SCOTTISH PLACE-NAME NEWS

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COMANN AINMEAN-ÀITE NA H-ALBA

Looking north from the isolated landmark of Tinto Hill, over the rolling landscape of mid Lanarkshire, to Greater Glasgow with the Campsie Fells (towards the right) and southern fringes of the Highlands in the distance. Motherwell is on the right hand edge, separated from Hamilton by a narrow strip of the Clyde valley including the artificial Strathclyde Loch, just visible as a small patch of light blue. Behind Motherwell are built-up areas including Airdrie. South-western parts of the city are hidden behind the ridge of the Cathkin Braes. Place- names mentioned are typical of the mix of linguistic origins in this part of Scotland. The Clyde has undergone sound changes since the Clota *of ancient times. Glasgow was a straightforward 'green hollow' in Cumbric, the northern cousin of Old Welsh. Lanark is recognisable in Welsh* llanerch *'glade'. Airdrie is certainly Celtic, and although there are possibilities in Gaelic its situation would have fitted Cumbric *ardd dref 'high farm'. Cathkin is one of several place-name reflexes of Gaelic* coitchionn, *'common (land)'. Tinto, distinctive from afar, appears to be from Gaelic* teinteach *'fiery', from its pink felsite stone or from use for ritual or beacon fires, although Gaelic names are scarce so far into Clydesdale. Motherwell and Hamilton are linguistically Scots or English, the latter a family name from England which largely replaced the Cumbric* Cadyou/Cadzow *in the 15th century.*

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COMMENT

This year's autumn conference, in the very accessible venue of the Mitchell Library in central Glasgow, will be another of the occasional events that SPNS holds jointly with an organisation with overlapping interests – in this case the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland (SNSBI). Some of those attending will be members of both societies, and some SNSBI members from other airts will be regular visitors to name-studies events in Scotland; but others, doubtless, will be less familiar with the fascinating and complex history of the naming of places in the city and its wider region, or with Scottish practices in personal naming. We wish our visitors a pleasantly memorable occasion, and one that will give them much encouragement to return to Scotland for SNSBI's long-weekend conference on Arran in April.

There has been interest from SPNS members in some form of training or advice in making best use of historic sources in pursuit of place-name research, so we are particularly pleased that Dr Irene O'Brien, Senior Archivist at the Mitchell Library, has kindly agreed to open the conference with a talk on the Mitchell collections.

RECOVERING THE EARLIEST ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN SCOTLAND (REELS)

When the Scottish Place-Name Society was founded, following an inaugural meeting at St Andrews in 1996, one of its objectives was to establish a Survey of Scottish Place-Names. Much progress has been made in pursuit of that goal over the last two decades, culminating last year in the formal inauguration of a Survey with Thomas Clancy as Director and the Society's Honorary Preses Simon Taylor as Chief Editor.

The first major step towards this was the publication of the five-volume survey of the place-names of Fife by Simon Taylor with Gilbert Márkus (2006-2012), followed by a volume on the place-names of Bute by Gilbert Márkus (2012). The Fife survey was funded by a research grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), supporting a project entitled "The Expansion and Contraction of Gaelic in Medieval Scotland: The Onomastic Evidence" which had Thomas Clancy as Principal Investigator. That led into another AHRC-funded project, "Scottish Toponymy in Transition: Progressing County Surveys of the Place-Names of Scotland" (STIT), again with Thomas Clancy as Principal Investigator and Simon Taylor as Chief Researcher. STIT produced full surveys of two further counties, Clackmannanshire and Kinross-shire, the latter of which will appear in print later this year. It also scoped out work on other areas, including the historical county of Berwickshire, which became the focus of a subsequent grant application to The Leverhulme Trust. The success of this application means that a three-year project, "Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: Evidence from Place-Names" (REELS), is currently underway to undertake survey of Berwickshire place-names. Like the predecessor projects mentioned above, it is based at the University of Glasgow. The project team comprises Carole Hough (Principal Investigator), Simon Taylor (Co-

Investigator), Eila Williamson (Research Associate), Brian Aitken (Systems Developer) and Dàibhidh Grannd (PhD researcher). We are also grateful for the support of our advisory group: Christopher Bowles, Dauvit Broun, Jayne Carroll, Thomas Clancy, Alison Grant, Andrew Prescott, Maggie Scott, Jeremy Smith and Diana Whaley. The project website can be found at www.gla.ac.uk/reels.

Berwickshire is a large county, whose size and complexity preclude full survey within a three-year time-frame. We have therefore selected six parishes to survey in depth, for publication as *The Place-Names of Berwickshire Volume 1: The Tweedside Parishes*. Based on the template first established by the Fife survey, this will form a volume of the Survey of Scottish Place-Names. Alongside it, we shall provide broader coverage of all place-names across the county on the Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 Landranger map, for public access through a freely available online resource.

The six parishes are Coldstream, Eccles, Foulden, Hutton, Ladykirk and Mordington. All are situated along the Anglo-Scottish border, a study area chosen because the research question underlying the project focuses on the Old English language spoken on both sides of the present-day border during the period when many of the place-names were created. As with other parts of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria, there are many gaps in both the historical and the linguistic record. Indeed, one of the problems facing scholars of Old English and Older Scots is the sparsity of written texts in the Northumbrian dialect of Old English from which the Scots language ultimately derived. Neither is there much archaeological evidence in the form of inscriptions. The toponymic corpus is therefore crucial, but it has remained as yet largely unexplored. REELS is using place-names to investigate the lexis, morphology and phonology of Old Northumbrian, and to test the full potential of this type of data for linguistic reconstruction.

The Old English stratum is central to the project, with Simon Taylor's paper at the Galashiels conference focusing closely on the early sources. At the same time, the survey work is bringing to light a lot of important material from later periods, and for other areas of interest including literature, as illustrated in Eila Williamson's paper at the same conference.

Carole Hough (summarising her talk at the spring conference at Galashiels)

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'YES, SOME OF THE EARLIEST RECORDED SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES'

The name of the talk was taken from the title of the 1999 article by A. A. M. Duncan: 'Yes, The Earliest Scottish Charters', *Scottish Historical Review* 78 (1), 1–38. One of the shoutiest titles of any piece of academic writing, it was in fact part of an academic conversation that had been going on since 1958.[1]

The dispute was about the authenticity of a set of charters issued in the last decade of the 11th century by Kings Duncan/Donnchad II and Edgar of Scotland, and King William II (Rufus) of England. The talk concentrated on the Edgar and William ones, for lands in what is now Berwickshire, as Donnchad II's

[1] Duncan, A. A. M., 1958, 'The Earliest Scottish Charters', *Scottish Historical Review* 37, 103–35.
Donnelly, Joseph, 1989, 'The Earliest Scottish Charters?', *Scottish Historical Review* 68, 1-22.
Duncan, A. A. M., 1999, 'Yes, The Earliest Scottish Charters', *Scottish Historical Review* 78 (1), 1–38.

charter relates only to what is now East Lothian. The reason for concentrating on Berwickshire is the 3-year Leverhulme-funded project 'Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: the Evidence of Place-Names' (for more details, see Carole Hough's piece, this issue).

The dispute about the genuineness or otherwise of these charters has no real bearing on the analysis of the names as names, since both Donnelly and Duncan agree that at least some of the charters in question are original documents from the 1090s. namely those issued by William II in 1095, so the forms reflect usage of the late 11th century, whatever the agendas of those compiling the documents were. The forms in King Edgar's charters are from later medieval copies of originals issued at the same time, and in the same context. This context is Edgar's attempt to take the Scottish throne from his uncle, King Domnall III (Bán), with the support of the English king. In fact the attempt failed, and Edgar did not become king of Scots till 1097.

William II (Rufus)'s confirmation, which exists in Durham Cathedral's archive as Durham MC558a, is of King Edgar's grant to God and the church of Durham and to St Cuthbert the confessor and to Bishop William and to the monks there. It contains two central places, Berwick and Coldingham, each referred to as a manor (Latin *mansio*),[2] the former with 20 manors (*mansiones*), the latter with 10 manors, attached, and all defined as being in Lothian (*in lodoneio*). The names of those attached to Berwick are (in the order as listed in the charter), along with their modern and medieval parish: Graden (Coldstream, formerly Lennel), Lennel (Coldstream etc), Dylsterhale # (probably Coldstream etc), Birgham (Eccles), Edrom (parish), Chirnside (parish), Hilton (medieval parish, now in Whitsome), Blackadder

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[2] One of the Domesday Book terms for a manor, and one that was replaced by *manerium*. *Mansio* has been found in a Scottish context only in this group of charters. Coincidentally, in the Lindisfarne Gospel *hamas* glosses *mansiones* in the NT passage 'in my father's house there are many mansions (*mansiones*)' (Smith 1956 i, 226).

(Edrom), Kimmerghame (Edrom), Hutton (parish), Renton (Coldingham), Paxton (Hutton), Foulden (parish), Mordington (parish), Lamberton (medieval parish, now in Mordington) and the other Lamberton, Edrington (Mordington), Fishwick (medieval parish, now in Hutton), Horndean (medieval parish, now in Ladykirk) and (Wester) Upsettlington (medieval parish, now part of Hutton). It is notable that half of these manors are recorded as parishes in the later Middle Ages.

LANGUAGE

Before looking at these names more closely it is necessary to think about language. The big question in southern Scotland in general, and in Berwickshire in particular, in dealing with a name of Germanic origin is: which language was it coined in? The two main contenders are Old English (up to about 1100) and Scots (from about 1100). As there is to a large extent a continuum between Old English and Older Scots in this part of Scotland, it is often difficult, sometimes impossible, to know which of these languages a name was coined in. It is all to do with timing![3]

In answering this question, the following considerations are useful to bear in mind:

status of named place: OE names tend to survive in high-status settlements, especially those which have given their names to medieval parishes, e.g. Greenlaw and Fogo.

date of earliest record: OE names are found attached to settlements or estates recorded already in the earliest charters (late 11th century), as well as, of course, in Bede and some earlier records relating to Lindisfarne, e.g. Coldingham, Hutton, Foulden.

place-name elements: certain elements seem to have been used to form place-names only or predominantly in the Old English period; e.g. *hām* 'settlement' (literally 'home'), as in Edrom; *wīc* '(specialised) farm, settlement', as in Berwick, Fishwick.

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[3] For a good discussion of some of the problems involved, see Clancy 2013, especially pp. 286-9.

A problematic element is OE *tūn* and its direct descendant, Scots *toun* 'a farm, estate'. It seems to have been productive in both periods. Often found combined with personal names, these can provide the vital clue as to date of coining. For example Penston by Tranent ELO, although first recorded in 1381 (as *Paynistona RMS* i no. 638) contains the personal name Pain (Latin *Paganus*), specifically Pain of *Hedleia* (Hanle?), who was granted land in Tranent in c.1170 by Robert de Quincy (Barrow 1980, 23 fn. 104). We cannot say exactly when it became known as *Pain's toun, but it cannot have been earlier than c.1170. We can therefore confidently assign this name to Scots.

THE BERWICK *MANSIONES*

Let us now home in on the names in our Berwick group, which pose some extremely knotty toponymic puzzles, to not all of which solutions can be claimed, certainly not at this stage of the Project. There are 21 names in all. 8 of these contain the OE *tūn*; 3 contain OE *hām*; 3 OE *denu* 'valley'; 2 OE *wīc*; 2 OE *halh* 'haugh'; 1 OE *sīde* '(hill-)side'. + 1 is a river-name used for a settlement, Blackadder. This comes to 20 including Berwick, as Lamberton contains 2 *mansiones*.

The three *hām*-names are Edrom, Birgham and Kimmerghame (noting that in the two last the *g* is pronounced as *j* in English *jam*). Taking the generic first: the most recent in-depth discussion of this element is to be found in Alan James's article in *JSNS* (2010). It starts by giving a useful overview of previous scholarship on this much-debated element. He writes (with footnotes omitted):

> Barrie Cox has demonstrated that [OE *hām*] was the most favoured habitative term among the earliest Germanic-speaking settlers and that it remained in use up to around the time of Bede [died in 735], being superseded from around 750 by a range of other nouns, most commonly *-tūn*. This observation is vividly illustrated by the only concentration of place-names in *-ham* to be found in (or just outwith) Scotland, which is in the Tweed basin below Melrose, down to the Merse. Norham NTB and (probably) Yetholm ROX were heads of *sċīras*; both of these became mediaeval parishes, as did Edrom BWK, Ednam ROX, Oxnam ROX and Smailholm ROX. Midlem (Bowden ROX), Birgham and Leitholm (both Eccles BWK) and Kimmerghame (Edrom BWK) ...'

So we may well be seeing what James terms 'vigorous and determined English-speaking colonisation by the early eighth century' (2010, 104). However, James reminds us of one meaning of *hām* already pointed out by A. H. Smith in his important *English Place-Name Elements* of 1956: that it can also refer to a monastic household or monastery, a religious house, a minster, as expounded also by Victor Watts in his 1994 article on Hexham. And as such it was certainly in use later than Barrie Cox's mid-8th-century date, perhaps up until about 900 or even later. We have to bear in mind that this ecclesiastical usage is only one of several applications of *–ham* and *-ingham* , but it should always be carefully considered in cases in which there is supporting evidence. Such supporting evidence can be written or material (such as archaeological or sculptural), as for example for Norham, just over the Border from Upsettlington, as well as for Hexham and Coldingham, and possibly for Edrom. In names such as Birgham and Kimmerghame, however, there is no comparable religious context.

Moving on to the specifics of these names: in Birgham (*brygh<am>* 1095 Durham MC559; *bricgha<m>* 1095 Durham MC558a; *Brigham* 1189 x 1195 *RRS* ii no. 317) this is OE *brycg* f. 'a bridge; a causeway' (*VEPN* s.v.). Given its proximity to the Tweed we might assume it referred to a bridge across the Tweed, possibly to Carham, which lay on the opposite (English) side. But surely there was not such an ambitious bridge so early. It is more likely to have referred to a small bridge or causeway across a boggy or frequently flooded area. A local place-name, and an old map, provide just such a context.

Fig. 1. Armstrong's map of Berwickshire, 1771, showing Lochton (*Loughtoun*) by Birgham, with its eponymous loch and a burn draining out of it into the Tweed. It is probably the bridge or causeway which carries the old road across this burn that is referred to in the name Birgham. Image courtesy of *http://maps.nls.uk/*

The metathesis of *y/i/r* starts to appear in the late medieval period. The modern pronunciation with palatal *g* has still to be investigated, but suggests that the final consonant in *brycg* was palatalised early i.e. /g/ >/dʒ/, unlike Scots *brig*.

There are several places in England containing the same elements, such as Brigham, Allerdale parish, Cumberland, which first appears as *Briggham* c.1175 (*PNCumberland* 2, 355), and Brigham Bank, Bolton parish, Westmorland (*PNWestmorland* 2, 140). These are both pronounced with a hard *g*.[4]

In Edrom (*Edrem* 1095 Durham MC559; *ederha*<*m*> 1095 Durham MC558a; *Ederham* x 1138 *ESC* no. CXVII), whose importance as a church is signalled by the fine Romanesque arch surviving there, the specific is the river-name Adder, as in the Whiteadder and Blackadder. It is on the Whiteadder, suggesting that the distinguishing *white* and *black*, which are already in place by the late 11th century, developed after the coining of this settlement-name. It is one of several OE settlement-names in south-east Scotland with a river-specific + a habitative element, e.g. Tyningham, Pefferham # (both ELO), Edrington (also the Whiteadder), Ednam (Edenham) ROX, Leitholm and Ayton. Then there is also the settlement-name

Blackadder, without any habitative element, another of the *mansiones* of Berwick.[5]

The third of the *hām*-names is Kimmerghame (Edrom parish) (*Chynbrygh*<*am*> 1095 Durham MC559; *cynebrihtha*<*m*> 1095 Durham MC558a; Robert de *Kynbriggeh⁴m* 1296 *Ragman Roll*, 146). May Williamson analyses the first element as OE, probably 'cows' bridge', referring to a bridge over the Blackadder Water, though she does admit the possibility that it is the male personal name Cynebriht (Williamson 1942, 15). In fact, the earliest form, which is from our William Rufus charter (Durham MC558a), reads not *Cynebritham*, as she thought, misled by an error in *ESC* no. XVI, but *cynebrihtha*<*m*>, which looks even more like the personal name.

The next generic in this group, and found in almost half of all the names, is OE *tūn*, the dating problems of which have already been discussed. These are Hilton, Hutton, Renton, Paxton, Mordington, Lamberton and the other Lamberton, Edrington and Upsettlington. This is not surprising, given that *tūn* was the most productive habitative element in the Old English period in England, as well as in Older Scots, in the form of *toun*. From the 12th century onwards, the unit referred to in Latin charters as *villa* almost certainly represented this word, the equivalent in Gaelic Scotland being *baile*. It could be argued therefore that it was also the vernacular term which in these very early charters was represented by Latin *mansio*.

As to the specifics, they can be divided up into personal names and topographical features, with one possible reference to animals (Lamberton), and one to a murder or murders (Mordington). Those which definitely contain personal names are Renton and Paxton. For Renton (*Regninton* 1095 Durham MC559; *reinintun* 1095 Durham MC558a; *Regnintun* c.1100 Durham

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[4] Thanks to Alan James for confirming these pronunciations after the conference.

[5] For a BBC feature article on the REELS project, which mentions these river-named settlements, see <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-south-scotland-38090671>, an article that appeared on 5 January 2017.

MC555), May Williamson suggests that the first element is OE *Regna*, a short form of the male personal name *Regenwald*. This would become *Regnan* in the genitive. Alternatively the second element, *-in-*, may be a reduced form of the particle *-ing*, meaning something like 'associated with', so 'farm associated with Regna'.

Paxton on the Tweed, appearing as *Paxtun* or *Paxton* consistently from the earliest record seems to contain a 'strong form, **Pæc(c)* of the OE [male] personal name *Pac(c)a*' (Williamson 1942). There are several places in England which seem to contain this name, including Great Paxton (Huntingdonshire), which Ian Cowan confused with this Paxton, hence his listing it as a parish in his book on medieval Scottish parishes (1967, s.n.).

Lamberton, a medieval parish now part of Mordington, was already divided into two parts by the 1090s, suggesting a relatively large and important estate (*lamberton ... aliam lamberton* 1095 Durham MC559; *la<m>bertun ... aliam la<m>bertun* 1095 Durham MC558a; Johanne de *Lamertoun* 1201 x 1233 *Midl. Chrs.* (Soutra) no. 16; (ecclesia) de *Lambirtun* c.1250 *St A. Lib.*, 31). It may contain the Flemish personal name Lambert, although this would be remarkably early for Flemish settlement in Scotland. On present evidence a derivation from OE *lambra tūn* 'farm of lambs', containing the genitive plural of OE *lamb* 'a lamb', seems most likely. A full discussion of this name will appear in volume one of *The Place-Names of Berwickshire*.

Mordington (*Morthyngton* 1095 Durham MC559; *morðintun* 1095 Durham MC558a) seems to contain OE *morð* 'murder', again with the associative particle *-ing*, so 'a farm or settlement associated with a murder or murders', which may be compared with the Northumbrian place-name Morpeth, 'murder path' (*Morthpath* c.1200).

The remaining *tūn*-names are combined with topographical features: Hilton, formerly a parish, now part of Whitsome, is on a low hill.

Edrington (*Hadryngton* 1095 Durham MC559; *hædrintun* 1095 Durham MC558a; *Edrington*' 1321 *RRS* v no. 187), as with Edrom, it contains the river-name **Adder (now Whiteadder Water), with the common *-ing* particle, signifying 'associated with' etc.

Fig. 2 Hutton Castle on its *hōh* 'spur, projecting heel of land' (whence Scots *heugh*). *Huton* 1095 Durham MC559; *hotun* 1095 Durham MC558a. Photo: Wikipedia.

Upsettlington, which supplied the names of two medieval parishes, namely East and Wester Upsettlington, appears as *Vpsetinton* 1095 Durham MC559; *upsetintun* 1095 Durham MC558a; *Hupsetligtun* 1153 x 1160 *Kelso Liber* i no. 273; *vpsetling'tune* 1177 x 1204 *Kelso Liber* i no. 253; *Hupsetinton*' 1194 *SEA* i no. 232). Smith 1956 gives under OE *setl*, with variants *seld*, *sedl*, **seðl* 'a seat, an abode, a dwelling'. 'In a few cases the meaning is "seat", probably used to indicate a lofty situation, as in Warshill, etc'. While OE *up(p)* he gives 'up, higher, upon'. A lot depends on how we interpret the ubiquitous but quite troublesome particle *-ing*. While it may simply have its associative force, it may in this case refer to a group of people, so perhaps 'the farm or settlement of the people living high(er) up', or even 'of a group called the **Upsettlings*'. One problem that has to be addressed is the lack of *l* in the earliest forms. Perhaps **set* or **seð* was regarded as a variant form of *setl*, *sedl* etc. Williamson 1942 interprets this as 'the [upper] farm or village on or by the ledge', etc.

The talk also discussed the lost Dylsterhale (possibly in Coldstream) and Lennel, both of which contain OE *halh* 'a haugh, water-meadow, etc', with Lennel probably meaning 'lean or meagre haugh'. There was no time to cover Berwick, Fishwick, Foulden, Graden, Horndean and Chirnside – perhaps matter for another talk, or a further article. However, there was enough to show

that the early-recorded place-names of Berwickshire are, unlike Lennel, anything but lean, and will throw light not only on early settlement and language of this corner of Scotland, and on the very earliest roots of Scots, but also on the place-nomenclature of England.

Simon Taylor (from his talk at Galashiels)

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INDEX OF CELTIC AND OTHER ELEMENTS IN W.J.WATSON'S 'THE HISTORY OF THE CELTIC PLACE-NAMES OF SCOTLAND'

In the field of Scottish place-name studies, William J. Watson's *The History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland* (1926) still holds a canonical status: it is the starting-point for any serious study of the toponymy of almost any part of the country. In it Watson discusses a multitude of place-names, but, perhaps even more important for the modern researcher, he exemplifies the bulk of the Scottish Celtic 'onomasticon', the body of Celtic vocabulary from which place-names have been formed over the past two

millennia, and he raises important questions concerning the formation and interpretation of names which, even where his answers have to some extent been superseded by more recent scholarship, can still stimulate research and provide agenda for debate.

But *CPNS* is not, it must be admitted, as user-friendly as it might be: given the importance to researchers of the evidence for the 'onomasticon', the lack of an index of place-name *elements* has been a serious impediment.

In 1999, Alan James, with help from Simon Taylor, brought together two indexes that then existed in manuscript or typescript, of Celtic elements by Eric Basden, and of anglicised forms of those elements by Angus Watson. The resulting, combined, Index, has been on the SPNS website for several years, its usefulness perhaps rather overlooked. It has now been transferred to a downloadable pdf, with a number of addenda (chiefly additional location references) and corrigenda (mainly minor or cosmetic).

It remains a very useful resource, enabling any researcher to find what Watson had to say about any of several hundred place-name elements, or to find examples of place-names that may contain those elements, and also providing an invaluable list of possible clues to the, often baffling, forms that those elements may assume in Scots/ anglicised forms of Celtic-origin names.

(Note from **Alan James**; resource available at <http://spns.org.uk/resources/index-celtic-elements>)

USES OF THE PAST IN PLACE-NAME DEBATES: CASE STUDIES FROM NEW ZEALAND AND NORTHERN IRELAND

In 2009, two place-name debates hit the headlines on opposite sides of the world. In New Zealand, residents of Wanganui, on the west coast of New Zealand's lower North Island, debated whether the town's name should be spelled with an 'h' after the initial 'W'. Meanwhile, a long-running debate over the name of Northern Ireland's second-largest city flared up again, with a proposal

to change its official name from Londonderry to Derry. In both places, and on both sides of the debate, people appealed to history in making the case for change, or for the status quo.

W(h)anganui's[6] name derives from the Māori name of the river at whose mouth the town sits. As such, there is no question that it is a name of Māori origin, and in standard Māori spelling it would be written with a 'Wh'. However, New Zealanders of European settler origin came to spell it without the 'h', and it was spelled that way for most official purposes until recent times. In 1991, local Māori tribes succeeded in having the spelling of the river changed, and in 2009 they applied to change the name of the town as well. This application was made to the New Zealand Geographic Board, which has the authority to assign official names. After considering public submissions on the matter, the Board agreed that the town's name should be spelled with an 'h'. However, under the Board's governing Act, the final decision rests with the Minister for Land Information, who in this case decided that both spellings would be allowed (although government departments were instructed to move towards the 'Wh' spelling over time).

Derry is an Anglicisation of the Irish '*Doire*' ('oak wood'), and was originally the site of a monastic settlement. After the Plantation of Ulster with British settlers in the seventeenth century, a new royal charter named the city 'Londonderry'. The city's name emerged as political issue in the 1970s, and in 1984 the city council (with a majority of members representing Irish nationalist parties) changed the name of the council district to Derry City. To change the name of the city itself, however, the council would have to petition the Privy Council to alter the royal charter. Having resolved to proceed with such a petition, in 2009 the council undertook an Equality Impact Assessment (EQIA), a legal

requirement to determine whether the proposed name change would adversely affect any section of the community. The EQIA found that the change would indeed adversely affect the city's Protestant and unionist minority. The council was unable to agree on how to proceed, and the name-change proposal has since remained stalled.

Different though these two cases are, people in both debates made very similar uses of history to support their arguments. The past was used in these debates in three distinct ways.

First, the past was used as a source of evidence that one name has a stronger claim than the other to be the authentic, original or proper name of the place in question. For example, those favouring the name 'Whanganui' pointed out that Māori named the river long before the creation of the European township, while opponents noted that the township of 'Wanganui' was established by Europeans, who therefore were entitled to spell it as they pleased.

Second, the past was used to explain the meanings and associations the names have acquired over time. People argued that their own preferred name for their city was integrally linked to their sense of personal and communal heritage and identity. Heritage, identity and naming preferences were all connected to family and community history.

Third, the past was used to explain the underlying grievances and antagonisms that may come to the surface in place-name debates. These grievances are the result of ongoing tensions over history and struggles for power. Many Protestants saw the proposal to change the official name from Londonderry as the latest in a series of attacks on their community, while many Catholics saw it as helping to right the wrongs of a past in which their community had suffered discrimination and marginalisation.

Naming of places is inherently political and inevitably involves questions of power. In particular, it raises the questions: who has the power to name now, and who exercised

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[6] At the conference the speaker confirmed that the presence or absence of the additional letter would usually make no difference to the pronunciation by non-Māori New Zealanders, unlike that of 'Wales' vis à vis 'whales' in Scotland.

that power in the past, when names that have become established by official decree or by usage were originally bestowed? History can shed light on those questions, but because naming is fundamentally about politics and power, history cannot tell us what a place's correct name is, or what it should be.

Historians can, however, still make a useful contribution to place-name debates. They can bring to the discussion of place names a focus on complexity and nuance, and on continuity and change in power relations. Changes in naming policies and practices, and in the terms of debate about names, can be useful barometers of shifts in political power and cultural authority. In addition, historians can show that the ideas of heritage and identity with which names are so intimately connected are not givens, but are historical constructs that evolve over time. Instead of providing a source of evidence in support of one name or another, historical analysis can complicate simple narratives about place, name and identity, and help us to understand what lies behind people's attachment to particular names.

Ewan Morris (summarising his talk at Galashiels)

Further reading: Ewan Morris, '"H" is for History: Uses of the Past in Place-Name Debates in New Zealand and Northern Ireland', *History Australia* (forthcoming).

Life Membership of SPNS

SPNS now has a new membership category, that of Life Membership of the Society, for £80. If you would like to become a Life Member, please contact the Treasurer Peter Drummond, addresses below. If you have already paid for a 3-year membership, any outstanding credit balance can count against the £80 fee (e.g. if you paid £15 in Spring 2016, you have £10 credit which means you'd only pay £70 for Life membership).

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DR ANGUS WATSON, 1937-2017 - AN APPRECIATION BY SIMON TAYLOR

It was with great sadness that in May this year I learnt of the death of Angus Watson, toponymist, lexicographer, writer and friend. I first became aware of Angus in 1995, following the publication of his book *The Ochils: Placenames, History, Tradition*.[7] Angus was extremely well qualified for this challenging undertaking, having graduated with a first class Honours degree in Gaelic in 1992 at the University of Aberdeen, and living at that time in the parish of Forgandenny in the shadow of the Ochils. I wrote a lengthy review in *Nomina* 19 (1996, 115-20), in which I was positive and enthusiastic about this book, hailing it as making 'a real and important contribution to this difficult subject' and offering 'a wealth of information, not merely onomastic, but also more widely historical, cultural and anecdotal on the whole of the Ochils'. I did, however, criticise him for not providing sources for early forms. He responded generously, in a way which I was later to realise was typically Angus. He contacted me directly, apologetically explaining the reason for the omission, and sending me a print-out with a full source for every single form that had appeared in the book.[8] And a short time later he provided me with a 210-page document entitled 'Strathearn', in which he had collected spatial information, as well as early forms from medieval and early modern sources, for the place-names of the parishes of Strathearn, from Auchtergaven in the east to Balquhidder in the west.

Not long thereafter he enrolled as a part-time student at the University of St Andrews to undertake a doctoral thesis, under the supervision of Dr Barbara Crawford and myself, on the place-names of western Strathearn. This he completed with

[7] For full details, see Bibliography, below.
[8] On re-reading my review, I see that I for my part owe Angus an apology. In my list of 'small corrections' I maintained that he was wrong in stating that Cuthil, Orwell parish, Kinross-shire was earlier Cuthilgourdy. In fact, he was right, and I was wrong (see Place-Names of Kinross-shire, s.n.).

remarkable speed and efficiency in 2002, under the title 'Place-Names, Land and Lordship in the Medieval Earldom of Strathearn'. Unfortunately this is still unpublished, though it has recently become available on the University of St Andrews Library website (see below for details). At its core is a full survey and analysis of the place-names of six pre-1975 parishes in western Strathearn, namely Ardoch, Balquhidder, Comrie, Crieff, Monzievaird & Strowan and Muthil, plus the medieval parish of Monzie, with important insights into land-holding patterns and lordship in each parish, using both place-names and documentary evidence. It is essential reading not only for Scottish toponymists, but for anyone working on the social, environmental and linguistic history of Perthshire and beyond.[9]

Angus was a speaker twice at SPNS conferences: once in Stirling in November 1997, held jointly with the Scottish Oral History Group; and once in Perth in May 2000. At the Stirling conference he spoke on the place-names of the Ochils – I still remember his clear and careful unpicking of the complexities of the name Dollar, its reinterpretation and its interaction with the local toponymy and traditions. At the Perth conference he spoke on the research he was doing for his PhD, concentrating especially on land-holding patterns in the medieval parish of Monzievaird.

Angus was a highly gifted linguist, not only working as a toponymist and lexicographer, but also writing creatively in both Gaelic and Scots, as the long list of short stories and poems testify. He was also a fluent French speaker. His wife, Janet, was a French teacher at Strathallan School, Forgandenny, and on her retirement in 2002 they moved to France, first to near Bourges, then in 2010 further eastwards to Moulins-Engilbert, in the beautiful, rolling countryside of south Burgundy. But Angus never lost his love for Scotland, its landscapes and languages, and even during his long final illness was planning to re-work and re-publish his

[9] Some of his material for Strowan parish appeared in 2000 in a jointly written article on the Crieff Burgh Cross. See Bibliography, below, for details.

Ochils book, as well as to bring to publication a 10,000 word booklet on medieval Dunning, which he had begun many years ago in conjunction with the Dunning Parish Historical Society.

Publications

These are divided into *Place-name and Lexicographical Works* (Section 1) and *Short Stories and Poems* (Section 2). I am most grateful to Janet Watson for supplying the list for Section 2. Both Sections are in chronological order.

Section 1: Place-name and Lexicographical Works

Watson, Angus, 1995, *The Ochils: Placenames, History, Tradition* (Perth; published by Perth and Kinross District Libraries)

Hall, M. A., Forsyth, K., Henderson, I., Scott, I., Trench-Jellicoe, R., Watson, A., 2000, 'Of makings and meanings: towards a cultural biography of the Crieff Burgh Cross [cross slab], Strathearn, Perthshire', *Tayside and Fife Archaeological Journal* 6, 154-88 [Angus Watson's section on place-names relating to the landscape and early lordship of Strowan parish, Perthshire, the place where the cross-slab was found, 169-74]

Buchanan, Dougal (pseudonym), 2000, *Gaelic–English, English-Gaelic Dictionary* (Lomond Books)

Watson, Angus, 2001, *The Essential Gaelic–English Dictionary*, compiled by Angus Watson (Edinburgh)

Watson, Angus, 2002, 'Place-Names, Land and Lordship in the Medieval Earldom of Strathearn', unpublished Ph.D., University of St Andrews. Online at <http://hdl.handle.net/10023/11331>

Watson, Angus, 2012, *The Essential Gaelic–English, English-Gaelic Dictionary*, compiled by Angus Watson (Edinburgh)

Section 2: Short Stories and Poems

Short Stories (Gaelic)

Am Fòn 1988 *Gairm* 142

Tilleadh 1989 *Gairm* 146)

An cuala tu seinn nan ròn 1990 *Gairm* 151

Comhradh Samhraidh 1991 *Gairm* 153

Sear Air Eden 1993 *New Writing Scotland* 11

Turas a' Bhàird 1993 *North Word* 5

Bruadaran 1993 *Gairm* 162

Bana-Charaid nan Gaidheal 1994 *Gairm* 165

Sgeulachd Ruairidh Reamhair 1994 *Gairm* 168

An Gearradair-fiodha 1994-1995 *Gairm* 169

Thograinn Falbh 1996 *Gairm* 173

Mus Tig An Geamhradh 1997 *Gairm* 178

Short Stories (Scots)

Eftir the Ball *Scratchings* 8 (Aberdeen University)

The Whelps *Scratchings* 8 (Aberdeen University)

Almost Home 1986 *Scotsman Magazine*

Jack and Lee drop in for a Smoke 1989 *Scottish Stories from MacGregor's Gathering*, selected by Jimmie Macgregor and Stephen Mulrine, BBC

Black Murdo1991 *Tales from the Coast: Stories from the "West Coast" Magazine*, ed. Kenny MacKenzie and Joe Murray

The Cowt 1995 *Lallans* 45

Poems (Scots)

Upon Drumossie Moor c.1988 *West Coast Magazine* 4

The Wido' Wumman 1989 *Scottish Stories from MacGregor's Gathering* (see above)

Lammin Snaw 1992 *Lines Review* 123

Todlowrie gangs tae Gallows Knowes 1993 *Gairfish*

The Last Castrato 1994 *Poetry Now*

Ile Men 1995 *Mak it new*

Poem 1995 *Lallans* 44

Lucifer 1999 *The Keeking Gless*

MacCaig Country 1999 *The Keeking Gless*

From 'Lammin Snaw' by
Angus Watson

The snell lammin snaw
Fummles at the pin
Huvvers at the keyhole
But ye're no in.

Toom the hoosie lies
Saft the stour faws
In the muir a ewe tyauves
Fer the hoodie craws.

Dealbh-Dùthcha

Ainmean-Àite Bhràdhagair agus Àrnoil

Bragar and Arnol Community Trust / Urras Coimhearsnachd Bhràdhagair agus Àrnoil has published a wonderfully detailed map of the place-names of its part of Lewis, a labour of love by Anne Campbell, with contributions from many others, over several years. It provides English translations of many names,

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complete with stories about places. For some, a particular attraction will be the challenge of unravelling the Norse originals that underlie many of the names.

<info@bragararnol.org>

<www.bragararnol.org>

AWARDS FOR STUDENTS!

Details of grants available to students from the Thomas Marcus Huser Fieldwork Fund and the Cultural Contacts Fund, as well as of the Nicolaisen Essay Prize, are available on the SPNS website, < http://spns.org.uk/ >.

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND PLACE-NAMES

The focus of this paper was on place-names with a literary connection that can be found among the corpus of Berwickshire place-names being surveyed by the *Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: Evidence from Place-Names* project. Before looking more closely at five names in particular (*Scott's View*, *Sybil's Well*, *Tibby Fowler's Cottage*, *Tibby Fowler's Glen*, and *Wallace's Crook*), brief attention was given to place-names in Galashiels associated with Roger Quin, the 'Tramp Poet' (i.e., the street-name, *Roger Quin Gardens*, and *Quins*, a restaurant and coffee shop), and with Sir Walter Scott.

Scott's View viewpoint

Scott's View is the name of the viewpoint, built in 1955 and unveiled on 15 May 1956, from which a renowned view of the Eildon Hills can be seen. The view is recorded as being a favourite one of Sir Walter Scott,

who had purchased the estate of *Newarthaugh* or *Cartleyhole* (or 'Clarty Hole') in 1811, renaming it *Abbotsford*. An earlier literary figure, David Hume of Godscroft (1558–c. 1630), a Neo-Latin poet and author of histories of the Douglas family, had also renamed his Berwickshire estate from *Gowkscroft* to *Godscroft*, and in his writings used the name *Theagrius* 'man from *Theager*' – *Theager* being a classicisation of 'god's farm' or 'god's acre'.

The scene of the death of Marmion, eponymous character in Sir Walter Scott's epic poem about the battle of Flodden, first published in 1808, has led to the naming of two wells called *Sybil's Well* in Northumberland: one at Floddenhill Plantation, commissioned by Louisa, marchioness of Waterford, in the late nineteenth century, and the other built about 1935 near Branxton Church. The OS 6 inch 1st edition map for Ladykirk parish BWK denotes a *Sybil's Well* in the grounds of Ladykirk House. It is likely that it acquired its name following a Grand Tour by the laird's son, Roger Robertson, in 1750–3, and that it commemorates the classical Sibyl of Cumae. Intriguingly, though, it is situated next to *Bloody Headrig*, which the Ordnance Survey Name Book for Ladykirk describes as marking the spot where the battle of Flodden ended. This raises the possibility that the *Sybil's Well* at Ladykirk House with its associations with the battle of Flodden may have provided an inspiration to Sir Walter Scott in his writing of *Marmion*.

While the Sibyl was a classical prophetic figure, in Earlston BWK are place-names relating to a medieval prophetic figure – Thomas the Rhymer or Thomas of Ercildoune. The remains of the tower house, *Rhymer's Tower*, may be of later date than the historical Thomas, but the place-name serves to keep the medieval legend alive in modern consciousness, as do the other instances of the same name applied to the adjacent roadside café and its liveried van. The modern house *Rhymer's Ha'* near Melrose ROX is situated within walking distance of the *Rhymer's Stone* and viewpoint.

Rhymer's Tower, Earlston

Thomas the Rhymer was the subject of one of the ballads Sir Walter Scott collected for his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. Not featured there were ballads about Tibby Fowler whose name is commemorated in two place-names near Edrington Castle in Mordington parish BWK: *Tibby Fowler's Cottage* and *Tibby Fowler's Glen*. The earliest versions of the song 'Tibby Fowler o' the Glen' date to the second half of the eighteenth century and do not contain specific geographical information to link them conclusively to Berwickshire, however.

Wallace's Statue and the *Tree of the Helmet* are two examples of Berwickshire place-names associated with William Wallace. The former is a 21½ ft high statue of Wallace, erected in 1814, near Bemersyde, while the latter was the name of a tree on the road from Earlston to Redpath, described in a 1953 interview conducted for the University of Edinburgh's School of Scottish Studies.

A third Wallace place-name – *Wallace's Crook* – was discussed in greater depth in the paper. Marked on the OS 6 inch 1st edition map, it is defined in the Ordnance Survey Name Books as,

> 'This name is well known, and applied to the bend of a small Brook, that forms the parish Boundary between Coldstream, and Eccles. Tradition asserts that the Scottish Patriot Sir Wm Wallace passed a night hidden beside the stream, from which circumstance it is supposed to have derived the name' (NRS, OS1/5/17/84).

Later OS maps reveal that the name was being applied to the whole watercourse and the direct link with the bend of the brook had been lost. The place-name *Wallace*

Crooke can be seen on Robert Gordon's map of c.1636–52, 'A description of the province of the Merche. The Mers', located beside a bend on the watercourse, while the names *lie Wallace-cruikis* in 1627 (*RMS* viii no. 1019) and *Wallace-cruikis* in 1645 (*Retours* no. 257) both refer to land. A 1613 record '2 terras husbandias, cum *lie Wallacecruik*, in territorio de Birgim' (*RMS* vii no. 947) is more ambiguous.

In her 1942 thesis on Berwickshire place-names,[10] May Williamson suggests that a place-name in Blind Hary's poem *The Wallace* 'may be the land enclosed by the bend in the Tweed, or may be the present farm of Crooks near The Hirsel' (p. 6). The name in question is rendered as *Birgeane cruk* in the earliest manuscript of the Wallace dated 1488 and as *Birgem cruik* in the 1570 edition. In her discussion, however, May Williamson makes no mention of the place-name *Wallace's Crook*. An extremely popular poem, *The Wallace* was one of the earliest printed works in Scotland. Fragments exist of a Chepman and Millar print dating to 1507–8. Later in the sixteenth century, there were printed editions in 1570 and 1594. The seventeenth-century editions include two (in 1601 and 1611) which also predate the first mention of the place-name *lie Wallace-cruik*. It was proposed in the paper that the place-name *Wallace Crook* (whether applied to land or the bend of the brook, or both) was originally known as *Birgham Crook*, and that it was the popularity of *The Wallace* which led to its association with William Wallace and subsequently to a change in its name.

The paper concluded with three excerpts from poems containing place-names from the Scottish Borders: 'Blind man, be blyithe, thocht that thow be wrangit' (attributed to Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, d.1586), which features a play on words regarding the name of the barony *Blythe* in Lauder parish, and the adjective *blith/blyth* 'happy, cheerful,

[10] May G. Williamson, '*The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties*', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Edinburgh,1942), online: <http://spns.org.uk/resources/the-non-celtic-place-names-of-the-scottish-border-counties-may-g-williamson>.

in good spirits'; Chris Morgan's poem describing the Lauder Common Riding of 1986, demarcating a progression from place to place reminiscent of boundary clauses in charters; and 'Stream Rhythm' by Valerie Gillies (1989), in which the meanings and history of place-names along the Tweed are explored.

Eila Williamson, University of Glasgow (summarising a talk to the conference at Galashiels, 4 May 2017). Dr Williamson is Research Associate on the *Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: Evidence from Place-Names* project, which is funded by the Leverhulme Trust. <www.gla.ac.uk/reels>.

BOATS, BATTERIES, AND BARRICADES: SOME WAYS WATER INFLUENCES OUR PERCEPTIONS OF PLACE

This paper was the culmination of research and fieldwork undertaken for my PhD 'Breaking old and new ground: a comparative study of coastal and inland naming in Berwickshire' at Glasgow University and for the Masters in Landscape Architecture programme at Edinburgh University. It gives a brief overview of some

ways water might influence perceptions of topographical features, and in turn the naming of these features. 'coastal' is heredefined as features partially or wholly surrounded by seawater. 'ND, App. No.' refers to the *North Durham* charters, as catalogued by James Raine in 1852, now part of the collection known as 'Durham Cathedral Muniments: Miscellaneous Charters', held by Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections.

Common generic elements and water

Rock is found in 29 names in my PhD research area and these are all coastal; examples include Nameless Rock and Redshanks Rock. Further south and outwith the region of my PhD is Ale Kip Rock, which is located inland on the bank of the River Ale. Although it is inland, it is next to water. Ale Kip Rock is first recorded in c.1203 as *Alnekip*, and this is the earliest recording of *kip* in the study area. The generic element *kip* is found in both inland and coastal names. The Scottish National Dictionary gives the definition for *kip* as 'a jutting or projecting point on a hill' (SND s.v. *kip* n.1) but the study area has a slightly different type of feature named *kip*. Ale Kip Rock is a large rock on the bank of the Ale River. Approximately 120m downstream is Kip Rock, another large rock on the riverbank, of which there is no record earlier than the six-inch first edition Ordnance Survey map (1856). The other *kips* are on the coast are large standalone rocks: Kip Carle, a second Kip Rock, Leader Kip, and Linkum Kip. Notably, *kip* is followed by *rock* in three of these five names. Adjectival *kippid* is also recorded in ND, App. No. 256 (1229×1234) in *Kippidlawe*, a lost place-name. The *kip* is Kip Rock, and the *law* is an inland feature near the coast recorded as *Red Kip* in *Plan of lands of Northfield including St Abbs Head* (1782, RHP43284). The more recent name, Red Kip, shows *kip* moving from first element to second element. These *kips* are not projecting points on a hill but they are rocks jutting out of the coastal landscape next to the farmed land.

Carr pertains to a 'rock ledge, projecting rock' (PNF 5 El. Gloss. s.v. *carr* 322), and most likely entered Old English from Brittonic (Parsons and Styles, 2004: 143). It is the second most common generic for off-coast features in the research area, with 20 recorded instances. *Rock* is used inland, however, while *carr* is not, so the terms are not interchangeable. Off-coast rock clusters are often found referred to as *carrs*, such as Big Black Carrs and Little Black Carrs.

Narrative and water

The etymologies and descriptions given in the Ordnance Survey Name Books (OSNB) provide an insight into how these names were perceived and systematized in the nineteenth century. Many of the descriptions given are folk etymologies which can be used alongside philological analysis to develop an understanding of the motivations for coastal naming, and their interpretation and reinterpretation. In turn, the interpretations of names can illuminate how categories have developed, and how these categories inform and interact with one another.

Twenty four coastal names include animal terms; these names are a combination of literal and metaphorical. This discussion focuses on the metaphorical names. There are a few bird names used metaphorically, including the goose. Goose Craves is an off coast rock, and the name probably refers to the hut geese are kept in. Geese are usually found on the farmyard or fields, not at sea, but it is also possible that the solan goose, or gannet, is the bird behind this toponym. The Rooks and The Little Rooks, again off-coast rocks, are likely to be metaphorical. The OSNB description for The Rooks records 'Two small rocks visible at low water, having the appearance of birds of that name.' (OS1-5-9.6).' If this were the etymology it would be a metaphorical name. A second possibility in which the name is metaphorical is *rook*, dialectal English variant of *ruck* meaning 'a small temporary stack of hay erected in the field to allow the hay to dry' (SND s.v. *ruck* n.1). These rocks could easily resemble small hay stacks in a field, a metaphorical transfer seen in other rocks along this coastline. A third possibility is that these small dark eroded sea stacks have the appearance of chess pieces. There is also the literal

interpretation *rok* meaning 'a rocky eminence or an insulated sea rock' (DOST s.v. *rok* n.2). If this were the origin, it would be neither metaphorical, nor an animal place-name. However, even with this possible etymology, it has been interpreted as a metaphorical bird name, shown in the OSNB for The Rooks, and this interpretation has been furthered in the derived name The Little Rooks:

> This name applies to about a dozen of detached rocks, visible at low water. They are invisible when the tide is full. "Rook " The sound emitted by the Raven. It is probable that the sound of the water when dashing against these Rocks might bear a similarity to that of the sound of the Raven; and from which the name may have been derived. (OS1-5-9.15)

Perhaps then there are multiple motivations over time.

Tods Loup and Tods Rocks are two of the *tod* names along this coastline; *tod* refers to a fox. Descriptions for these names are given in the OSNB as respectively 'a large rock where foxes have been seen to leap' (OS1-5-9.7) and 'A large rock. Foxes used to lie on its summit, hence the name' (OS1-5-9.8). The hound is often imagined as the hunter of the fox. It is found in Mahound Rock:

> A half tide rock out from Shilments Beach visible at lo[w] water, according to tradition, a fox hotly pressed by the hound[s] took to the water and made for t[he] rock. One of the hounds followed and was drowned - the huntsma[n] perceiving exclaimed, My hound hence the name. (OS1-5-9.30)

The OSNB description reinforces this traditional narrative, although the name perhaps derives from the common corruption of *Mahomet* (DOST s.v. *Ma(c)homet(e, -eit, -yte*). Hounds are also recorded in inland Berwickshire names, but like other creatures, in a literal sense. Houndwood is an example of this.

Black Bull and Red Ox both resemble bovines in shape, with high withers sloping down to low haunches. The colours are due to the type of rocks: the former is Silurian Greywackes and the latter Red Sandstone. Shore Goats derives from Scots *gote* 'narrow inlet', but it appears to have spurred on a dynamic naming process after which other names followed. *Gote* altered to *goat* due to folk-etymological development. Shore Goats is 2.5km from Red Ox, and 5km from Black Bull. It appears that Shore Goats was named not due to its shape, but due to analogical reformation and its position. The initial naming of Shore Goats was stimulated by the geological formation, the name appears to have become part of the semantic category of animal names which then prompted further animal names. This feature is also near to Tod's Holes, Hawk's Heugh and Horse Road Rock. Although some of these toponyms are literal and some metaphorical, together they create a landscape filled with creatures. The literal names, such as Hawk's Heugh, do not necessarily guarantee sighting of a bird of prey. Instead the name is part of the onomastic category alongside meta-phorical names albeit with a different reason behind the initial naming. Another point to note in the comparison between literal and metaphorical naming is the positioning of these in relation to one another. Hawk's Heugh and Earns Heugh overlook the shore and the metaphorical Shore Goats, Red Ox and Black Bull graze on the coast line below. These named relief features are, perhaps partly by coincidence and partly by design, positioned in a way we perceive the animal kingdom, with birds in the sky and other animals on the ground.

Ship Rock

This stretch of coastline, strewn with smaller features, has a metaphorical coherency and a narrative. However, it is not that simple and other metaphors are in the mix. Ship Rock is

so named because this feature has the appearance of a ship when viewed looking down the coast towards St Abbs harbour. The earliest record of this name is *Shipesburh* (ND, App. No. 264, c.1203).

The 'Dragon's Teeth', Cramond

In the Firth of Forth, a story attached to Inchmickery is that the World War One army fortifications built on it were made to look like a warship so that any German boats coming up the Firth of Forth would think it was coming into contact with a British craft. It only looks like a warship from the shore so this is unlikely to be true. While this story has not created a toponym, it has become part of the wider narrative of coastal boat-like features, fitting in with the growing history of the surrounding landscape. Near to Inchmickery, towards the Midlothian coast, lies the tidal Cramond Island. It is linked to the mainland by a causeway and the remnants of watercraft barriers created in World War Two. These barriers are now known as the Dragon's Teeth and add another facet to the dynamic process of naming and narrative the twentieth century brought to the coastline.

Abbreviations and references

DOST - Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (2002). *Dictionary of the Scots Language*. Available from: <http://dsl.ac.uk/> [Accessed: 10/03/2017]

ND, App. No. - 'Durham Cathedral Muniments: Miscellaneous Charters', 1093 - 19th century, Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections.

Ordnance Survey Maps - *Six-inch to the Mile Maps of Scotland*, 1st edition, 1843-1882. National Library of Scotland. Available from: <http://maps.nls.uk/os/6inch/index.html> [Accessed 10/03/2017].

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PNF 5 El. Gloss. - Taylor, S., with Márkus, G. (2006-2012) *The Place-Names of Fife: volume five - Elements Glossary*. Donington: Shaun Tyas.

RHP43284 - 'Plan of lands of Northfield including St Abbs Head, the property of Lord Kames, with contents list', 1782. Register House Plans, National Records of Scotland.

SND - Scottish National Dictionary (1976). *Dictionary of the Scots Language*. Available from: <http://dsl.ac.uk/> [Accessed: 10/03/2017]

Leonie Dunlop (from her talk at Galashiels)

Alan James (author of BLITON) takes issue with the suggestion in the spring 2017 issue that the **worst book ever written on Scottish place-names** may have been *Gaelic Place-Names of the Lothians* by John Milne LL.D. (published in 1912). He nominates *Carrick Gallovidian* (including 'original translations of the PLACE-NAMES'), by J. Kevan McDowall F.S.A. Scot., another enthusiast for wildly improbable Gaelic etymologies, published in 1947. Alan offers as samples: for *Leucopibia* (a name from Roman times) *Leacaidh Piobaiche* 'narrow isthmus abounding in flat stones'; for the first millennium monastery of *Candida Casa* (actually straightforward Latin for 'white house') *Ceann Didean Casach* 'fort-hill rampart of isthmus near peninsula'; for Isle of Whithorn (Old English *hwīt ærn* 'white house', equivalent to *Candida Casa*) *Ealeach Fiadaidh h-Earrain* 'storm-swept rocky mound at end of great peninsula'. The translations certainly are 'original'.

Further nominations for this accolade, with sample etymologies, are invited!

NEW BOOK ON GAELIC LITERARY PLACES

John Murray's new book *Literature of the Gaelic Landscape / Litreachas na Tìre* has just been published by Whittles Publishing of Dunbeath, Caithness. Its explanatory subtitle is *Song, Poem and Tale / Òran, bàrdachd is sgeul*. The headline content is about: where songs, poems and stories were set in the Highland landscape; analysis of work by Duncan Bàn Macintyre, Sorley Maclean and Neil M Gunn; vignettes of aspects of Gaelic culture; and locations of place-names in selected songs, poetry and novels. It is intended to have fliers available at the November conference and a full review in the next newsletter.

< www.whittlespublishing.com >

FORMAOIL *IN SCOTLAND*

Prof Elizabeth FitzPatrick of NUI Galway has carried out a detailed study of *formaoil* (early *formáel)* names in Ireland, appearing in 35 townland names[11]. It refers to hunting grounds, in some cases identifiable as preserves of early medieval kingdoms and later lordships. Its basic meaning is 'bare or bare-topped'. In Ireland it is usually a round, denuded hillock with a trig point, but a foothill with a broad view rather than a main top; such a place may also be a 'Finn's Seat', *Suidhe Finn* in a parallel mythical landscape.

In Scotland names most easily recognisable as *formaoil* are almost limited to Angus and east Perthshire where Gaelic names were fossilised into Scots relatively early: **Hill of Formall** NO 536 700; **Knock of Formal** (with Durward's Dyke medieval deer park) NO 256 546, with **Formal** (settlement) NO 256 540; **Craig Formal** NN856 458; **Formal Hill** NO 006 339. Prof FitzPatrick has also noted *Farrmheall* in Eddrachillis, Sutherland: Pont's late 16th century manuscript map *Formeald*. This looks to be the same word but is an outlier both in

[11] '*Formaoil na Fiann*: Hunting Preserves and Assembly Places in Gaelic Ireland', at < https://aran.library.nuigalway.ie/bitstream/handle /10379/5130/Hunting_preserves_and_assembly_place s.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y >

location (NC 308 588) and in its elevation of 521 metres. Since its other most obvious characteristic in satellite imagery is its great expanse of bare rock, *formaoil* here could be simply a literal description of the hill.

In Carrick, South Ayrshire, **Knockormal Hill** (NX 132 881) looks like a reasonable candidate.

A possible case of a modified *formaoil* in an area of Gaelic speech into the 19th century is at Glenfinglas in the Trossachs, a favourite hunting ground of Stuart monarchs. *Sròn Armailte,* 'promontory of army', the first minor hill-top to the north of Loch Achray, would not need a huge phonetic or semantic shift from a *formaoil* as an assembly place for a royal hunt involving numbers of armed men. Adjacent *Bealach Coire na h-Eachraidh*, 'pass of the hollow of the horses or cavalry', recalls the *Ros na nEchraidhe* (Magherahanrush, Co. Sligo) of an Irish *formaoil* landscape identified by Prof FitzPatrick.

A candidate in the relatively recent Perthshire Gàidhealtachd is **an Fharmail** by Lassintullich east of Loch Rannoch (NN 699 570). As with many Irish instances of *formaoil* on foothills its 400m top is under blanket forestry, though it was bare on 19th century OS maps.

Two other *formaoil* candidates, if valid, are heavily disguised. Both are in Lothian, where this Gaelic word could have been introduced only in a short period of Gaelic ascendancy, beginning in the late 10th century.

In the heavily urbanised, quarried, undermined, tipped on and now afforested SW corner of West (formerly Mid) Lothian are Meikle and Wee Eldrick (like many other El(d)ricks, from Gaelic *eileirig*, a very narrow valley used as a deer trap). Five km to the ENE is Longford: *Lomphard* 1654 (Blaeu's map), making it a very likely *longphort / lùchairt*, 'hunting lodge'. Two Sergeant's Laws in West Calder parish may recall the *serviens/ serjeant* or *forestarius* who guarded boundaries and kept order in a hunting reserve. A low round eminence south of the A706/A704 junction is **Tormywheel** (341m). As such it is a nonsense name, but could be intelligible as garbled for *tòrr*, 'mound, heap' or *tarr*, 'belly' + *formaoile*.

The final instance takes even more imagination to allow for the physical changes of the last millennium. It is – just – within Edinburgh's City Bypass.

Fairmilehead is not generally claimed to be named for a particular 'Fair Mile' of road as for the Fair Mile outside Henley-on-Thames, nor for any 'fair mill'. Harris[12] wrote that it was *Farmil(l)head* for a century from 1682, but appeared in the modern form in Armstrong's map of 1773. (Adair's MS map of 1682 has *Fairmilhead* with two cairns shown to the west; the 1735 printed Adair-Cooper version *Fairmillhead* without the cairns.) Harris noted that the huge cairns were called Cat Heaps or Cat Stones before they were quarried for road metal. He concluded that they gave rise to a Celtic name meaning 'ridge or slope of mounds or heaps', *fair* or *faithir mill*. This is unlikely to gain much support.

On matters geographic Harris is again helpful. He points out that the modern Fairmilehead Toll crossroads dates from 1780, with the old north-south road on a straight and supposedly Roman line passing some 90m farther west. By the old crossroads was the cluster of buildings called Fairmilehead on the first OS 6" map. The Hunter's Tryst pub is now about 1 km west of the Toll but in the mid 18th century General Roy's map showed *Hunterstryst* south of the old crossroads. *Tryst* is an etymologically interesting word, probably of Germanic origin through French, and taken into medieval Latin as *trista* specifically for the meeting in preparation for a hunt.

Another pointer in favour of a genuine hunting history for this area is the Buck Stane and traditions associated with it. It is now to the east of the old straight road south of the Mortonhall Golf Clubhouse but was formerly some 200m farther north at a territorial boundary. Tradition makes the small standing stone at the boundary the place where the Laird of Penicuik blew his horn to mark the start of a royal hunt, as a

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[12] Harris, S. (1996) *The Place-Names of Edinburgh.*

condition of his tenure of the estate.

Since the foundation legend for Holyrood Abbey in the 12th century places its site within a hunting landscape where the miraculous white hart appears to King David, it appears that this was in, or continuous with, the Burgh Muir once named the forest of *Drumselch*: '*communem moram de Edinburgh, olim forestam de Drumselch nuncupat*[*am*].' (*RMS* 1507-8.)

Dixon[13] and others have seen 'ridge of willows'; but from the context it makes better sense to see *seilg* 'of hunting', with the final consonant perhaps mediated through late OE / earliest Scots where the sequence -*lχ* was familiar. The adjacent name to Fairmilehead, Morton, refers not to the moor or *mora* but as is clear from forms in *Mer*-, before 1300, to a former mere (pool) where burns join south-east of the Toll. Even so there is a fair case for regarding the *druim* of *Drumselch* as including the ridge of the Braid Hills and not just the lower more northerly ridge now covered by Morningside and adjacent 19th century suburbs.

If *formaoil* is thus likely to refer to a good meeting-place and outlook point in this hunting landscape between Penicuik and the city, where exactly was it? The hump of Oxgangs Road where the two great cairns were, with the huge monolith of the Caiy Stane close to the west, has a fair claim even if it is now difficult to envisage this mature leafy suburb as an open landscape with wide views. However, another area north-east of the Toll may be even more promising, though now so overgrown as to have glimpses of the surroundings only from the edges, through adjacent housing.

Galachlaw (*Gallowlaw* 1666) is marked on the 6 inches to 1 mile Ordnance Survey map of 1852 as if it refers to the gently round-topped hill. It could have referred also to a small cairn (*law*) on the top, passed over by an informal path and since 1946 deprived of visible kerbstones, an upright stone and an OS trig point at the position marked by Δ on the map of 1852.

[13] Dixon, N. *The Place-Names of Midlothian* (1947 thesis, published 2011 by SPNS).

Cromwell encamped an army on the hill in 1650, so it must then have been largely open. For it to be useful to the Ordnance Survey for observations in the mid 19th century the cairn must still have had partly open views.

The Rev Thomas Whyte reported on Liberton parish for the Old Statistical Account (1792): "Directly west of Mortonhall, and overtopping the house and plantations, is Galach-law. From thence is a very extensive prospect, and for this reason [it] affords a most noble situation for a Belvidere. Here, as the name imports, were held, of old, Courts of Justice."

About 1 km NNW, now a twee little pond within the golf course, is the Elf Loch, within a hollow "called *Elve's* or *Elf's Kirk*, denoting the place where the faeries assembled". At the "pretty natural pond ... here probably in antient times have been a great many deer. Hence the farm of Buck-staine has its appellation." The Rev Whyte may not have been totally on the wrong track. As a rather narrow gap the 'Elf's Kirk' could have been a useful *eileirig* a convenient distance from either candidate for a *formaoil* trysting place. But it is doubtless too much of a contortion to try to reconstitute *Elf's Kirk* as *eileirig*.

With its former value as a viewpoint, its topography, its presumed ancient burial mound, the recorded local belief that it had been a place of assembly, and even its trig point, Galachlaw has typical features for a *formaoil* as found in Ireland.

It could even be argued, tenuously, that with the eponymous *mere* of Morton and the Elf Loch, the frequent association with lakes also appears; and the traditional role of the lairds of Penicuik matches that of the 'service families' associated with *formaoil* areas of Gaelic lords as identified by Prof FitzPatrick. For the name Fairmilehead an apparently apt meaning of *head* identified in the Dictionary of the Scots Language is 'high-lying part of a parish or tract which stretches into the hills' – thus semantically close to Gaelic *bràghaid*, whence the adjacent *Braid* Hills.

Bill Patterson (condensed from material prepared for the Galashiels conference)