penny Hill Wml (Colby) PNWml2 p. 97, and see above for Penhill YNR.

Pines Burn Rox (Southdean) PNRox p. 17: Macdonald writes (discussing Blaeu’s spelling Painschelhill for Penielheugh, above) ‘the diphthongisation of the vowel in “pen” is a dialectal feature found in other names in the county, cf. Pines Burn’.


Peniston, with Peningeherst and Pensyke, YWR PNYWR1 pp. 336-7 + OE –ing²- + -tūn ‘a farm’; various OE personal names have been proposed, none very convincing, see Smith’s discussion, PNYWR loc. cit.; cf. Peniestone Knowes under (b2) below.

Peningshal’ YWR (Langsett) PNYWR1 p. 332 +OE –ing²- + -halh ‘an isolated or detached portion of land’; this is close to Penistone above, and presumably formed with the same first element.

Penninghame Wig SPN² pp xx and 93: Nicolaisen declares this ‘a genuine –ingahām name’, i.e. an early Northumbrian OE formation with the genitive plural of the patronymic suffix –ing⁴-+ hām, so ‘landholding of the *Penningas, the clan of *Penn’. However, cf. note on Peniston YWR above, and there is serious doubt as to whether there are any OE –ingahām names north of the Tees or west of the Pennines, let alone in Galloway (see DDrhPN pp xiii-xiv, and discussion of Coldingham under *colud). Hough’s (2001a) proposed derivation from OE peniģ- + -hām would have to date from the 8th ct, when Northumbrian peningas were in circulation and hām was productive: if a name implying monetary assessment of a landholding were given in this period, it would have been very exceptional. A more satisfactory etymology would be pen[n]- + OE –ing²- + -hām, which would mean ‘landholding (or, possibly, religious house) named (after) *Penn’, referring to the high ridge-end of Bar Hill overlooking the church site (see A. James 2010, pp. 117-20).

Penshiel Hill ELo (Haddington) [+ Scots –shiel ‘a shieling’].

Penwortham Lanc PNLanc p. 135 [+ OE –worp-hām, ‘a (probably high-status) landholding’; but note that Ekwall (loc. cit.) noted that the first two elements (or even the whole name) ‘may be British’, Bradley (EHR, 26, 822) on ‘some early forms recall[ing] Welsh pen-y-werdddon “head of the green”’].
And, with a Scandinavian second element, Penkeld Wml (Warcop) PNWml2 p. 85 [+ ON –kelda ‘a spring, a marshy place, perhaps replacing OE céelde]. This could be a Cumbric-period ‘inversion compound’ if, as is quite possible, both pen[n] and keld were common toponymic elements in Cumbric, Scandinavian and English speakers.

It must be noted that ‘penny-stone’ is recorded in OED from 1375 as a northern English name for a flat circular stone used in a game like quoits. This might well be present in: Penistone Knowes Slk (Yarrow/ Ettrick watershed) CPNS p. 354, but see (b2) below.

Penistone, with Penistone Green, Wml (Stainmore) PNWml2 p. 78.

Penningstein Howe Wml (Kirkby Lonsdale) PNWml1 p. 46.
The Pennystone Wig (Kirkmabreck) CPNS p. 354 and n1, not in PNGall.

Robin Hood's Penny Stone YWR (x2, Warley and Midgley) PNYWR3 pp. 129, 135.

a2) Penhill or Penny Hill YNR (West Witton) PNYNR p. 256 ? –le:, which see, but hyll is more likely, see above.

Pind Hill Wml/YNR (Stainmore, on county boundary) +-ed, or another ‘Pen Hill’ (A. Walker pers. comm.)? The pronunciation [paind] raises doubts, but cf. Pines Burn above.

b1) Cockpen MLo PNMLo p. 149 + -coch-, or else a Scots formation, ‘game-bird hill’, but Dixon draws attention to the farm on the hill named Redheugh.

Torpenhow Cmb PNCmb pp. 325-6 +torr- + –őų, or else OE hōh ‘a heel, a spur’.

b2) In many cases where ‘pen[n]’ is the first element, it is hard to judge whether it is the specifying element in a proper compound, (c1), or the generic in a name-phrase, (b2). Some may be compounds where pen[n]- has an adjectival sense (see above). Those where the second element is a (lost) river-name, and those with the definite article -i[r]- (which see for discussion), are likely to be phrasal formations. Many others among the following could be interpreted either way, but all are listed under (b2) for convenience:


Penceaitland, with Penkaet Castle (Fountainhall) nearby, ELo CPNS p. 355 + -ceð: - ? + -lann: see Penketh below, and discussion under ceð:

Penchrise Burn, with Penchrise Pen, Rox (Hawick) CPNS p. 354 ? + -crīs, which see for discussion.

Penraig ELo (East Linton) CPNS pp. 354-5 (incorrectly 345 in CPNS index) + -cyrəg.

Pencaitland, with Penistone Knowes Slk (Yarrow/ Ettrick watershed) CPNS p. 354 ? + lost stream-name *Dufrīg (see dufr and –īg).

Pendrachin ELo (Athelstaneford)? ? + *drayīn.

Pendragon Castle Wml PNWml2 p. 131 + -dragon, which see for discussion; ; otherwise ? + *drayīn.

Pendraven Cmb (lost field-name in Upper Denton) PNCmb p. 82 + -i[r]- + -afson, see āβ-: with epenthetic –d-. See Todd (2005) at p. 94, and Breeze (2006c) at p. 330 – note Todd’s doubts, but pen[n] is unlikely to mean ‘source’, and ‘headland’ is appropriate here; on Breeze’s proposal + -treβ- + -an, see under treβ, and cf. le Contre below; otherwise ? + *drayīn.

Pengennett Wml (Kentmere) not in PNWml + river-name Kent, see *ćoč:ęd; Pengennett in Ulpha, near the R. Duddon, is hard to explain.

Penhurstock Wml PNWml2 p. 161, also 1 p źxii ? + *carr- + -ōg, see discussion under *carr.

Penicuki MLo CPNS p. 355, PNMLo pp. 33-4 + -i[r]- + *cog, which see for discussion.

Penistone Knowes Slk (Yarrow/ Ettrick watershed) CPNS p. 354 ? + -istūn, which see for discussion, but ‘penny-stone’ might be involved, see above.

Penketh Lanc (Prescot) PNLanc p. 106, JEPNS17 p. 59 + -ceð:, which see for discussion. Penmacs score Slk (lost) CPNS p. 354 + -māyn-, which see for discussion, and compare Penavenous under (c1) below.
Pennango Rox (Castleton) CPNSp. 354, PNRox p. 5 + *ängaw or *ängwas: see both for discussion.
Pennel, with Barpennald (= Foulton), Rnf (Kilbarchan) CPNS p. 356 + -alt, which see, ? + *barr- in Barpennald, but Gaelic barr- or baile- is more likely.
Pennersax Dmf (Middlebie) CPNS pp. 180, 396, PNDmf p. 94 (as Pennersaunchs) + *r[i]- + - *Sayg, which see for discussion.
Penniquote Burn Ayrs (Dalzell) ? + *r[i]- + *céd, which see (M. Ansell, pers. comm.).
Pennygant Hill Rox (Castleton) CPNS p. 354 + *r[i]- + -cant or –geint: a possible boundary name, see under both -cant and –geint, and under -i[r]- for discussion of dating.
Pennymoor Rox (Oxnam) CPNS p. 354, PNRox p. 31 + *r[i]- + -mūr; again, a possible boundary name, being now on the Anglo-Scottish border; see under -i[r]- for discussion of dating, and under mūr for the archaeology.
Penpont Dmf CPNS p. 356, PNDmf p. 107 + -pont, which see for discussion, and cf. Kilpunt below.
Penrathe ELo (lost) CPNS p. 355 + *rǭd- + -ōū: Gaelic-influenced, see rǭd. discussion.
Penruddock Cmb (Hutton Soil) PNCmb p. 213 + *red- or –rīd- + *gīŋ, perhaps a lost stream-name: see discussion under rīd, and in PNCmb loc. cit. Early forms show and epenthetic dental, cf. Pendle and Old Pentland.
Penshaw (or Painshaw) Drh (Houghton) DDrhPN p. 94 + -*cerr, plural of *carr, which see for discussion.
Penteiacob Pbl (=Eddleston) CPNS pp. 135 and 354 + -tīyīū- pl of tī[y], + pers. n. iacob: see under tīyī as a common noun.
Penty Lnk (Shotts) CPNS p. 356 + -tī[y], which see for discussion.
Penvalla Hill Pbl (Stobo) CPNS p. 354 + 'wal + -ōū: see wal for discussion, and cf. Kinneil below.
Penwhail Kcb (Girthon) PNGall p. 223 ? + -wal, see discussion under that.
Penyghent YWR PNYWR6 pp. 219-20 and xi-xii + *r[i]- + *-geint, irregularly lenited plural of cant, or plural of *gīnt: see discussion of the date of formation under i[r], and of the possibility that this is a boundary name under cant.
Penveny Pbl CPNS p. 354 + *jęyni, lenited plural of mayn: the lenition implies an early compound formation here: perhaps a boundary-name, see discussion under mayn.

Place-names where Middle Irish /early Gaelic cenn- may have replaced pen[n] (or *cejn-, see *ceu-), in view of early forms and/ or apparently Brittonic second elements, include: le Contref Kcb (lost) Brooke (1991), p. 302 + -trēβ, i.e. *Pen-treβ, probably an appellative, as in Welsh: see discussion under –treβ.
Kilmont YNR PNYNR p. 305 ? + -mōnō, but doubtful: see under mōnō, and cf. Kinmont etc. below.
Kincaid Sig (a territorial name) + -céd.
King Harry Cmb (Cumwhitton) PNCmb p. 79 + *ḥāmar- (which see) + -γ.
Kinglass WLo (Bo’ness and Carriden) PNWLo p. 30 + -glās.
Great Kinmond Wml (Orton) PNWml2 p. 47 + -móñō.
Kinmont Cmb (Corney) PNCmb pp. 364-5 + *mônïð.
Kinmount Dmf (Cummertrees) CPNS p. 400, PNDmf p. 19 + *mônïð.
Kinmount Tower Dmf (Canonbie) + *mônïð, but maybe transferred.
Kinneil WLo (Bo’ness and Carriden) CPNS pp. 346-8, PNWLo p. 31 + *wal: Bede’s Penfahel, HE I.12, see discussion under *wal.
Kirkintilloch Dnb CPNS p. 348 + cajr- + -tāl- + -ǭg, Caerpentaloch in gloss to HB, see discussion under tāl.

*pērïμ (m)


See OIPrIE §22.1, pp 368-71, EGOW p. 129.

Primarily, ‘a doer, a maker’; in Middle to early Modern Welsh, ‘a chieftain, a lord’. In early Indo-European times, the word may have had magical, shamanic associations, and might have evolved as a tribal deity-name. The ethnic name Parīsi (possibly formed on the verbal noun *parī + -s-joy-) could have, in origin, borne any or all of these connotations: see PNRB pp 437-8.

Koch, in YGod(JK) p 142, sees in a pherym rac ystre CA B31 (A66 has aber rac ystre) evidence of the survival of this ethnonym into the sixth century, presumably in north-east Yorkshire. However, it could be read simply as ‘chieftains’, and the text is very obscure.

pert[h] (f)


On the etymology, which is controversial, see OIPrIE §22.2 at pp 371-4, and Hamp (1980-2) at p. 85, and see also prenn and prïs.

Whatever its precise origin, pert[h] clearly belongs in the family of Indo-European *k’r- words associated with wood and trees, with more distant connections with words to do with cutting, and perhaps remotely with *k’er in the sense of ‘do, make, build’. In Welsh, it is generally used to mean ‘bush’ (singular or collective), so ‘thicket’ and, with human management, ‘coppice’ or ‘hedge’.

Jackson (1955a) p. 164, regarded the non-lenition of –rt as a Pritenic feature. The evidence below suggests this was also a feature of northernmost Brittonic, albeit with some variation (e.g. in early forms for Partick and Larbert). The cases in Cumberland might indicate that lenition of –rt occurred later in Cumbric, or not at all, as Jackson argued in LHEB, §149, pp 571-2: however, they may reflect the influence of later immigration from farther north.

Nevertheless, those under (a2) below, formed with suffixes (perhaps originally as stream-names) are likely to be early, and most of the dithematic names may be proper compounds or phrasal formations: the distinguishing mark of a proper compound should be initial lenition of the second
The line o berth maw ac eidin CT29(XI) might be amended to include a place-name with this element *o Berth-μa (see μa-) or *o Berth μanaw (see *man-).

a2) Partick Rnf CPNS p. 386 with early Middle Scots [εr] > [ar], + -īg or -ǭg. Gaelicised –eich: possibly an earlier stream-name.
Parton Cmb (Thursby) PNCmb p. 156 + an: again, maybe a stream-name.
Parton Kcb PNGall p. 221, but G portán 'little landing-place' is probably appropriate as there was a ferry across the Dee here.
Note that Parton in Allerdale, ibid p. 426, is probably a transferred name.
Perter Burn Dmf (Canonbie) CPNS p. 357, PNDmf p. 11, SPN² p. 211 + ar.

b1) Larbe rt Stg CPNS p. 357, PNFEStg p. 31 + *led- or leːd-.
Kilbert Howe Wml (Martindale) PNWml2 p. 219 ? + cil (A. Walker pers. comm.), but ON personal name Ketilbert is likely.
Solport Cmb PNCmb p. 107 ? + *sulu-: early forms vary between –b- and –p-, so either compound, ‘wood with a view’, or phrasal ‘wood-view’?

c2) Dumpert Stg (Muiravonside) PNFEStg p. 32 + din-.

For discussion of the following, names, see under lann:
Lambert Ladd Wml, Lampart Ntb (Haltwhistle), Lampert Hills, with Lambertgarth, Cmb (Farlam), Pouterlampert Rox (Castleton).

The following hill-names might be + pant-, but again, in the absence of early forms, they are all very doubtful. Taylor in PNFif5, pp. 466-8 suggests they may be Scots or Scottish English names involving 'pepper', perhaps alluding either to a 'peppercorn rent', the perceived colour of the hill, or an abundance of Wall-Pepper (Sedum acre):
Panbart Hill ELo (Dunbar) CPNS p. 374 + pant-, with loss of –t: as pant is masculine, lenition may imply a proper compound, ‘valley-thicket’.
c2) Pappert (or Papper) Hill and Sike Dmf (Tundergarth) PNDmf 122
Pappert, with Pappert Hill and Papperthill Well, Dnb (Bonhill)
Pappert Hill, with Papperthill Crags, Lnk (Shotts), but note Pauperwarthills 1539
Pappert Law Slk (Ettrick).
For all of these see CPNS p. 357 and PNFif loc. cit.: if these are + pant-, the absence of lenition would imply phrasal formations ‘valley of (the) thicket’.

peth (m)

IE *kʷesd- > eCelt *kʾetti- > Br, Gaul petti- > OW –ped- (LL) peth > M-MnW peth, Corn pyth, pe[yl]f, MBret pez > Bret pezh, Vannetais dialect pêh; OIr cuit > Ir, G cuid, Mx cooid; also Prit pett adopted as G peit, Anglicised pit[ːr]-.


The Indo-European etymology is very doubtful, for lack of convincing cognates.

The basic sense is ‘a piece, a portion’, in place-names, of land. The P-Celtic word was adopted into Gaulish Vernacular Latin as petia, pecia, ‘a portion of land’, which > Fr pièce adopted as M-MnE ‘piece’; in 12th ct Anglo-Latin, it was peta ‘an allotment of turbary’, which entered Middle
English as *pete > Modern English ‘peat’. Adopted, probably from Middle Welsh into Middle Irish, it was *pit ‘a ration, an allocation of food or drink’, perhaps influenced by the unrelated Vernacular Latin *piantia, ‘a pittance’, in monastic diet, ‘a light breakfast’.

This element might possibly be present, + *cors-, in Corstopitum PNRB pp. 322-4: see Richmond (1958), p. 140n, but but also *corô and *rid.

Most important for our purposes was its adoption from Pictish *pett into early Gaelic *peit with the sense of ‘a portion of land’, in particular a division of a former ‘multiple estate’: see Taylor (1997), pp 5-22 and in PNFif5, pp. 217-25. Jackson (1955a) p. 164, saw the non-lenition of -tt as a Pritenic feature, and its use as a place-name element as diagnostic of Pictish presence (see also Wainwright 1955, Nicolaïsen in SPN² pp. 195-204 and map 17, idem 1975 pp. 3-4 and map 3b, idem 1996 pp. 6-17, and Barrow in Uses pp. 55-6). 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, 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:

b2) Pittendreich MLo PNMMLo pp. 280-1 ? + [-h]n- + -*drîx, but probably Gaelic -*a drîche or – an dreacha, see CPNS p. 413, and cf. PNFif2 pp. 99-100 and PNFif3 p. 252, PNFif5 pp. 356-7, where Taylor refers to ‘at least thirteen instances’ of this name-formation.

**pimp**

IE *penkw*e > eCelt *k'enkw*e- > Br, Gaul pempe- (also Gaul pinpe- > OW pimp > M- MnW pump, M-MnCorn pymp, O-MnBret pempe; OIr còig > Ir cúig, G còig, Mx queig; cogn. Lat quinquēque, Gmc *fimfi- > OE fit > ‘five’, Gk pente, pompēi, Skt pañca, and ‘in all IE groups’ OIPrIE §7.1 p. 108.

See LHEB §103, pp 496-7.

‘Five’ Found in the North only at:

a2) Pumplaburn Dmf (Wamphray) CPNS p. 180 + -le [+ Scots –burn]: Watson compares G coigeach: perhaps *pimp-*le was similarly an appellative with legal significance? Pumpland Burn Dmf (Tinwald) may well have the same origin.

**plê:β (m)**

Lat plēbem, adopted as Br *plēbo- > MW plwyv > MnW plwyf, OCorn plui > MCorn plu > Corn plêu, OBret pluieu > MBret ploe > Bret ploue.

The oblique form of Latin plebs ‘the common people’, plēb-, was adopted as British *plēbo- to become Middle Welsh plwyv, Modern Welsh plwyf. Plebs came to be used in Christian terminology for a congregation, in Continental usage it was a unit within a pāgus (see pōwɛ:s and Quentel 1973), and so eventually ‘a parish and its inhabitants’. Its derivatives have that sense in Middle to Modern Welsh, Cornish and especially Breton, where ploue occurs in place-names and is an important term for ‘a parish, a local community.’ However in Cornwall (CPNE p. 187
s.n. *plu*), Wales and the North, it is a relatively rare place-name element, with no known ecclesiastical, legal or administrative sense, but perhaps indicating common land.

c2) Plenploth MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 355, PNMLo p. 369 + blajn-, which see; *ploif* 1593 implies that this was adopted into Scots from a 9th – 12th ct Cumbric form *-plaiv*. Cf Blaen-Plwyf Crd, though that seems to be a modern formation, DPNW p. 36.

**pol (m)**

NeoBritt *pol, *pul* > M-MnW *pwl*, Corn *pol*, Bret *poull*; ?adopted as M-MnIr, G *poll*, Mx *poyll*; adopted from Cmbrc or G as northern E/ SW and Border Scots *poll*, *pow*; probably cogn. WGmc *pōl > OE *pōl > ‘pool’, Scots *puil* (note also OE *pull*, *pyll*).

The etymology and historical inter-relationships among the various forms in the several languages remain uncertain: see EPNE2 pp 68-9 and 75, and LPN p 28.

The range of meanings includes:

1. A hollow, usually holding standing water, bog or mud: this seems to be the basic meaning in all the languages, extending to:
   
   i) a small pit, pothole, puddle,
   
   ii) a small to fair-sized pond;
   
2. An upland stream: judging from the discussions by Ekwall, in ERN pp 329-30, and Barrow, in Uses pp 59-61, this seems to be a semantic development characteristic of northern Brittonic > Cumbric, so that ‘in south-west Scotland, between the Clyde and the Ayrshire coast, the term *pol ... was the standard word for a small or medium-sized stream’ (Barrow op cit p 59); and it occurs frequently in names of similar burns throughout central southern Scotland and northern England (ibid. maps 2.3 and 2.4, pp. 60 – 1). Moreover, this usage influenced that of Gaelic *poll* and northern English/ SW and Border Scots *poll*, *pow*, so stream-names with Gaelic specifiers, and ‘inversion compounds’ with English specifiers, are found alongside Brittonic examples;

3. A lowland stream, especially a ‘slow-moving, ditch-like stream flowing through carse land’ (CSD s.v. *pow*): this seems characteristic of northern English and Scots usage, particularly in the Solway region, but not of northern Brittonic > Cumbric, although similar application is found in Welsh toponymy and is probably of Celtic origin (see CPNS p 204);

4. A cove, creek, sheltered inlet: again a usage characteristic of south-western Scots rather than Cumbric, but found in Welsh and Cornish coastal place-names (see CPNE pp 187-9).

Distinguishing Brittonic from Goideal examples is generally difficult, especially as most are strongly Anglicised.

a1) Several Pow Burns (e.g. two in Ntb), Pow Becks (e.g. three in Cmb) and Pow Waters (e.g. one in Dmf) are probably English/ Scots formations, as are cases like Polton MLo (PNMLo p. 281. + OE –*tūn* ‘a farm’); Pooley Bridge Wml (PNWml2 p. 211, + AScand -*haug*), an example of sense (ii) above, would have been formed on OE *pōl*-. Pulprestwic 1199x1200 (= Pow Burn) Ayrs is an interesting, presumably Gaelic, formation on an Old English settlement name.

a2) Pollock Burn Slk (→ R Ettrick) + -ǭg, or else Gaelic –*ach*.

Pollok Rnf Ross (2001) p. 177 + -ǭg, or else Gaelic –*ach*.

b1) Proper compounds with -*pol* as generic are likely to be early, and so Brittonic; most are definitely upland streams:
Camilty ML o PNML o p. 304, WLoPN p 22 ? + cam[ b] - + tī y or - treṣ̄ b, but Gaelic camalltaidh ‘twisted one’ is much more likely, with later folk-etymology giving forms like Campbell-tree 1684.

Crimple Beck YWR. ERN p. 105 + crum[ b] - : see LHEB §112(1) at p. 510.

Dipple or Dippool Water Lnk( → Mouse Water), Dipple, with Dippool Water, Ayrs (= Black Burn), Dipple Burn WLo (= Bog Burn, Bathgate; J. G. Wilkinson pers. comm.), and Dupple (= Blue Cairn, Kirkmichael), with Dupple Burn, Dmf (rising in Kirkpatrick Juxta ) CPNS p. 349, PNDmf p. 82, all + duǐ -.

Garpal Burn Dmf (Sanquhar), Garpel Burn Ayrs (x2, → R Ayr and → Loch Doon), Garpel Burn Rnf (Lochwinnoch), Garpel Burn Kcb (Balmaclellan) PNGall p. 142, and Garpol Dmf (Kirkpatrick Juxta), all + *garw -.

Ribble R, with Ribchester and Ribbleton (Preston), PN Lanc pp. 65, 144-5 and 146, ERN p. 340, JEPNS17 p. 44, ? + rō - , with lenition; possibly + variant * - pil cf. * pil, * pyl in Welsh place-names (see Pierce (1958-60) at p 264) and * pyl in Cornish ones (but see CPNE p. 185); for unaccented i > e in OE see OEG §369, pp. 153-4. Breeze (2010) proposes * pe:l > MnW pwyll ‘wise, steady’, but this is a very obscure and problematic river-name. Trauspool Cmb (→ King Water) ERN p. 331n1 (not in PNCmb) + trős -.

b2) Forms with *pol- or derivatives as a generic first element are extremely common, but many have second elements that are certainly or probably Gaelic, and a few might be English/ Scots ‘inversion compounds’, e.g., perhaps, Powdrake and Powfoulis Stg (but see PNFES tg p. 86, where Reid proposes G - fo-glais ’streamlet’ and drochaid ’bridge’). Even where the first element is Brittonic, loss of stress in Gaelic (GG §7(iv), pp. 13-14) and/ or English/ Scots speech leads to reduced forms like po-, pe[ r] - . Examples where the specifier is arguably Brittonic include: Falgunzeon Kcb (Kirkgunzeon) PNGall p. 135 + st’s n – Winnjan (Cumbric Gwïnnian). The form Boelwynnyn 1175x85 could be for lenited G - mę:l rather than Maxwell’s G - føl - ‘a garth, pen, fold’, see wal, also mæl, and Brooke (1991) at p. 319. On the saint’s name Winnjan, see Clancy (2002) for discussion of place-names commemorating Winnian and Finnian, and his controversial identification of these with Nynian.

Patervan Pbl (Drumelzier) ? + - terμïn, but see also * polter.

b2 Pillmouir ELo (Whitekirk) ? + - mōr: possibly + variant * - pil - , see Ribble under (b1) above; the second element would be Gaelic-influenced, if not Gaelic in origin; but similar names are common in Elo and neighbouring shires, possibly of varied origin, see DOST s.v. pilmware. Pilstanton Burn Wig PNGall p. 224, PNRGLV p. 85 + ?. *tan- (see * tā - ) + - an (or OE - tūn ‘a farm’), but see also tān.

Poldean Dmf (Wamphray) PNDmf p. 129 + - din.

Poldevine Dmf (Wamphray) PNDmf p. 129 + duǐ [ j i n].

Poldivan Lake Dmf (Closeburn) + duǐ [ j i n] which see.

Polgauer Cmb (Little Clifton) ERN p. 329, PN Cmb p. 360 + - gaũ r.

Pollentarfar Water (= West Burn), with Polintarf, Pbl (West Linton) CPNS p. 453 ? + - in - + - tarw, showing Gaelic influence: the farm is mentioned as ‘Polintarf’ in Robert Louis Stevenson’s Weir of Hermiston ch 7.

Polmont, with Polmont Hill, Stg CPNS p. 400, PNFES tg p. 39 - mōn[i]=: if not Gaelic; it probably preserves an earlier name of the Gilston Burn.

Polladan Ntb (lost, in North Tyndale) ? + an ancient stream-name * ū of - + - an.

Polterman Cmb (= Castle Beck, Naworth) PN Cmb p. 8 ? + terμïn, see Barrow cited by Todd (2005) p. 92 n29, but see also * polter and nant.

Polthledick Cmb (lost field-name in Burholme, perhaps an earlier name for the Carling Gill) ERN p. 329-30, PN Cmb p. 73 + - ĭ, see léid and discussion there, + - ĭgg, see - ĭg. Poltie Burn Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 226 + - tiy, or Gaelic - tiugh.

Poltinerum Cmb (Bewcastle) PN Cmb p. 62 ? + * cïnt[ r] , see discussion under cïnt.

Poltross Burn Cmb/ Ntb border PN Cmb p. 23 + - traws: there are two other streams of this name in Cmb, in Askerton and Lanercost, see Todd (2005) p. 92; see also Barrow (1992), p. 132 n24.
Poutreuet Ntb (Falstone) PNNtb p. 160 ? + *-treβ- + -ed, but note also Welsh *trefred ‘abode’ (see Coates, CVEP p. 323); some confusion with *Polterheued and Powterneth Beck, both nearby in Cmb, may be suspected; see also *polter.

Pow Maughan Cmb PNCmb p. 24 + Cumbric personal name *Merchiōn < Marciānus, see PNCmb p. 194 for Maughonby, and PNMLo pp. 132-3 for Merchiston.

Powbrand Syke Wnl (Stainmore) PNWml2 p. 78 + *-bran, or AScand personal name -Brand.

Powbrone Burn Lnk CPNS p. 204 + *brouān-. Gaelicised if not early Gaelic in origin, *poll-bróü.

Powcady Cmb (Walton) PNCmb p. 114 ? + *-cad-öü, but see discussion of Polterkened under *polter.

Powdonnet Well Wml (Morland) + personal name Dünǭd < Donātus, possibly a local saint or chieftain (cf. Cardunneth Pike Cmb, see cajr and *dīnn).

Powmuck Burn Dmf (Eskdalemuir) PNDmf p. 38 + *-moch, or else Gaelic *poll-muic.

For a number of other possible *pol- formations, see under *polter.

c1) Peddrie Burn, with Peddrie Dod, Pbl ? + *-treβ: if so, this might be a compound, with *pol as specifier.

Perbrys Pbl (unlocated) ? + *-prēs: if so, the lenition implies a compound.

c2) Mosspsaul Rox (Teviothead) PNRox p. 37 ? + *mayēs-, but a Scots ‘inversion compound’ with the personal name Paul seems likely.

*polter (m?)

‘An extended form’ of *pol (ERN pp. 330-1, PNCmb p. 487)? However, the suffix is obscure. The formation must postdate internal [-lt-] > [-ll-], i.e. 8th century (assuming the same occurred in northern Brittonic as in Welsh: see LHEB §54(1), p. 400). If the suffix were *-der < duβr>, surviving and recorded forms would all show [-ld-] > [-ll-], a development which Jackson (LHEB loc. cit. n1) says ‘appears to be quite late ... ld lasted into the MW period’.

This seems to have been in use in areas of Cumbric-speaking settlement in the 10th to 11th centuries as a term for an upland stream: see James (2008) at p. 201. It apparently occurs in:

a1) Polterheued Cmb (→ King Water) PNCmb p. 8 [+OE –heafod ‘head’].

Poldragon Cmb (Bewcastle) PNCmb p. 62 [+ AScand haug > ME –howe ‘a hillock, mound, barrow’]: on the modern form see discussion under *dragon.

Poutreuet Ntb (Falstone) PNNtb p. 160 ? + OE –heafod ‘head’, but see also *pol, or else *pol- + *-treβ- + -ed or -*red, see under *treβ: early forms may show confusion with Polterheued, above, and Powterneth Beck Cmb, below.

Powter Howe, with Pouterhow Pike PNCmb p. 373 [+ AScand haug > ME –howe ‘a hillock, mound, barrow’].

b2) Patervan Pbl (Drumelzier) ? + *-ban[n] or -mayn, but the lenition would be irregular: see also *pol.

Polterkened Cmb (Gilsland, ? = Peglands Beck) LanCart 1 + *cejn- (see *ceμ- + -ed, or + *cōnō (Breeze (2006c) p. 330), or personal name Kenneth < Gaelic Coinnich (Todd (2005) p. 92): Breeze, loc. cit., suggests a connection with Powcady (see under *pol), but the evidence for that place-name offers little support and is too late for certainty.
Polternan Cmb (= Castle Beck, Naworth) PNCmb p. 8 +-nant: if *polter is Cumbric, this would have to be a phrasal name with nant as specifier, perhaps being the name of the former stream; however, see under *pol and terūn.

Potrail Water Lnk (→ Clyde) CPNS p. 182-2 + -eil.

Potrenick Burn Lnk (→ Potrail Water) + -?

Pouterlampert Rox (Castleton) J. G. Wilkinson pers. comm. +lann- + -pert[h], or personal name Lambert.

Powterneth Beck Cmb (Brampton, → Gelt) PNCmb p. 24 + -nejth or -*nīδ as an early stream-name, but see also *pol.

Note: Polterneth, Peltreuerot Ntb (Falstone) PNNtb p. 160: these are probably errors for Poutreuet, arising from confusion with Polterheued and Powterneth Beck, both nearby in Cmb: for Poutreuet see above and under pol, and also Barrow (1992) p. 132 n23.

Pont (f)

Lat *pont- (oblique forms of pons) adopted as Br *pontā- > OW(LL) pont > M-MnW pont, O-MnCorn pons, O-MnBret pont.

‘A bridge’, initially perhaps a Roman-style, masonry bridge unlike eCelt *brīwo-/ā- (DCCPN p. 12), but replacing that as the general term in all the Brittonic languages.

a1) Pontheugh Brw (Cockburnspath) CPNS p. 348: there is no bridge here, and no reason to suppose there ever has been, it is probably pant- [Scots –heuch ‘a steep bank or steep-sided valley’].

Pundamot Wml (= Eamont Bridge) PNWml2 p. 205: a Cumbric or Norman-French formation? [+ river-name Eamont, OE *ēa-ġemot ‘river-meeting’ via AScand *ā-mót, see PNWml1 pp. 5-6].

b1) Penpont Dmf CPNS p. 356, PNDmf p. 107 + pen[n]-: this may have been a compound appellative, see Padel in CPNE p. 180, but otherwise could be phrasal (c2); on the history of this crossing-place, see A. D. Anderson (2010) at pp. 106-7.

Kilpunt WLo (Kirkliston) CPNS p. 348, PNWLo p. 43 + pen[n]- replaced by early Gaelic cenn-, Anglicised as kil-.

Powę:s (m)


‘Quiet, peace, rest’. Only recorded in West Brittonic in the compound poguisma ‘place of rest’ (see –ma). The association of this compound, at LL158 and 260, with the saint’s name Dewi (David) implies some religious connotation, perhaps a wayside shrine. By the seventh century, this word had fallen together with *pōwęs, which see.

a1) Pouis Rox (Castleton) CPNS p. 383: in view of the early Christian inscription in the vicinity, some religious use may be implied, but see *pōwę:s.

a2) Possil Lnk (Cathcart) CPNS p. 383 ? + -el, or, less likely, OE –hyll.

Posso Pbl (Stobo) CPNS p. 383 ? + –ma, see above.
pǭwęs (m?)

Lat *pāgensēs* adopted as late British *pǭwę:ses* > MW *Powys* (place-name, DPNW p. 399).

See LHEB p. 91, §46(6) pp. 373-4, and §75(7) pp 442-4, CIB i18 at pp 62 and 66, i25 at p 85, and i80 at p. 226 n1418.

Latin *pāgensēs* meant ‘people of a *pāgus*’, which may have been used specifically of a Celtic territorial unit, a ‘canton’ (see Quentel 1973, and Breeze 2015b, 186–7), or it may have referred more loosely to a rural area, so ‘countrymen, rustics’. In Continental usage, it was applied sometimes to the territory of a *civitas*, sometimes to a smaller district, and in Wales from the 12th ct, it was used for a *cantref* (see also *pleːβ*). 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, but by the seventh century it had fallen together with *powę:s*, which see for discussion and examples.

prenn (m?)

IE *kʷre-* (zero-grade of *kʷer*- ‘cut’, a specialised sense of ‘do, make, build’? cf. *pérũp*) > eCelt *kʷre-s-no-* > Br, Gaul *prenn-* (but also Gaul *prenn*, fem acc sg) > M-MnW *pren*, OCorn *pren* > Corn *predn*, OBr *prin* > Bret *prenn* ‘sortileges, sticks for divination’; OIr *crand* > M-MnIr *crann*, Mx *croan* ‘a mast’; cogn. Gk *prĩnos* ‘holm oak’.

On the etymology, see Hamp (1980-2).

One of a family of *kʷre-* words related to trees and wood, cf. *pert[h]* and *prıs*. The central meaning is ‘standing timber’, typically a single large tree, though in all the Celtic languages it comes, from an early date, to be used for various forms of cut and worked timber. In place-names it could presumably refer to prominent single trees, perhaps significant as boundary-markers, meeting-places or pre-Christian religious sites, or might mean ‘a cross’ (cf. OE *tréow*, ‘very common indeed’, Smith in EPNE2 p. 186; see also DCML pp. 212-14 and refs.)

For distribution, see SPN2 pp. 212-14 and map 20. Nicolaisen includes some names in Ayrs which consistently show initial *b*-; leaving these aside for the moment, this element seems largely restricted to Lothian and the Borders, along with Fife and north Tayside, straddling the supposed Brittonic/ Pritenic boundary; the distribution is not (pace Nicolaisen SPN2 p. 210) ‘predominantly Pictish’, the balance either side of the Forth is relatively even. What is striking is the relative absence of *prenn* from other parts of the Old North and Pictland; it occurs as a generic in about twenty name-phrases in Wales (AMR) and a couple in Cornwall (CPNE p. 193).

A further ground for uncertainty is the possibility that some, if not all, of these names in Scotland contain *brinn*: for devoicing of initial *b-*, cf. *plen* for *blain*, while ‘a certain tendency’ for early Celtic [u] to become [e] is identified by Jackson as a feature of Pritenic (Problem p. 161), so *prenn* might well be a ‘Pritenic’ (more accurately, east and south-east Scottish) form from *brunnjo-* (see *brinn*, and Taylor 2011 pp. 96-7). Moreover, many of the names listed below have *Prin- or Pirm-*, and both *[i/e]* variation and metathesis occurs in Anglicised forms of *brinn*, notably in Malvern Wor, see VEPN2 pp. 49-50. An additional consideration is the possibility that the place-name generic in question is in some cases a feminine noun (see Primside Rox below); the descendants of both *brinn* and *prenn* are generally masculine in the Brittonic languages, but Jackson treats the British *brunnjā- as feminine (LHEB §157 p. 581, §163 p. 590), while the Gaulish form *prenne* is apparently feminine too, so the situation remains confusing.
On the other hand, names that are relatively well-documented show fair consistency in their early forms, at least insofar as *P/-B* are distinguished, though the evidence is often sparse and late: if we are dealing with a regional dialectal feature, such variation between, but standardisation within, the forms of individual names would not be unexpected. In the present work, names consistently showing *B* in recorded forms have been listed under *brînn*, those showing *P* are listed below, but the two lists should be compared: in all cases, local knowledge of the topography could clarify the question, though the general picture seems to be of sites where ‘a rounded hill’ or ‘a prominent tree’ are equally possible.

a1) Press MLo (Stow) PNMLo pp. 367-8.
Press Pbl (Innerleithen) CPNS p. 351, PNMLo loc. cit.

a2) Pressie Rox (Maxton), and Pressie Braes ELo (Pencraigland), both CPNS p. 351 + -īg or -Ōg Gaelicised as *-aich*, or -in or plural -ōů. Cf. Pressie Fif (Wemyss), and others, PN Fif1 p. 597.
Pressiehall Dnb (Kilmarnock) likewise [+ Scots *-heuch* ‘a steep bank, ravine’].
Press Lodge Stg (Slamannan) PNFEStg p. 31 likewise.

Prendwick Ntb PN Ntb p. 160 *Prenderwyk* 1256 makes + -treβ- just possible, but other early forms do not support this [+ OE -wīċ ‘a homestead, hamlet, specialised farm’].

b2) Barnbougle WLo (Dalmeny) CPNS pp 351-2, PNWLo pp. 4-5 + *büg̥l*, cf. Barnweil Ayrs, listed under *brînn*, and note Padel’s comment favouring *brînn* here, at CPNE p. 34.
Prencader MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 352, PNMLo p. 368 + -cadeir.

Permitonan MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 351, PNMLo pp. 368-9 + -Ḡ[ǐ] [+ OE -tūn ‘a farm’], which see.

Plenderleith Rox (Oxnam) PN Rox p. 31 + -treβ- [+ ON *hlada* ‘a barn’]: early forms consistently *Pren-*, note that MacDonald favours *brînn* here – ‘Roxburgh dialect occasionally substitutes “p” for “b”. The interpretation is supported by the topography.’

Prenderguest Brw (Ayton) + -dreβ- (see *treβ*), the double lenition would imply that *prenn* (or *brînn*) here was feminine, but a Brittonic origin is doubtful, see discussion under *cest*.

Premside Rox (Morebattle) PN Rox p. 30 + -wen- (see *win[n]*) the mutation implying that *prenn* (or *brînn*) here was feminine [+ OE *ge-set* ‘a dwelling, a camp, a place for animals’ > ME/Scots *sete*, either ‘a dwelling, seat, settlement’ or in the Scots legal sense, ‘a letting, a lease’, see EPNE2 p. 120 and DSL].

Printonan, East and West, Brw (Eccles) CPNS p. 351 + -*tonnen* (see *ton*).

b) Barnbougle WLo (Dalmeny) CPNS pp 351-2, PNWLo pp. 4-5 + *büg̥l*, cf. Barnweil Ayrs, listed under *brînn*, and note Padel’s comment favouring *brînn* here, at CPNE p. 34. 
Permitonan MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 352, PNMLo p. 368 + -cadeir. 
Permitonan MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 351, PNMLo pp. 368-9 + -Ḡ[ǐ] [+ OE -tūn ‘a farm’], which see. 

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Permitonan MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 351, PNMLo pp. 368-9 + -Ḡ[ǐ] [+ OE -tūn ‘a farm’], which see. 

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Printonan, East and West, Brw (Eccles) CPNS p. 351 + -*tonnen* (see *ton*).
prēs (m)

IE *kʷre-* (zero-grade of *kʷrer- ‘cut’, a specialised sense of ‘do, make, build’? cf. pēr̥iţi) > eCelt * kʷre-s-tjo- > Br *prestjo- > OW(LL) prisc > M-eMnW prys (and presel). Corn *prys[k] (in place-names, CPNE p. 194); adopted in MiR as pres, G preas.

On the etymology, including its relationship to pert[h] and pren, see Hamp (1980-2) p. 85. On the vowel quantity, see LHEB §35, pp. 340-4: Anglicised forms generally show a lengthened vowel, though Middle English/Scots shortening has affected some names.

‘Brushwood, scrub, a thicket’, developing the sense of ‘managed (coppiced) bushes’.

This word is found in two of the awdlau attributed to Taliesin:
BT61(VII) kat ym prysc. kat leu: J. T. Koch (SNSBI Conference, Bearsden 1997) identifies the latter as Catlow YWR (PNYWR6 p. 201).
BT63(XII) ystadyl tir penprys: Clancy (2013) pp. 171-2 n34 (and see Gruffydd (1994), p. 71), suggests this may be ‘the area round Dumfries’ (see below), while Breeze (2002c) at p. 171, favours Press Castle Brw (see below).

a1) Jackson, LHEB p. 343, considered the use of this word as a simplex place-name ‘curious’, but he may not have taken into account the ‘managed’ sense and the importance of such coppiced thickets in the mediaeval rural economy. It is well-attested in England (see PNShr1 pp. 241-2 and CPNE p. 194) and Wales (at least a dozen in AMR showing simplex Prys[c], as well as many with a suffix, plural, diminutive etc.), and it seems relatively common in the North: Preese, with Preese Hall Lanc (Kirkham) PNLanc p. 153, JEPN17 p. 89.
Preesall Lanc (Lancaster) PNLanc p. 159, JEPNS17 p. 92 [+ ON –hǫfuð ‘a head’ replaced by OE -ofer ‘a ridge’, also + AScand –haug ‘a hill, a heap, a mound’, influenced by OE –halh ‘a nook, a detached portion of land, a water-meadow’): the implication of the complex range of mediaeval forms is that *Prēs had been adopted here by English speakers as the name of a district, and it came to be attached to a range of English and/or Scandinavian generics referring to specific locations in that district. In spite of the modern form, there is no evidence for *presel here.
Presdall Wml (Milburn) PNWml2 p. 124 [+ AScand –dal > ME –dale]: recorded forms do not favour dōl here.
Press Castle Brw (Coldingham) CPNS p. 421: see above.
Priorsdale Cmb (Alston) PNCmb p. 175 (see also PNLanc p. 153) [+ AScand –dal > ME –dale]: popular etymology has influenced forms from 17th century on.

C1) Pressmennan ELo (Stenton) CPNS p. 399 + -mōnǐō.

C2) Dumfries CPNS pp. 421-2 ? + din- or drum-: however, D[r]unfres 1189 onwards favours Gaelic dromn- added to an Anglicised *-Pres (with shortened vowel) from a Brittonic simplex (a1) *Prēs (or, if Clancy is right, *Penbrēs, see above), the meaning of which would have been opaque to Northumbrian English speakers, though Gaelic speakers might have recognised it as cognate with early Gaelic pres.
Perbrys Pbl (unlocated) ? + pol-: if so, the lenition implies a compound.
The etymologies of these forms, while doubtless related, are complex and controversial: see OIPrIE §18.2 at pp. 288-90. On the Brittonic forms, see LHEB§198(2), pp 656-7, and EGOW p. 135.

‘Before, opposite’, also ‘adjacent to’.

This prefix may be present, + -cę:d, in the kingdom-name Reget, Rheged. Williams’s objection (PT p xlii) that ‘opposite a wood’ is ar-goed in Welsh place-names does not rule out *rag-ge:d in a sense ‘[place] next to a wood’, or even ‘fore-wood, front part of a wood’. Such a formation would, however, have had to be later than lenition, as *rac-caito- would have given **rachę:d. If the name was *rag-ge:d, it should have developed in Welsh to **Rhygoed unless it had fallen into disuse during the transition from neoBrittonic to Old Welsh, and then been rediscovered from an early written source and revived by Welsh bards in the central middle ages, though its origin had by then become obscure. However, Watson’s discussion of Dún Reichet (home of St. Colmán Dubh Chuilinn) in Félire Óengussa, CPNS p. 168, draws attention to possible Irish parallels (especially for Dunragit, below); see also *reg, rō-, and –ed, and on Rheged in mediaeval Welsh literature, Haycock 2013 pp. 10-11 and 33-4 nn53-8.

The possibility that either of the following may have some connection with the kingdom of Rheged has complicated discussion of their names. Whether or not they have anything to do with that kingdom, the formation *rag-ge:d may be considered:

Dunragit Wig CPNS p. 156, PNGall p. 131 + dín- (or, more probably, Gaelic dún-) + -cę:d, or else rō-, which see, and see also Watson at CPNS p. 168 on Dún Reichet.

Rochdale Lanc PNLanc pp. 54-5, JEPNS17 p. 42 ? + -cę:d- [+ OE –hām ‘a farm, an estate’, replaced by ME –dale]; or else the suffix may be rō-, which see. The river-name Roch, which is rach(e) from 12th ct, but also Rached etc from 13th ct (PNLanc p. 28, ERN p. 344), may be a back-formation, which contributed in turn to the replacement of –hām by –dale. The name may have been reinterpreted to incorporate the OE poetic term reced ‘a hall’, but altogether it is highly problematic.

Note that Read Lanc (Padiham) is Reced in the mid 13th ct (JEPNS17 p. 49), but other forms beginning with Reveed 1202 (PNLanc p. 79) confirm that this is an error for a name probably derived from OE *rāge-hēafod ‘roe-head’, perhaps a ‘totemic’ name.

*red-

IE *[h₁]reth₂- (cf. *h₁reih, ‘move’, see ria) > eCelt *ret- > Br *ret- > verbal root in MW redeg (etc) > W rhedeg, MCorn resek, OBret retec > Bret redek; cf. OIr reithadh > Ir rith, G ruith, Mx roie; cf. *rod.
A verbal root meaning ‘run’. It may be present in early river-names, including the following, and see also under redin:

a1) [sikam de] Gileredh Wml (lost field-name in Newby)  PNWml2 p. 148 ? + cil-, influenced by ON gil ‘a ravine’, + -ir[r]-, perhaps preserving an ancient stream-name (A. Walker, pers. comm.).

a2) Forth, Firth of and R  ḫ + wo- + suffix -jā-, see PNRB pp. 269-71, ESSH p cxviii, and Nicolaisen (1958) at pp 111-12. I. Williams’s proposal *wo-rit-jā- is commonly cited, but if the sense is ‘somewhat, not very strongly, running’, O’Rahilly’s * wo-ret-jā- is the correct form. The root *wo-red- underlies the verbal form OW guoraut- > W gwared-, which means ‘succour, deliver’ (see *worð:d), but the meaning in a river-name, presumably from a much earlier formation, would probably be ‘sluggish’. The final [θ] probably reflects the influence of Goidelic rith, see redin, but might be a Scots development, cf. Keith < cęd. Unless they are all derived from a very garbled original, there cannot be any linguistic connection between this name and forms in Classical sources like Bodotria: on the latter, see *bóðar. For comprehensive discussion of the various names of the river and firth, see PNIf 1 pp. 39 – 45, also, for Werid in De Situ Albaniae and Welsh literary sources, Haycock 2013, 25-6, n33.

On Guerit, a possible lost name for the R. Lune and its region, see Rowland 1981-2. Penruddock Cmb (Hutton Soil)  PNCmb p. 213 + pen[n]- + -ōg: pen[n]- is presumably a secondary formation, prefixed to what was perhaps an early stream-name, either *red-ōg (see redin) or else *red-ōg - if the latter, note Coates’s suggestion, CVEP p. 284, ‘elliptically for something like maes rhedeg “a racetrack”, but this is very uncertain’. See also PNCmb loc. cit. Again, a possible trace of an early stream-name. Plent[r]idoc MLo (Borthwick, = Arniston) CPNS p. 136, PNMLo p. 100, Barrow 1973, p. 73 ? + blajn- + epenthetic –d- + -ōg: J. G. Wilkinson pers. comm., but see also tri-.

c2) Penrith Cmb  PNCmb pp. 229-30: + pen[n]-, -rid: see discussion under both of these, but early records favour –red, -reth. If this is -*red- 'run', or else -*re:d-, Welsh rhwydd 'fast, fluent, generous', a lost river-name, perhaps an earlier name for the Eamont, is possible.

redin (m)

IE *pr-ı̯ > eCelt * rati- > Br, Gaul rati-no- > OW adj retinoc > MW redyn > W rhedyn, OCorn reden > MCorn singulative redenan, MBret singulative radenenn > Bret raden; cf. (from OCelt *rati-) Middle-eMńIr, G raith; cf. (from o-grade *(s)por-no-) WGmc *farno- > OE fearn > ‘fern’, Skt parnam ‘a wing, feather, leaf’.

For the etymology, see OIPrIE §11.3 pp. 179, 181, DCCPN p. 28, EGOW pp. 136-7. For Continental examples, see ACPN pp. 98-101, where forms containing RATA are treated as representing either *rati- or *rāti-, see rōd.

‘Fern, bracken’, a collective noun.

*reg (f)

IE *prek-s- > eCelt *rek- > Br *rek- > M-MnW rheg-; cogn. Lat prex.

The root-sense is ‘a prayer, entreaty’; it acquired (as in Latin) the negative connotations of ‘a curse’, but with the suffix –ed it has the sense of ‘liberality, generosity’. Williams’s (1952) suggestion that this could be relevant to the kingdom-name Reget > Rheged remains attractive – compare my speculation regarding Elµed – but see also rag and *rō-.

rejadər (f)

IE *h₁rih₁s- (zero-grade of *h₁reih₁, ‘move’, see *ría) + -tis-ə- > eCelt *rīatrī- > Br *rīatrī- > OW reatir > MW ryeidr > W rhaeadr; OIr riathor > Mr riathar > Ir reathar.


‘A waterfall or cascade’.

Gruffydd (1990) identified Rayadr Derwenydd in the lullaby Pais Dinogad, CA1114, with the Lodore Cascade on Watendlath Beck Cmb, above Derwentwater. While this is plausible, his claim that there are no waterfalls of any size on any of the rivers in the North of the ‘Derwent’ type (see dār) overlooks the substantial cascade between two waterfalls on the uppermost stretch of the R Derwent in Derbyshire clearly shown on the 1st edn OS map but now submerged by the Derwent reservoir. If this awdl does date from the 6th century (see Koch in YGod(K), introduction §xii), that part of the High Peak could well have been hunting-ground for Brittonic-speaking aristocrats. See also Haycock 2013 p. 27 n37.

a1) Rutter Force, with Low Rutter, Wml (Drybeck) PNYWR3, p. 65, and Ryburn, YWR PNYWR7, pp. 136-7 [+ OE –būrna > ‘a burn’]; DEPNE(O) and PNYWR give OE hrīf ‘violent, fierce’ as an alternative, while

*ría or *rįjā

IE *h₁rih₁s- (zero-grade of *h₁reih₁, extended form of h₁er- ‘to move’, see *red- and *worę:d) > eCelt *rį-+ -w- > Br *riwā-, cf. Afon Rhiw Mtg, and MnW rhid ‘semen’ (and see also rejadər); cf. O-eMnIr rían ‘the sea’; cogn. Lat rīvus, and cf. OE rinnan ‘run’ and riþ ‘a stream’, Skt rīti ‘a stream’, and river-names of the ‘Rhine’ type.

Alternatively, IE(WC) *reɡ- > eCelt * reg- + -jā- > lBr *rejāj-; cf. (possibly cognate) Lat rigāre, and river-names of the ‘Regen’ type.

See OIPrIE §22.11, pp. 393-4 and §20.9 at p. 348, IIEL §6.4, pp. 121-30 and §6.6.9-10, pp. 137-40.

The sense of *ri- is ‘flow, pour’, that of *reg- is ‘to water, moisten, irrigate’. On these ancient hydronymic elements see Nicolaisen (1957) at p. 253 and Kitson (1998) at pp 73-118. One or other of them probably underlies several river-names in the North:

a1) Ripponden, YWR PNYWR3, p. 65, and Ryburn, YWR PNYWR7, pp. 136-7 [+ OE –būrna > ‘a burn’]; DEPNE(O) and PNYWR give OE hrīf ‘violent, fierce’ as an alternative, while
DEPN(C) favours OE hrēod ‘a reed’, but the 15th ct forms on which these are based could well be re-interpretations of the name. Rye R (with Riccal R, Rievaulx, Ryedale and Ryton) YNR ERN pp. 349–50, PNYNR p. 5, but see also rīw. Rye Water, with Dalry, Ayrs, unless that is a back-formation; see under *dōl.

A form with –w- + -l-, might underlie Rule Water Rox, but see also rīw.

**rīd (n, later f, but variable)**

IE *pr- (zero-grade of verbalised *per- ‘[go] across’) –tu- > eCelt *ritu- > Br *ritu- > OW(LLL) rīt > M-MnW rhyd, OCorn rīd > Corn *rīd (in place-names, CPNE pp. 197-9), OBret rīt; MIr -rith; cogn. Lat portus, Gk –póros, and cf. (from e-grade) Gmc *ferðuz > OE ford, AScand fjord.

See OIPrIE §15.7 at p. 250, also §22.12 at pp 394-6, and JEPNS1 p. 50. For Continental examples, see ACPN pp 103-4. On the gender, see CPNE p. 198.

‘A ford’. In Goidelic, this fell together with the verbal noun rīth, ‘running’, and was superseded by ãth. Confusion with the same root may arise in Brittonic too: i.e. *h₁reih₁, + -t- > *rēd- (which see, and see also LHEB §7(2), pp 284-5, and CPNE loc. cit). The prevalence of red in early forms of several place-names in the North (and see Welsh examples cited by Richards (1960-3) at p. 216) raises the possibility that either the pronunciation of rīd in West Brittonic was with a rather open vowel [rįd], or else that these are actually formed from *rēd-, ‘running’.

On Celtic religious cults associated with fords, see DCML p. 176, regarding the Gaulish goddess [P]ritona.

**Rīd** pretty certainly occurs in a number of Roman-British place-names: 
*Carbantoritum* PNRB pp. 300-1 + *carβan-*, if Rivet and Smith’s emendation to -ritum is accepted, but see also rīw. The fort at Easter Happrew Pbl. 
*Maporitum* PNRB p. 412 + *mab-, and *Tadoritum* PNRB p. 463 + *tad: see discussion under mab, and the note above on possible religious connotations. Both are unlocated, but probably in southern Scotland.

This element might possibly be present, + *cors- in *Corstopitum* PNRB pp. 322-4, see Wilkinson (2004), p. 87 n62, but see *cors, corð and peth.*

**kat yn ryt aclut** CT61(VII) presumably refers to a ford somewhere near Dumbarton, but it is unlocated.

a2) Forth R  ? + wo-: Williams’s proposal *wo-rit-jā- is commonly cited, but if the meaning is ‘somewhat, not very strongly, running’, O’Rahilly’s *wo-ret-jā- is the correct form: see *red-, also *worǥ:d.
Penruddock Cmb (Hutton Soil) PNCmb p. 213 + pen[n]- + -ǭg: or else + *red-, see discussion under that element.

b1) Penrith Cmb PNCmb pp. 229-30: + pen[n]-, which see: Ekwall’s interpretation, ’chief ford’, discussed there would imply a compound formation, otherwise this could be phrasal, (c2). The final [ʊ] is probably the NW England dialectal variant, see ç̆d, though the influence of Middle Irish rīth would not be impossible here. The ford, if this is – rīd, was 1 mile SE, at Eamont Bridge, see PNCmb loc. cit. However, a lost name for the Eamont is not impossible, see *red-.
b2) Redmain Cmb  PNCmb p. 267 + i[r]- + *mayn (which see regarding a possible genitive singular form). The local pronunciation, see PNCmb loc. cit., favours rīd- rather than *red- here, and note the considerations above regarding forms with red.

Roderbren Ayrs (Tarbolton) ? + + i[r]- + *brinn- or –*prenn-, with rīd- > rod- by dissimilation, see Breeze (2006a), but see also *rod and *rōd.

c2) Talabret Rnf (Pollock or Cathcart) + tal- + i[r]-. On the aspirated –hr- see HEB §93, pp 473-80: the form must be Cumbrian, post-900. On the location, see Barrow (1992) p. 214.

rīɣ (m)

IE(NW)*h₃reig- ‘stretch out, direct, order’ (< IE *h₃reig-. ‘extend’, see rīn) + *s > eCelt *rīɣs- > Br, Gaul rīks-, rīgo- > OW Rīg- (in personal names) > M-eMnW rhi, OBret ri; O-MnIr ri > G rīgh, Mx ree; adopted from eCelt into early Germanic as *reiks- > OE rīce ‘a kingdom’ (see D. H. Green (1998), pp. 150-1); cf. (from lengthened grade *h₃reig-) Lat rēx, Skt rāj-.

See OIPrIE §17.1, especially at p. 268, and §22.7 at p. 387. DCCPN p. 29 (also p. 28 s.v. rego-), HEB §§75-7, pp. 440-52, §79, pp. 455-6, §82 pp. 459-60, and §89, pp. 469-70, and CIB 465, pp. 207-11, and p. 287. For the etymology, see OIPrIE §11.3 pp. 179, 181, EGOW pp. 136-7. For Continental examples, see ACPI pp 102-3.

‘A king’.

This element occurs in the name Rigodunum PNRB p. 448 + -dīn, probably the fort at Castleshaw YWR. However, as the usual term for ‘a king’, this word was superseded in the Brittonic languages at an early date by others (brenin < *briy-ant-in-, cf. bre[ɣ], teyrn < *tiyern); so place-names like Dalry MLo, PNMLo 124 and see under *dōl, if they contain the word for ‘a king’, are likely to be Gaelic in origin (modern pronunciation with [-rai] favours Gaelic *dail-flhraich, cf. wrūγ, and this may be true of the others too); for rīgh in Kilrymont (= St. Andrews) see PNFif3, p. 478.

A form with an adjectival suffix, *rīɣ-on- > MW rhion, forms the core of the polis- name Rerigonium of the Novantae PNRB pp. 447-8, + the intensive prefix rō- and formative suffix –jo.

A number of places mentioned in mediaeval Welsh verse are thought to recall the kingdom ruled from Rerigonium. Kaer rian in BT29 might be Cairnryan Wig, and luch reon in BT34 (R[h]eon in later poems) Loch Ryan. Pen Ryonyd yn y Gogled TYP. 1, later modified to Penryn Rioned TYP. 85 (see also TYP p. 229), may likewise have been a place associated with Rerigonium, being *rīɣ-on-jo- + pen[n]-. See Haycock (2013), pp. 9 and 22-3 nn26-7.

The ‘royal’ associations of this area seem to be reflected in the mediaeval lordship of Portree on the Rhinns, presumably associated with Port Rīg referred to in the story of Néide mac Adna in the 12th ct Book of Leinster. Both Watson, CPNS p. 157, and MacQueen, PNRLV p. 81, identify this as Portpatrick, though the proximity of the place in the Irish text to Rīnd Snóc rather suggests a harbour in the south Rhinns, near to the Mull of Galloway, as OE *snōc, when used of coastal features, consistently refers to a long, narrow promontory, often a peninsula with a narrow isthmus like that of the Mull.⁶

⁶ In place-names, Middle Irish snōc and Gaelic snòig are from OE snōc or a Scandinavian cognate. Gaelic snòig occurs at least three times on Tiree (An Snòig near Sanday, Port Snòig below Ben Hynish – with a narrow spit of rock across the entrance to the bay – and Snòig on the west side of Ceann a’Bhara); OE
a1) Loch Ryan Wig  CPNS p. 34, PNGall p. 202  *rīj- + luch-, Gaelicised loch:- see above.

b2) Cairnryan Wig (Inch)  PNGall p. 52 (as Cairnarze) ?carn+ -*rīj-, but the first element is probably Gaelic cārn: see above.
Dunree Ayrs (Cassilis)  CPNS p. 199  ? + din-, but probably Gaelic.

Note: Dalreagle Wig (Kirkinner), PNGall p. 103, is treated by MacQueen, PNWigMM pp. 22-3, as Gaelic *dail- ’a haugh’ or *doire- ’oakwood’ + -riaghail ’a rule’ (from the same root as rīj), as a stream-name, perhaps indicating a boundary, cf. Regal Burn Lnk (Avondale, CPNS p. 147), but see *dōl and eglės. Early forms favour -riaghail in Carseriggan Wig (Kirkcowan) too: see CPNS pp 147-8, PNGall p. 62, PNWigMM p. 23, also PNFi1 p. 457, discussing Ryelaw (Kinglassie).

*rijajn (f)

Br rīg- (see rīj) + -agnā- > M-MnW rhiain; Old-MIr rígain > eG righinn

Originally ‘a princess’, but extending to ‘a maiden’.

c2) Pularyan Wig (Inch)  PNGall p. 230, PNRLV pp. 80-1 + *pol- + -i[r], or else -aryant, but a connection with rīj is likely as it is close to Cairnryan. However, early forms favour a Gaelic formation, with Gaelic-adopted pol- + righinn, here presumably ‘a princess’, though it fell together with righinn meaning ‘a snake’ and so became obsolete.

The Modern Welsh plural form is rhianedd, but a genitive singular *rieini < *riyayni is implied by the princess’s name *Rieinmelth (for Riemmelth in the ms Harley 3859 genealogy, see LHEB §38(A1) pp. 351-3). On the basis of this, a nominative plural form, *rieini < *riyaynijās, might be surmised. Such a plural, or archaic genitive singular, may be present in:
c2) Lkreikeini Cmb (Dalton)  LanCart49 + lanerc- + - i[r]- (A. Walker, pers. comm.). This may be of interest as evidence of the role of women in upland farming in the Cumbric period: for the date, see discussion under lanerc, and compare Roswrageh Cmb, discussed under wreig. But see also *oyn.

*rīn[n] (m)

IE(NW) *hriig- (zero-grade of IE(NW)*hreig- ’stretch out’ < IE *hreig- ’extend’, see rīj)-nd- > eCelt *rindo- > Br *rindo- > OW(LL) plural rinion > MW –ryn > W –rhyne (in place-names), Corn *rynn (in place-names, CPNE p. 199), OBret –rinn (in compound); OIr rind > Ir, G, Mx rinn.

See OIPrIE §22.7, pp. 387-8.

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snōc occurs in the North as a coastal feature at Blythesnuk Ntb (Blyth), Snook Point Ntb (Beadnell), The Snewke Ntb (Lindisfarne), and Le Snoke de Berwic Ntb (apparently Sharper Head, Berwick). Inspection of all these supports the observation above. Note that Barbour’s Mullyrrysnwk (Bruce I 118) is misconstrued by Bellenden as Mulis Nuk; Barbour also refers to Turnberys snuke, Bruce IV.556, and Blin Harry to ‘Dwnottar, a snuk within the se’, Wallace VII.1044.
‘An apex, point, promontory’. Apart from the Breton compound *gabl-rinn*, cognate with Old Irish *gabul-rind*, ‘a pair of compasses’, the word survives in the Brittonic languages only in place-names. For examples (mainly probably Gaelic) throughout Scotland, see CPNS pp. 495-6.

**Penryn Rioned** TYP. 35 (see also TYP p. 229) is a Middle Welsh modification of *Penryonyd* TYP. 1: see **rîy**. It incorporates the Welsh (and Cornish) place-name Penrhyn, for which there is no evidence in the North. GPC treats *pen-rhy* as a compound appellative, and –*rhy* in other Welsh place-names as a back-formation, but, as Padel points out (CPNE p. 199), the stress-pattern indicates a phrasal formation, and the Goidelic cognates support *rî[n]* as a genuine, though archaic, place-name forming element in Brittonic.

a1) The Rhins of Galloway, Wig, are possibly mentioned in three early Irish sources: the Martyrology of Oengus (under September 28th), Marianus Scottus (s.a. 1087 = 1065: note that Marianus was writing at Movilla Dwn, almost within sight of the Rhins Wig, so is more likely to be referring to them than Rins Rsc), and in the story of Néide mac Adna in the Book of Leinster; in the Latinised nominative plural, it appears in the Libellus de Nativitate Sancti Cuthberti: see CPNS pp. 157-8, 165, 168, and 515 n158. The name is probably Goidelic (+ Scot plural –*s*), but could be Brittonic in origin. For the location of *Rind Snôc*, see under **rîy**.

a2) Rinion Hills Cmb (Kingwater) PNCmb p. 96 + plural –*jon*: *Runeon* 1589 suggests Cornish *run*, Breton *run*, ‘hill, slope’, but other records show *Rîn-* consistently, the Cornish plural of *run* is *runyow* (CPNE p. 349), and that word is not recorded in Welsh.

b2) Renfrew CPNS p. 349 + -frûd, Gaelicised.

**rîw** (n, later m or f)

?IE *(NW) *h₃rιg- (see *rîm*) > eCelt *rigo-* > Br *rigo-* > OW(LL) *riu* > M-MnW *rhiw*, Corn *rew* (in place-names, CPNE p. 196).

‘A steep slope’, or perhaps a track up such a slope.

Watson’s proposal (CPNS p. 35) of this element in *Carbantorigum*, variant –*ridum*, ‘obviously makes very good sense’, say Rivet and Smith at PNRB pp. 300-1, though they prefer –*rîd* here: + *carβan*.

a1) Rye R, with Ryedale and Rievaulx, YNR ERN p. 349, PNYNR5, pp. 5 and 73, Ekwall proposes *rîw* (cf. Afon Rhiw Mtg DPNW pp. 410-11), but see also **ria**. Wardrew Ntb (Gilsland) PNNtb p. 207 [+ OE *weard* > ‘ward’, i.e. ‘lookout’].

a2) Laggangarn, earlier *Lékkingoriow*, Wig Brooke (1992) at p. 311 + lech- + -[h]în- (Gaelicised to *leac-an*: ‘slab of the...’, later to *lagán*: ‘a little hollow’, or else these were prefixed by Gaelic-speakers to an earlier Brittonic name) + -*wo*, but see also **woreü**. Rule Water Rox + -*l*: but see also **ria**.

c2) Cumrew Cmb PNCmb p. 77 + *cumm*, see **cumb**.
rō-

IE *pro- (from *per- ‘pass through, go beyond’) > eCelt *ro- > Br. Gaul *rö- > MW ry- > W rhy-, M-MnCorn re-, Bret re-; O-MnIr, G ro-; cogn. Lat prō- ‘in front of’, Gk pro- ‘in front of’, Skt pra- ‘in front of, ahead of’; see also rag.


In Brittonic, an intensive prefix used with nouns, ‘great’, and with adjectives, ‘exceedingly, completely, etc.’.

It is present in Rerigonium, see rīy.

It may be present, + -cē:d, in the territorial name Reget, Rheged. If the name was *rö-gē:d, it should have developed in Welsh to **Rhygoed, but see discussion under rag, and see also *reg. Whether or not they have any connection with Rheged, Dunragit Wig and Rochdale Lanc may likewise have this prefix rather than rag-, but again see discussion there. For critical reviews of opinions as to the location of this territory (and of Woolf’s suggestion that the name arose from a misinterpretation of an honorific adjective * rō-gēd > MW rhyyed ‘of great gifts’ applied to Urien), see Breeze 2012b, Haycock 2013 pp. 11 and 33-4 nn56 and 58, and Clancy 2013, pp. 156-7 and 169-70 nn19-26.

It may be combined with –duβr in river-names, but see also rūō:
Carruthers Dmf (Middlebie) CPNS p. 368, PNDmf p. 91 + cajr- ? + -duβr
Glenruther Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 150 + cǔl- or *cǔl-, see both of these.
Riddrie Lnk (Glasgow: the area south of the Molendinar Burn): see Durkan (1986) at p. 284.
Rother YWR ERNp. 348, PNYWR7 p. 136.
Rutherglen Lnk.
Rutter Force, with Low Rutter, Wml (Drybeck) PNWml2 p. 99, but see also rejadār and trefβ.

It may be present in R Ribble, with Ribchester and Ribbleton (Preston), PN Lanc pp. 65, 144-5 and 146, ERN p. 340, JEPNS17 p. 44, + -pil, but see discussion under pol.

It is possibly combined with –treβ in:
Rattray Kcb (Borgue) CPNS p. 364, PNGall p. 233; proposed by Breeze 2003, 162-3, it is possible here, but early forms for Rattray in Abd and Per favour a Pictish cognate of rǭd, Gaelicised as rath, See A. James (2014b), p. 23.
Rutter Force Wml see above.
Tartraven WLo (Linlithgow) PNWLo p. 64, Wilkinson 2013, p. 4 + -treβ- + -an: see torr, but Retrevyn 1264 implies earlier rō-.

*rod (f)

IE *[h₁]roth₂- (o-grade of *[h₁]reth₂- ‘run’, see *red-) –eh₂ > eCelt *rotā > Br *rotā- > MW rot > W rhod, Corn rōs, OBret rod (uncertain) > Bret rod; cogn. Lat rota, Skt ratha ‘a chariot, a waggon’.

‘A wheel’, but also, in Middle Welsh, ‘a circuit, a district’, while Owen and Morgan, DPNW pp. 292-3 s.n. Lledrod, suggest ‘a defensive enclosure’ (cf. rǭd).

b2) Roderbren Ayrs (Tarbolton) SPN² p. 213 + ū[r]- + brūn or -prenn, but see also rūd and rǭd.
rǭd (earlier f, but later m?)

eCelt *rātis > Br, Gaul *rātis > MW rawt > W rhawd, Bret –ret (in a compound): apparently adopted from Brittonic into Old-MIr as ráth ‘a ring-fort’ > eG ráth, Mx raath, and re-adopted from MIr into MW as rath > W rhath; cogn. Lat prātum ‘a meadow’. See Jackson (1970), p. 78, and PNRB pp. 443-4. For the etymology, see OIPrIE §11.3 pp. 179, 181, DCCPN p. 28, EGOW pp. 136-7. For Continental examples, see ACPI pp. 98-101, where forms containing RATA are treated as representing either *rāti- or *rati-, see redîn.

The basic meaning in Brittonic is probably ‘an earthen rampart’, thence ‘a fortified enclosure’. It came to be applied, or transferred, to Roman fortifications (PNRB p. 443). A Dea Ratis was invoked on Hadrian’s Wall at Chesters and Birdoswald (PCB pp. 276, 295, 474).

For ráth in Irish place-names, see Toner 1998-2000. In Ireland, and likewise (though at a relatively late date) 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 (see Aidan Macdonald 1982, and T. James in Usæs at pp. 106-8. Rāth is uncommon in the north and east of Ireland (probably obsolete in those regions by the tenth century, Toner op. cit. p. 30), and Gaelic rāth likewise rare in Arg and SW Scotland (but see PNBute p. 568). In eastern Scotland, where Gaelic rāth is relatively common, Macdonald (op. cit.) argues that Pictish usage influenced its sense; see also Taylor 2011, 107-8, and PNFif5 p. 477. A similar usage probably underlies the Modern Welsh sense of rhawd, ‘a host, a troop’, while rhath means ‘an earthen mound’.

None of the instances shown below is unproblematic. As in Arg, but in contrast to Pictland, Gaelic rāth seems very rare or absent. Catterick may show an early use of the British element in a compound, and Rattrax seems to be a compound too, though the cognate is rare or absent in Goidelic compound names. Like Rattrax in Abd and Per, Rattrax might be a P-Celtic compound appellative later applied as a place-name.

a2) Ratho MLo PNMLo pp. 349-50 + plural –őü: there are two notable hill-forts in this parish (J. G. Wilkinson, pers. comm.).

b1) Catterick YNR PNYNR p. 242 ? +cad-; or else -*trajth, or Latin Cataracta adopted by Brittonic speakers. See cad for discussion, also Catterick Moss Drh (Stanhope). Penratho ELo (lost) CPNS p. 355 + pen[n]- + plural –őü: or else (c2).

b2) Roderbren Ayrs (Tarbolton) SPN 2 p. 213 + ñr- + -brînn or –prenn, but see also rîd and *rod.

Romanno, with Romanno Bridge and Romanno Grange Pbl (Newlands) CPNS pp. 153-4 + -manach, see mônach. Forms like Rothmanaic c1160 seem to show the form *roth that is common in place-names in Pictland; it is referred to by Taylor 2011, pp.107-8, and PNFif5 p. 477, also Márikus in PNBute p. 568, as ‘Pictish’, but would in fact be a Gaelic form influenced by rǭd. Here it may refer to territory ruled from the major hill-fort that overlooks the settlement, which became a grange of Holyrood Abbey, see CPNS loc. cit., Durkan (1986), and D. Hall (2006) p. 157.

c1) Muckra Slk (Ettrick) CPNS p. 138, Muckraw WLo (Torphichen) CPNS p. 147, PNWLo pp. 96-7 both ? + moch- or else + crôw, which see, but Gaelic *muc-râth or *mucrach are possible. Rattrax Kcb (Borgue) Pngall p. 233, CPNS p. 364 + treb: Breeze 2003, 162-3, explained correctly that Middle Welsh rhath (see above) cannot be relevant here, but ignored the fact that O-MW *rawd must have remained current in Brittonic (see above); he also overlooked the research by Macdonald and T. James cited above. A compound * rǭd-dreb might possibly have
been an appellative, signifying ‘farm of a chieftain’s fort’, i.e. ‘a demesne’. See also rō- and A. James (2014b), p. 23.

c2) Carrath MLo (Stow) PNMLo pp. 372-3 + cajr-: Carthow loc. cit. may be the same + an OE or Scots element such as –hōh ‘a heel, a heel-shaped hill-spur’; cf. next entry. Carrath, Great and Little Wml (Murton) PNWml2 p. 104 ? + cajr-, but documentation is very late (A. Walker, pers. comm.). If early, Carrath and Carrath may be ‘a fort with an earthen rampart’, if late, ‘stockade-village of a chieftain’s estate’.

rōs (? earlier f, but later m or f)

IE *pro- (see rō-) + *steh2- ‘stand’ (see *was) > early Celtic *rostā- > Br *rossā- > OW (LL)-MW ros > W rhos, Corn *ros (in place-names, CPNE pp. 199-203), M-eMnBret ros, roz; OIr ros[s] > Ir, G, Mx ros; cogn. Skt prastha ‘a plateau, a table-land on top of a mountain’ (see below).

See LHEB §35(2), pp. 341-3, and §122(3), pp. 530-4, and Padel's very full discussion in CPNE pp. 199-202. Coates 2012 p. 78 draws attention to a Proto-Semitic root *ra’s ‘headland, promontory’. Note also Sims-Williams (1991) on the dating of the ‘New Quantity System’, and so of the lengthening of the vowel in Brittonic. While forms with a short vowel might be expected only in areas of the earliest Germanic-speaking occupation, and forms with a lengthened vowel elsewhere, some Middle English and early Modern forms show early Middle English lengthening before an inflectional vowel [rōse], while others show late Old English doubling of the consonant and shortening of the vowel in the same context [rōssē]; see OEG §287, pp. 121-2, and notes on the place-names in (a1) below, also Coates op. cit. p. 79 n26.

The root meaning as given by Watson, CPNS p. 116, is ‘something forth-standing’, and this agrees with its use for ‘a promontory’ in all the Celtic languages. However, the reference is especially to flat-topped promontories, both coastal and on river-bends, and this seems to reflect the basic sense of Sanskrit prastha, ‘something spread out’, or ‘something that can be proceeded across’ (which is consistent with the derivation of IE *pro- from *per-, see rō-), so a broader sense, ‘high but relatively level ground’, thence ‘upland pasture, moorland’, may be a better interpretation, and such a usage is likewise common to all the insular Celtic languages.

Later semantic developments, to ‘a (lowland) plain’ in Modern Welsh, ‘marshland’ in Herefordshire English dialect, ‘woodland’ in the modern Goidelic languages, are unlikely to be relevant in the North. On these usages, see EPNE2 pp. 87-8, and Mac Giolla Espaig (1981).

kat yn ros terra BT29(VI) is emended by Williams PT p. 126) to ...rost eira ‘upland of snow’, which Breeze (2002b) at p. 169 identifies with Snow Hill WLo (Bathgate), though Snedden in Paisley Rnf or Sneddon near Dumfries are other possible candidates. In any case, idem 2012c identifies it, along with Rosee in other mediaeval Welsh verse, as Rossett Wml (Kendal Ward, Langdales) PNWml1 p. 207 ? + -ed, but the earliest record (sic 1706) is far too late to allow for any certainty: ON hross-sét ‘horse shieling’ is the likeliest origin, even if it was adopted by Cumbrian speakers and found its way into mediaeval Welsh poetry.

a1) Fletchers Cmb (Alston) PNCmb p. 174 F[ll]eecheroo 1475 [? + ME fleethere ‘a butcher’ or OFr fleche – ‘an arrow-maker’, or a personal-name from either]: ‘upland pasture’ here, but ‘speculation is dangerous’ PNCmb loc. cit.
Roos YER PNYER p. 56: here ‘promontory’, in an area of very early Germanic-speaking settlement, see Coates 2012 p. 79 n26. The earliest forms including Rosse DB show a short vowel with residual inflectional –e, later forms, from Rose 1285, show Middle English lengthening: see above, and LHEB §35(1) at p. 342, and §122(3), pp. 530-4.
Roose, with Roosecote, (Dalton-in-Furness), and Roosebeck (Aldington), Lanc PN Lanc pp. 202 and 208: here the long vowel could be from neo-Brittonic, but again Rosse DB suggests Old English consonant doubling and vowel shortening (see above), with later Middle English re-lengthening (Roos from 1336). This could be ‘promontory’ or ‘moorland’; see Edmonds (2013), p. 22.


Ross Ntb (Belford) PNNtb p. 169: a coastal promontory. The short vowel, consistent in records from 1208x10, could be from late British here if it was heard by Northumbrian English speakers before the neo-Brittonic ‘New Quantity System’.

Ross Castle Ntb (Belford) PNNtb p. 169: a coastal promontory. The short vowel, consistent in records from 1208x10, could be from late British here if it was heard by Northumbrian English speakers before the neo-Brittonic ‘New Quantity System’.

Rostrowich (Aldington), Lanc PNLanc pp. 283-285: a coastal promontory. The short vowel, consistent in records from 1208x10, could be from late British here if it was heard by Northumbrian English speakers before the neo-Brittonic ‘New Quantity System’.

Rossett Wml (f-n in Shap Rural) PNNm1 26: this is probably ‘upland pasture’, maybe from as late as the Cumbrian period.

a2) Cockrossen Kcb (Tongland) PNGal1 p. 75 ? + * -coh - * -an or -in [+ OE cocci³ ‘a game-bird’, or OE cocci² ‘a hillock’ in an ‘inversion compound’; see EPNE pp. 103-4]: ‘a small piece of hill-pasture’ is probably the sense here, it is not on a promontory.


Rossett Wml (Kendal Ward, Langdales) PWml1 p. 207 ? + -ed; see above for Breeze’s identification Rosedd mentioned in mediaeval Welsh poetry.

Rossington YWR PNYWR1 p. 49 + -an or -in [or OE –ing²-tān ‘farm named (after) or, with -ing²’, ‘associated with’ *Rosse]: this is on a river promontory; cf. Rossie Fif (Collessie), PNFif4 pp. 234-8.

b1) Melrose Rox CPNS pp. 175, 496, PNRox p. 26 + * me1-: while Nicolaisen, like other scholars, invokes this as the classic example of a ‘pre-English Cumbrian name’ (SPN² p. 8), it should be noted that Bede’s Mailros, HE III26, also in VCA, is a Goidelic or Goidelic-influenced form (LHEB p. 327), and the name could have been given by Irish-speaking monks. Old Melrose, the original monastic site, is a ‘flat-topped river-promontory’ par excellence.

b2) Rosswrageth Cmb (Gilsland) PNCmb p. 103, Lan Cart 1 etc. + -wreigio, plural of wreig, which see for discussion of the form and of the possible evidence for the role of women in hill farming during the Cumbrian period: ‘upland pasture’.

Rosseheath Dnb CPNS pp. 246-7 + *nued: a substantial, hilly peninsula between the sea-locks Gare Loch and Loch Long.

c2) Cardross Dnb CPNS p. 353 + *carden-, which see,: a significant promontory on the Clyde estuary.

Primrose Brw (Preston) CPNS p. 352, and Primrose Dhr (Jarrow), both with Primrose Hills, +brinn- or pren[n]-, see under both of these,. Both could be ‘upland pasture’. (Primrose MLo (= Carrington) is from the family name of the Earls of Rosebery).

rūð

IE *h₁rœudh- (o-grade of *h₂rœudh-‘(bright) red’) > early Celtic *rōudo-/ā- > Br, Gaul *rōudo-/ā- > Old-MW rōd > W rhudd, OCorn rōd > MCorn rū[ly]th > Corn ruth, OBret rū[d]al > Bret rūz; OIr ríad > Middle -Mnr rua, G rūadh, Mx rūy (from earlier oblique form); cogn. Lat rūfas, Gmc *rāudaz > OE rēad > ‘red’, ON rjöðr, Skt rohita, and cf. (from zero-grade *h₁rœudh-) Lat ruber, Gk erythros, Skt rudhira.
‘Red’. In the Celtic languages, especially ‘reddish-brown, ginger, ruddy, russet’.

c1) Names of the ‘Rother’ type are probably rō- + -duβr, see both these elements, but rūð- + -ar or –duβr is possible. They include:
Carruthers Dmf (Middlebie) CPNS p. 368, PNDmf p. 91 + cajr- ? + - duβr; note Red Cleuch, ‘A deep rugged glen through which a stream runs, this stream rises on Carruthers Fell and falls into Kirk Burn’ (OS Name-Book OS1/10/37/44; A. Hunt pers. comm.), but see under cajr.
Glenruther Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 150 + cūl- or *cūl-, see both of these.
Riddrie Lnk (Glasgow: the area south of the Molendinar Burn) see Durkan (1986) at p. 284.
Rother YWR ERNp. 348, PNYWR7 p. 136.
Rutherglen Lnk influenced by Gaelic ruadh, = -*glīnn, early Gaelic –glen, or Scots -glen.
Rutter Force, with Low Rutter, Wml (Drybeck) PNWml2 p. 99, but see also rejadər and trefə.

b2) Cockleroy WLo (Torphichen) CPNS p. 146, PNWLo p. 3 ? + or *clog- or *clegir-, but see under *clog.
Sachs (m)

Gmc *Sāγso[n]- adopted as Lat. Saxo[n]-, Br *Sāγso- > Middle Welsh Seis > W Sais, MCorn *Seys (in pers. ns., CPNE p. 208) > Corn Zowz (from pl. Zowzon), MBret Saus > Bret Saoz; MIr Sacs a > Ir Sacs a[nach], G Sasannach.

‘A Saxon, an Englishman’. The Germanic ethnonym may well be related to *sagzan > OE seax ‘a knife, a dagger’. It is uncertain whether the Celtic forms were adopted from Germanic or vernacular Latin speakers. In any case, it would have become *Seys by the late 6th ct. (see LHEB §126, pp. 536-40 and §157, pp. 581-3). Jackson’s view (op. cit. p. 540) that the preservation of [χs] in northern place-names implies a slightly later date for > [js] overlooks the strong possibility that it was preserved, or restored as [ks], under the influence of English and of ecclesiastical Latin: if so, the form Sax may well be a late, Cumbric, usage.

c2) Glensax Pbl CPNS p. 356 + glïnn-, Gaelicised or Anglicised.
Pennersax Dmf (a parish, subsequently subsumed in Middlebie) CPNS pp. 180 and 396, PNDmf p. 94 (as Pennersaugh) + pen[n]- + -ï[r]-.
Both these refer to a singular ‘Saxon’, who may have been a landholder, not necessarily resident.

The plural form *Sāγsones > *Sāγson > W Saeson, Corn Zowzon, Bret Saozon, perhaps more likely to imply a distinct group of inhabitants, may be in:
Glensaxon Dmf (Westerkirk) CPNS p. 356: but see Brïthon for Glenbarton nearby; the proximity of these two places suggests both names were given by a third party, Gaelic-speakers. In that case, Glensaxon is an anglicised form of early Gaelic (Middle Irish) Glenn-Sacsan.

saμn (f)

IE *stomp > eCelt * stamnā- > Br * stamnā- > M-MnW safn, OCorn diminutive stefenic > MCor sawn, Bret s[t]aon, Vannetais dialect s[t]an; cogn. Gk stoma.

On the loss of –t- in West Brittonic (and, later, in South West Brittonic), see LHEB §119, pp. 527-8 and §122, pp. 529-34.

‘A mouth’, but in Cornish and Breton place-names, ‘a channel, a cleft, a gulley’. The same seems appropriate in:

c2) Torsonce MLo (Stow) PNMLo pp. 370-1 + treβ- or torr- [+ Scots plural –s]: the Gala valley widens abruptly here at the confluence with Lugate Water.

*scǭl (m)

eCelt *scālo- > Br * scālo- > MW yscawl; O-MnIr scáil, G sgail; ? cf. Gothic skōhsī.

The primary sense was ‘a ghost, a supernatural being’, especially a powerful one, but in Welsh, Irish and Scottish Gaelic literatures it is used of human heroes, and in Welsh it comes to mean ‘a young warrior’.
Williams (1931-3) identified *Cantscaul* HB64 and AC s.a. 631 as the site of the battle of *Hefenfeld* (633) near Hexham Ntb; see also Jackson (1963b). Watts (1994) at p. 130 explains *Cantscaul* as a translation of OE *Hagustaldesham*, Hexham, which he interprets as ‘the estate of a young nobleman’, perhaps of the junior son of a thegn. See also under *cant*.

**serch (f)**

IE *serk-* ‘circle’ > early Celt *sercā-* > Br *sercā-* > M-MnW *serch*, OCorn *sergh-* > Corn *sergh-*, Bret *sergh*; O-M Irish *serc* > Ir, eG *searc*; ? cf. Lat *sarcīō* ‘make restitution’.

The etymology is obscure, but the semantic range of derivatives of IE *serk-* seems to be wide: see OIPrIE §17.4 pp. 276-7, and §18.5, pp 297-8.

In the Celtic languages, primarily an abstract noun, ‘love’, but used to refer to beloved persons and objects of desire.

Breeze (2008b) sees this in the river-name:


**sgor (f)**

Br *scorā-* > M-eMnW *ysgor*, Corn ? *scor* (perhaps ina p-n, CPNE p. 206 s.v. *scorren*)

‘A fort, an enclosure’. Occurs in Welsh place-names, e.g. Gwaunysgor Flt DPNW pp. 179-80.

c2) Dunscore Dmf  PNDmf p. 28 + *dīn-*.

**sich**

Lat *siccus* adopted as neoBrit *sīch* > O-MW *sich* > M-MnW *sych*, M-MnCorn *segh*, OBret *sech* > Bret *sec’h*; MIr *secc* > eMnIr, G *seac-* (in compounds and as verb).

‘Dry’. Normally a pre-positioned adjective, so the (c1) forms below are not necessarily early.

C1) *Sechenent* Cmb (Midgeholme)  Lan Cart  189-90 (*Sethenent* at 1, 9, 170-2), ERN p. 355 + *-nant*; see ERN, also LHEB §146 at p. 569 on the form *Sekenenent*  Lan Cart 22 and 201, which implies ‘Pritenic’ (and northern Cumbric?) [k] for [χ] (cf. *lanerc*). Compare *ir sichnant* LL173, the two streams named Sychnant in Radnorshire (Ceri and St Harmon), and a pass named Sychnant Crn (Dwygyfylchi): none of these show the form *sech-* and even in Lan Cart it may reflect ME [e] for [ï].

Gilsaughlin Wml (Cliburn)  PNWml2 p. 136  ? + *finn* [+ ON *gil-* ‘ravine’, or else it may be OE *salh-hlynn* ‘willow-torrent’].

**spiðad (m)**

IE(NW) *skʷis-* (zero-grade of *skʷeis-* ‘thorn, needle’) + *-jats-* > eCelt *skwijat-* (oblique stem of *skwijass-*) > Br *spijat-* > OW(LL) sgv. *ispidatenn* > MW sgv. *ysbyddaden* > W *ysbyddad,*
Corn *sphetas* (also *sper-* in compounds and a place-name, CPNS p. 211), MBret *speth-* (in a pers. name) > Bret *spezad* ‘gooseberries’; IE *skʷ*ets-* (see above) > O-MIr scé, gen sciach > Ir sceive, G sgitéach, Mx sceach.

See LHEB §38(A1) at p. 351, and §119, pp. 527-8.

‘Thorn bushes’, collectively, especially hawthorn.

a1) Spadeadam Cmb (Kingwater) PNCmb pp. 96-7 + singulative –en.

*stajer*

IE *steigh-* ‘to step, go’ > Gmc *staig-[s]r-* > OE stāger > ‘stair’, adopted into PrW > W staer.

‘A stair’. In p.ns. [OE stāger] no doubt has the sense, "a (steep) ascent", cf. dial. *stair* "steep", Cameron in JEPNS 1 (1969) p. 36, addenda and corrigenda to EPNE2 p. 141. It is however uncommon in English names, and rare in Welsh ones (only two examples in AMR).

*Stair* ‘stepping stones, a path across a bog, a rough bridge’ is peculiar to Scottish Gaelic (CPNS pp. 120 and 200): it may have been adopted from P-Celtic; if so, it had reached Cumbric/Pictish from Old English stāger as early as the 10th century. However, somewhat later adoption, directly from early Scots into Gaelic (and independently from Middle English into Welsh) is perhaps more likely. An alternative possibility, that it was formed from the early Gaelic preposition *tar* (< IE *terh₂* cf. *tīr* and *trǭs*, > Gaelic thar) ‘across’, with prosthetic *s-, is discussed by Taylor in PNFif5 at p. 505.

a1) Stair, with Stairaird, Ayrs (Ochiltree), also Starr Ayrs (Straiton), CPNS p. 200; both are probably Gaelic in origin.

*ster (f?), *stre-, *striw*

??IE *ster[hs]-, eCelt *ster-* > Br *ster-* > OBret staer > Breton ster; cf. Lat sterno ‘I strew’, strāmen ‘straw’, strātum ‘a bed’, struo ‘I arrange, construct’ (adopted to form a noun *ístriw > M-MnW ystryw, ystre, see below), Gmc *strāwja-* (< IE zero-grade *str-*) > OE strēam[w] > ‘straw’, strewian | ‘strew’, Gk strōma ‘straw, bedding’, Skt *stairman* ‘something spread out, a bed’ (but note that Gmc *straumaz > OE strēam > ‘stream’, ON staumr, is < IE *sreu-, so not related to *ster).

On the development of the initial on-glide in West Brittonic, see LHEB§119, pp. 527-8. It was present by the 9th ct, but its origins in neoBrittonic are unclear.

The etymology of the Breton word *ster* ‘a stream’ is doubtful (possibly from Lat estuarium > OFr estier ‘a canal’; on -st- in Celtic see also stūm), any cognate in West Brittonic is unknown.

Nevertheless, a plural *steri*, is adduced by McLure (cited by Ekwall in PNLanc p. 190), and later by Williams (PT XI, see note p. 126) + win[n]- in Gwensteri BT29. They identified this as the R Winster Wml/Lnc (ERN p. 463, PNLanc p. 190, PNWml1 pp. 14-15, DLDPN p. 375). Although ‘the Winster has dark brown water’ (Ekwall PNLanc loc. cit.), ‘whitish clay has been dredged from the river’ (Smith PNWml1 p. 15, citing G. P. Jones). However, the preposition *yn* suggests a district or piece of land rather than a river, and ON vinstra ‘the one on the left’ is a river-name in
Norway and could well be so here (Ekwall ERN loc. cit., and see Fellows-Jensen 1985, p. 425); see further under win[n].

Some form of this element might underlie the place-name Stirling. However, the copious early records show a fairly consistent first syllable in *stru-*, with the -u- almost certainly representing [v] (Clancy 2017, 8) which is not easily reconciled with any form of *îster* for which we have evidence. A form involving eG *sreb, srib* ‘stream, river’, as proposed by Clancy (ibid. p. 10), is more probable. The second element is probably eG *lînn* (or, if the generic was Britt., *fînn*).

Modern Gaelic *Srughleua* may well be a reinterpretation, it is unlikely to help in explaining the origin (see Watson 2002 pp. 61-2, Clancy op. cit. pp. 11-12).

**strad (m)**


The meaning in the Insular P-Celtic languages is ‘a broad, level valley’, extending in Welsh to ‘a river-basin’. In the Goidelic languages it was more specifically ‘land beside a river, a water-meadow’, but the Brittonic/ Pictish usage affected Gaelic and (indirectly) Scots.

Historical and literary examples include: *Stratcluďdenses* Asser, *StreÆclud Walas* A-SC(A) s.a. 875, *Strat Clut* AC s.a. 945 all + river-name Clyde These refer only to the successor-kingdom to that of *Alclud*, between 870 and 945, there is no evidence for the name being used any earlier or later. See also *ðlûd*.

*Stranit* 1124 PNDMf pp. 25-6 + river-name Nith, see *nejth*.

*Estrahanent* 1124, *Stratanant* 1152, PNDMf p. 1 + river-name Annan, see *Anaw*.

Both these show early Gaelic *srath* with reduction of [θ].

*a1) Straid Ayrs* (Lendalfoot, Girvan) influenced by G *sraid* (< Lat *strāta*) ‘a street’, but there is no Roman road or apparent ‘street’ here: see McQueen (2005), p. 56.

*b2) Strathbrock* WLo (Uphall) PNWLo p. 72, WLoPN p. 31 + *broch*, which see; Gaelic *srath* is pronounced with /sr-/ not /str-/ in southern dialects, but the Scots form is generalised in place-names (see PNBute p. 572), so it could be Gaelic in origin.

***ster (f?), *stre-, *strìw**

?IE *ster*[h2] - eCelt *ster- > Br *ster- > OBret *stœar > Breton *ster*; cf. Lat *sterno* ‘I strew’, *strāmen* ‘straw’, *strātum* ‘a bed’, *struo* ‘I arrange, construct’ (adopted to form a noun *îstriw* > M-MnW *ystryw, ystrew*, see below), Gmc *strawja-* (< IE zero-grade *str-* > OE *stœâ[w]*) > ‘straw’, *strewian* > ‘strew’, Gk *strôma* ‘straw, bedding’, Skt *stārīman* ‘something spread out, a bed’ (but note that Gmc *straumaz* > OE *strēam* > ‘stream’, ON *struamr*, is < IE *sreu-*, so not related to *ster*).

On the development of the initial on-glide in West Brittonic, see LHEB§119, pp. 527-8. It was present by the 9th ct, but its origins in neoBrittonic are unclear.
The etymology of the Breton word *stør ‘a stream’ is doubtful (possibly from Lat *aestuarium > OFr *estier ‘a canal’; on -st- in Celtic see also *stūm), any cognate in West Brittonic is unknown.

Nevertheless, a plural *stéri, is adduced by McLure (cited by Ekwall in PNlanc p. 190), and later by Williams (PT XI, see note p. 126) + *win[n]- in *Gwenstéri BT29. They identified this as the R Winster Wml/Lnc (ERN p. 463, PNlanc p. 190, PWNml1 pp. 14-15, DLPN p. 375). Although ‘the Winster has dark brown water’ (Ewall PNlanc loc. cit.), ‘whitish clay has been dredged from the river’ (Smith PWNml1 p. 15, citing G. P. Jones). However, the preposition yn suggests a district or piece of land rather than a river, and ON vinstra ‘the one on the left’ is a river-name in Norway and could well be so here (Ewall ERN loc. cit., and see Fellows-Jensen 1985, p. 425); see further under *win[n].

Some form of this element might underlie the place-name Stirling. However, the copious early records ‘show a fairly consistent first syllable in *strie-, with the -u- almost certainly representing [v]’ (Clancy 2017, 8) which is not easily reconciled with any form of *sîster for which we have evidence. A form involving eG sreb, srib ‘stream, river’; as proposed by Clancy (ibid. p. 10), is more probable. The second element is probably eG linn (or, if the generic was Britt., finn).

Modern Gaelic Sruighlea may well be a reinterpretation, it is unlikely to help in explaining the origin (see Watson 2002 pp. 61-2, Clancy op. cit. pp. 11-12).

stūm (m or f)

IE *st[h₂]eug-om, ? + IE(NW) *h₂eũh- > eCelt *[?eũs]-steugom > eBr *[?eũs-]stůgóm > IBr *[?eũh-]stwĩvom > OW(LL) ystum, Corn *stum (in place-names and a compound, CPNE p. 213), OBret plural stumou > Bret stumm; MIr [s]tíaim ‘flank, ridge, side’ > Ir tuaim, G tuama, both ‘a mound’. See also *stůth.


The sporadic survival of early Celtic initial st- (giving Modern Welsh yst-) is highly problematic. I. Williams proposed prefixed *eũs- to explain stūm and *stůth (see Richmond and Crawford (1949), p. 36 s.n. Stuctio), but this was rejected by Rivet and Smith, PNRB p. 462 s.n. Stuctio, and (implicitly) by Jackson, LHEB pp. 530-4. Schrijver loc. cit. sees s- surviving after consonants ‘in syntactically close contexts’, mainly after nouns, subsequently generalised.

The Indo-European root *st[h₂]eug-om meant ‘stiff, straight’. If Williams is correct, *[?eũs-]steugom would presumably be ‘out of alignment, bent’, becoming nominalised, ‘a bend’, in Brittonic. The related Old to Middle Irish [s]tíag ‘an arch, a bow, a loop’ can mean ‘bent’ in phrases like stuagh-bhriaghaideach ‘stiff-necked’, but the Brittonic word has connotations of flexibility, suppleness, cf. *stůth. The semantic development of Goidelic [s]tíaim etc. (see above) adds to the complexity. We can only conclude that, somehow, a root meaning ‘stiff, straight’ came to acquire a contrary set of meanings, in Goidelic something ‘arched, curved’ (though probably still rigid), in Brittonic something ‘bent’ (and probably flexible). In Brittonic place-names, the reference is generally to a river-bend.

Watson suggests this element, modified by ‘folk-etymology’, in:
c2) Penistone Knowes Sk (Yarrow) CPNS p. 354 + pen[n]-; he compares The Pennystone Kcb (Kirkmabreck), though it is unclear whether he intended the same etymology there; for Peniston YWR see pen[n]. An Old English etymology with -ing?-tūn, or –penig-tūn, is formally possible, but Penistone Knowes is a pretty remote height on the Yarrow-Etrick watershed where tūn ‘a farm’ seems unlikely, and penig all the more so (see discussion of Penninghame Wig under
pen[n]). Some early forms suggest Old English *Penn-ing²-halh ‘a corner or a detached portion of land named after *Penna’, but that personal name is unrecorded, again see discussion of Penninghame Wig and Penistone YWR.

*stwïth


For the phonological and semantic questions this word raises, see references and discussion under stūm.

Primarily ‘bent, curved’, so in Modern Welsh ‘flexible, supple’.

The name of at least four watercourses in Wales (Brc, Crd, Glm, Mtg: see AMR, and DPNW p. 506 for Afon Ystwyth Crd).

Breeze in CVEP, pp. 64-6, proposes this in:
a1) Esthwaite, with Esthwaite Water, Lanc  PNLanc p. 218, DLDPN pp. 111-12, but Anglo-Scandinavian *aust-þveit ‘eastern clearing’ or *eski-þveit ‘ash-clearing’ is more likely: see Whaley, DLDPN loc. cit.

*sulu (n, later m?)

A verbal noun from syllu is recorded as swll in W Owen-Pugh’s Dictionary (1803), cf. also sylw. The etymology is obscure, but it is presumably to be associated with Breton selle ‘see’ and OIr sellaid ‘sees, perceives’, with its verbal noun sell ‘a glance’ (also ‘iris of an eye’). The preservation of s- may imply adoption from Goidelic.

The meaning in a place-name would presumably be ‘a view, a prospect’.

Breeze (2000a) at p. 76, suggests that this element is present + dīn- in Dinsol yn y Gogledd in Culhwch ac Olwen (ed Bromwich and Evans 1992, p. 567n). He speculatively identifies this with Soutra ML, below, but see Haycock 2013 pp. 9 and 22 nn23-5, for several other suggestions.

b1) Solport Cmb  PNCmb p. 107 + -pert[h].
Soutra ML CPNS p. 363, PNML p. 222-3 + -treβ.
The root-sense has to do with 'melting, thawing, dissolving'. *tā- is seen in a large number of river-names in Britain, in many cases preserving IE [ā] without the regular Brittonic development to [ǭ]. It occurs, but not so frequently, in northern continental Europe, and is regarded by supporters of the 'Old European' hypothesis as a hydronymic element in that category: see Nicolaisen (1957) at pp. 256-9, idem (1958) at pp. 193-6 (discussing Tain Ros) and SPN2 pp 244-5, Kitson (1996) at p. 90, Isaac (2005), p. 204, and Taylor in PNFif4, pp. 56-8 (discussing R. Tay). For an alternative etymology, see Falileyev's discussion of *tam- 'cutting, cutter', DCCPN pp. 31 and 211.
*taβl (f?)

Lat tabula or tabella ? > Br Lat *tab’la > adopted as Br * tablā- > MW tabl > W tafl-, Corn towl, MBret taoul > Bret taol; OIr táball > M-MnIr tabháll, G tabhal.

The syncope may have occurred in British Latin or late British, see LHEB §2(1) p. 268 and §196 pp 651-4.

In the Celtic languages, *tab’la had the specialised sense of ‘a catapault, a sling’, in Welsh developing to a verbal root, ‘throw’ (tavlei in CA A78/ LXXXIII A), and a specifier in compounds, ‘(something) thrown, a projectile’. However, tabula re-entered Middle Welsh (probably via Old French table > M-MnE ‘table’) as tabl ‘a board, a panel, a table, a tablet, or anything flat’.

c2) Cairntable Ayrs/Lnk border CPNS p. 203 + carn- ‘a heap of sling-stones’ (cf. durn) or ‘a flat-topped cairn’ (cf. burð and OE tæfl, EPNE2 p. 174)? The hill is flat-topped, and recorded forms from c1315 favour the latter, which would have been a late Cumbric formation.

tad

IE *t-at- > eCelt *tato- > Br *tato- > W tad; cf. Lat (inscriptions) tata, Gk τατά, Skt tata.

While this formal etymology can be supplied, as in the case of mamm, [tatV] is probably such a primal articulation that the normal philological principles are hardly applicable.

‘Dad, father’.

Tadoritum PNRB p. 463 + rīd: see under that, and mab, for possible religious connotations. Unlocated, but probably in southern Scotland.

tāl (usually m, but variable)


In P-Celtic, this word comes to mean ‘brow, front’, and, especially in place-names, ‘end’ (so in LL, and see CPNE p. 214).

a2) Gaelic tulach, tileach, ‘a knoll, a hillock’, is uncommon in southern Scotland (CPNS p. 184); where it does occur, a Brittonic predecessor *tāl-ǭg may sometimes be suspected, as in the documented case of Kirkintilloch below (however, Fintloch Kcb (Kells) PNGall p. 137, and Fyntullach Wig (Penninghame) ibid. p. 139, and see also s.n. Fyntalloch PNWigMM p. 117, are both fionn tulach, ‘white hill’, possibly an appellative referring to a grassy hill, as suggested by Maxwell; Lochtyloch WLo (Bathgate) PWLo p. 84 may in contrast be lòch-tulach, ‘dark hill’, as suggested by Watson, cited by Madonald loc. cit.).
Craigdilly Slk (Yarrow) CPNS p. 138 ? + cřeg- + ōg, i.e. lenited -dālōg; Gaelicised as *dileich with dialectal tileach for tulach, which may have had a more specific sense, ‘place of assembly’, see Taylor in PNfi5, pp. 519-20; cf. Kirkintilloch next.

Kirkintilloch Dnb CPNS p. 348 + -cajr- + -pen[n]- + ōg, Gaelicised *cess-tileich, cf. Craigdilly above. See also cajr.

Talla Water Pbl/Slk ? + ōg: Welsh talog can mean ‘jaunty, lively’; this is perhaps relevant here.

b2) Tail o’Ling Wml (Bampton) PNWml2 p. 197 + -i[r]- + -fīn; this was near the north-east end of (pre-reservoir) Haweswater (A. Walker pers. comm.).

* Talahret Rnf (between Pollock and Cathcart) ? + -i[r]- + -rīd, which see: see Barrow (1992) p. 214.

Talkin Cmb PNCmb p. 35 and 88 ? + -can[d], -cant or -ceyn (see *ceu): the last would be the same formation as Welsh talcen ‘forehead, brow’; see Coates (1988) pp. 33-4.

* Tallentire Cmb PNCmb p. 324 + -hīn- + ēr: see Jackson LHEB p. 10, and discussion under -hīn.

Tantallon ELo ? + dīn- (which see) + -ceyn (see *ceu): i.e. ‘forehead, brow’, cf. Talkin, and see Ross (2001) p. 208 (giving the Welsh form as talgan); Dorward (1995) p. 45 proposes talgwn, ‘high frontier’ (see *cant).

tan

OW –tan > M-MnW tan, dan, Corn dan, Bret dan.

See EGOW p. 75. J. E. C. Williams (1950) at pp 4-7, and GMW §237, pp. 209-10. The lenited form dan (from wo-dan > OW guotan > M-MnW o dan, etc.) is sometimes generalised (as in Cornish and Breton), see GMW §20n3, p. 17.

‘Under’. In Welsh and Cornish place-names usually found with the definite article, see DPNW pp. 118 (for Dan-yr-ogof Brc) and p. 457 (for Tan-y-bwlch Mer, etc.), and CPNE p. 80.

Alkincoats Lanc (Colne) ? + *al- or alt- + -i[r]- + -cēd, see cēd, and Breeze in CVEP at p. 219. Glenentmont Dmf (Langholm) CPNS pp. 180, 399, PNDmf p. 86 ? + glīn- (replaced by G gleann-, Scots gle(n)-) + -i[r]- + -mōniō, but see also tā- and tān.

tān (m)

IE ? *tēp- (zero-grade of * tep- ‘warm’) –n- > eCelt *ta/eno- > Br *tano- > OW tan- (in pers. n.) > M-MnW tān, O-MnCorn tan, Bret tan; cf. OIr tene > M-MnIr, G teine; cf. Lat tepēre ‘be lukewarm’, Gk tephra ‘ashes’, Skt tapati ‘warms’. See also *tēs.

See OIrIE §20.9, pp. 344-5. The etymology of the P-Celtic forms, and their relationship with OIr tene (also taine, see DIL s.v. tene), are obscure.

‘Fire’

For most of the following, see also *tā-:

a1) Glenentmont Dmf (Langholm) CPNS pp. 180, 399, PNDmf p. 86 + glūn- (or G gleann-, Scots gle(n)-), ? + -i[r]-, + -mōniō, influenced by G teine: a stream-name *Tān might underlie this, otherwise it may be a compound (c1) *Tān-mōniō, perhaps implying a beacon, but see under tā- and tan.
a2) In the following, the first element may have been added later to a pre-existing stream- or hill-name:
Bardennoch Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 23 + bárr- (if feminine, see bárr) + -ōg, but see also *dannōg; could be Gaelic *bárr-teineach.
Glen Tanne Water Slk SPN2 p. 244 + glinn- (or G gleann-, Scots glen-) + -ar, but see discussion under *tā-.
Prenteineth Rnf CPNS pp. 204n1 and 399 ? brïnn- or prenn- + -ed, influenced by G teineadh ‘fiery’, but see discussion under prenn and *tā-.

b2) Piltanton Burn Wig PNGall p. 224? + pol- [+ OE –tūn ‘a farm’].

*aðrō (m)*

Br *tardo* > M-MnW tardd, Corn tarth, MBret tarzh.

Verbal noun meaning ‘an eruption, a bursting out’, cf. Modern Welsh tarddu ‘bubble up, spring up, gush, flow, pour, ooze, etc.’

Alternatively, the river-name may be *tarth*, which is apparently:


However, the semantic shift in Welsh is curious, and its appropriateness (whether with connotations of ‘drought’ or ‘mist’) questionable. This word occurs in CA B14 (LXIIIC) in the sense of ‘mist’.

a1) Tarth Water Pbl, or else tarw.

tarw (m)

IE *tauro* > eCelt * tarwo* > Br, Gaul tarwo- > M-MnW tarv, M-MnCorn tarow, MBret tarv; OIr tarb > M-MnIr, G tarbh, Mx tarrow; Lat taurus, Gk taurus.

‘A bull’. On bulls in Celtic mythology and symbolism, see PCB pp. 384-90, DCML pp. 512-4. Occurring frequently in river-names (see CPNS p. 453), examples in southern Scotland are all Gaelic in form, but P-Celtic antecedents are likely. For Continental forms see ACPN pp. 113-14, also DCCPN p. 31.

a1) Tarf Water Kcb CPNS p. 453, PNGall p. 257.
Tarf Water Wig CPNS p. 453, PNGall p. 257, PNWigMM p. 9
Tarth Water Pbl, but this is more likely to be *tardo*.

a2) Duntarvie Wlo (Abercorn) CPNS pp. 36 and 147, PNMLo p. 16, WLOPN p. 24? + dīn- + -ed, perhaps a lost stream-name Gaelicised, or else Gaelic *dān-tarbhaidh in origin, but see also terμïn.
b2) **Glenterf** ELo CPNS p. 142 + **gīnn**- (or G **gleann**-, Scots **glen**-, added to an early stream-name).

**Polintarf**, with **Pollentar Water** (= West Burn), Pbl (West Linton) CPNS p. 453 + **pol**- + **īn**-.

***tejth (f)*

IE *steigh-t-* > eCelt *tēctā-* > Br *te;xtā-* > M-MnW **taith**; OIr **teacht**, G **teachd**; cf. Gmc *stīg-* > OE **stīgan** ‘move, go, climb’, OE **stīg**, ON **stigr**, both ‘a step’, Gk **stīkhos** ‘a row, a line’, Skt **stighnoti** ‘climbs’.

A verbal noun (nominalised participle) from the root meaning ‘step, go forward’. Welsh **taith** is used for ‘a journey, a voyage’ but in an early ethnic name it may have had connotations of ‘marching, stepping forward’.

It may be present in *Curia Textoverdorum* on an inscription from Beltingham near Chesterholm Ntb (see PNRB pp. 470-2), with ‘x’ representing [χ] in the context [-kt-] > [-χt-] (see LHEB §60, pp. 407-11. However, other possibilities include a derivative of IE (NW) *stīg-* ‘cover’ (see **τίγ**), or of IE *tek-* ‘breed, beget, bear a child’ (cf. OE **þeġn** > ‘thane’, Gk **tiktomai** ‘beget, bear’, Skt **takman**- ‘child, offspring, descendant’), or a cognate of the OIr homonym **techt** meaning ‘a possession’ (an abbreviated verbal noun form from **techtáid**). The second element is obscure. On *curia*, see **cor**ō.

***tērïð**


A neoBrittonic form of this word is proposed by Williams (cited in PNCmb pp. 51-2) as the specifier +**arμ**- in *bellum Armentrid* AC573 (in ms BL Harley 3859), which may be Arthuret Cmb: see discussion under **arμ**.

**terμïn (m)**

Lat **terminus** adopted as OW **termin** > MW **terayn** > W **terfyn**; cf. MIr **termonn**

See EGOW p. 146.

In place-names, ‘a boundary’. See the discussions of Tarvin Che in ERN p. 392 and PNChe3, p. 281.

c2) Duntarvie, with Duntarvie Craig, WLo (Abercorn) CPNS pp. 36 and 147, PNWLo p. 16, WLoPN p. 24 ? + **dīn**-, but see also **tarw**.

Patervan Pbl (Drumelzier) ? + **pol**-; cf. Pwlterfyn Denb (Eglwys-Bach), but see also under **polter**.

**Polternan** Cmb (Brampton, = Castle Beck, Naworth) PNCmb p. 8 ? +**pol**, see Barrow cited by Todd (2005) p. 92 n29, but see also **polter** and **nant**.
*tēs*

IE *tep-* > eCelt *tep-stu-* > Br *tess-* > M-Mnw *tes*, OCorn *tes*; Olr *tess* > M-MnIr, G *teas*;
cf. Lat tepēre ‘be lukewarm’, Gk tephra ‘ashes’, Skt tapati ‘warms’. See also *tān*.

For the suffix, see DDrhPN p. 123.

‘Warmth’, with connotations of ‘boiling’, ‘excitement’, etc.

Proposed by Ekwall, ERN pp. 395-7, for the river-name Tees, but note Jackson’s scepticism, LHEB §35 at p. 343, and Watts’s reservations regarding the vowel-length, DDrhPN loc. cit. The name is however certainly ancient, and the connotations appropriate. See also *tī*.

*tew*

IE *teuh-* zero-grade *tuh-*; cf. *tuh-*s- > Gmc *þus-* > ON þóstr ‘violence’, and (+ *kmt-* ‘hundred’) Gmc *þusundi* > ‘thousand’, Gk sáos ‘healthy’, Skt tavati ‘is strong’

This root, with the sense ‘swell’, ‘grow powerful’, in a non-Celtic form, has been proposed for the river-name Tweed, but note the doubts surrounding this: see ERN pp. 421-3, SPN² p. 246, Kitson (1998) at p. 109, and DEPN(C) p. 632.

Ptolemy’s *Toúesis* [eíschusis] PNRB pp. 480-1, is not the Tweed, perhaps the Spey, but the root may possibly be the same: see Isaac (2005) at p. 206.

*tī-

Nicolaisen (1957) at p. 262, and SPN² pp. 244-5, proposes a pre-Celtic root *tei-/tī-* for river-names of the ‘Tyne’ type, following Ekwall in giving the meaning as ‘to melt, to flow’. However, the existence of such a root is questionable. It seems to assume a diphthongal form *teih-* related to IE *teh-* (see tā- and tǭd). This may be supported by OE þīnan ‘grow moist, dissolve’, but that must be associated with OE þān ‘irrigated land’, and both are probably from *teh-*. The only Indo-European root of the form *tei-,* that is supported by words in recorded languages is a verbal one, ‘be dirty’, with connotations of ‘excrement’, including W tail, Corn teyl, Bret tell, ‘dung, manure’. A zero-grade form with a nasal root determinative *thi-h-n-* is evidenced as far afield as Old Church Slavonic and Tocharian (see OIPrIE §8.1 at p. 121). While it is not impossible that such a root was involved in hydronyms, it is more likely that *tī-* is an ancient river-naming term not necessarily related to *tā-*, and of obscure meaning.

a1) Tyne R ELo.
Tyne Beck YWR ERN p. 426, PNYWR7 p. 140.

Stream-names of the ‘Tyne’ type may underlie:
Teindside Rox (Teviothead) PNRox p. 38 [+ OE -sīde; influenced by Scots teind ‘a tithe’], but see also din.
Tindale Tarn etc. Cmb ERN p. 426, PNCmb p. 36 + ĺjöl, but see discussion under that element.

a2) Forms from the same root, with a nasal root-determinative plus an added, probably Celtic, suffix, may include:

A form with root-determinative –l- is proposed by Nicolaisen, loc. cit., for:


A root * teih-x- might underlie the river-name Tees, but see *tēs.

 Testament

tī[ɣ] (m)

IE(WC) *[s]tēg- + -t> eCelt *tecto> Br, Gaul teantro> OW (LL and Asser) tig-, -t> M-MnW ty, OCorn ti > MCorn ty > Corn chy, OBret –tig > MBret tī; O-Mlr tech, -tig > Ir teach, tigh, G tāgh, Mx thie; cf. Latin tectus, past participle of tēgō ‘I cover’, Germanic *pakian > OE peccan > ‘thatch’, Greek stégō ‘I cover’.


In all the modern Celtic languages, the basic meaning is ‘a cottage, an ordinary house’, but in compounds ‘a shed, a hut, an outbuilding’, not necessarily a dwelling. In the North, most of the reasonably certain occurrences are (b1) in formations such as pen-ty (see pen[n]). In late Middle Welsh poetry this compound was used for ‘a chief house, a hall’, though in Modern Welsh it, too, has declined to ‘a cottage, a shed’, even ‘a lean-to’. Another interpretation possibly relevant to the place-names below would be ‘end-house’, an outlying building at the ‘head’ of a settlement or landholding. It is doubtful whether this element occurs in England (except Cwl) at all (Padel 2013b, p. 16).

b1) Penty Lnk (Shotts) CPNS p. 356.

Penteiacob Pbl (= Eddleston) CPNS pp. 135, 354: the spelling may indicate a plural with final stress, *pen-tei, which might suggest adoption into Northumbrian OE before the Cumbric accent-shift (see LHEB §§206-8, pp. 682-9), but note that the shift may not have immediately affected a transparent compound, the plural ‘in compounds is generally –teu’ (GMW §30 p. 27, i.e. + -ō̃u) and the personal name -Iacob may be no earlier than the 11th century, but see Davies 2012.

Other compounds might be evidenced in:

Perntaton MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 351, PNMLo pp. 368-9 + brūn- or pren[n]: Watson favours the suffixed form *tiōm, ‘a measure of land, a small farm, literally “house-land”’ (see LHD pp. 386-7 s.v. ‘toft’; note that tyddyn as a diminutive is a Modern Welsh usage) [+ or the suffix replaced by, Scots –town].

Currochtrie, High and Low, PNGall pp. 101-2, PNRGLV p. 10 ? +cair- + -ūch: le duae Currochtryis 1492 may favour tī[ɣ], or a Gaelic origin with Scots development, see discussion under treb.

Terraughtie Kcb (Troqueer) CPNS p. 201, PNGall p. 258 + treb- + -ūch- (which see) + -tī[ɣ].

Trusty’s Hill Kcb (Anwoth) PNGall p. 262 (as Trusty Knowe) ? + *trōs-, which see.

c2) Cases where -tī might be a specifier include:

Camilty MLo PNMLo p. 304, WLoPN p. 22 ? + cam[b]- + -pol-, or else + -treb, but Gaelic *camalltaidh is likely.

Craignetye Wig (Glasserton) PNGall p. 85 ? cręg- + -in- or Gaelic creag-an-tighe.

Poltie Burn Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 226 + pol-, but probably Gaelic *poltaidh.
*tīr (m)

IE *tēr- (lengthened grade of verbal root *ter ‘cross over’< *terh-, see trōs and trī-), –s- > eCelt *tīrso- > IBr *tīrjo- > M-MnW tīr, Corn tyr; Bret tīr; Old-MnIr tīr, Gaelic tīr; cf. Lat terra. See also *lethīr.

See LHEB §117, pp. 521-5. See also treβ.

‘Land, an area of ground, a territory’; in Middle Welsh legal usage, ‘a landholding’ of any size, from an estate to a selion (ploughing-strip: see LHD p. 386 and the references there). It seems to have been an early toponymic term forming a range of compounds which may well have been appellatives having administrative or territorial rather than strictly topographic meanings, cf. MW godir, a Pictish equivalent of which appears to have influenced the usage of the Gaelic cognate foithir (see Taylor’s discussion, PNFif5, 376-8). However, neither of these terms seems to be found in our area, and both *tīr and Gaelic (or Gaelicised) tīr are largely restricted to Galloway, Cumbria and neighbouring parts of Northumberland, suggesting an association with 10th – 11th century Cumbric-speaking settlement.

The possibility that the ancient Calat[e]ria, probably associated with the Calders MLo, was *caled- + *tīr was raised by Breeze (2002d) at pp. 37-8: see *cal- for discussion.

In tīr penprys CA63(XII), tīr is usually taken as a poetic appellative, but it could have been part of a territorial name: see prēs for discussion. For Ô Bentir in CA LXIXAB, see pen[n].

b1) As generic in compounds, *tīr may be confused with treβ in Anglicised forms. Blennerhasset Cmb PNCmb pp. 265-6 + blajn- [+ ON –heg-sætr ‘hay-shieling’], or else –treβ-. Coulderton Cmb (Allerdale Lowside) PNCmb p. 413 + cūl- [+ OE –tūn ‘a farm’], cf. Welsh culdir ‘a narrow stretch of land’.

Glaisterlands Ayrs (Rowallan, Kilmaurs), Glaisters Kcb (Kirkpatrick Durham) PNGall p. 146, Rig o’the Glaster Wig (New Luce) PNGall p. 146 [+ Scots rigg o ‘ridge of’ and pl. –is], all + clās-(which see) or glās-, or else Gaelic *glas-tīr or -dhoire ‘of oak’, but the compound formation favours a Brittonic origin.


Tallentire Cmb PNCmb p. 324 + tāl- + -*[h]ān-: see Jackson LHEB p. 10 and discussion under -*[h]ān.

*tōd

IE *tōh- (see *tā-), –d- > eCelt *tōdo/ā- > Br *tōdo/ā- > MW tawd > MnW tawdd, Corn tedh, OBret verb tod- > MBret teuziff ‘dissolve, melt, smelt’.

Adjectival form from the verbal root of Welsh toddi ‘melt’, so ‘molten, dripping’: see DCCPN p. 31 s.v. *tā-, GMW §184 at p. 166.
c1) Toathmain Wml (Shap Rural) PNWml2 p. 172, also Tothman Wml (field-name in Soulby) PNWml2 p. 24 + -mayn (A. Walker, pers. comm.), but an English personal name may be involved.

*ton (m, but variable), tonnen (f)

IE *tṃh₁- (zero-grade of *temh₁- ‘be struck, be exhausted’) –d- > eCelt *tendo- > Br *tonno- > M-MnW ton, tonnen, Corn ton, OBret tonnen > M-MnBret tonenn; O-MnIr tonn; cf. Lat tondēō ‘mow, browse’, Gk téndo ‘nibble, browse’.

Welsh tonnen and Breton tonenn have a feminine suffix that is probably adjectival in origin. Old Irish tonn is feminine, and falls together with tonn (f) ‘a wave’, which is the only meaning of tonn in Gaelic and Manx. In Welsh, the two words are generally distinguished by gender, but may be confused (for ton (f) ‘a wave’ see EGOW p. 148).

The meaning in place-names seems to be either ‘unbroken land’ or ‘ ley-land, grass pasture occasionally cultivated’ (see CPNE pp. 220-1), though in other contexts in both Brittonic and OIr, the senses include ‘a surface, a crust, a rind, tough skin’.

c2) Printonan, East and West, Brw (Eccles) CPNS p. 351 + brînn- or pres[n]-, + -an (if –ton), or else + -tonnen.

torr (f)

IE *(s)ṭrh₁- (zero-grade of *(s)terh₁- ‘stiff’) –s- > eCelt *to/arṣā- > Br * trrā- > ?OW torr (but see EGOW p. 148) > M-MnW tor, O-MnCorn tor, OBret tar, tor > M-MnBret teur, torr; OIr tarr- > M-MnIr tarr, torr, G tārr, tòrr, Mx tarr, thor; adopted as E tor in place-names (see below).

The etymology is uncertain. See Broderick in JEPNS41 (2009), p. 42.

The root sense is ‘something bulging or protruding’, especially ‘a belly’. The topographic senses, ‘a heap of rocks’ (Welsh, and adopted into English in place-names especially in the south-west, though rare in Cornish, see CPNE p. 221, EPNE2 p. 184, and Broderick 2009) and ‘a bulging, steep or conical hill[ock], a knoll’ (Gaelic, see PNFif5 p. 514, but not Irish), are relatively late developments.

In northern England, field- and other minor names combined with English elements are probably later formations, undoubtedly English. Likewise, in southern Scotland, those with Gaelic elements are probably Gaelic formations, though some (e.g. those with colour adjectives like Torbane WLo, Torduff Dmf and MLo, Torphin MLo and WLo, cf. examples in Fife, PNFif5 loc. cit.) may have had Brittonic antecedents. The semantic distinction between ‘a heap of rocks’ and ‘a knoll’ is probably insufficient to determine whether several of the names below are Brittonic or Gaelic in origin.

a1) Tar Hill WLo (Ecclesmchan) Wilkinson 2013 p. 4
Tor Kcb (Rerrick) PNGall p. 260.

Torhouse, with Torhousemuir etc., Wig (Wigtown) PNGall p. 260, PNWigMM pp. 17-19 [+ Scots ‘-house’]; see PNWigMM loc. cit. for discussion.
Torr Hill Kcb (Anwoth) PNGall p. 261.
Torr Knowe Kcb (Kirkmabreck) PNGall p. 261.
Torrs Kcb (2x: Kells, Kirkcudbright) PNGall p. 260 [Scots plural –s].
Torrs, Low, Mid and High, with Torrs Warren Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 260, PNRGLV p. 70 [Scots plural –s].
Torness ELo (Cockburnspath) [+ ON –ness].

a2) Bartorran, with Bartorran Hill, Wig (Kirkcowan) PNGall p. 32, PNWigMM p. 96 + barr- + -an, if not Gaelic.
Tarmonath Fell Cmb (Gilsdale) PNCmb p. 87 + -inn- (cf. M-MnW diminutive tarren < *tarrinā- with a-affection, and Torry Fif, PNFif1 p. 558) + - mōnīō, see Breeze (2006b) at p. 330; or else a Gaelic formation + ON tjörn- ‘tarn’ in inversion compound; confused, late documentation leaves the etymology of this name very uncertain.

b1) Keltor Stg (= Torwood, Blairdrummond) CPNS pp. 348-9 ? + celli-, or else Gaelic *caille-tòrr: either way, the partial translation in the Scots form is noteworthy.

b2) Cross Dormant Wml (Barton) PNWml2 p. 210? + trǭs- [or OE trūs, ON trōs-, ‘brushwood, litter’] + -mōnīō, or else –treβ-.

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b1) Keltor Stg (= Torwood, Blairdrummond) CPNS pp. 348-9 ? + celli-, or else Gaelic *caille-tòrr: either way, the partial translation in the Scots form is noteworthy.

b2) Cross Dormant Wml (Barton) PNWml2 p. 210? + trǭs- [or OE trūs, ON trōs-, ‘brushwood, litter’] + -mōnīō, or else –treβ-.

Tarnmonath Fell Cmb (Gilsdale) PNCmb p. 87 + -inn- (cf. M-MnW diminutive tarren < *tarrinā- with a-affection, and Torry Fif, PNFif1 p. 558) + - mōnīō, see Breeze (2006b) at p. 330; or else a Gaelic formation + ON tjörn- ‘tarn’ in inversion compound; confused, late documentation leaves the etymology of this name very uncertain.
b1) Catterick YNR  PNYNR p. 242, PNRB pp. 302-4 + cad-: this would imply early Celtic elision in *catu-řtraχt-onjon to give Ptolemy’s Katouraktónion; see Hamp 1993, and discussion under cad, also rǭd.

b2) Trail Kcb (= St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright) PNGall p. 261 (as 'Trahill'), Brooke 1991, 319 + -?, or treb-. Or else Gaelic traigh-[+ OE hyll > 'hill'].

treb (f)

IE (NW) *trē -bs- > eCelt *trebā- > Br, Gaul and Iberian Celtic trebā- > OW treb > M-MnW tre[-f], OCorn treu- (in compound, CPNE p. 223) > MCorn treq > Corn tre, OBret treb > Bret treq; OIr treb 'a house, a landholding, a family'> G treabh 'farmed village' (Dwelly), also trebaid 'ploughs' > Ir, G treabh ‘to plough’; ? cogn. Lat trābs ‘a wooden beam’, Gmc ?*þorpam > OE þrop, ON(E) þorp, ‘a dependent settlement’ (see EPNE2 pp. 205-12, Cullen, Jones and Parsons 2011, pp. 11 - 17), Gk téramna ‘enclosed chambers’.

See ACPN pp. 115-16 and map 4.10, and DCCPN p. 32.

The meanings in the Celtic languages may reflect two roots, one (as above) associated with (house-) building, the other, *tr- (zero-grade of *ter-, see tir), referring to an area of land (with Latin tribus reinforcing the third sense, ‘a household, a family’). Thus the element denotes both a habitation and the land associated with it (especially arable land). In Roman-British names it may possibly extend to whole ‘tribes’ as well as all the lands and settlements they occupy (see PNRB pp. 259-60 s.n. Atrebates). In mediaeval Welsh law, the tref was the basic unit of landholding, ‘a townland’, the building-block of the cantref; see references in LHD at p. 387 s.v. tref and p. 423 s.v. 'townland'.

Places named with treb in the North (as in Wales and Cornwall) are typically substantial farms or hamlets showing continuity of settlement from at least the central middle ages; some developed into villages, though few appear to have been centres of ancient power, and relatively few emerged as mediaeval parishes. Watson’s observation (CPNS pp. 191 and 362) of marked clusters of place-names involving treb in Ayrshire and Galloway, associated with other Brittonic place-names and names indicating a population perceived as British, raises the possibility that treb denoted a settlement with a specific status or role within a complex estate, or else refers to holdings established when such estates were broken up. See further under (b2) below, also Nicolaisen in SPN² pp. 214-19 with map 21, Barrow in Uses at pp. 59-63 and map 2:5, MacQueen in PNWigMM pp. 12-16, and A. James (2008 and 2014 b).

Outwith the Old North, treb is most common in place-names in south-west Wales and Cornwall (CPNE pp. 223, in both areas occurring predominantly in phrase-generic position (b2, CPNE pp. 229-32, and for Wales generally, DWPN pp. 463-76). It occurs frequently throughout the rest of Wales (DWP loc. cit. an p. lxx) but its rarity in Devon, and in districts away from the Welsh border in Shropshire and Cheshire, should be noted: see discussion under (b2) below.

The Irish cognate treabh is rare in place-names (CPNS p. 357), though its listing as a common noun by Dwelly suggests it could have been used (perhaps under the influence of P-Celtic usage) in Scottish Gaelic toponymy, see PNFif p. 517, and (b2) below.

An ancient compound verbal root *ad-trebā- (cf. Welsh athref ‘habitation, dwelling’, and OIr attrab > ML aîtrebre > Ir aitreabh ‘possession’, eG verb aitreabh ‘inhabit’) is apparent in Locatrebe (PNRB pp. 394-5, Breeze (2001b) at pp. 152-3) + loc- (see luch), ‘a lake-dwelling’, perhaps a crannog somewhere in south-west Scotland, or a Roman fort in the territory of people
who were known as ‘lake-dwellers’ because they favoured crannogs (such as the one at Glenlochar? But see ñUCH).

Another compound, *con-treb-, cf. OIr *con-trebr ‘inhabits’, coitreb ‘company, community’ > G caidireabha ‘fellowship, friendship’, occurs as the name of a local deity Contrebi invoked on altars from Lancaster and Overbrough Lanc: see DCM p. 92, PCB p. 572.

a1) The simplex form Threave is not necessarily early. Indeed, it may date from a time when treb had ceased to be used in phrasal place-name formations, but survived as an appellative in Cumbri, or was even adopted into Ayrshire and Galloway Gaelic, to denote a settlement with a specific role or status (see A. James 2014b pp. 23 and 35): for an alternative view, see MacQueen PNWigMM p. 13.

Threave Ayrs (Kirkmichael) CPNS p. 191, 358.
Threave Ayrs (Kirkoswald) CPNS p. 358.
Threave Kcb (Kelton) PNGall p. 259, CPNS p. 358.

Threave Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 259, PNWigMM p. 12.

a2) Dreva Pbl (Stobo) CPNS p. 363 ? elided -i[r]-, causing soft mutation, + -trebr- + -ma [or else OE *dreg-weg ‘draw-way’, a steep hill difficult for wagons, see A. James (2009c), pp. 121-6]. Poutrevet Ntb (Falstone) PNWntb p. 160 + *pol- + -ed or -red, cf. Welsh trefed ‘abode’ (Coates, CVEP p. 323), or else *polter- + OE -head ‘head’: early forms seem to show confusion with Pouterheued, both Cmb, and lost Poulterne MH Ntb (which may be an error for Poutrevet); see *polter and tir.

Tartravon WLo (Linthgow) PNWLo p. 64 + torr- (which see), Gaelicised tarr, + -an.


Rutter Force, with Low Rutter, Wml (Drybeck) PNWml2 p. 99, ? + rō- or rōd-, see Rattra above, but also *dubr and rejadər.

b1) In the North, examples of compound formations with Brittonic specifiers + -treb occur in Lothian and south-west Scotland. On formations of this type in north-eastern Scotland, see Nicolaïen, SPN² pp. 214-19, idem 2000 pp. 321-2, and Hough 2001b. The significance of compounds with -treb throughout Scotland merits further consideration – such formations may be early place-names (cf. Locatrebe above, and see LHEB pp. 225-7) but it should be remembered that common compounds like *nůvi-dreb, *luchel-dreb, *rō-dreb and *trōs-dreb could have remained in use as appellatives well after the sixth century, and it is possible that they were applied by Cumbri speakers in place-naming as late as the 9th-11th centuries; in both Pictland and southern Scotland, they seem to have been prone to Gaelicisation or reinterpretation by Gaelic speakers.

Bartrostan Wig (Penninghame): see discussion of Trostan, Troston under trōs. Blennerhasset Cmb PNcmb pp. 265-6 + blatj- [+ ON -hæg-sætr ‘hay-shieling’], or else – tir-.

Cadottrell Wml (Longsleddale) PNWml1 p. 162 + -og or -uch- [+ OE -hyl], but very obscure: A. Walker pers. comm.

Camilty MLo PNMLo p. 304, WLoPN p. 22 + cam[b]- + -pol-, or else + -ti[ɣ], but Gaelic *camalltaidd is likely.


Crachoctre Bwk (Coldingham) ? + *crach- + -og or -uch-, Breeze (2000b) pp. 125-6, but see discussion under *crach.

Cross Dormant Wml (Barton) PNWml2 p. 210 + trōs-, or else –torr-, + -mönioô.

Currochrie, High and Low, Wig PNGall pp. 101-2, PNRLGV p. 10 + cajr- + -uch-: but Maxwell suggests Gaelic ceathramh ‘quarterland’ or currach- (sic) ‘bog’ + -uchdar ‘upper’ or -Ochttradh (= Uhtred), MacQueen Gaelic corr- ‘out-of-the-way, a remote place’ + -ochdhamh ‘eighth part of (a davoch)’, and M. Ansell (pers. comm.) *ceathramh- ‘quarterland’
+ -uachadarach 'upper', but see Márkus's discussion of Garrochty Bute (Kingarthur), PNButE pp. 191-4, where ‘ty’ appears to be a secondary (and possibly simply epenthetic) addition to a form < Gaelic garbhach ‘a rough place’, assimilated to garbhadh ‘roughness’, in a Scots pural form + -is, compare le duae Currochtyis 1492 here with le Gariteis 1498, Currauchteis 1500 at Garrochty; whatever the origin, the neighbouring Garrochtye, below, is likely to be associated if not identical in origin: see also [1], and A. James (2014b) p. 25.

Fintry Stg CPNS p. 364, SPN2 p. 217 ? + fin - or win[n]-, Gaelicised fionn-: see discussion under fin.

Garrochtye, Wig (Kirkmaiden) PNGall p. 143 ? + garw-, Gaelicised garbh-, + -uich-, or else Gaelic garbh- + -ochdanh ‘eighth part (of a davoche)’: cf. neighbouring Currochtye, above.

Guiltrie, also Giltre Makgrane, Ayrs CPNS p. 362 ? + we[l]i- or welli-; see A. James (2014b) pp. 26-7 and 35.

Halltree MLo (Stow) PNMLo p. 365 + hál-, which see.

Kirroughtie Kcb (Minigaff) CPNS p. 367, PNGall p. 174 ? + cajr- + -úich, but Watson in CPNS, Maxwell in PNGall and Brooke (1991) at p. 319 all see -*Uchtirid, i.e. Uhtred Lord of Galloway (1161-74); local legend may at least have influenced the development of this name as well as that of Currochtrie above, and Cave Ochtree Wig (Leswalt), PNGall p. 66. However, *ceathrhamh-uachadarach cannot be ruled out. See A. James (2014b) p. 25.

Longniddry ELo CPNS p. 363, SPN2 p. 216 + nóviô- [+ OE lang- > ‘long’].

Monreith Wig PNGall p. 213, PWGigDM pp. 12-13 + móniô- or mór- + treβ; see under mór.

Newtrhyll Stg (Denny) PNFESStg p. 32 + nóviô- [+ OE hyll > ‘hill’].

Niddrie MLo (Liberton) CPNS p. 363, PNMLo pp. 294-5 + nóviô-.

Niddry, also West Niddry, WLo (Kirkliston) CPNS p. 363, PNWLo pp. 43-4, SPN2 p. 216 + nóviô-.


Ochiltree Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 218, CPNS pp. 35, 209, PWGigDM p. 12 + *úchel-; see SPN2 pp. xx and 216-17, A. James (2014b) pp. 25 and 35.

Ochiltree WLo (Ochiltree Linlithgow) PNWLo p. 61, SPN2 p. 217 + *úchel-.

Peddrie Pbl (? ) ? + *pol-, which see, + treβ.

Pendraven Cmb (lost field-name in Upper Denton) PNCmb p. 82 + pen[n]- + -an, presumably diminutive: Breeze (2006c) at p. 330, compares Welsh pentref ‘a village’, but in Brittonic or Cumbrian the sense may have been ‘a settlement and/or portion of land on a headland, or at the “end” (in some sense) of a landholding’, cf. le Contref above; or else pen[n]- + -i[r]- + -afôn (see âf-): see discussion under pen[n].

Plenderleith Rox (Oxnam) PN Rox p. 31 + brînn- or prenn-: [? + ON -hlâða > Scots -lathe ‘a barn’].


Prendergast Brw (Aytont) + brîmn- or prenn- + *cest, but see discussion under *cest.

Rattray Kcb (Borgue) and Rutter Force, with Low Rutter, Wml (Drybeck), see under (a2) above. Soutra ELo CPNS p. 363, PNMLo pp. 222-3 ? + *sul-, see discussion under *sul of Breeze’s (2000a) identification of this place with Dinsol in Culhwhc ac Olwen.

Trostan, Trostoen, frequent in SW Scotland, see discussion under troðs.

Trostrie, with Trostrie Moat Kcb (Twynholm) CPNS pp. 180 and 350, PNGall p. 262 troðs-, which see for discussion.

b2) Most of the name-phrases below are likely to reflect the status of treβ as the favoured term for major units in the landholding systems developing in the later first millennium in the Cumbri-influenced parts of the North. This is all the more likely in the case of formations with the definite article: see discussion under í[r], and (especially for those in Arys, Dmf, Kcb and Wig) A. James (2014b). In some cases, the specific has been influenced by Gaelic, and in a few, a Gaelic formation with treabh- is a possibility, albeit a fairly remote one (see above).
Forms with Tru-, Tro-, show vocalisation of [β]. Metathesis of these can lead to confusion with torr.

Dramore Wood, with *Tramores* *Hill on Armstrong’s map (1775), Pbl (Broughton) ? + -môr; see Drummond (2009), p. 14.

Tarelgin Ayrs (Ochiltree) CPNS p. 360 ? + -i[r]- + *heligen, see helig; see Breeze (2002f), p. 110, and A. James (2014b) p. 27.

Terraughtie Kcb (Troqueer) CPNS p. 201, PNGall p. 258 + -ūch- (which see) + -i[y]; see A. James (2014b) pp. 32 and 36.

Terregles Kcb CPNS p. 359, PNGall p. 258 + -i[r]- + -eglęs, which see for discussion, , also A. James (2014b), pp. 22, 31-2 and 36.

Terrorzean Ayrs (Cumnock) CPNS p. 360 ? + -i[r]- + -föntän, or Gaelicised saint’s name Ringan, i.e. Ninian, see discussion under föntän, also A. James (2014b) p. 28.

Torphichen WLo PNWLo p. 89 ? + -búch (see bích); see discussion in WLoPN, p. 32, or else torr, which see for discussion and for Torphichen Hill MLo.

Torrhouse MLo (Stow) PNMLo p. 370 ? + -*hwæn, or –wenn, see wīnn, see under both these elements for discussion, and Trorquhain etc. below.

Torsonce MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 145, PNMLo p. 375 + -saμn, which see [+ Scots plural –s], or else torr- (see Dixon, PNMLo loc. cit.)

Traboch Ayrs (Ochiltree) CPNS p. 362 ? + -*beô or -*bedu; see A. James (2014b) p. 27.

Trabeattie Dmf (Torthorwald) PNDmf p. 121 ? + -*beô or -*bedu, which see, and see A. James (2014b) p. 37.

Traboyack Ayrs (Girvan), also Traboyack House Ayrs (Straiton), CPNS pp. 359, 361 ? + -*biw, see bích, + -g: see A. James (2014b), pp. 30 and 36.

Trabroun ELo (Bladsmuir) CPNS pp. 359-60 + -i[r]- + -brënn, which see for discussion, or -bronn.

Trabrown Brw (Lauderdale) CPNS pp 359, 363 -i[r]- + brënn or -bronn, see Trabroun above.

Tradunnnock Ayrs (Maybole) CPNS pp. 361-2 + -*dantōg, or –redîn- + -g: see both *dantōg and redîn, also A. James (2014b) pp. 29 and 35.

Trahenna Hill Pbl (Broughton) CPNS p. 369 ? + -hen- + -*anheô: or else torr-, see discussion under hen.

Trail Kcb (= St. Mary’s Isle, Kirkcudbright) PNGall p. 261 (as ‘Trahill’), Brooke 1991, 319 + -; or traiyth-?

Trailflat Dmf (Tinwald) CPNS p. 359, PNDmf p. 119 ? + -i[r]- + *lad, see léid for discussion, and A. James (2014b) p. 37.

Trailtrow Dmf (Hoddom) CPNS p. 359 ? + -i[r]- + -*trulliåd: see Breeze (1999c), and James (2014b), p. 37.


Traljoden Ayrs (Old Dailly) ? + -*låd or *lud, + -an: see *låd and *lud, and A. James (2014b), pp. 29 and 36.

Tralorg Ayrs (Old Dailly) CPNS p. 361 ? + -*lURY, which see, and see A. James (2014b) pp. 29 and 36.

Tranent ELo CPNS p. 360 + -i[r]- + -nêint, see nant; but see torr-.

Tranew Ayrs (Kirkmichael) CPNS p. 361 ? + -nôwîô, which see for discussion, also A. James (2014b) pp. 28 and 35.


Traprain, with Traprain Law, ELo CPNS pp. 350, 363 + -brîn or –prenn.

Traquair Pbl (Innerleithen) CPNS p. 360 -i[r]- + river-name Quair, see *wei- and *wejr.


Traverlen MLo (= Duddingston) CPNS p. 360 ? + -*wûr-ľên (see wûr), or -i[r]- + -înn, see Barrow (1980) p. 40.
Treasles Lanc (Kirkham) PNLSN p. 152, JEPNS17 p. 88 ? + -i[r]- + -R:s[s], see under that element, and A. James (2009) at pp. 196-7.
Trearne Ayrs (Beith) CPNS pp. 361-2 ? + -i[r]- + -onn [or OE trēow-vern ‘a timber house’], see Clancy (2008) for full discussion of this name.
Tregallon Kcb (Troqueer) CPNS p. 362, PNGall p. 261 ? + -*galon (pl of *gāil which see); see also A. James (2014b pp. 32 and 36.
Trerankanberhan Wml (lost field-name in Mansergh) PNWml1 p. 53 (+ ON personal name Hrafnkel + Old English –*burgesen ‘a burial-place’, see EPN1 pp. 57-8): the generic is more probably ON tré ‘a tree’): see Grant (2002) at p. 87.
Trevercarou Kcb (unlocated, probably in Balmacellan) ? + -i[r]- + –cajr- + -coll, or + -carreg- or + -*carrǭg-, + -ōu: see under cajr, carreg and *carrǭg, and A. James (2014b) p. 30.
Triermain Cmb (Waterhead) PNCmb p. 116 + -i[r]- + -māyn.
Trockuage Ayrs (Girvan) CPNS p. 360 + -i[r]- + -creig; the form Trevercreigeis cited by Watson refers to Trockurage House and Nether Trockrurage together [+Scots plural -is]: see A. James (2014b, pp. 29 and 36.
Troney Hill Rox (Ancrum) ? + -i[r]- + -onn: this may well be Treueronum, in the Inquisition of King David, see Durkan (1986) at pp 234-4 and Clancy (2008) at pp. 103-5.
Trockhain Ayrs (Kirkmichael) CPNS p. 362, Troquhain Kcb (Balmacellan) PNGall p. 262, CPNS p. 362, and Troughend Ntb (Otterburn) PNNtb p. 201, all ? + -*haen or -wenn, see wūn[n], Torquhan above, but also *truch, and A. James (2014b) pp. 28 and 30.
Trowier Ayrs (Girvan) CPNS p. 361 + a river-name of the ‘Quair’ type, see *wei- and *wejr, and A. James (2014b), pp. 29-30 and 36.
Tryrone (lost?) CPNS p. 361: this has been proposed as a form for Troney Hill Rox, but it is probably an error for Trearne Ayrs, see both these above, and Clancy (2008) at pp. 103-5.


*tres (m)

M-MnW tres, Breton tres- (in compounds); OIr tress > Ir, eG treas; cf. OW treis > W trais ‘might, force’, see EGOW p. 149.

‘Battle, conflict, strife, tumult, violence’. Probably a stream-name, either Brittonic or Goidelic, in the following:

c2) Beltrees Rnf (Lochwinnoch) + Gaelic baile-, probably Gaelic in origin. Cummertrees Dmf PNDmf p. 72 + cōmber- or cōmbrūγ: see under these.
Glencrest (sic c1220, Lan Cart) Cmb (lost field-name in Kirkooswald) PNCmb p. 218, + glīnn- + -ǭg, reading *trest or *trec (cf. Glentreske below); or Goidelic glem- or Middle English glen- + Middle English epanthetic –k (? < -t), or else + the related Brittonic *trust > MnW trwst ‘tumult’: A. Walker pers. comm.
Glentreske Wml (lost field-name in Patterdale) PNWml2 p. 228 + glīnn- + -ǭg, cf. Glencrest above.
Glentress Pbl (x2, Innerleithen and Peebles) CPNS p. 444 + glînn-, or a Gaelic formation + glenn-, or Middle English glen-.

**tri-**

IE *tri-* or *tr-,* (< zero-grade of *treyes, *trih₂ ‘three’, perhaps associated with *terh₂-, see tir and trôs) > eCelt *tri-,* trîto-*ä-* > Br, Gaul *trî-,* trîto-*ä-,* > M-MnW trî-,* tryd-,* Corn *trý-* (see CPNE pp 233-4) or tres-, Bret *trî-,* tres-; OIr *trî-,* trî- > M-MnIr tré-, G trî-,* Mx tree-,* cogn. Lat *trî-,* Gmc *þrī-*,* Gk trî-,* trîtōs/a,* Skt *trî-,* trīa-,* t-: common to all major Indo-European language-groups, see IIEL §8.5.2 at pp. 222-3, OIPrIE §4.5 at p. 61, §7.2 at p. 108, and §19.1 at pp. 308-9 and 311, DCCPN p. 32, EGOW p. 150, LHEB §69 p. 426, GOI §385 p. 242.

Prefix meaning ‘triple’ or adjective meaning ‘third’. The prefix falls together in the Brittonic languages with the (unrelated) intensive *trî-* < Br *trý-,* ‘very’, see LHEB §199(e), p. 659. One or other of these seems to be involved in the name below, but the formation and meaning are baffling:

a2) **Plent[r]idoc** MLo (Borthwick, = Arniston) CPNS p. 136, PNMLo p. 100, Barrow 1973, p. 73 + blajn- + -ôg: if a suffix is complicated, some lost element may be reflected by –d-. Watson in CPNS and Dixon in PNMLo both treat this as Balantrodach, ‘farm of the warriors’, noting the proximity of the Templars’ chapel at Temple, but see Barrow’s discussion of Plent[r]idoc in Uses, p. 73. Alternatively, the –d- might be epenthetic, see *red.

**trôn (f)**


‘A throne’. The meaning ‘a circle’, suggested by Watson CPNS p. 369, was probably adopted in Middle Welsh from Middle English, see GPC s.v. trôn.

c2) **Cardrona** Pbl (Innerleithen CPNS p. 369 + cajr- + -ôü, or else Gaelic *cathair-drothanach ‘fort of the winds’ Ross (2001) p. 44.

Pharaoh’s Throne Kcb (Tongland/ Twynholm boundary) CPNS p. 369 might be a folk-etymologised version of some name formed with this element. It is a solitary standing stone, not a circle.

**trôs**

IE *trh₂- (< zero-grade of *terh₂- ‘across, through, above’, see tir and trî-*) – ns- > early Celtic *trâns > early British *trâΣ > late British *trâh(s)- > OW(LL) tros- > M-MnW traws-,* Corn dres, OBret trus > M-MnBret dreist(t); OIr trás- > Ir,Gaelic t(h)ar, tras-,* cogn. Lat trāns, and cf. Gmc *þurχ > OE þurh > ‘through, thorough’, Skt tīr ‘over, across, apart’.

See OIPrIE §18.2 pp. 289-90, LHEB§184, p. 637 (on analogical –s- in neoBritt), GOI §854C, p. 531 (on the Goidelic forms).

In place-name formations, an adverbial prefix or suffix, generally indicating that the main element lies ‘across, athwart (something else)’ (though see DPNW p. 463 s.n. Trawsgoed for other possible senses).
On the distribution, especially along the Brittonic/Pritenic interface, see Watson (2002) at pp. 87-8. It is striking that Poltross Burn, Trowsley, Truss Gap and Trusmadoor all lie on, or close to, natural and historic boundaries, as do The Trossachs and Troisgeach Hill north of the Forth.

In simplex names, a generic ‘place, settlement, etc.’ is presumably understood:
Trows Rox (Roxburgh) [or else OE *trēow-hūs ‘tree-house’, a timber building]
Truss Gap Wml (Shap Rural) PNWml2 p. 178, DLDPN p. 349 [+ -ON –gap > ‘gap’], or else drus.
Throsk Stg (Stirling) perhaps Gaelicised, cf. crasg, cròs ‘a crossing-place’ (Watson 2002 p. 87, and see crojs); cf. also Pultrosk c1280 for Poltross, below.

Various similar, presumably Brittonic, formations with trōs include:
Bartrostan Wig (Penninghame) MacQueen PNWigMM p. 96, proposes Gaelic *bàrr-trasdain ‘crozier height’, but see Trostan below.
Cross Dormant Wml (Barton) PNWml2 p. 210 ? + -trefh- or -turr-, + -mōnō [or OE trūs-, ON tros-, ‘brushwood, litter’].
Poltross Burn (Cmb/Ntb border) PNCmb p. 23 + pol:- see Barrow (1992) p. 132 and n24.
Trauspol Cmb (Kingwater) ERN p. 331n1, not in PNCmb + -pol.
Trostan, Troston, see below.

Troostrie, with Trostrie Moat Kcb (Twynholm) CPNS pp. 180 and 350, PNGall p. 262 + -trefh; a compound * trōs-trefh may have been an appellative, ‘a farm at a crossing-place’, see CPNS pp. 350-1. A. James (2014b) pp. 25-6 and 35, also Taylor in PNFif 3, pp. 231-3, and Márkus in JSNS1 (2007) pp. 89-91, both the latter discussing Troustrie Fif (Crait).
Trously MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 350, PNMLo p. 371 + -le, which see.
Trusmadoor Cmb (Ireby) DLDPN pp. 348-9 and plate 1, not in PNCmb + -mu-, or else drus- [+ OE -dor ‘door’]; see under drus, and Whaley (2001) pp. 77-96.

Trostan or Troston occurs very frequently in SW Scotland:
Bartrostane Wig (Penninghame)
Trostan Hill Ayrs (Straiton)
Trostan, with Little Trostan, Troston Burn and Trostan Isle Kcb (Minigaff)
Troston Knowe Ayrs (Dalmellington), Trostan Burn and Hill Kcb (Carsphairn), and Troston Hill Dmf (Tynron), are separate locations to the NW, NE and SE of the Cairnsmore of Carsphairn
Troston with Troston Rig Dmf (Sanquhar)
Troston, with Troston Burn, Hill, Loch and Rig Kcb (Dalry)
Troston, with Troston Hill Kcb (New Abbey)

All of these are on or close to ridges. Watson (CPNS p. 350) asserts that at ‘Troston in Glencairn parish’ (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 trōstán ‘a staff’, a crozier’. MacQueen PNWigMM p. 96 gives the same explanation for Bartrostane Wig but that too seems far-fetched for such a frequently used name. An adopted form from Latin transtrum, British Latin *trāstrum (LHEB p. 86) ‘a cross-beam’ would make more sense in such names, indicating a ‘cross hill, transverse ridge; *trāstrum > *trōst > MnW trawst (ibid.), so a Brittonic formation + -an could explain these, but McKay in DUPN, p. 142, sees an Irish cognate in the Ulster hill-names, and a Gaelic origin is possible for the Scottish ones too. Troston Sfk (Trostingtune 975x1016) involves an anglicised form of a Scandinavian personal name Trausti
(Insley 2013 pp. 246-7), which is not impossible in SW Scotland, but a Celtic name referring to the topographical location seems more likely.

*truch

?eCelt *trunc- > [OW(LL p. 279) ad vadam trunci] > M-MnW trwch, Corn trogh, Bret truc'h; cogn. Lat truncus. The etymology, and the status of the Book of Llandaff form, are very uncertain, it may be an early adoption from Latin.

‘Broken, cut short’.

c1) Torquhan MLo (Stow) SPN² p. 214, and Troughend Ntb (Otterburn) PNNtb p. 201, both ? + -*hwaen, which see, and see Coates in CVEP p. 323, but also discussion under treβ, and wïn[n].

truïn (m)

eCelt *drugno- > Br *tragno- (cf. Gaulish trugnō-, Galatian drouggos) > M-MnW trwyn, OCorn trein (sic for *troin, see CPNE p. 235) > MCorn troen > Corn tron; OIr pers. name Uí Dróna (genitive plural).

See CIB §46 at p. 149, §48 at pp. 161-3, and pp 256 and 352.

‘A nose’: in place-names, ‘a promontory’.

BT29(XI) kat ymro vretrwyn + bre[y]-, see Williams’s note, PT pp. 123-4.

a1) Troon Ayrs CPNS pp. 191 and 516n191.

*trulliad (m)

Lat trulla ‘a wine-ladle’, adopted as Br *trullo- > M-MnW trull, from which MW truhlaid > W trulliad

‘A cup-bearer, a butler’. Trull occurs in CA A57/B18 (LXIAB), and truhlaid in Welsh Laws from 12th ct, but it is uncertain how early this formation was.

c2) Trailltrow Dmf (Hoddom) + treβ- + ñ[r]-: see Breeze (1999c).

*tűβ (m, but f in Mn W)

eCelt *toibo- > Br *túbo- > O-MnW tu, MCorn tu, Bret tu; OIr toib > Ir,Gaelic taobh, Mx cheu; cogn. Lat tibia.


‘Side’, topographically, ‘a part’.

A. Walker (pers. comm.) suggests the following:
b2) Towcett Wml (Newby) PNWml2 p. 146  ? +-ce:做到了 [replaced by OE –side > ‘side’, or else ON personal name Tófi + OE –side]; note the three parallels in Cwl, CPNE p. 236, suggesting a possible appellative comparable to English ‘woodside’ (on which see OED s.v.), but see also *tul.

tul (m as noun)

eCelt *tuslo- → Br *tullo- → OW(LL) toll- → M-MnW twll, M-MnCorn toll, OBret toll → M-MnBret toul; Old-MnIr, G toll, Mx towl.

GPC gives IE *(s)teu- ‘thrust’: this should be *(s)teud-, which cannot be the origin, though there may be an ultimate connection.

In Modern Welsh, ‘a hole’, also adjectival (with a-affected feminine, MnW toll) ‘holed’. In place-names, possibly ‘a hollow’ or ‘a cave’: see Padel (2009) at pp. 121-2.

c1) Compounds + -ce:做到了 occur several times in Wales and Cornwall (and there are examples in Somerset and Brittany): this was presumably an appellative meaning ‘broken woodland’, with gaps or clearings, or a wood in a hollow.

Towcett Wml (Newby) PNWml2 p. 146  ? +-ce:做到了 [replaced by OE –side > ‘side’, or else ON personal name Tófi + OE –side], but see also *tūβ.

Tulketh Lanc (Preston) PNLanc p. 146, JEPNS17 pp. 83-4  + -ce:做到了, which see.

turch (m)

IE *tworko- > eCelt *turco- > Br *turco- > M-MnW twrch, Old-MnCorn torch, OBret torch > MBret tourch > Bret tourc’h; Old-MnIr, G torc, Mx turk (in place-name).

See OIPrIE §9.2 at p. 139.

‘A boar’, especially a wild one. For boars in Celtic legend and literature, see DCML pp. 44-5, DCM pp. 40-1, PCB 390-404. Occurs in several stream-names in Wales, but rarely if at all in Scotland (Watson CPNS pp. 442 and 453), and it is indeed uncommon in names of any kind in the North, whether Brittonic or Goidelic (which are very difficult to tell apart). See also *bayeō.

c2) Glenturk Wig (Wigtown) PNGall p. 151, PNWigMM p. 112 + glînn- or G gleann-: this might imply a lost name for the Broken Causeway Burn, but cf. Watson’s observations above.

Mindork Wig (Kirkcowan) PNGall p. 211, PNWigMM p. 21 + mûn-, mûnìo- or mûnju-.
ūch-

IE *hup- (see wo-) > eCelt *ouks- > eBr *o:ch-, Gaul Ux- (in personal names), > lBr *ūch- > OW uuc ‘higher, over’, (LL) huchti (inflected preposition, ‘above it’) > MW uch > W uwich (comparative adjective, ‘higher’), Corn a-ugh ‘above’, OBret [h]uch > M-MnBret a uch ‘above’; OIr ós, úas ‘above’, and cf. úach ?‘top’ > Ir, G uach- in compounds.


As a prefix, ‘higher’: Richards (1964-5) argues that MW uwich in cantref and commote names meant ‘farther’, from the point of view of a topographic or historic ‘central place’. On the basis of this, compounds with -tī[ɣ] or -treβ may perhaps signify settlements originally associated with large-scale annual stock-movements. Such adjective + noun compounds may not necessarily be early, and in any case, they could have remained in use as appellatives for several centuries, so names as those below (and see also ūchel) may be from no earlier than the Cumbrian period. Moreover, the absence of comparable compounds (or indeed, it seems, of any compounds with ūch-) in Welsh, Cornish or Breton place-names may suggest that, if ūch is present in the names below, it is as a preposition in a phrasal formation, ‘above [the farm or house]’.

Cadottrel Wml (Longsleddale) PNWml1 p. 162 ? + -treβ - [+ OE -hyl], or else -ög-, but very obscure: A. Walker pers. comm.
Crachoctre Bwk (Coldingham) ? + *crach- + -treβ, or else -oğ-: see Breeze (2000b) at pp. 125-6, but see discussion under *crach and creig.
Currochtrie, High and Low, Wig PNGall pp. 101-2, PNRGLV p. 10 ? + cajr- + -treβ or -tī[ɣ], but see under treβ.
Kirroughtree Wig (Minigaff) CPNS p. 367, PNGall p. 174 ? + cajr- + -treβ, but G uachdarach could be involved, see discussions under cajr and treβ.
Garrochtrie, Wig (Kirkmaiden) PNGall p. 143 ? + garw-, Gaelicised garbh-, + -treβ, but see under treβ.
Terraughtie Kcb (Troqueer) PNGall p. 258 + treβ- + -tī[ɣ].

ūchel

eCelt *ouks- (see ūch-) – ello/ā > eBr *o:ch ello/ā-, Gaul Uxel- in personal names > lBr *ūchello/ā > M-MnW uchel, MCorn ughhell etc. (see CPNE p. 237) > Corn hual, Bret uc’hel; OIr úasal > Ir, G uasal ‘noble’; cogn. Gk hupsēlós ‘high’.

See LHEB §121 p. 529 and §126, pp. 536-40.

In Pritenic, the eCelt *ou- seems to have developed only to *[o:], giving *ochel (or possibly *ossel) in Pictish (see Jackson (1955a), pp. 137 and 165, and Koch (1982-3) at pp 215-16), rather than [ú] > [ü:] as in Brittonic (LHEB §18, pp. 305-7). The lower vowel *[o:] seems to be evidenced south of the Forth in Ochiltree Ayrs, Wig and WLo (see below, and Taylor 2011, pp.
89 and 92-3, also in PNFif 4, pp. 53-4, on The Ochils), though early forms for the latter two vary between o and u.

‘High’: on the meaning in compounds with –treβ, see discussion under āuch- and treβ, also Barrow’s discussion of the ‘Ochiltree’ names in Uses at pp. 59-63 with map 2.5.

Ancient examples in the North include:
*Alaunocelum, as amended, PNRB p. 246, + *alauno-, see *al-: apparently in SE Scotland.
Itunocelum PNRB pp. 380-1, + *Ituno-, see ũd: unlocated, though Rivet and Smith loc. cit. favour a coastal site near Beckermet Cmb.
Uxelum PNRB pp. 483-4 perhaps the fort at Ward Law Dmf; Uxela in Rav might possibly record an earlier or alternative name for the R Lochar (perhaps also an associated deity-name) from which the fort was named, although Uxelum can perfectly well be interpreted as ‘high place’.
Uxelodunum PNRB pp. 221 and 483 + -din: the Roman cavalry base at Stanwix Cmb.
See also *ogel.

Ochiltree Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 218, CPNS pp 35, 209, PNWigMM p. 12 + –treβ; see SPN² pp. xx and 216-17, A. James (2014b) pp. 25 and 35.
Ochiltree WLo (Linliithgow) PNWLo p. 61, SPN² p. 217 + –treβ.
Ogilface WLo CPNS p. 378, PNWLo p. 97 + -mayes with lenition; however the voicing of –g-is curious, *ogel may be more likely. See Taylor 2011, pp. 89 and 92-3.
wag

Lat vacuus > VLat *vacus, adopted to > O-MW guac > W gwag, Corn gvak, Bret gwak.

See EGOW p. 63.

‘Empty, vacant’. ‘Perhaps used as a nickname’ in Boswague Cwl (Padel, CPNE p. 113), and the same could perhaps be true here:

c2) Troax Ayrs (Lendalfoot) CPNS p. 362 ? + tref[- [Scots plural –s].

wal and wāl (f)

IE *welh- > eCelt *walo-/ā- (+ -atā- > *walatā- > OW gulat > M-MnW gwlad, OCorn gulat, OBret adjective guletic, ‘country, land’) > Br, Gaul wal- in personal names; cogn. Lat valeo ‘I am strong’.

This verbal root, ‘be strong, exercise power’ occurs adjectivally in several British personal names of the *Cunowalo- , *Dumnowalo- > Cynwal, Dyfnwal kind (and, for Continental examples, see DCCPN p. 33). One such name, *Lugu-walo- (+ deity name Lugo-, see lūch), apparently underlies Luguvalium PNRB p. 402 (+ suffix –jo-): see also PNRB p. 265 sv Bannovalium, and Jackson (1948), idem (1970) at p. 76, and in LHEB at p. 226. For the phonological development of this name in Brittonic, see LHEB §172 at p. 607 and §175 at p. 616; for its modification to become Carlisle Cmb see under cajr, and in PNCmb pp. 40-1, and also LHEB §41 at p. 362n1 and §208 at p. 688n1.

Breeze (2002h) see this element also in Vindobala PNRB p. 500 (+ òinn-, the fort at Rudchester Ntb), preferring the Ravenna Cosmography’s form Vindovala, but see *bāl, and PNRB loc. cit. for objections to this.

It is possible that a lengthened form of the above root, *wālā-, underlies OW/Pictish guaul > M-MnW gwál ‘a wall’ (in HB, and often in mediaeval literature, ‘The Wall’, i.e. Hadrian’s, see Haycock 2013 p.10), Corn gwal (in place-names, CPNE p. 114) and O-MnIr fál, G fál, Mx faal.

Usage in the Celtic languages was undoubtedly influenced by Latin vallum, either directly or via OE(Angl) wall (itself probably from a West Germanic adoption of the Latin word: see OEG §143, pp 55-6, and §539, p. 212). *Wāl could have preceded OE(Angl) wall- in several place-names in the North where the origin of ‘Wal-’ is wall- ‘a Briton’, e.g. Walton Cmb PNCmb p. 114.

a2) Wallow Crag Wml (Shap Rural) PNWml2 p. 178 ? + òui: A. Walker pers. comm., but doubtful.

c2) Two or three names in the North are formed with pen[n], in the sense (presumably) of ‘end’: Kinneil WLo (Bo’ness and Carriden) CPNS pp. 346-8, PNWLo pp. 30-1 + pen[n], replaced by Gaelic cenn-. This place-name is of great interest in relation to the linguistic situation in the Forth valley in the 7th-8th centuries: on the forms Peanfaheal, Peneltun HE I12 and Penguall, Cenail HB23 see Jackson (1955a) at pp 143-4, 161 and 165, and Nicolaisen in SPN² at pp 211-12 and 219-20.
Pen-bal-crag Ntb (Tynemouth) PNNtb pp. 203-4 + pen[n] [+ Eng ‘crag’]; according to Camden, also Leland (Benbalcrag), the locally supposed end of the Roman Wall. Penielheugh Rox (Crailing) CPNS p. 354, PNRox p. 17 + pen[n] [+ Scots heuch ‘a steep bank, cliff overhanging a river’]; but see Macdonald’s topographical objections, PNRox loc. cit., and see also under pen[n].

Penwhail Kcb (Girthon) PNGall p. 223 + pen[n]; the location and apparent lenition here would favour a compound, ‘head-wall, heid-dyke’ the boundary between farmed land and common hill-grazings.

*wan[n]*

IE *h₁eu(h₃)-n(n)- > eCelt *wanno-/ā- > Br *wanno-/ā- > MW guan > W gwan, OCorn guan > Corn gwadn, OBret gwvenion (plural) > Bret gwan; O-MnIr, G fann; cogn. Lat vānus, Gmc *wano- > OE wan ‘lacking’ (and cf. ‘wane’, ‘want’);, ON vanr, Gk eûnis, Skt ūna-.

The Indo-European root is essentially a privative adjective or prefix, ‘deficient (in), deprived (of), wanting’; in the Celtic languages, the sense is ‘weak, feeble’ (OE wann > M-MnE ‘wan’ in the sense of ‘pale’ is of uncertain origin: it might be an unnoticed adoption from Brittonic).

Breeze (2001b) suggests this element in the river-name Abravannus PNRB p. 240, with intensive prefix aβr-, which see, + *wan[n]. He equates this with the Piltanton Burn Wig (Pol t-sant Antoin PNGall p. 224); for evidence of a Roman-British trading site at the mouth of this stream, see A. Wilson (2001) at pp. 82 and 112, also PNRGLV pp. 85 and 91-2. However, Isaac (2005) at p. 190, gives a derivation from IE *n- prh,wo-no-. ‘not crooked’ or ‘not bad’, so ‘straight’ or ‘good’, > eCelt *abrāvo/ano- > eBr *abrāvono- (cf. OIr amrae ‘excellent, marvellous’ < *n- prh,wo-), and he identifies it with the Water of Luce (as do Rivet and Smith, tentatively, in PNRB loc. cit., and Koch (2007) map §15.3).

*wan[n] might be present in Wansbeck Ntb ERN p. 432, PNNtb p. 206 [+ A-Sc bekk > ‘beck’, which is not common in Ntb, see EPNE1 p. 26], but the early forms leave this a very obscure case.

*waraj (m)*

eCelt ? *wo- (see wo-) + -rıgo-/ā- > Br *woriga-jo- > OW guarai, guarioi- > MW gwar[a]le > eMnW gwarae, M-MnCorn gwary, OBret guari- (also devoiced forms: M-MnW chwarae, MCorn hwary, MBret choary > Bret c’hoari; ?OIr fuirec > Mr fuireagh ‘feast, entertainment’, but this falls together with the verbal noun fuireach ‘staying’).

On the etymology, which is obscure, see EGOW pp. 64-5.

‘Play’, in the sense of sport or (presumably later) of dramatic performance.

This may be the specifier in Din Guoaroy HB61 and 63, = Bamburgh Ntb: see Jackson (1963b) at pp 27-8, and note Hope-Taylor’s (1977), pp. 290 and 370, comments on the appropriateness of such an interpretation in the light of the ‘arena’ at Yeavering. However, the persistence of iy- in the various recorded forms for the first syllable, and the indications that the suffix is –wi- makes this very doubtful (see LHEB §65, pp 414-15). A personal name, cf. Welsh Gwair and OIr (? from Old Welsh) Gúaire, is perhaps more likely: for several proposed etymologies for these names see CIB #76, pp. 224-5 and n1404, but note that their origin remains obscure.
*warthaμ (f)

> eCelt *u[pi]er- (see *wor-), which see, + superlative suffix –tamo-/ā- > Br *wertamo-/ā- > M-MnW gwarthaf, Corn guartha.

See DCCPN p. 34 on formations with –tamo-/ā-, and GMW §41n5, p. 40, on loss of -v.

‘Uppermost’: as a noun, ‘top, summit’.

a1) Watchcommon Cmb (Midgehome) PNCmb pp. 103-4 + MIr personal (saint’s?) name Colmán: A. Walker pers. comm., but an ‘inversion compound’ with ON varði ‘a cairn’ is quite possible here.

*was (m)

IE *sth₂0- (zero-grade nominal form of *steh₂- ‘stand’) > eCelt *sta-, + *wo-, which see, > Br *wosta- > M-eMnW gwɔas, ‘unknown in Cornish’ (Padel CPNE p. 115); OIr foss > M-eMnIr fos, eG fas; cf. Lat Vesta, goddess of the hearth, vestibulum ‘entrance court or chamber’, Skt vāstu ‘site, foundation’. See also *agwɔas and wotǭd.

See OIPrIE table 4.12, p. 66, and CPNS pp. 210 and 498-500.

‘An abode, a dwelling-place or stopping-place’.

A note to HB42 in ms CCCC139, 75r, equates Guasmoric with Palmeceastre (= Old Carlisle Cmb, PNCmb p. 330, and see maɣl), though this is doubtful. The specifier is presumably a Brittonic personal name from Latin Mauricius, > Welsh Meurig. See Dumville (1977) at p. 27.

*weβr or *weμr (m)

eMnW gwefr.

The etymology is wholly obscure.

‘Amber’.

a2) Torweaving MLo (West Calder) PNMLo p. 94, WLoPN p. 19 ? + torr- + -in: suggested by Wilkinson, or else + -*gweβfr-, or G *torr uaimhinn ‘hill of horror, detestation’ (sic, not ‘devastation’).

*wei-

See OIPrIE §22.11, pp. 393-4 and §22.10, pp 391-2. The relationship between *weis- meaning ‘flow’ and a similar root meaning ‘twist’ is uncertain (see *wejr, and OIPrIE §22.4, pp. 378-80); likewise, that between *wegh- or *weǭgh- meaning ‘shake’ and a similar root meaning ‘bear, carry’ (see OIPrIE §22.17, pp 404-6). See also *wejr.

This root, with a basic sense of ‘flowing’ (if *weis) or ‘[set] in motion, disturbed’ (if *weǭgh-), is considered to be present in several ancient river-names (not necessarily Celtic in origin) throughout Europe, see ACPN p. 183 n63.

Quair Water, with Traquair, Pbl CPNS p. 360 ? *wē:Σ- or *wiΣ- + suffix –urā- (cf. Weser), + trefβ+ -i[r]- in Traquair: see references for R Wear below, and *wejr.


Wedale MLo/Rox (valley of the Gala Water) ? *wē:Σ- + suffix –jā- [+ AScand dal > Scots –dale, or OE (Angl) –halh, dative –hal, > Scots haugh 'riverside land'], or else OE wēod- > 'weed'; see Dixon, PNMLo pp. 419 and 436, but he gives no early forms (OE (Angl) wīh, wīg- 'a heathen temple', adjectivally, 'holy (to pagans) is unlikely; wēoh- sometimes suggested for this name is West Saxon).


*wejr (f)

IE *wei(h)- -d- > eCelt *weid- + -rā- > Br *we:d-rā- > MW gweir > W gwair (only in compounds, also gwyr), Corn gôr, Bret goar.

See OIPrIE §14.1, pp. 230-6, LHEB §71(1), pp. 429-31. There may be a relationship between this root and *weis meaning ‘twist’, see *wei- and OIPrIE §22.4, pp. 378-80.

‘A bend, something curved or twisted’.

Vedra PNRB pp. 489-90, is probably the R Wear Drh, as is the specific in (hyt) Gaer Weir in Armes Prydein (ed Williams 1972, lines 2-3): see Breeze in CVEP pp. 79-80, but also idem (2011b), Isaac 2005 at p. 202, and Haycock 2013 pp. 24-5 n31. A name meaning ‘twisted’ is appropriate, but the early forms in English sources (Wirus etc.) require internal –s- > eBr -Σ- rather than –d > -j-, see wei-. Ptolemy’s form may reflect an alternative, British, name for the river, or some re-interpretation by the Britons of an ancient river-name (ERN and DEPN(C), both s.n. Wear). An alternative but very problematic etymology might involve *we:d-r-, from a lengthened form of the IE root *wed- ‘water’ (cf. OE(Angl) wēt > ‘wet’) + a nasal infix (PNRB
loc. cit.), but the regular Celtic development of *wê:d-r- is seen in OIr uisce, and see also *went and winn).

Similar considerations may apply to other hydronyms of the ‘Weir’ type: records for Quair Water, with Traquair, Pbl, and Trowier Ayrs (Girvan) are too late to discern whether these are from *wê:Σ- or *wiΣ- + suffix –urā- (see *weĩ-) or *wejr. In Troqueer Kcb *wejr is more likely, referring to the bend in the R. Nith where Troqueer Motte is located, otherwise *weir or *wejr might be a former name for Cargen Water.

An ancient river-name from IE *wei(h₁)- d- > eCelt *weid- without the suffix -rā- might possibly be the origin of R Jed Rox, but it is very obscure: see also wï:δ.

*wēd-, from an zero-grade form of the IE root *wed-r- ‘water’ (mentioned above under Vedra) has been invoked, with root-determinative –s- for the etymology of R Ouse YNR-YER (ERN p. 314, PNYNR p. 5, PNYER p. 9), *wēd-s- > eCelt *udso- > Br *usso- > neoBritt *ūs > W Ûs, but this is ‘guesswork’ (Watts DEPN(C) s.n.): see LHEB §35 at pp. 342-3.

wel[t] (m)

IE *wel-s- > eCelt *welso- > Br *welso- > OW guel > MW guelt > W gwellt, MCorn guels > Corn gwels, OBret guelt - Bret géat, Ushant dialect gwelt; cf. OIr gelt > Ir geilt.

See OIPrIE §10.3, but also EGOW p. 66 and references. OIr gelt is the verbal noun of gelid, so ‘grazing, pasture’, and may be of different ancestry (see DIL s.v. and GOI §§682-5, pp. 421-4).

‘Grass, pasture’, a collective noun. Note that most of the names below, apart from the compounds Batwell and Guiltree, show epenthetic –t, suggesting relatively late formation.

a1) Guelt Ayrs (Cumnock) CPNS p. 191.

b1) Batwell Wig (Kirkmaiden) PNGall p. 34 ? + baveδ-.

c1) Guiltree, with Giltre Makgrane, Ayrs (Kirkmichael) CPNS p. 362 ? + -treβ, but see also *weli.

c2) Bothwell Lnk ? + bod- which see, but see also well.

Drumwalt Wig (Mochrum) CPNS p. 180, PNGall p. 127 + drum-, but see PNWigMM p. 20. Leswalt Wig CPNS p. 180, PNGall p. 195 ? + fis[s]-: MacQueen (1955) at pp. 79-80, rejects Maxwell’s lios- + -ullt, genitive singular of allt, referring to the Aldouran Burn (*Allt-dobhran, ‘otters’ burn’), and in PNRGLV pp. 93-4 he points out that early forms have –wat, so the –l- may be inorganic, in which case the specifier is obscure; MacQueen compares Lasswade MLo, which is equally difficult.

Leuchold WLo (Dalmeny) PNWLO p. 8, WLoPN p. 27 ? + luch- or lūch-: see under both of these, if the latter, the formation would be compound, (b1); the voicing of –t is presumably due to the preceding –l-.

Trevergylt (lost: in the Inquisition of David I) ? + treβ- +-[r]-, or else *wielt.

weli (m)
IE *legh- ‘lie down’ > eCelt *legjo-, + wo- > Br *wo-ligjo- > OW guelī > M-MnW gwely, OCorn guelī > MCorn guely, Bret gwele; cf. OIr lige ‘lying down’ > Mr lígh ‘a bed, a tomb’; cf. Lat lectus ‘a bed’, Gmc *lizjan > OE liēgan > ‘lie’, Gk léknos ‘a bed, a bier’.


Primarily ‘a bed’, extending to a bed for planting crops. In the Welsh Laws, MW gwely acquired a very distinct sense, ‘a land-owning kinship group’, see *gæfel, Jones (1996), and LHD n100.5, pp. 260-1. However, there is no trace of this in Cornwall, and it must remain doubtful in the North.

c1) Guiltree, with Giltre Makgrane, Ayrs (Kirkmichael) CPNS p. 362 ? + *treþ: suggested by Brooke (1991) at p. 320, but place-names with Gwely- in Wales are invariably formed with proper names; see also wel[t] and A. James (2014b), pp. 26-7 and 35.

well

?IE *wel- ‘wish, want’ + -n- > eCelt *welno/-ā- > OW guell > M-MnW gwell, Corn guel, Bret gwell-; cf. Lat volō, Gmc *wel[...]

The etymology is complicated: see EGOW p. 67.

‘Preferable’, coming to serve as the comparative adjective, ‘better’: see GMW §42, p. 40.

Veluniate, the fort on the Antonine Wall at Carriden WLo, PNRB p. 490, is probably based on *welauno- (? < *welamno-), incorporating or related to well. Rivet and Smith interpret this as ‘good’ (PNRB loc. cit., and see also ibid. pp. 271-2, s.n. Bolvellaunium), but Sims-Williams, ACPN p. 118 (though not listing Veluniate as it is not in Ptolemy) gives the meaning of *Vellauno as ‘governor’, comparing OIr follaimnigid (sic, recte follamnaigid) ‘rules, governs’, < o-grade *woll-amno-.

c2) Bothwell Lnk ? + bod-, which see, but see also *wel[t].

*went

An element of great obscurity. It may occur as a suffix in river-names of the ‘Alwent’ type, see al-, and possibly the ‘Derwent’ type too, see dār, but see Kitson (1996) at pp. 79-81 and ACPN pp. 118-19 and 310-11 (where Sims-Williams excludes the ‘Derwent’ class). In hydronyms, a relationship with IE *wed-r- ‘water’, is possible (cf. Gmc *wentrus > OE winter, ‘winter’, probably from a nasalised form of that root, and see *wejr, but also *winn).

The same syllable, but not necessarily the same element, occurs as Venta in the names of three civitas capitals in the south (PNRB pp. 492-3), and in Bannaventa (the Romano-British settlement at Whilton Lodge near Daventry Ntp, PNRB pp. 262-4, where discussion of the element is reviewed; see also APN p. 119 and references). *Bannaventa may also have been the correct form for St Patrick’s birthplace, bannavem taburniae, see ban[n] and bern.

Otherwise, the syllable occurs in the North only at *Glannoventa, PNRB p. 367 + *glan- or glann-. In all the cases mentioned, a sense ‘a market, a trading-place’ is quite plausible, but the apparent similarity to Latin vendere, ‘to sell’ and its Vernacular Latin and Romance derivatives is probably misleading. Both *Bannaventa and *Glannoventa, as topographical names, might
incorporate the suffix seen in the river-names above, or be based on lost river-names with that suffix. Nevertheless, Sims-Williams in ACPN p. 119 includes *Bannaventa and *Glannoventa along with the *Venta group, under the sense ‘market’.

*werβ (f)


A very difficult etymology: see also *werther.

A root supposedly meaning ‘turn, twist’ (Ekwall, ERN pp. 454-5), but it is uncertain whether IE *[h₁]wer-b- carried that meaning. The primary sense of Gmc *wairpan is ‘throw, cast’, and its etymology is obscure. Latin verbēna ‘a sacred bough (of olive, laurel, etc.)’ is from IE(WC) *wrb- ‘a branch, a twig’, which might be a zero-grade form of *[h₁]wer-b-: see OIPrIE §10.1 at p. 161.

Nicolaisen, SPN² pp. 231-5, discussing R Farrar Inv, gives ‘moisten’ as a sense of IE *wer, but this is hard to support from non-hydronymic cognates. Isaac (2005) at p. 201 gives *[h₂]wer- ‘flowing water’, but this is likewise based mainly on river-names. Cognates in Baltic, Slavic, Albanian and (possibly) Greek have to do with ‘joining together’ - ‘binding, threading’ or ‘sticking, gluing’. Nevertheless, a root centred on *wer- does seem a widespread hydronymic element, with examples in Wales including Afon and Llyn Tryweryn Mer (DPNW p. 478).

An alternative etymology is proposed by Sims-Williams in ACPN at p. 120 associating Verbeia, the R Wharfe (PNRB p. 493), with a quite different root, IE *weru- > eCelt *verbā- > OIr fer[b] ‘a hind’ (and, in poetry, ‘a cow’, but this may reflect confusion with OIr erp: DIL s.v. fer[b]); this may be cognate with Latin verbex ‘a wether’ DCCPN p. 35. He rejects Verbeia from any possible hydronymic family based on *wer- or *war- on the grounds of its ‘being clearly of the wrong structure’ (ibid. p. 322 n70).

A further IE root that may merit consideration is *werhₐu- ‘broad’, cf. Gaul weru- in personal and place-names (see DCCPN p. 34), Gk eurus, Skt uru, see OIPrIE §18.5 at pp. 297-8, and DCCPN p. 34.

a2) Wharfe R ERN pp. 454-5, PNYWR7 pp. 143-4 + suffix –ejā-: see PNRB p. 493 and p. 256 s.n. Arbeia, and LHEB §6(4), pp. 281-2: the modern form reflects the influence of ON hwerfi ‘turn’ (which is not related to OE weorpan above).

wern (f, also m in early and Continental Celtic)

IE *werno/-ehₐ- > eCelt *werno/-ē- > Br, Gaul *wernā- > OW(LL) guernen (singulative) > M-MnW gwern, O-MnCorn guern, Bret gwern; O-Mlr fern > Ir fearn, G feàrna, Mx farney, fernagh; cogn. Skt varaṇa- ‘Sacred Barna, Crateava roxburghii (syn. C. religiosa)’, a tropical tree of medicinal and religious importance.

‘Alder’, as a collective noun in the Brittonic languages, also ‘swamp, alder-carr’. See ACPN pp. 120-1 and 311; for a reservation concerning the IE etymology, see DCCPN p. 34.

a2) Waren Burn Ntb ERN p. 435 + -ed, if adopted as Northumbrian OE *weorned > *wearned > warned 12th ct: see OEG§147, p. 57, but note Campbell’s doubts.
Werneth Che (Hyde) PNChe1 p. 302, and Werneth Lanc (Oldham) PN Lanc p. 51, both + -ed: the adoption of Brittonic *wern- as OE *wern- is normal here; see –ed for –eth.

werther (f)

IE *wer- ‘surround, cover, contain’, or *wers- ‘a peak’, > eCelt *wer[s]- + -terā- > Br *werterā- > MW gwarther (and cf. W gwerthyr, ‘a fort’)? But that is not recorded in GPC or AMR before 18th ct); cognate, if < *wer-, Skt vartra ‘a dyke, a dam’, and cf. Latin a-perire ‘to open’, Gk éruomai ‘I guard, I conceal’, Skt vṛī- ‘to cover’, varaṇa ‘a rampart, a mound’; if < *wers-, cogn. O-MIr fert ‘a burial mound’ > Ir, G feart, and cf. OIr ferr ‘better, superior’ > Ir, G fearr, Mx share (< is fearr), Latin verrūca ‘a wart’, Gk hérma ‘a pillar, a prop’, Skt varśman ‘height, top’.

A plural form meaning either ‘ramparts’ or ‘high places’ is seen in Verteris PNRB p. 496, the Roman fort at Brough under Stainmore.

a1) Ferter Ayrs (Barr) CPNS p. 69: this may represent the same element, with Gaelicised f- for w- and –t- for –th-. Note that Scots ferter < OFr fiertre < Mediaeval Latin feretorium, ‘a feretory’, a portable shrine for sacred relics, and, by metonymy, a chapel (within a church) housing such a shrine, is unlikely to be relevant here. There is no reason to suppose there was any church with such a chapel here, and it is in an area where mediaeval religious (or post-reformation Catholic) nomenclature would almost certainly have been Gaelic.

wï:ð (f)

IE *widh- (zero-grade of *weidh-) > eCelt *widhu- > Br, Gaul wudu- > OW guid > MW guit, gwýd > W gwýdd, OCorn guiden (singulative) > MCorn gueth, gweth > Corn gwyth, OBret -guid > M-MnBret gwez; OIr fid > Ir, G fiodh, Mx fuygh; cogn. Gmc *widuz > OE wudu > ‘wood’, ON viðr.

See EGOW p. 68.

‘A wood’, in the sense of a substantial area of high woodland or managed trees, as well as cut timber and ‘wood’ as a substance. In place-names, the topographic sense is obviously the main one.

If Anglicised as *wæþp, it would have fallen together in later OE with the Anglicised form of ON vad ‘a ford’, so may be hard to distinguish in names showing ME wath or wat.

a1) R Jed Rox if Cumbric gwï:ð was adopted to become early Scots Gedde- 1139 in Jedburgh Rox PNRox p. 22, and the river-name was a back-formation (replacing *Glass? See PNRox pp. 35-6, and under *cľe:ss and *gľe:ss), but see also wejr.

a2) Dinwiddie Rox (Castleton) CPNS p. 372 + din- + suffix –jo-.

Dinwoodie Dmf (Applegarth) CPNS p. 372, PNDmf p. 5 + din- + suffix –jo-.


Watcarrick Dmf (Eskdalemuir) PNDmf p. 40 + -carreg, but see Breeze (2002c) where he suggests *wï:ð > W gwýdd in the sense of ‘a grave, a tumulus’, though the basic sense (<IE *weid- ‘see’>) ‘a visible, conspicuous place’ may be appropriate here [Johnson-Ferguson’s suggestion, OE wæd- ‘a ford’ does not agree with the earliest forms, though it, or the ON cognate vad-, probably influenced the name].
Watermillock Cmb  PNCmb p. 254  ? + -i[r] + -mę:1- + -ōg [or else OE weđer > ‘wether’].

Vethcoch Cmb (field-name in Waterhead)  PNCmb p. 117, CVEP p. 284  + -coch.

c1) Yanwath Wml (Barton)  PNW ml2 p. 204  ? + Cumbric personal name *Eüyein (from Greek > Latin Eugenius, > MW Ywein), but if so, the second element is probably ON -vad ‘a ford’. On Ywein, see LHEB §26 pp. 323-4 and §46(2) at p. 370n1, and CIB §84, p. 232.

c2) [Chef] Carnenuat lost, Rnf? in the Inquisition of King David  + carn- ? + *h[j]īn-, or else *cajr- + -nōwīō, which see. This is not the same place as Carnwath Lnk.

Carnwath Lnk  CPNS p. 386  + *cajr- + -nōwīō, which see; *wïδ > W gwŷdd might also be considered here, cf. Watcarrick above (b2) (W. Patterson, pers. comm.)


*wïðbed (f)

MW gwydbet > W gwybed, Corn guibeden (singulative).

Etymology obscure, but see Coates 2017, pp. 43-4.

‘Gnats, midges’, a collective noun. it occurs in Welsh and Cornish place-names: see CPNE p. 119.

c2) Burntippet Moor Cmb (Farlam)  PNCmb p. 84, Lan Cart  ? + brīn- (A. Walker pers. comm.) But early forms favour A-Sc brenk > ME brenke > ‘brink’ + personal name Ibbet (dimiutive of Isabel )in an ‘inversion compound’. If the name is Cumbric, Brenkibeth 1169 shows –gw- adopted into Middle English as –k-. The proximity of Midgeholm Cmb may be mere coincidence!

wīg (f)

IE *wik- (zero-grade of *weik- ‘extended family, clan’) ? > eCelt *wicā- > Br *wicā- > MW guic > M-MnW gwig, OCorn guic > Corn *gwīk (in place-names, CPNE p. 119), OBret guīc > Bret gwīg; O-MnIr fīch, early G fīch; cogn. Skt viś ‘a settlement, a house’, and cf. (from e-grade) Lat vīcus, Gmc *wīcuz > OE wiċ, ON vīk, and (from o-grade) Gk oïkos ‘a house’, oikía ‘a household’.

See OIPrIE §12.1, pp. 203-5 (for Proto-Indo-European), PNRB p xviii (for Latin), CPNE p. 119 (for the P-Celtic languages), and Coates (1999, for Old English).

There is uncertainty as to whether the Celtic, Latin and Germanic words are independent developments from *weik-/*wik-, or, if adoption was involved, which languages adopted from which.

The primary sense is ‘a settlement occupied by a population of fairly closely-related kinsfolk’. The Roman administrative sense, vīcus ‘the smallest class of settlement having legal status, though subordinate to a superior centre of authority’, doubtless influenced usage in the Celtic and Germanic languages. Semantic developments of Old English wiċ from ‘a dependent settlement’ to several specialised senses is traced by Coates (1999). However, ‘evidence for the existence of gwig in Brittonic in the sense of “settlement” or “dwelling” is poor’, Jackson LHEB p. 252n1: the earliest citation in GPC is cair guicou c1200, though Padel, CPNE p. 119, labels it ‘Old Welsh’.
The Middle-to-Modern Welsh sense, ‘wood, forest’, may not be from the same origin: see Jackson (1970) at p. 72.

*Delgovicia*, probably the Roman-British settlement at Wetwang YER, PNRB pp. 331-2, + *delly*. Rivet and Smith’s discussion misses the close relationship between *wik-*, with the sense of ‘extended family, clan’, and the use of its derivatives (whatever their precise history, see above) as habitative terms in place-names. If this name is based on an ethnonym, *Delgovices*, a meaning like ‘spear-clan’ is likely (see *delɣ*); in -vice- (with suffix –jā) the meaning shifts naturally to ‘home (of that clan)’. Alternatively, this and other names based on ethnonyms in –vices (for which see ACPN pp. 122-3) may be formed from an early Celtic *wic-* from the zero-grade of IE(NW) *weik-* ‘fight’ ( > OIr *fichid* ‘fights’, cognate with Latin *vinco* ‘conquer’, and cf. OE *wīġ* ‘strife, warfare’): for this proposal, see Jackson (1970) at p. 72.

Gabrantovicum sinus PNRB pp. 363-4 ? + *gaβr* – *nt* (as a diminutive suffix), + -wīco- in the sense of ‘a bay suitable for a harbour’ in the vicinity of Bridlington or Filey YER, but it is very doubtful whether the British word carried this meaning. Jackson (1948) at p. 57 took *gabrā* here to mean ‘a mare’ (for objections see PNRB loc. cit.), -nt- to be a participial suffix, and -vicum to reflect the early Celtic meaning ‘fight, conquer’ (see above), yielding an ethnic name, ‘horse-riding warriors’. While this is, for Jackson, rather forced, a tribal or personal name might be involved, see *gaβr*.

Longovicium PNRB pp. 398-9 + *long-*, the Roman fort at Lanchester Drh: Rivet and Smith see this as being based on a tribal name, *Longovices*, + -wig, though the formative –o- is unexplained. For Lanchester, see *long*.

a2) Wigan Lanc PNLanc p. 103 + -an: probably originating as a Roman vīcus associated with Coccia (for which see *coch*), see Breeze in CVEP at pp. 232-3, and cf. Le Vigan etc. (x5) in France, Dauzet et Rostaing (1963) s.n.

b1) Barwick Kcb (Dalry) PNGall p. 34 ? + *barr-, or else OE bere-wīc, literally ‘a barley-farm’, but used of ‘an outlying part and/or settlement of an estate’, EPNE1 p.31, and Coates 1999. Carrick, with Carrick heights, Ntb (Elsdon) PNNtb p. 40 ? + *cajr-, see Coates CVEP p. 324, but the meaning and reference of such a compound would be obscure. A phrasal form (c1) might make more sense, especially if –wīg had acquired the sense ‘forest’, in which case a late, Cumbric-period, origin may be inferred.

*bwilt*

?IE(NW) *gʷel-t-* > eCelt *gwelt-ijo-/ā- > Br *gweltijo-/ā- > M-MnW *gwyllt, OCorn guill > Corn *gwyls, OBret gueld-; OIr *geilt ‘wild man, mad man’ (maybe adopted from Brit) > Ir *gealt, geilt, G *geilt; cogn. Gmc *wilþiaz > OE wilde > ‘wild’, ON villr.

Apparently only Celtic and Germanic.

‘Wild, uncontrolled’. Förster favoured a Brittonic origin for the river-names below (see LHEB p. 434 n1), though Ekwall ERN pp. 170-1 and PNCmb p. 14 treat it as Goidelic *geilt*. The root may be IE *gʷel[s]- ‘well up, flow’ + participial –t-, though it seems to be otherwise absent from Celtic. IE *kʷel-* ‘turn’ would be possible only if initial *k*- had become voiced in early Celtic.

a1) Gelt Burn Ntb ERN p. 171.
Gelt R Cmb ERN pp. 170-1, PNCmb p. 14, and see LHEB p. 434 n1.

c2) *Trevergylt* (lost: in the Inquisition of David I) ? + *treβ- + -i[r]-, or else *wel[t].
*win[n]*

An element of unknown origin and meaning seems to be present in *Vinovia* or *Vinovium* PNRB pp. 504-5. The suffix, *-owwjo-* is likely to imply an underlying river-name (see Jackson (1970) at p. 81).

The first syllable in Binchester DDrh, DDrhPN p. 9, the site of the Roman fort named *Vinovia/um*, might preserve this element, if C. C. Smith’s (1980) ingenious suggestion is accepted, that it was pronounced *Bin-* by the Iberian Celtic-speaking Vetttones (otherwise *Bettones*) stationed there. However, reinterpretation by Old English speakers with *binn* ‘cattle-stall, manger’, or *binnan* ‘inside’, could have influenced the development (see Jackson (1970) at p. 81 and in LHEB at p. 89n2 and p. 260n5).

[in castello] Guinnion HB56 may represent a name based on this element but influenced by *wînn*.

For *Gwensteri* BT29 and R Winster Wml/Lnc see under *ster*.

*wînn*

eCelt *windo-ā* > Br, Gaul *windo-ā* > OW(in personal names and LL) *guinn*, feminine *guenn* > MW *gwîn*, *gwîn* > W *gwyn*, feminine *gwen*, OCorn *guyn* > MCorn *gwyn*, feminine *gwen*, OBret *guinn*, feminine *guen* > MBret *guînn*, *guenn*; OIr *find* > MIr *finn* > Ir, early *Mx fînn* (in place-name, oblique case: DMxPN p. 73) > Mx *finn*.

The Indo-European background is uncertain. IE *weid-* ‘see, know’ + infixed –*n-* is most generally favoured (see DCCPN pp. 34-5). Alternatively there might be a similar relationship with *wed-r-* ‘water’ and with –*went-* in river-names; see *wejr* and *went*, and cf. Gmc *wîntrus* > OE *winter*, ‘winter’, probably from a nasalised form of *we:ð-*. Occasionally in epigraphic and other early written sources, –*e-* occurs rather than –*i-* even in masculine forms: see CIB ǂ22 at p. 76. See also *halː:n*.

‘White, light, pale’, also ‘bright, shining’.

A number of Romano-British place-names have *Vindo-* in compound formations; those in the North include the following (see under the generic elements for discussions, and ACPN pp. 123-4 for examples throughout the Roman world):

*Vindobala* PNRB p. 500, the fort at Rudchester ntb + *-bâl* or *-wâl*.
*Vindogara* PNRB pp. 501-2, an unlocated site on Irvine Bay Ayrs ? + *-cal*, *-carr*, *-gar[r]* or *-garw*.
*Vindolanda* PNRB p. 502, the fort at Chesterholme Ntb + *-lann*.
*Vindomora* PNRB pp. 502-3, the fort at Ebchester DDrh ? + *-môr*.


Williams, PT pp xlix and 31, also identifies *gwen ystrat* BT56(II) with the Eden Valley Cmb/Wml (+ *-strad*), and, at PT p. 41, he reads [yn] *lech wen/ Galysten* as a miscopying of *Lech Velen/ Galysten* (i.e. *lech-* + *-mêlin*, which see). He identifies this as Galston Ayrs. Both these are presumably place-names, and Williams’s proposals are ingenious, but highly
speculative; Breeze 2012b at p. 61, and idem 2015a, suggests that *gw[w]n ystrat is a miscopying of *gw[w]nsteri, above.

a1) Winewall Lanc (Trawden) PN Lanc p. 88 [+ OE(Mercian) –wella ‘a well’]; perhaps a stream-name, but the medial vowel is problematic, Ekwall favours OE pers. n. Winne, and see Coates CVEP p. 319.

c1) Fintry Stg CPNS p. 364 + -treβ: ? Gaelicised *fionn-, see Watson CPNS loc. cit., but see also fin. If Watson’s etymology is correct (as it is for Fintry Abd, which was probably *can-dref, see *can-treβ, see can[d] and Nicolaisen 2011 p. 322), other place-names with ‘Fin-’ could have Brittonic wîn behind them, e.g. the four places named Fingland and one Finglen in Pbl CPNS p. 140, and Fingland Cmb PN Cmb pp. 125 and lxxviii, + -glînn. Winckley, with Winkley (sic) Hall, Lanc (Mitton) PN Lanc p. 141 ? + -çê: changing which see [+ OE -lêah ‘a clearing, pasture, meadow’], but see also cellî.

c2) Carfin Lnk (Bothwell) CPNS p. 367 + carn-, Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin. Cumheueruin Cmb (Kingwater and/or Walton) Lan Cart 151, 204 + cum[b]- + -gweβr- or -*haμar- (see both of these). The absence of -g- on -wîn{n} could indicate early adoption into Northumbrian Old English, though it could have been inhibited in the context –r-w-; or else –în. Colvend Keb PNGall p. 76 ? + *cêlî, which see.

Lessudden Rox (St. Boswells) PN Rox p. 34 ? + *li:s[s]- + -ed- + feminine -wen[n]- + -aodatinn 'hill-face' is more likely, perhaps cf. Lassodie Fif (Beath) PN Fif1 pp. 176-7, but Taylor doubts this etymology there because of the loss of -n; Macdonald in PN Rox gives OE lîos- ‘meadow’ + -side- 'side' + -*wîn{n} 'pasture'. Primside Rox (Morebattle) CPNS p. 351, PN Rox p. 30 + brînn- or prenn- + feminine -wen[n]- [+OE ge-set ‘a dwelling, a camp, a place for animals’ > ME/Scots sete, either ‘a dwelling, seat, settlement’ or in the Scots legal sense, ‘a letting, a lease’, see EPNE2 p. 120 and DSL]: see discussion under prenn.

Pulinkum Wig (Kirkmaiden) PN RGLV p. 85 ? + pol- + -cum[b]-, which see.

Torquhan MLo (Stow) PN MLo p. 370, Troquhain Ayrs (Kirkmichael) CPNS p. 362, Troquhain Keb (Balmacellan) PNGall p. 262, CPNS p. 362, and Troughend Ntb (Otterburn) PN Ntb p. 201, all ? + treβ-, but -çuh- implies unelided *gwen[n], which would be irregular. Moreover, early forms for Torquhan MLo and Troughend Ntb may suggest a different formation, + (-i[r]-) + -*hwaen, which see, and see also *truch.

wlîb (m as noun)


See OIPrIE §20.9 at p. 347 and EGOW pp. 70-1.

‘Wet, damp, moist’, also ‘fluid, liquid’. It occurs in place-names in the Book of Llandaff, and quite frequently in AMR, but only as a specifier in field-names and local topographic names.

a1) Wilpshire Lanc (Blackburn) PN Lanc p. 72: apparently a district-name [+ OE -sêir ‘a (Northumbrian) shire, a territorial unit’], see Kenyon (1991) pp. 100-1 and 142, and Roberts (2008) pp. 151-87; Ekwall PN Lanc loc. cit. considers that gwlyb ‘does not seem to suit the locality’, but Breeze CVEP pp. 223-4 disregards this and rejects Ekwall’s proposal for OE wlîps ‘lisping’. Note that Wilpshire is adjacent to Dinckley (see din and çê:d), and close to Mellor (see mê:l, brey) and Eccleshill (see egles).
WO-


A leniting prefix, primarily preverbal but in place-names prepositional, essentially ‘under, below’ but developing a wide range of sense, typically diminutive or subordinative.

A number of elements originally formed with this prefix are treated here as independent lexemes: see *varaj, *was, weli, woβer, *wogerō, *worː:d, and wotǭd.

Place-names in which wo- is prefixed to an element that itself remained an independent lexeme in Welsh may include the following (see under the headwords for discussion):

R Forth + -*red- or -rid, but see also *worː:d.

Gogar, with Gogar Burn, Stg (Denny) CPNS p. 210, PNFESStg p. 40, WLoPN p. 17, and Gogar, with Gogar Burn, MLo (Ratho) + -*cor or –garth, but see also coch, *cog, and *wogerō.

Govan Rnf + -*ban[n].

Laggangarn Wig + lech- + -*in- + -riw, but see also *woreū.

woβer (m)

IE *bher- (see *ber) –w- > eCelt *beru- + wo- > Br *wobero- > OW(LL) guuber, guuer > M-MnW gofer, OCorn guuer > M-MnCorn gover, MBret gouher, gouveer > Bret gouer; OIr fober, fofer > MIr fobar > Ir, G foihar (in place-names, see IPN p. 212 and CPNS p. 504); cf. Lat fermentum ‘yeast, leaven’, OE beorm ‘yeast, leaven’, and (from zero-grade) OE brēowan > ‘brew’, Gk porphūrein ‘to bubble’, Skt bhurvan ‘restless motion (of water)’.


‘The outflow of a well or small spring, a streamlet’.

a1) Cover R ERN p. 100, PNYNR p. 2: Breeze, CVEP pp. 59-60, (unknowingly?) follows Förster in proposing this etymology, but overlooks Jackson’s observation, ‘this derivation is hazardous’ (LHEB §73 at p. 434): C- implies late adoption (see LHEB§49, pp. 385-94 and CIB p. 288 n125 ), unlikely in this area, with subsequent initial devoicing. See also *cōū, *ber, bre[y] and gaβr.

c2) Bangour WLo (Ecclesmachan) CPNS pp. 145-6, PNWLo p. 48 ? + -ban[n]-, or else –gaβr: in any case Gaelicised as *beann-gobhar (see under ban[n]) if that is not the origin.

Several other stream-names considered under gaβr might perhaps have this element instead.
*wogerð (f)

eCelt *cerðā > Br *cerdā > MW kerd > W cerdd, OCorn kerd > MCorn kerdh; O-MLr fo-ceird.

Welsh cerdd is a verbal noun, ‘going, a journey, etc.’, though O-MLr fo-ceird has the primary sense of ‘put, place’, with a very wide range of semantic development. In Welsh, gogerd means ‘a step (up)’, in place-names, ‘a slope, a ledge, a terrace’; Ir focherd is ‘a feat of arms, a (spear-) cast, etc.’, but in place-names its meaning is similar to that of gogerd, though it could be cognate with Welsh gogarth (see *garth, especially under Gogar Stg) with a similar meaning.

a1) Gogar, with Gogar Burn, Stg (Denny) CPNS p. 210, PNFEStg p. 40, WLoPN p. 17, and Gogar, with Gogar Burn, MLo (Ratho) PNMLo p. pp. 352-3. If these are *wogerð or another *wo- formation, it implies late adoption by English speakers (see LHEB§49, pp. 385-94 and CIB p. 288 n125), but see also wo-, coch, *cog, *cor, and *garth.

wōyn (f, earlier n?)

eCelt *wāg-no-/ā- > Br *wāgnā- > OW gwoun > MW gweun > Wgwaun, OCorn gwon, guen > Corn goon, MBret gueun > Bret geun; OIr fān > Ir fān, eG fān (in place-names, see CPNS p. 142), Mx faaney.

The Indo-European background is dubious: there may be a relationship with IE *wegh- or *weḡh, see *wei-, or with *wehr- ‘be curved’ (cf. Lat vāgus ‘wandering’), but see EGOW p. 75, DCCPN p. 33, Hamp (1974-6a) pp. 30-1 and 139-40, P. Russell (1988) pp. 131-73, and Sims-Williams (1991) at p. 73.

The meaning in the Brittonic languages is primarily ‘level, marshy ground’, whether upland or lowland; developments include ‘a meadow’ in Welsh, ‘downland, unenclosed pasture’ in Cornish; in Goidelic, the meaning is similar to that of *garth.

a1) Wawne YER PNYER pp. 44-5: see Coates, CVEP pp. 176-1. This requires early adoption into Proto-English, from late British *wāyn with spirantised –g- but still unrounded –ā-, for which there would have been a short window of opportunity in the late fifth century: see LHEB §9, p. 292, §§84-6, pp 460-6, and §140, pp. 558-60, also CIB pp. 281-2 and Hamp (1974-6a) pp. 30-1. The early forms, e.g. Wag[h]ene 1086, Wagna 1151, Waune 1228, reflect Old English *Wāg[na] showing that the development -gn- > -un- took place here in Middle English, not in neo-Brittonic. The alternative proposed by Ekwall, ERN p. 440 (and see Smith, EPNE2 p. 239), requires a hypothetical OE *wāgen ‘a quagmire, quaking sands’, associated with OE wagan > ‘wag’, and OE *wagu ‘a wave’: these may be related to the Celtic words, but see above and under *wei-. See also Breeze (2011a).

Walney Island Lanc (Dalton), PNLanc p. 205 [+ ON –ey ‘island’]; ON vǫgn ‘an orca, killer whale’ is more likely, or OE *wagen mentioned above, see DEPN(C) s.n.

WOR-

IE *huper- > eCelt *[p]er- > Br, Gaul and Lepontic wer- > OW guar- > W gor-, gwar- (in compounds), Corn *gor- (in place-names, CPNE pp. 109-10), Bret gour-; OIr for- > Ir, G for-, far- (see GOI §115(a), p. 72), Mx far-; cogn. Lat s-uper, Gmc *uberi- > OE ofer > ‘over’, Gk hupér, Skt upári.
See OIPrIE §18.2 at pp. 289 and 292, DCCPN p. 34. See also *warthāμ.

Ultimately a comparative form of the IE root *h₄up-, see wo-, the latter root influenced the development of early Celtic *u[p]er-, see GOI §838, pp. 513-14. It develops as a preposition in Goidelic, also a pre-verbal and pre-nominal prefix, but it survives only as a prefix in Brittonic, falling together as a preposition in Welsh with ar-, which see.

The sense is primarily ‘over, above’, but in place-names it overlaps substantially with senses of ar- such as ‘upon, close to’, see GMW §§204-6, pp. 183-9 and CPNE pp. 109-10. An intensive sense, ‘very’, probably derives from wor- but extends to ar- (see Newton Arlosh Cmb under ar-).

Worsley Lanc PNLanc p. 40, JEPNS17 p. 34 + -cë:d [+ OE –lēah ‘a clearing, pasture, meadow’] or -celli: see Cubbin (1972-3); but Mills (1976) p. 152 favours an OE personal name Weorc-.

*worç:d (m)

IE *h₄upo- (see wo-) + *h₁reih( (extended form of h₁er- ‘to move’, see rī) –t- > eCelt *wo-reit- > Br *worêt- > M-MnW gwared. Corn gwares; OIr fo-rēith (verb) > Ir fóirith- (with suffixes), G fōirīth{; cf. Latin sucurrēre for the semantic formation.

‘Help, succour’, so ‘deliverance, salvation’.

c2) Loquhariot MLo (Borthwick) ? + log-: see Breeze (2003c), seeing this either as an appellative or a saint’s name *Gwrgared; Clancy 2016, pp. 72-5, tentatively accepts Breeze’s proposal, though with the name amended to *Uoruored; however, some ingenuity is required to derive forms recorded in the 12th to 14th centuries from a name formed with *-worê:d.

For R Forth, ? *wo-rit-jā-, see under *red- and rïd.

*woreū

?IE *h₄aper- (see wor-) + *h₁reğ- (see rī and rinn) > eCelt *wor-rew- > Br *worëw- > MW woreu > W gorau; OIr forg [g]u, forgo: ?cf. Lat superior ‘higher’.

The etymology is uncertain.

‘Object of choice’, becoming (by Middle Welsh), the superlative ‘best’: see GMW §42, p. 40.

c2) Laggangarn Wig ? + lech- + -în-, or else + wo- + -rïw (which see): see Brooke (1991) at p. 311, but it is a very implausible etymology.

wotǭd (m)

IE *h₄upo- + *steh₂- (‘stand’, see *was) + -d- > eCelt *wo-tādo- > Br wotād- (in ethnic name) > OW guotod- > M-MnW Gododd-; OIr fothad > M-eMnIr fothadh.

See EGOW p. 75.
The root sense is ‘a foundation, a support’. However, in the ethnic name in which it survives, Votādini CPNS p. 28, PNRB pp. 508-9 (+ suffix –ini-, see -īn), this is probably the name of an ancestral figure comparable to OIr Fothad, on whom see DCM pp. 213-14.

The literature discussing the identity and location of the peoples referred to by Ptolemy and in HB (as guotodin) and CA (as Gododdin) is of course vast, the most recent overviews at the time of writing are to be found in several papers in Woolf ed. 2013. Suffice to say that assumptions that there was anything beyond nominal continuity between the ethnicity and territory of Ptolemy's Votādini and those of the Guotodin/ Gododdin, or that there was any awareness of a real historical-geographical location for the people and region in the minds of the authors of HB and CA, both seem tenuous.

wreig (f)

IE *wih₃r- (see wur) > eCelt *wir- + -ac-ijā- > Br *wracijā- > OW gurehic > MW gureic > W gwraiɡ, OCorn grueg, greg > MCorn gurek > Corn gwrek, MBret gruec > Bret grek.

See LHEB §166(1) p. 595 and EGOW p. 76.

‘A woman’.

a1) Gourock Rnf ; Breeze 2012a at p. 192 sees this as a simplex name referring to a standing stone known as 'Grannie Kempock's stone', identifying it with Gwleth in VK(J) and [pen ren] wleth in BT 34.1. Watson, CPNS p.201, says 'may be [Gaelic] guire̞c, guire̞ág, "a pimple", with reference to the rounded hillocks there'.

c2) Roswrageθ, Raswrageθ Cmb (Gilsland) PNCmb p. 103, Lan Cart l etc. + rōs- + plural morpheme –ïð: in Old English –gg- [g] seems to have replaced lenited –c- here, contrast forms involving cȩ:d etc., and see LHEB §137, pp. 556-7. On –tl–th for –ð see LHEB §136, p. 556, and §138, p. 558. Women and girls were generally responsible for tending livestock during summer grazing on the hills (see *rįjajn), but the specific reference to women in this place-name suggests some exceptional female rights or responsibilities on this piece of moorland.

*wrūg (m or f)

eCelt *wroico-ā- > Br, Gaul *wrūco-ā- > M-MnW grug, Corn *grūk (in place-names, CPNE p. 113; note also dialectal English grīlan in Cwl), Bret brug (influenced by the French cognate bruyère); OIr froich > MI fráech > Ir, G fraoch, Mx freoagh; cognates from Gaulish *wrūco- include Vernacular Latin brūcus, Old Provençal bruc, Catalan bruch, dialectal Spanish bruza, as well as French bruyère.

See LHEB §22, pp. 312-17.

‘Heather’, primarily Calluna vulgaris and Erica species, but sometimes used of other heathland vegetation.

Brocavum and Brocolitia PNRB pp. 283-5: Rivet and Smith prefer this element to broch in these names, but see under that heading.
a1) Castle Greg MLo (Mid-Calder) PNMLo p. 314, WLoPN p. 18: see under *Cam[b] and *hēs for discussion of *Camulosessa, a Roman fortlet possibly sited here.

c2) Bargrug Kcb (Kirkgunzeon) PNGall p. 24 + *barr-, or else + *crūg (but lenition would be irregular), or Gaelic *barr-gruaig ‘hill of long grass’.

Dalry MLo CPNS pp. 144 and 200, PNMLo p. 124, and Dalry, St John’s Town of, Kcb PNGall p. 103: + *dǭl-, Gaelicised as *dail-fhraioch (not *-rīgh, in view of current pronunciation: see *rīɣ).

**wūr (m)**

IE *wih-ro- > eCelt *wiro- > Br, Gaul *wiro- > O-MW gur > W gŵr, OCorn gur > Corn gour, MBret gur > Bret gour; OIr fer > Ir, G fear, Mx fer; cogn. Lat vir, Gmc *wiraz > OE wer, Skt vīra-.

See DCCPN p. 35, EGOW p. 76.

‘A man, a male person’.

Watson, CPNS pp. 360-1, suggested *wūr-lēn, a Brittonic equivalent of MIr fer-lēighinn, representing Latin vir-legens ‘reading-man, lector’ (a senior position in early monasteries) in *Traverlen MLo (= Duddingston), *treейчас - lēn, but see under *līnn.

The plural, Br *wir- > neoBrittonic *wīr > Welsh gwyr is seen in *medel-wīr ‘reapers’, in Drumelzier Pbl CPNS p. 421 + *dīn-: see *medel.