The Brittonic Language in the Old North

A Guide to the Place-Name Evidence

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Preface

This work brings together notes on P-Celtic place-name elements to be found in northern England and southern Scotland assembled over a period of about twelve years. During this time, the author has received helpful information and suggestions from a great many individuals whose contributions are acknowledged in the text, but special mention must be made of Dr. Oliver Padel and Dr. Simon Taylor, both of whose encouragement and support, as well as rigorous criticism, have been invaluable throughout, though of course opinions, misunderstandings and mistakes in the work are those of the author.

An earlier version of the material in the Guide to the Elements was housed on the website of the Scottish Place-Name Society as a database under the acronym BLITON; thanks are due to that organisation for making this possible, and to Dr. Jacob King, Dr. Christopher Yocum, Henry Gough-Cooper, and Dr. Peter Drummond, for undertaking various aspects of the technical work it entailed.

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The Author

Dr. Alan G. James read English philology and mediaeval literature at Oxford, then spent thirty years in schoolteaching, training teachers and research in modern linguistics. He maintained his interest in place-name studies through active membership of the English Place-Name Society, the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland, and the Scottish Place-Name Society. After retiring, he spent a year as a Visiting Scholar in Cambridge University’s Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, studying Celtic philology. Since then he has been working on the linguistic history of Northumbria and the 'Old North', and has published a number of articles on this subject in academic journals (see Bibliography to the present work). He now lives in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright in Galloway.

Introduction

The aim of this work is to provide a guide for scholars undertaking study of the place-names of southern Scotland and northern England, and for historians and archaeologists using toponymic evidence to further their understanding of those regions in the early middle ages, to the evidence available at the time of writing in published (print) form for names of probable or possible Brittonic origin.

'Brittonic' is the generic name given by philologists[1] to the P-Celtic of Great Britain south of the Forth,[2] which evolved into Welsh, Cornish and (by migration) Breton, and into a language in the north to which philologists give the name 'Cumbric',[3] for which the elements used in place-names are by far the most substantial evidence.

The Old North

The Old North, *Yr Hen Ogledd*,[4] is the term used by later mediaeval Welsh writers to refer to that middle part of the island of Great Britain which provided the setting for a body of poetry, stories and allusions that had come to form a major part of the Welsh literary culture during the central middle ages, and where, it was never forgotten, a language closely akin to Welsh had been spoken by the *Cumbri*/ *Cymry*, 'fellow-countrymen',[5] long after the Anglicisation of most of England was complete.

While place-names occurring in the Welsh literary records are included in the survey, they are treated with caution as evidence for Cumbric.[6] That being the case, it might have been preferable to choose some more neutral name for the geographical area of the survey, free of the 'Cumbrocentric' connotations of 'The Old North'. After all, the Scots might equally well perceive a large part of the area as their 'New South', *An Deas Ùr* – that is certainly how their kings saw it during the eleventh and twelfth centuries![7] And, from an English point of view, it comprised for some three centuries the great Kingdom of Northumbria, along with its smaller though obstinately independent neighbour that was ruled from the citadel of *Alclud*,[8] Dumbarton. But no convenient word or phrase

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[1] In particular, Jackson 1953 (LHEB), pp. 3-4. The earlier 'Brythonic' may be regarded as synonymous.
[2] For P-Celtic north of the Forth, see 'Pritenic and Pictish' below.
[3] Coined by Jackson, op. cit. pp. 6 and 9-10; note however that use of this term in the present work differs from Jackson's in that it is reserved for the Brittonic of the north only in the late 9th – mid 12th centuries. The terms 'Brittonic' and 'Cumbric', and others defining more closely the stages in the development of Brittonic and its successor languages, as well as those used for related languages, are discussed in more detail below under 'Brittonic and its Kindred'.
[4] The definite article is *yr* before *h-* in Middle Welsh, see D. S. Evans, 1970 (GMW) §27, p. 24; the adjective *hen* normally precedes the noun (ibid. §39(b) note, p. 37), thus normally causing lenition (soft mutation), though this is not always indicated in Middle Welsh spelling (ibid §§18 and 20, pp. 14 and 15).
[5] See **cömbröɣ**.
[6] See below under 'Evidence from the Earliest Records: Y Cynfeirdd'.
[7] See Barrow 1973, pp. 139-61.
[8] See ***al** and **clüd**. Though this kingdom is often referred to as 'Strathclyde', that name is only recorded for the successor-state that emerged after the fall of Dumbarton in 870. The name of the kingdom ruled from

matches so well the required sense, those parts of Britain north of Wales where a Brittonic language remained in use during at least part of the early middle ages and, in some areas, into the central middle ages.

More specifically, the geographical boundaries are: in the north, the River Forth from the Firth up to its source below Ben Lomond (which is the northernmost name discussed in the survey)[9] then along the Highland Boundary Fault across Loch Lomond to the Roseneath peninsula; in the south, the Rivers Humber and Don, the northern edge of the High Peak, and the Rivers Tame and Mersey down to Liverpool Bay. This more or less corresponds to the historic northern boundaries of the Lothians and of Renfrewshire and East and West Dunbartonshire,[10] along with the greater part of Stirlingshire which lay south of the Forth, and with the historic southern boundaries of Yorkshire and Lancashire, though parts of north-east Cheshire and north-west Derbyshire are also included.

The chronological focus of the Guide, as explained below,[11] is between the fifth and twelfth centuries AD. This includes what I refer to as 'the early middle ages', up to the ninth century, and 'the central middle ages', the tenth to twelfth centuries. Within these parameters, 'the Northumbrian period' refers to the seventh to ninth centuries (up to 869) when the Kingdom of Northumbria dominated most of our region, and 'the Cumbric period' to the central middle ages in those areas where the Cumbric language survived, revived or was reintroduced.[12]

The Elements

The Guide is in the form of a lexicon of place-name elements that make up (so far as we can judge from evidence currently available) the *toponymicon* or place-naming vocabulary of the Brittonic-speaking people of the Old North.[13] It follows the models set by Smith (1956: EPNE), Padel (1985: CPNE), and Parsons et al. (1997: VEPN1, 2000: VEPN2, and 2004: VEPN3). It includes all elements of Brittonic origin that have been identified by place-name scholars as probable or possible components of place-names in the region defined above.[14] As I explain below (under 'Names still current...'), the amount and detail of published place-name surveys and other scholarly work on place-names in the region varies greatly, so the range of elements represented is likely to be reasonably comprehensive for counties such as Cumberland and Westmorland, but may seriously

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Alclud is unknown, as is the extent of its territory – which may, at any given date, have comprised less or more than the Clyde basin, 'geographical' Strathclyde.

[9] See ***lumon**.

[10] Though Dnb, the Diocese and Deanery of Glasgow and, presumably, the 10th century Kingdom of Strathclyde all included the whole of Loch Lomond and the lower strath of Glen Falloch up to Clach nam Breatann near the Falls of Falloch. I have found no Brittonic names in this northern projection of the boundary, but it is a district where a detailed survey of place-names could be especially interesting.

[11] See 'Brittonic and its Kindred', under 'neoBrittonic' and 'Cumbric'.

[12] Again, see under 'Cumbric'.

[13] The term *toponymicon* is Nicolaisen's, used from time to time (e.g. Nicolaisen 2011 pp. 112, 261) alongside *onomasticon*, which denotes the entire 'name-forming repertoire' of a speech-community; for a careful consideration of the concept, see Hough 2010.

[14] The sources from which the names are drawn are discussed below, under 'Evidence from the Earliest Records' and 'Names still current, or recorded....'

under-represent (especially in respect of name-phrase specifics[15]) the full diversity of Brittonic elements to be found in southern Scotland and north-east England.

It also includes a number of river-name elements that may or may not be of Celtic origin, but are certainly pre-Brittonic (i.e. they predate the P/Q differentiation in insular Celtic in the late first millennium B.C.). As it is not the purpose of this work to contribute to the arguments surrounding the origins of such early hydronymic elements, I have adopted Coates's conveniently non-committal term 'ancient' to characterise those that are probably not Celtic and may well be pre-Celtic.[16] I have included these, along with some that are definitely Celtic but still pre-Brittonic, because of their importance in the corpus of place-names that was in use among Brittonic speakers (and in some cases possibly modified or re-interpreted by them: see ***colɣ**, **dār** and ***lę:β**) and was passed on to speakers of successor languages.[17]

These elements are presented as the headwords in the guide in a form representing their likely pronunciation in the Western dialect of neoBrittonic of around 700 according to the chronology of in *Language and History in Early Britain* (Jackson 1953: LHEB).[18] Of course, the 'ancient' river-name elements just mentioned were not still current by that date, and the same is true of a few other elements found only in names recorded in Roman-period sources, but the headword-forms reflect the pronunciation of these elements as they were transmitted in place-names from Brittonic to English speakers around that time. The orthographic conventions used for the headwords are based on those used by Jackson, with some adjustments dictated by the limitations of present-day word-processing programmes. A Guide to Pronunciation is provided, along with the Alphabetic List of Elements, and a Glossary of Middle or Modern Welsh equivalents or related words: these should assist users in finding what they are looking for.

As there are virtually no written records of neoBrittonic, all of these element-headwords are hypothetical reconstructions and should conventionally be marked as such with asterisks. However, I have omitted asterisks from those that are reliably attested either in classical sources or in early mediaeval inscriptions[19] as elements in personal names or place-names, or as words or name-elements in the records for Old Welsh[20] (including elements in place-names in the Book of Llandaff[21]). Thus an asterisk signals an element whose earliest attestation is in a Middle Welsh source, later than 1200 and so post-dating the final demise of Cumbric. In most cases, there is a reasonable presumption that the word was current in earlier Brittonic (especially if it has Cornish and/ or Breton cognates), but in some cases there may be grounds for caution regarding the meaning or even the existence of the word in the Brittonic of the Old North.[22]

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[15] But see below under 'Analysis of Place-names: Name phrases'.
[16] Coates and Breeze 2000 (CVEP), pp. 359-60.
[17] See Classified Lists of Elements: Rivers and Streams.
[18] LHEB pp.18-38 and 690-99; see further 'NeoBrittonic' under 'Brittonic and its Kindred' below.
[19] See below under 'Evidence from the Earliest Records: Roman Period Sources', and Rivet and Smith (1979: PNRB), and under 'Sources from the Fifth and Sixth Centuries', and Sims-Williams (2003: CIB).
[20] As listed in Falileyev 2000 (EGOW).
[21] J G Evans 1893, and see 'Brittonic and its Kindred: Old Welsh' below.
[22] In such cases, the '*circa* 700' form of the headword must of course be hypothetical and possibly counterfactual. See further discussion under 'Brittonic and its Kindred: Middle and Modern Welsh' and 'Distribution and Dating', below.

The gender of nouns is given, generally on the basis of the corresponding noun in Welsh. However, it will be noticed that it was sometimes variable in early Brittonic, and even where no such variation is indicated, the apparent fluidity of grammatical gender implied by place-name evidence should be borne in mind.[23] Note also that the neuter gender (a relic of the proto-Indo-European inanimate class) had relatively recently disappeared from Brittonic with the loss of inflectional terminations during the Roman period: though normally treated as masculine, there was some variation in the gender of formerly neuter nouns.

Brittonic and its Kindred: the Etymologies

I have presented somewhat fuller etymologies and lists of cognates than has been usual in English-language dictionaries of place-name elements. This is admittedly a reflection of personal interest, but it is important to acquire a perception of a language which is only discernible on the misty borderline of history in the fragmentary evidence of place-names, where it was in contact and competition with as many as four closely or distantly related languages at some points in place and time, in the context of its ancestry and kinship. As well as explaining the formal evolution of Brittonic words and their cognates, an understanding of etymology can sometimes throw helpful light on the meanings and toponymic usage of elements in early mediaeval Brittonic, to balance semantic inferences derived from the usage of corresponding words in Middle Welsh.[24]

Indo-European

Forms labelled 'IE' are strictly speaking Proto-Indo-European. They are derived in almost all cases from *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World* (Mallory and Adams 2006: OIPrIE), as an up-to-date and extremely informative account of the vocabulary of the earliest systematically describable ancestor of the Celtic and related languages. They represent a language current somewhere in the heart of Eurasia within the broad time-frame 4500-2500 BC,[25] though it must be recognised that Indo-European 'roots' are linguistic abstractions which did not necessarily function as independent 'words' (lexemes) at any specific point in space or time. They will be found to differ in a good many cases from those given in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (hereafter GPC) and other reference works that draw on Pokorny's *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Pokorny 1959), though in some the difference is purely orthographic. The orthography used for 'IE' forms in the present work follows that in OIPrIE except that prosodic marks are omitted (as stress-patterns had changed radically at least twice by the time of neoBrittonic) and inflectional terminations are elided or abbreviated (as these were substantially modified in early Celtic and subsequently). The most significant difference from the presentation in Pokorny (1959) is the inclusion of laryngeals, the phonemes (whose articulation remains controversial) that significantly influenced the vocalism of the Indo-European languages though their existence is only directly attested in the Anatolian languages. They are (following Mallory and Adams's system, which is a workable rationalisation of a still-controversial issue):[26]

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[23] See below under 'Analysis of place-names', and Padel, CPNE p. xiii.
[24] See further under 'Brittonic and its Kindred: Middle and Modern Welsh', 'The Meanings of Elements' and 'Analysis of Place-Names', below.
[25] See OIPrIE chapter 6, also Mallory 1989.
[26] See OIPrIE §3.3, p48-50, and §4.1, pp. 54-5.

h_1 an unvoiced laryngeal having no effect on neighbouring vowels;
h_2 a voiced laryngeal changing adjacent *–e-* to *–a-*;
h_3 a voiced aspirated laryngeal changing adjacent *–e-* to *–o-*;
h_4 a voiced aspirated laryngeal changing adjacent *–e-* to *–a-*;
h_a either h_2 or h_4 (these can only be distinguished in initial position): so a voiced ?aspirated laryngeal changing adjacent *–e-* to *–a-*;
h_x a laryngeal of uncertain quality.

A fundamental concept in Indo-European phonetics is vowel gradation (ablaut), whereby series of related roots differ in respect of their main vowel. [27] The commonest series is that based on short *e*: *e*-grade, *o*-grade, zero-grade (evidenced as a residual vowel in a diphthongal series, e.g. *ei-oi-i*, or as a vocalised liquid, *ḷ*, *ṛ*). A less common series is based on short *a*: *a-o*-zero. To these short-vowel series, lengthened grades (originating from the influence of the laryngeals), *ē-ō* and *ā-ō* may be added, though some scholars find it more convenient to treat long-vowel series as distinct (i.e.: *ē-ō-e*, *ā-ō-a*), and it is important for those dealing with the Celtic languages to remember that Indo-European *ō* generally became *ā* in early Celtic.[28] Reference to vowel-gradation will be found in the etymologies of many elements, and some are cross-referenced to one another as vowel-grade variants within an ultimately common root-system.

It is now recognised that, as the use of Proto-Indo-European expanded geographically and developed into the 'classic' Indo-European family of languages, regional dialectal differences began to emerge, though the geographical, historical and linguistic contexts remain matters of controversy. Two regional groupings are relevant to certain elements in the present work: North-Western (IE(NW)) roots are apparently confined to (and are evidenced in at least two of) the Baltic, Celtic, Germanic, Italic and Slavic groups of languages; West-Central (IE(WC)) roots are evidenced in (at least some of) the North-Western group, and also in Albanian, Armenian and/or Greek (and in a few cases in other, sparsely-evidenced languages in the Balkans and Phrygia), but not in the Anatolian or Indo-Iranic languages.[29]

Early Celtic

The interesting controversies surrounding the date and place where Celtic first differentiated from its Indo-European ancestor and related language-groups (of which Italic was the closest), and whence and how it reached the British Isles, are outwith the scope of this study.[30] The forms labelled 'eCelt' reflect the state of the language (otherwise known as 'Common Celtic', the term used by Jackson in LHEB, p3) immediately prior to the differentiation between P- and Q-Celtic, which began towards the end of the first millennium BC. Early Celtic forms are, again, necessarily hypothetical, and are presented using the orthographic conventions employed for the headwords (see the Guide to Pronunciation at the end of this Introduction). At this stage it becomes possible to identify the gender of nouns, indicated by conventional inflectional terminations, most commonly *–o* for masculine and neuter and *–ā* for

[27] A full exposition will be found in Szereményi 1996, §5.3, pp. 83-93.
[28] Except in final syllables where, whether itself absolutely final or not, IE *ō* > early Celtic *ū*. LHEB §14, pp. 301-2.
[29] See OIPrIE pp107-12.
[30] For a reliable introductory discussion, see P. Russell 1995, ch.1. For a recent controversial view, see Cunliffe and Koch 2010.

feminine (with adjectives generally *–o/-ā*).[31] A valuable source which became available only in a late stage of work on the present project is Alexander Falileyev's *Dictionary of Continental Celtic Place-Names* (2010: DCCPN), which also supplied some alternatives to the Indo-European roots, and supplemented the information on Gaulish and other Continental Celtic onomastics.

British

'British' (Br) is the term used by Jackson to refer to the earlier phase of Brittonic, from the time that insular P-Celtic became distinct from Goidelic (Q-Celtic) until the climax of the fundamental changes that affected the language at all levels, phonological, morphological and syntactic, especially the loss of inflectional terminations (and, indeed, of all final syllables) in the mid-first millennium AD. For Jackson (LHEB pp. 4-5) 'Early British' referred to the language from the first century to the mid-fifth, 'Late British' from the mid-fifth to mid-sixth centuries. Since the only significant criticisms that have been made of Jackson's chronology, those of Koch (1982-3) and Sims-Williams (1990), suggest that some of the developments that Jackson located in rapid succession in the 'late British' period may have begun earlier, 'early British' (eBr) in this Guide may be taken to refer to the language in the first to third centuries, leaving an intermediate phase before 'late British' (lBr) as defined by Jackson.

With British we come to some of the earliest attested Brittonic words, albeit as elements in place- or personal names known from inscriptions or from classical writings. Elements so evidenced are shown without asterisks, in the forms in which they are recorded. Others, which are hypothetical, are asterisked and presented using the conventions used for the headwords (see the Guide to Pronunciation).

Gaulish

In a few cases, especially where there are parallel or variant forms or no British records, I give examples evidenced (especially as elements in personal or place-names recorded in inscriptions or in Classical writings) in Gaulish (Gaul), the P-Celtic language of the near Continent quite closely related to British. This was current until the third century, being superseded by a vernacular Latin much influenced by Gaulish. In a few cases, I refer to forms from other Continental Celtic languages, Iberian Celtic and Lepontic (of northern Italy).[32] Again, Falileyev (2010: DCCPN) is an invaluable source.

NeoBrittonic

NeoBrittonic (neoBritt) is a term used by Celtic philologists in recent years to refer generically to the later phase of Brittonic after the major changes located by Jackson in the fifth to sixth centuries, that is say the period during which a primary dialectal difference begins to become apparent between South-West Brittonic (SWBritt), developing into Breton and Cornish, and West Brittonic (WBritt) developing into Welsh and Cumbric. It extends from the mid-sixth century to the mid-ninth, so the headwords in this Guide belong to this neoBrittonic stage: the conventions used in presenting these

[31] But see the reservations under 'the Elements' above.
[32] See P. Russell 1995 pp. 2-6.

have been mentioned above (under 'The Elements'), and see the Guide to Pronunciation at the end of this Introduction.[33]

Within neoBrittonic, specific words may be described in discussion as Proto-Welsh (PrW), Proto-Cornish (PrCorn) or Proto-Breton (PrBret), as forms peculiar to those languages emerging (hypothetically) in the period before actual written records (which begin for Welsh and Breton in the ninth century and for Cornish in the early tenth).[34] These correspond to Jackson's 'Primitive Welsh' etc. (LHEB pp. 9-10), while avoiding the unhelpful connotations of his adjective.

Cumbric

'Cumbric' was Jackson's inspired coinage of a name for the Brittonic of the Old North (LHEB pp. 6 and 10), reflecting its closeness to the Welsh of Wales (*Cymraeg*) and its association with the historical region known in the central middle ages as *Cumbria* or *Cumberlond*, probably comprising the whole of the Solway basin (so including what became Dumfriesshire, and the Barony of Westmorland – the part of Westmorland north of Shap Fell – as well as the historic county of Cumberland[35]).

Jackson used the term 'Cumbric' for Brittonic forms evidenced in the north at any date from the sixth century onwards. As he pointed out, in the absence of any written records for Cumbric, it would be inappropriate to speak of 'Primitive Cumbric' or 'Old Cumbric', so I do not use the term *Proto-Cumbric, but I treat it as a dialect (or range of dialects) of West (neo-) Brittonic, akin to protoWelsh and the earliest Old Welsh, up to the fall of Dumbarton in 870. Thus I restrict my use of 'Cumbric' to what I call 'the Cumbric period', arguing (with Watson and against Jackson) that this extended in much of south-west Scotland and the Solway basin through the tenth and eleventh centuries, and in some districts into at least the first quarter, and possibly as late as the third quarter, of the twelfth century. One important point that emerges from this study of the place-name evidence is that a significant proportion of the Brittonic names in those regions may well have originated during this 'Cumbric period' and not – as is often supposed – in the pre-Northumbrian fifth and sixth centuries.[36]

Another modification of Jackson's view that emerges from the evidence presented here is the need to recognise that – not surprisingly – there was dialectal variation within the Brittonic of the North. Of course, much work remains to be done on the detailed dialectology even of well-documented Welsh, and any observations on phonological variations in Cumbric – whether spatial or chronological – can only be based on the very inadequate evidence from place-names so far available. While, in our present state of knowledge, there is no reason to question Jackson's pairing of Welsh and Cumbric as descendants of the West Brittonic dialect, there seem to be a few phonological features[37] and an important group of elements[38] to be found in place-names in southern Scotland

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[33] NeoBrittonic forms are not included in the etymologies, as they already appear as the headwords: they would naturally be placed between (late) British and (Old) Welsh.
[34] Some Welsh place-names in the Book of Llandaff may be earlier: see 'Old Welsh' below. See LHEB pp. 6-7, and for more recent views on dating, P. Russell 1995 §4.1, pp. 111-115.
[35] But not Lancashire-over-Sands or the Barony of Kendal, Westmorland south of Shap Fell, which were included in the English administrative county of Cumbria created in 1974.
[36] See A. G. James 2011a.
[37] See 'Pritenic and Pictish' below, and A. G. James 2013.
[38] See Classified List of Elements

and in north-east Cumberland (and in a few cases elsewhere in Cumberland and north Westmorland) that have more in common with P-Celtic names north of the Forth than with those in Wales. The phonological features tend to imply linguistic conservatism, changes that occurred further south being absent or retarded in the north, so a tentative, hypothetical model may be adduced for a 'northern P-Celtic continuum', with more northerly dialects tending to be rather less subject to change than those further south, the latter reflecting most closely (as we would expect) comparable developments in (northern) Welsh.

Pritenic and Pictish[39]

In a seminal paper, 'The Pictish Language',[40] Jackson drew attention to a range of phonological features in respect of which the language represented in Pictish inscriptions found north of the Forth in eastern Scotland differed from Brittonic. For example, he observed that the raising of *o:* to *ū*, and its subsequent fronting to *ǖ* and unrounding to *ī*, a process which began in Brittonic by the end of the third century and was complete by the end of the fifth,[41] was absent or only occurred much later in that region.[42] Consequently he saw 'Pictish' (as he called that dialect, identifying it with that ascribed to the Picts by Bede[43]) as the sole recorded representative of a form of P-Celtic which had begun to diverge from Brittonic fairly soon after the P/Q differentiation. To this hypothetical ancestral language he gave the name 'Pritenic'.

There has been a tendency, following Nicolaisen's studies of Pictish place-names, to draw back from this distinction between Pritenic/ Pictish and Brittonic and to follow that scholar's view that 'Pictish, although not simply a northern extension of British (or Cumbric), should rather be called a dialect of northern Brittonic or of Brittonic in general, and not a separate language'.[44] This is consistent with the lexical evidence from the place-names,[45] but it ignores Jackson's phonological case, set out admittedly very sketchily and briefly in his notes appended to 'The Pictish Language'. Very little attention has been paid to these notes by subsequent scholars, their content has not been integrated into a coherent phonological system comparable to that provided by Jackson for Brittonic in *Language and History in Early Britain*.[46] However, they do point to fairly substantial dialectal difference, and again tend to imply a degree of linguistic conservatism.

To assume that P-Celtic north of the Forth was Pritenic/ Pictish, P-Celtic south of the Forth was West Brittonic is too simple: the P-Celtic of Lothian would surely have had more in common with that of Fife than it did with that of Dyfed! Again I would argue that it is more helpful to think in terms of a 'northern P-Celtic continuum'. However, for the purposes of this Guide, which attempts to summarise published scholarship up to the

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[39] The questions raised by this section are examined in detail in A. G. James 2013.
[40] Jackson 1980 pp. 129-76, especially the notes at pp.169-76.
[41] LHEB §§22-3, pp. 312-21.
[42] Jackson 1980 pp. 156-7, 160 and 162. See **cömber** and **ǖchel**, and discussion of these in A. G James 2013.
[43] Historia Ecclesiastica (HE), in Plummer 1896, Book I, Chapter i.
[44] Nicolaisen 2001 p. 219. Taylor 2011, and in PNFif, refers to Pictish as a language, but separate only in that it was spoken within historical Pictland (PNFif5 p. 149), not necessarily distinct in any linguistic sense from the dialects of neighbouring areas.
[45] Comprehensively analysed by Taylor 2011.
[46] The chief exception being Koch's discussion 1982-3 at pp. 215–16; A. G. James 2013 attempts to address this deficiency.

time of writing, it is helpful to retain the term 'Pritenic' to refer to distinctive features of phonology and lexis peculiar to the northernmost parts of such a continuum, some of which are shared by place-names within our region south of the Forth, [47] and 'Pictish' to refer more specifically to the form of P-Celtic spoken in historical Pictland in the sixth to ninth centuries.

Old Welsh

The language most closely related to Cumbric for which we have written records is Old Welsh (OW). The sources date from around 800 to the early twelfth century and include some early records of place-names (including some in the north in the Annales Cambriae, AC), a few records of land-grants (mainly among the insertions in the Book of St Chad/ Lichfield Gospels) involving items of early Welsh topographic vocabulary, and words in glosses and elements in personal names which can throw light on some place-name elements. Old Welsh cognates of the headwords in this Guide are cited from Falileyev's invaluable *Etymological Glossary of Old Welsh* (2000: EGOW). A further source, not covered in Falileyev's work, is the Liber Landavensis, edited as *The Book of Llan Dâv* by J. Gwenogvryn Evans (1893: LL). This was compiled between 1120 and 1140 and contains (edited and enhanced versions of) documents relating to the landholdings of the see of Llandaff, especially those formerly held by the early churches of Llandeilo Fawr and Llanilltud Fawr. The boundary clauses of these are in Welsh and preserve some very early forms (from the early seventh century on), at very least for place-names, and some topographic terminology that is unquestionably Old Welsh, making it an invaluable source of evidence for the *toponymicon* of Old Welsh. Words and place-name elements from this source which are cognate with or throw light on elements in the Guide are cited, from Gwenogvryn Evans (1893), as OW(LL). The topographic and toponymic vocabulary of Old Welsh is obviously of central importance to our understanding of the corresponding vocabulary of the Brittonic/ Cumbric of the North, so OW forms in the Guide will be of especial interest. It should be noted that they are shown in their recorded forms in Old Welsh orthography: the main pitfall for those unacquainted with it is that (except in initial position) the letters *c, p, t* generally represent voiced consonants /g, b, d/, and *b, d* generally represent lenited (affricated) consonants, /v/ < earlier β or μ, and /δ/; *m*, too, may represent lenited /v /.

Middle and Modern Welsh

The transition from Old to Middle Welsh is conventionally dated around 1200. Middle Welsh (MW) forms are taken from *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (GPC), normally the earliest post-1200 form cited therein. As indicated already, headwords marked with an asterisk in the Guide are not recorded in sources prior to that date, so for these the Middle Welsh forms are the earliest non-hypothetical entries in the etymologies. While it is quite reasonable to suppose that only a small fraction of the everyday vocabulary of Old Welsh is represented in the fragmentary evidence that survives, and consequently that a good many words that were current in both that language and in Cumbric are only evidenced in Middle Welsh sources, caution is needed in respect of the rather specialised terminologies of the literary and legal texts that form the bulk of the Middle Welsh

[47] Noting, however, that there is little or no evidence to support the widespread assumption that the pre-Gaelic or pre-Norse language of the Highlands and (Northern and Western) Isles was 'Pictish' and their inhabitants 'Picts'. The dialects of those regions were probably P-Celtic: more than that we simply cannot know.

corpus. There may be legitimate doubt whether such words were current at all in the Old North, and even if they were used there, their meanings in place-naming may have been very different from those we can adduce from recorded Welsh contexts.

Modern Welsh (MnW), post-1500, forms are likewise from *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, in their present-day spellings. A few that have become obsolete in contemporary Welsh are labelled 'early Modern Welsh' (eMnW). As many users will search for place-name elements in the guide via the Modern Welsh forms, an index of Modern or Middle Welsh equivalents or related words is provided, keyed to the elements.

Cornish and Breton

Cognates from the south-west Brittonic languages complement, and in a few cases supplement, what can be learnt from Welsh sources regarding place-name elements in the north.

Sources for Old Cornish (OC) are sparse, consisting mainly of glosses and personal (including saints') names, dating from the early tenth century to around 1200, when the transition to Middle Cornish (MCorn) is conventionally dated. In this respect, Old Cornish is only marginally better documented than its contemporary, Cumbric. However, the survival of the language through the middle ages and into the early modern period, yielding a modest quantity of surviving literary texts, makes it more possible to reconstruct the earlier language. On the evidence of these texts, the transition from Middle to the latest phase of the language, Modern Cornish (MnCorn), is dated to the late sixteenth century; the continuous history of the language ended with its extinction around 1800. Cognates from Cornish are very largely drawn from Padel's *Cornish Place-Name Elements* (1985: CPNE), a work whose methodical approach strongly influenced the present study, and which – in the absence of any comparable work on Welsh place-name elements – remains the principal source of guidance on Brittonic place-name elements. It should be noted that those asterisked are only evidenced in place-names: in most cases, Padel inferred that these would have been current in Middle Cornish, though a few may not have been current after about 1200, so are hypothetical Old Cornish forms (see CPNE p. xii). A few words not in Padel's work are from works of Jackson or Falileyev already cited, or, failing those, from Morton Nance (1938), but I have used only ones definitely attested in Cornish, not analogical creations of that lexicographer.

The data for Old and Middle Breton (OBret, MBret) are much more substantial, though again consisting very largely of single-word glosses and personal and place-names until the 16th century. The transition from Old to Middle Breton is conventionally dated around 1100. Breton forms in the present Guide are those cited in EGOW, DCCPN, LHEB, GPC or CPNE.

Old Irish

Goidelic cognates are of great importance to our study, not only for comparative purposes, but because Brittonic was in intimate contact with Goidelic dialects throughout the early and central middle ages in those parts of the Old North where neoBrittonic/ Cumbric is most likely to have remained current or to have been reintroduced.

The origins of Q-Celtic remain a matter of some controversy, but there is no doubt that it was established in at least northern Ireland by the time of the earliest Classical sources, the first to second centuries AD. The traditional account has it introduced to Islay and Kintyre, in the form of Old Irish, by settlers led by Fergus Mór mac Eirc, ruler of Dál Riada in the late fifth century. However, archaeological evidence does not offer support for a major movement of population across the North Channel at this juncture, and the introduction of Q-Celtic to the Atlantic and Irish Sea coasts of northern Britain may well have begun earlier and was probably a more complex process; there is even the tantalising possibility that it evolved in territories on both the Irish and British sides of the North Channel.[48] Whatever the case, it is reasonably certain that, by the sixth century, Alclud itself and territories either side of the Clyde estuary were within easy sailing distance of lands where Old Irish had become, or was fast becoming, the dominant or only language. But were there already Irish-speaking settlements in these 'British' areas? And, if there were, were they substantial and long-lived enough to establish a permanent linguistic presence? Attempts to find toponymic evidence for early Irish-speaking settlement south of the Clyde, in particular in the Rinns of Galloway, have been shown to be unconvincing when the place-names involving the elements adduced in support of that case – *sliabh* and *carraig* – have been subjected to closer scrutiny.[49] This is a warning against drawing inferences (especially, perhaps, regarding 'early' names) from the sketchy evidence available for the large parts of our region that have not been subject to comprehensive place-name surveys. Nevertheless, as Watson said of Kintyre 'it would be rather extraordinary if it were true that North Britain had remained a *terra clausa* as regards Ireland...'.[50] Even when detailed place-name surveys of Ayrshire, Galloway and Strathclyde have been undertaken, it will probably remain difficult and controversial to identify Q-Celtic names dating from earlier than the Viking period, but the possibility that there was Old Irish-speaking settlement and penetration, whether from Ireland or from Dalriada north and east of the North Channel, can never be ruled out.

Nor should we forget that Aidan and the other missionaries from Iona to Lindisfarne between 635 and 664 were speakers of Old Irish, and that, according to Bede, many Northumbrian English clerics – as well as exiled royalty - travelled to Iona and/ or Irish monasteries.[51] For a short time, Irish was a high-status language in and around the Northumbrian citadel at Bamburgh, and in the daughter-houses of Lindisfarne such as Melrose, *Coludesburh* and Abbey St Bathans. The possibility that the names of Lindisfarne and Melrose may have been given by Irish-speaking monks is considered in this Guide under **lïnn**, **mę:l** and **rōs**.[52]

Old Irish (OIr) is by far the best documented of all the early Celtic languages, having personal names and name-forming particles recorded in Ogam inscriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries, a substantial body of glosses, commentaries and grammatical texts of the seventh to ninth centuries, and a range of literary and religious texts of probable Old Irish origin preserved in collections of the central and later middle ages. Words cited in the Guide are drawn from the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (DIL) in the forms which are likely to have been current in 'Classical' Old Irish of the ninth century, or in earlier

[48] See Campbell 2001.
[49] See Taylor 2007, answering views of MacQueen and Nicolaisen.
[50] Watson 1926 (CPNS), p. 213, answering an opinion of Walter Skene.
[51] HE III.27.
[52] See also Coates in CVEP pp. 241-59, who also sees the Farne Islands and the Rivers Low Ntb as having been so named.

forms where these are recorded. It should be borne in mind that 'Classical' Old Irish was already a conservative, even archaic, written register, especially in the Continental monasteries of Irish foundation where most of the earliest surviving manuscripts were produced. Nevertheless, these forms provide important reference-points both for comparison with their neoBrittonic and Old Welsh cognates and for their later descendants in Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx.

Middle Irish

Whatever the position of Irish south of the Clyde may have been prior to the late ninth century, there is little doubt that the main phase of penetration of Goidelic dialects into what became southern Scotland and Cumberland occurred in the context of the power vacuum that followed the falls of York and Dumbarton to Scandinavian forces in 869 and 870, and of the unsettled military and political situation in the Irish Sea region from the late ninth to mid-tenth centuries.[53] This major change in the ethno-linguistic character of those regions left scarcely any trace in the written records, and is of course hard to identify in any archaeological remains. Detailed place-name surveys offer the best prospect for increasing our understanding of the spread of Gaelic, though in south-western Scotland where the evidence is richest as the language remained in use longest, it will still be necessary to find reliable ways to distinguish the early names from later formations.

Users of the Guide will soon become aware that, in southern Scotland and Cumbria, and especially in Ayrshire and Galloway, there are many place-names which could equally well have been Brittonic or Goidelic in origin. On the whole, their surface appearance is likely to be Gaelic – albeit often modified by Scots – but the possibility that they are Gaelicised forms of originally Brittonic names is hard to rule out, especially if it is accepted that the two languages, in the forms of Cumbric and Middle Irish, may well have co-existed in these regions for two or three centuries. Although P- and Q-Celtic had diverged greatly in morphology, phonology and prosody,[54] study of the cognates shows that several common place-name elements were still recognisably akin, and speakers with the linguistic sensitivity of bilinguals would probably have had little difficulty in Gaelicising - or Brittonicising – many names.[55] However, only through detailed study of place-names will it become possible to recognise precisely the ways in which Gaelic speakers would have modified Cumbric names, and even to construct some chronology and historical geography for the interaction between the languages.

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[53] See 'Old Norse and Anglo-Scandinavian' below.

[54] See P. Russell 1995, pp. 25-68, McCone 1996, and CIB, pp. 296-321: as a broad basis for comparison, Sims-Williams in CIB lists 38 sound-changes in Brittonic datable before the second quarter of the 6th century, and 41 in Goidelic datable before the mid-6th century, contradicting any view that Goidelic/ Proto-Irish was a relatively conservative, even archaic, language compared to Brittonic. By the time of Columba, in the late 6th century, communication between speakers of P- and Q-Celtic languages depended on the services of bilingual interpreters: Adomnán 'Life of Columba', ed. Anderson and Anderson 1961 (VC), 35a and 78a, pp. 274-5 and 396-7.

[55] See **pen[n]**, frequently replaced by *cenn-* even where the second element would have been incomprehensible to Gaelic speakers. Nicolaisen 2001, p. 212, gives no reason for his assertion that 'it is extremely doubtful whether one has to reckon with any large-scale replacement': the case is not proven, having scarcely been investigated. Moreover, as in Pictland, the usage of several Gaelic place-name elements seems likely to have been influenced by their P-Celtic cognates: see **bod**, **ïnïs**, **lïs, ïstrad**, and Taylor 2011.

The era of expansion of Gaelic in southern Scotland, about 900-1200, coincided with a period of flux in what had seemed to be a more or less homogeneous Goidelic or 'Irish' language, as dialects started to become apparent and the individual Gaelic languages of Ireland, Scotland and Man began to emerge. After about 900, the Irish language as recorded in the (copious) written sources becomes considerably more varied, revealing major changes in its structural and morphological characteristics, and probably reflecting more closely the vernacular forms of various dialects, though the location of specific texts in place and time is often very problematic. The Middle Irish (MIr) forms cited in the Guide are again from the *Dictionary of the Irish Language*, though they must be regarded as illustrative of the range of forms from that period and not necessarily closest to whatever forms were current in our region.

Modern Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx

The Goidelic languages as they survived into the modern period, and except for Manx up to the present day, are all represented in the etymologies, if only as a reminder that the Gaelic of south-western Scotland in particular is likely to have had as much in common with Manx and with the Middle and early Modern Irish of eastern Ulster as it did with that of the Highlands and Islands.[56] For Modern Irish (MnIr), the source is Dinneen's *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla* (1996 edition: 'Dinneen'), which remains the classic record of the language as used in literature and in traditional vernacular contexts. Dwelly's *Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary* (1993 reprint: 'Dwelly') has similar standing in respect of Scottish Gaelic (G), and is the source for forms cited from that language. For Manx (Mx), my main source has been the list of place-name elements in Broderick's *Dictionary of Manx Place-Names* (2006: DMxPN), supplemented by Cregeen's *Dictionary of the Manks Language* (new edition published as *Fockleyr ny Gaelgey*, 1910).

Latin

Within the Indo-European family of languages, the Italic group, of which Latin (Lat) is by far the most fully documented, is seen as having the closest affinity with Celtic, though the nature and history of the relationship are matters of some controversy. Latin was of course the language of administration in Roman Britain, and there is an increasingly firm view among scholars that it may have replaced or co-existed with Brittonic as a vernacular in parts of the province, and that it remained current as a 'proto-Romance' language in some districts after the end of Roman rule. It has even been suggested that the Latin of secular inscriptions in southern Scotland such as the 'Latinus' stone at Whithorn Wig, the Yarrowkirk Pbl Stone, and the Catstane at Kirkliston MLo, imply a Latin-speaking aristocratic élite in the fifth and sixth centuries between the Walls.[57] In any case, use of the language was maintained or reintroduced by Christian clerics and was in constant interaction with Brittonic throughout the early and central middle ages. Several elements in the Guide are words certainly, probably or possibly adopted into Brittonic from Latin: in some cases, their use in place-name formation (at least where they can be shown to have been used in a number of different place-names) is evidence of such adoption.[58] Additionally, Latin cognates of most Celtic elements are

[56] See O'Maolalaigh 1998.
[57] See Forsyth 2009, and, for the Roman province, Schrijver 2007.
[58] See Classified Lists of Elements: Elements probably or possibly adopted from Latin.

given in the etymologies, the standard source being Lewis and Short's *Latin Dictionary* (1879)[59], along with Souter's *Glossary of Later Latin* (1949) and Latham's *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (reprinted with supplement 1980).

Germanic and Old English

The Germanic (Gmc) group of languages within North Western Indo-European has been in close contact with the Celtic languages for well over two millennia, probably more than three. Consequently a fairly substantial range of Indo-European roots (and a few of apparently non-Indo-European origin) is common to both language-groups, and there are some elements that have passed either way between the groups.

Speakers of a range of West Germanic (WGmc) dialects were present in Britannia as *foederati*, hired war-bands, under Roman rule and the immediate post-Roman period, and they were joined by large numbers of settlers in the mid-fifth century. In our region, the largest primary settlements were in the south-east, around the mouth of the Humber (which initially was channel of commonality rather than a boundary). There were also settlements around the estuaries of the Tees and the Tyne, the latter associated with the eastern end of Hadrian's Wall.

From the dialects spoken by these settlers evolved Old English (OE), the language ancestral to English and Scots. It is now thought unlikely that the dialectal divisions within Old English can be traced to the Continent, rather they emerged in the early history of the insular language, although the traditional ethnic labels are still used. A range of features differentiate Anglian of the north and midlands of Anglo-Saxon England from both West Saxon and Kentish, and within Anglian, Northumbrian is recognised as a distinctive dialect, attested in its early forms in glossaries and short pieces of poetry from the eighth century and in a later form in the tenth-century gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels.

Cognates of the headwords in the Guide are shown with their hypothetical Germanic (Gmc, or, in a few cases peculiar to West Germanic, WGmc) roots as given by Onions in *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* (reprinted with corrections 1969). Old English (OE) forms are chiefly from A. H. Smith's *English Place-Name Elements* (1956: EPNE1 and 2), supplemented by Onions *op. cit*. and Clark Hall and Meritt's *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (4th edition with supplement, 1960). Where they are distinctive, the Anglian (OEAngl) or specifically Northumbrian (OENtbn) forms are given. In a few cases, 'early' (e) is prefixed, indicating a form current before the mid-eighth century, or 'late' (l), one current after 900.

The history of the Brittonic language in the Old North is very largely a history of its interaction with Northumbrian Old English. Undoubtedly the sixth to ninth centuries saw a great expansion of the use of English, reflected in place-names of definitely Old English (rather than Middle English or Older Scots) origin throughout most of our region except for the heartland of Strathclyde.[60] However, the ways in which this expansion

[59] This being still preferable to the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* for later and mediaeval Latin.
[60] See A. G. James 2010. There are even some possibly Northumbrian OE place-names in Renfrewshire, see Scott 2006 for *Leckprivick*, and James 2010 at pp. 123-4 for Eaglesham.

occurred, the relationship between the place-name evidence and the actual linguistic context, and the possibility of survival or reintroduction of Brittonic in various areas, all remain matters for scholarly inquiry and debate. The linguistic situation in what became southern Scotland and (historical) Cumbria in the post-Northumbrian period, the tenth to twelfth centuries, is an even more complex matter, involving not only Cumbric and late Northumbrian Old English but also Middle Irish/ Gaelic and Scandinavian. This Guide may challenge some widely-held preconceptions concerning, and contribute some of the necessary evidence for examining, these questions of linguistic history, though of course it needs to be supplemented by more detailed place-name surveys of much of the region, especially those parts where the inter-linguistic interactions were most complex. A related question, to which again the Guide may contribute relevant 'raw material' concerns the ways in which Brittonic place-names were modified in the mouths of Northumbrian English speakers: an understanding of the phonetic history of both languages is required by scholars seeking to interpret the evidence. For the phonology of Old English, the main source of guidance is Campbell's *Old English Grammar* (1959: OEG).

Old Norse and Anglo-Scandinavian

The North Germanic (NGmc) subgroup of languages comprises those of Scandinavia, along with Icelandic, Faroese and the now extinct Norns of Shetland and Orkney. The early mediaeval dialects ancestral to these languages, conventionally referred to generically as Old Norse (ON), came into abrupt contact with the languages of the Old North during the periods of Viking raiding from the late eighth century, of increasingly organised and large-scale military incursion in the third quarter of the ninth century, and of immigration and settlement from the late ninth to the mid-tenth centuries. The third phase is most strongly reflected in place-names, revealing that both sides of the main dialectal division within Old Norse (East and West, OEN and OWN) were involved, especially in those parts of the north where Cumbric was still current or was itself being reintroduced by migrants from elsewhere within the region. East Norse, 'Danish', settlement was most strongly concentrated in the south-east of our region, in the heartland of the Scandinavian-ruled Kingdom of York, but the diagnostically East Norse *býr* (Anglo-Scandinavian *bý*) is common in the Solway basin and occurs as far west as the Wigtownshire Machars. West Norse, 'Norwegian', became the sole language of the Northern Isles, the dominant language through the Western Isles, and West Norse speakers established a powerful military and trading presence in the southern Hebrides and the Irish Sea province, especially at Dublin and on the Isle of Man. As a part of this movement into the Irish Sea zone, and especially in response to their changing military and political fortunes in Ireland, and in pursuit of control of routeways between the Irish Sea and York, West Norse speakers settled in significant numbers in the south-west of our region, around the Mersey estuary, and in Furness and the country south of the Solway Firth. As we have seen,[61] in this latter area they were accompanied by Middle Irish speakers, and, as the territory came under the rule of Cumbric-speaking descendants of the Alclud dynasty and was also colonised by Cumbric speakers, it acquired the name of Cumberland. North of the Solway, Scandinavian settlement seems to have been sparser, though probably at an élite level, while Middle Irish-speaking settlement was

[61] See 'Middle Irish' above.

much more numerous – the *Gall-Ghàidheil*, 'foreign (Scandinavianised) Gaels' giving their name to Galloway.

Scandinavian cognates of Brittonic elements in this Guide are mainly drawn from Onions 1969, or, if they are themselves place-name elements, from A. H. Smith 1956. These are given, as is conventional in most works of Germanic philology, in a standardised form of Old Norse based on classical Old Icelandic, the best-documented of the early Scandinavian languages. However, there are some cases where the form in use in Britain would have been significantly different: the dialect reflected in Scandinavian names in Anglo-Saxon England is referred to as Anglo-Scandinavian (A-Sc), and such forms follow the guidance of Coates (2006a).

Other Languages

It is tempting to a philologist, and not without interest in dealing with some of the more tricky and obscure etymologies, to cite a wide range of possible cognates in Indo-European, and possibly even non-Indo-European, languages. I have restricted myself to examples from the two best-documented of the 'classical' Indo-European languages, ones with which I happen to have some acquaintance, namely Greek (representing the 'Central' section of the West Central group), and Sańskrit (representing the Indo-Iranian languages within the Eastern group).[62] The source for Classical Greek forms is Liddle and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon* (1996 printing), and for Sańskrit, Monier-Williams's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1899). The transcriptions into Roman script are my own. These may at least give the non-specialist reader some sense of the geographical spread and chronological depth of many of the elements.

Etymological discussions

Presentation of the etymologies is followed, in most cases, by references to works in which relevant discussion has been published. The supreme authority, without reference to which any discussion of the Brittonic language is futile, is Jackson's *Language and History in Early Britain* (1953: LHEB). Many of the elements in the Guide receive Jackson's scholarly attention at appropriate points in that work; in other cases I have referenced sections where relevant phonological matters are dealt with. Alongside that great work, several of the lexicographical sources already mentioned (notably OIPrIE, EGOW and CPNE) make important contributions, as do Szemerényi's *Introduction to Indo-European Linguistics* (1996), and the grammars of Middle Welsh by Evans (1964: GMW) and of Old Irish by Thurneysen (1946: GOI). Sims-Williams's study of *The Celtic Inscriptions of Britain* (2003: CIB) supplements and, at a few points, amends Jackson's account of the phonological development of Brittonic in the transition from late British to neo-Brittonic; its copious footnotes, in particular, contain several insightful observations on words that occur as elements in both place- and personal names. Besides these books, a number of articles published in learned journals or edited collections deal with individual elements, and the papers of Nicolaisen (1957) and Kitson (1998) are important general studies of river-names.

[62] See OIPrIE pp. 107-12.

The Meanings of the Elements

The first, though not always the most important, question that is asked about a place-name is 'what does it mean?' Of course, once it is established in use as a name, it 'means' nothing other than the place it refers to, but some understanding of the meanings of the component elements throws interesting light on the way in which a place was perceived by those who first gave the name. The 'dictionary meaning' of an element must be the starting point, and, in the case of our Brittonic elements, the principal senses given in *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* are the most comprehensive guide. However, it must be noted that even the earliest of many of these are adduced from usages in Middle Welsh, especially in legal or literary texts. These may not always be a wholly reliable guide to the way the word was used in the early mediaeval Old North, especially in the rather specific context of identifying a place. The range of semantic possibility may be broadened by attention to earlier and cognate usages in the Celtic languages. Without subscribing to an essentialist concept of 'original' meaning, awareness of such usages can sometimes offer an alternatives to senses found in Modern, or literary Middle, Welsh. In the discussions of meanings, I have endeavoured to point out, where appropriate, the possible breadth of semantic range, while focusing on the likeliest application of an element in a place-naming context.

The most valuable means of identifying the precise (often surprisingly precise) terms of reference of topographic elements is, as Gelling and Cole in *The Landscape of Place-Names* have demonstrated with regard to English place-names (2000: LPN), careful observation of examples in the field, supplemented by study of maps and photographs, terrestrial and aerial. There is much scope for a 'Gelling and Cole' approach to be taken to the major topographic elements common to Welsh, Cornish, Breton, and the Brittonic of the Old North. The precise meanings of habitative and landholding terms are more difficult to pin down. Again, usage in Middle Welsh, especially in legal and diplomatic contexts, is of interest, but must be treated with caution as a guide to naming practices in the Old North, especially in the neoBrittonic period. The insights of landscape archaeology and historical geography, and of disciplines as widely varied as palaeobotany and numismatics, are needed to develop our understanding of the changing nature of settlement types and patterns of landholding and land-use in the early and central middle ages, and the 'meaning' of settlement and landholding terms used in place-names needs to be carefully reassessed as this understanding develops.

Evidence from the Earliest Records

Records of place-names that can be more or less confidently ascribed to the period in which Brittonic (evolving into Cumbric) remained current in at least parts of the Old North naturally merit special attention. Those which occur only in sources prior to the twelfth century (or, if mentioned later, only in historical or literary contexts where they are evidently 'names from the past') are discussed in the Guide separately from the general lists of names first recorded later or still current today. The early records include the following.

Roman Period Sources

The earliest evidence for the currency of some of the elements in place-names in our region comes from sources originating in the period of Roman rule (or is derived from such sources in documents from the fifth and sixth centuries). It is my policy in the Guide to give references (where possible) to published sources where early recorded forms are reliably and systematically presented, and in the case of these 'Roman British' names (i.e. names that were presumably current among British speakers, in Latin or Greek orthography and generally modified to conform to Latin or Greek morphology), the authoritative source is Rivet and Smith's *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (1979: PNRB).

Inevitably, the range of place-names surviving from the Roman Period reflects the military and geopolitical preoccupations of the Roman administrators, and is weighted towards the southern parts of our region within the province of Brittania, especially along Hadrian's Wall and the roads leading south to the legionary headquarters at York and Chester. However, the earliest source of all, Ptolemy's Geography, gives us important information on toponymy of North Britain, derived from reconnaissance expeditions and military campaigns in the second half of the first century when the whole island was perceived as - potentially – a new accession to the Empire.

Interpretation of these names from Classical sources presents particular philological challenges, and reference is made to a number of scholarly discussions of particular names, from Jackson's seminal articles (1948, 1970) to the valuable work arising from the Ptolemy Project (in particular, Parsons and Sims-Williams, eds., 2000, Isaacs 2005, Sims-Williams, 2006: ACPN, and Falileyev, 2010: DCCPN). One general point to be borne in mind is that the ultimate sources of information from which the forms appearing in these texts were derived are likely to have been British speakers, probably from further south, co-operating with the Roman authorities. Such informants would have given the names in their own dialectal pronunciations, possibly 'translating' from local speech – even if this were Pritenic or even Q-Celtic. By the time any Roman-period name was transcribed into the form that survives today, it is likely to have been subject to considerable modification.

Sources from the Fifth and early Sixth Centuries

Among the earliest known writers of British origin – Pelagius, Patrick and Faustus of Riez[63] - only Patrick makes any reference to a place-name that may well have been in the North, and that is in the apparently garbled form of his birthplace, *bannauem taburniae* (see **ban[n]**, ***went**, **bern**).

Although later legend, perhaps misinterpreting his reputed birthplace *Arecluta*,[64] associates the early sixth century polemicist Gildas with Strathclyde, his jeremiad *De Excidio Britonum* refers to the Picts and Scots in notoriously vague and general terms and shows no detailed knowledge of the North, making no reference to any specific places in our region.[65]

[63] Faustus was probably of insular British or very early Breton origin.
[64] See **clūd**, and Breeze 2008a.
[65] Reference is however made to Winterbottom's edition 2002.

Sources associated with Iona

Documentary history of what was to become Scotland begins with writings whose direct or ultimate source was the monastic foundation of St Columba on Iona. What must be regarded as the earliest witnesses are those entries up to around 800 AD to be found in collections of annals assembled – in the manuscripts that survive today - in Irish monasteries in the late middle ages, the most important being the annals of Ulster (AU, surviving in Dublin, Trinity College MS H 1 8, a manuscript begun in the later 15th century and added to during the 16th) and the Annals of Tighernach (AT, surviving in Oxford, Bodleian MS Rawlinson B488, a fragmentary 14th century manuscript). These evidently record events from the perspective of Iona, implying that their ultimate source must be series of annals kept in that monastery from soon after its foundation until the onset of Viking raids. They show a detailed interest in and knowledge of Dalriada, along with substantial information regarding other territories in Ulster, and strong awareness of the Pictish lands to the east. They record some events in the Forth valley, and so give us Irish forms of a few place-names in the northernmost part of our region: see, in particular, under ***al**, Once again, we have late mediaeval records of (much) earlier forms, so caution is warranted, but these annals (especially AU) show little or no sign of 'literary' re-working and are very conservative in respect of linguistic updating: the place-name forms are recognisably early Old Irish modified, if at all, only by copyists' errors in transmission. Forms from these sources in the Guide are those given by A. O. Anderson (reprinted 1990, vol. I: ESSH), following the transcriptions given in his footnotes.[66]

The Life of St Columba (VC), written by Adomnán, ninth Abbot of Iona, in the last years of the seventh century (the earliest surviving manuscript being that written by Dorbbéne, a monk of Iona, in late the 8th century: Schaffhausen, Switzerland, Stadtbibliothek MS Generalia 1[67]) reflects similar geopolitical preoccupations: it gives us Old Irish forms for a couple of important names in central Scotland: see **clüd** and **mo̱ï**.

Sources associated with Whithorn and Glasgow

The 'Latinus' stone at Whithorn is evidence of a Christian presence in the Machars during the fifth century, the earliest in Scotland, and a monastic complex existed there by the second quarter of the sixth century.[68] However, the earliest written records associated with Whithorn and, specifically, with its reputed founder St Nynia (later Ninian) date from the eighth century, by which time the monastery had been substantially reorganised as the seat of an Anglian bishopric. Bede's cautious note on the life and activities of Ninian (HE III.4) and the metric *Miracula Nynie Episcopi* probably composed at Whithorn in the late eighth century, along with the curious tale of the composition of the hymn *Parce Domine* by one abbot Mugint of *Futerna*, in the eleventh century Irish *Liber Hymnorum*, and the twelfth century *Vita* attributed to Ailred of Rievaulx, together imply an established tradition and probably a lost written *Vita* from the earlier British foundation, though their status as historical records must remain exceedingly doubtful, and they do not in fact furnish any records of Brittonic place-names.

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[66] Reference should, however, now be made to Charles-Edwards ed. 2006.
[67] Dorbbéne incorporated a passage written 630x50 by Cumméne Find, later Abbot of Iona.
[68] See Hill 1997, especially chapter 3, and Forsyth 2009.

St Kentigern or Mungo, culted as the founder of the church and ultimately cathedral of Glasgow, is at least as shadowy a figure as Nynia. Assuming he lived at all, he would have been active in the sixth century, but our only accounts of his life are from twelfth century sources. The earlier, commissioned by Bishop Herbert (VK(H)), was superseded by another commissioned by Bishop Jocelyn and written by Jocelyn of Furness (VK(J)).[69] Bishop Jocelyn had apparently found the account of Kentigern's conception and birth theologically problematic – ironically, the fragment of the earlier, 'Herbert', life that survives seems to be a version of the part the later bishop found objectionable. Both texts give the impression of collages of traditions that may well have originally had nothing to do with Kentigern. From the toponymic point of view, an especially interesting but very perplexing clutch of names, *Kepduf*, *Dunpender* and *Aberlessic*, occurs in the 'Herbert' account of the ordeal of Kentigern's mother Thanea (in Jocelyn's version, Taneu, Middle Welsh *teneu* 'slender'). Whatever we make of the historical and hagiographic contexts of this story, these are twelfth century records of names probably drawn from sources reflecting East Lothian traditions of some – albeit indeterminable – antiquity (see ***cïpp**, **dūβ**, **dīn**, ***paladr**, **aber** and ***lūs**). Later, in Jocelyn's version, Kentigern's departure from his adoptive home in Fife takes him through *Kernach* (Carnock) to *Cathures*, two more Brittonic names of interest, though the latter is again something of a puzzle (see **cadeir**), and later in the narrative *Mellingdenor* is mentioned, another possibly Brittonic name.

Northumbrian Sources

The earliest records for the Anglian Kingdom of Northumbria emerge from the monastic foundations of the seventh century: first Lindisfarne, then York and Wearmouth/ Jarrow. They begin with the Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert (VCuth (A)) written at much the same date as Adomnán's Life of Columba, presumably on Lindisfarne and probably in the penumbra of the translation of the relics of Cuthbert in 698. It provides our earliest witness for several place-names of Celtic origin, including the lost or superseded *Ahse*, *Colodesburg* and *Kintis*, as well as Melrose, the island-names Farne, Lindisfarne, and Coquet [Island], and the river-names Teviot, Tweed and Wear. Bede's metrical Life (VCuth (V)) is a companion-piece to the Anonymous Life and, though it adds a number of miracle-stories not in the earlier version, its toponymic contribution is limited to minor variants of the names appearing in that text. His prose Life of Cuthbert (VCuth(P)) adds our earliest forms for the rivers Derwent Cmb and Tyne Ntb, and his *Historia Abbatum* a further river-name, Humber. The manuscript records for all three of Lives of St Cuthbert are relatively copious though complex in their history: the earliest date from the ninth century, so they give ninth-century records of Anglo-Latin versions of names presumably current in the seventh and eighth centuries. Forms in the Guide from VCuth(A) and VCuth(P) are cited from Colgrave (1940), and the one from *Historia Abbatum* from Plummer (1896).

For any student of early Northumbria, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (HE) towers over all other sources. Leaving aside its great literary merits, and its primacy in the conceptualisation of 'the English people', Bede's assiduous collection of written and oral testimonies and his meticulous deployment of these justifies the respect he receives as a historian in the modern sense. Of course, his eschatological interpretation

[69] Forms transcribed from these sources are cited from Anderson: ESSH, pp126-39.

of the history of the island cast the Britons in deep shadow – having failed in their evangelistic duty, they are consigned to the obscurity of the lost tribes of Israel. Nevertheless, for our toponymic purposes, the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (HE) is a very important source of evidence for place-names of Brittonic or earlier origin that were current in Bede's time, or at least in that of his sources. The distinction is important, in some cases it is necessary to investigate the question whether Bede has given us an eighth-century form or one transcribed from a source up to a century earlier. They include the lost or superseded *Campodunum*, *Deira*, *Denisesburna*, *Elmet*, *Giudi urbs*, *Maelmin*, and *Maserfelth*, as well as the earliest records for Abercorn, Catterick, Dacre, Kinneil, Leeds and Yeavering, and the river-names Aln, Derwent YNR/YER, Glen and Swale. The manuscript tradition of the *Historia* begins with copies that are certainly from the eighth century: Cambridge, University Library MS Kk.v.16 (2058) and St Petersburg, National Library of Russia MS Lat Q v 1 18, have generally been regarded as witnesses from soon after Bede's own time, though they may be from later in the century and their transmissional history may be more complex than has been supposed.[70] Citations in the Guide are from Plummer (1896).

Stephen ('Eddius') of Ripon's Life of St Wilfred (VW), itself one of Bede's sources for the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, is likewise the work of a partisan but careful historian with access to documentary sources. Names of possible Celtic or ancient origin for which he gives us the earliest forms include those of two places in which Wilfred was imprisoned, *in Broninis* and Dunbar, and among the royal grants to the monastery of Ripon, *in Caetlaevum*, [*regio*] *Dunutinga*, *Rippel* (though all of these are problematic, the usual identifications with Catlow Fell, Dent and R Ribble being not beyond challenge: see **cad**, **lu̎ch**, ***dïnn**, **rö-** and **pol**), as well as the river-name Nidd (see ***nīð**). The earliest surviving manuscript (London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. vi.) dates in part from the ninth century, though the place-names of interest to us are in a section of eleventh-century date, which raises frustrating questions as to the significance of, for example, the *y* in *Dyunbaer* (see **dīn**). Citations in the Guide are from Colgrave (1927).

Later Old English writings contribute to a modest extent to our picture of the early toponymy of the North. The Old English version of Bede's *Historia* gives Anglicised equivalents for the Anglo-Latin versions of Celtic place-names (and 'ancient' river-names), some of which are noted in the Guide where they raise interesting issues. The retrospective entries in the original 'common stock' of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (drawn up by 892: A-SC) included few details that can be attributed, even indirectly, to Northumbrian sources, but the 'northern rescension', probably written at York in the early eleventh century and reflected in MSS D, E (the 'Peterborough Chronicle': A-SC(E)) and F, drew on two series of northern annals and on other sources from the north, so they offer important, if frustratingly patchy, evidence for events in Northumbria, especially after Bede's time. This source offers three of the earliest records for place-names of (probable or possible) Celtic or 'ancient' origin: Beverley,[71] and the Stirlingshire rivers Avon and Carron (see **āβ-** and ***carr**).

Finally, *Historia Regum Anglorum* (HR), a compilation largely completed in its surviving form (Cambridge, CCC MS139, of the late twelfth century) at Durham by about 1130, with Symeon of Durham playing a leading part in its production,

[70] See Dumville 2007 pp. 55-108.
[71] Also in *Secgan*, the list of the resting-places of saints in England, again of the early 11th century: see ***beβr** and ***lech**.

incorporates in its first part, §§1-5, a collection of material from various Anglo-Saxon sources including a list of Northumbrian kings and a chronicle from 732-802 which shows northern (Northumbrian, Strathclyde British and Pictish[72]) inputs and again adds a little to our knowledge of events in the rest of eighth century after Bede. This part of the *Historia* had been recast by an Anglo-Latin writer, very possibly Byrhtferth of Ramsey, in the early eleventh century.[73] Of the place-names it mentions, *Ouania* is of particular interest, being almost certainly our earliest record for Govan.[74]

Y Cynfeirdd

A body of literary sources that is, more than any other, associated with The Old North, but which is exceedingly difficult to evaluate, is that attributed in Welsh tradition to *Y Cynfeirdd*, 'the first poets'. *Y Cynfeirdd* are those named in *Historia Brittonum* 62 as being celebrated in British verse at the time when *Outigern* was fighting against the English. Two of their number, *Neirin* and *Taliessin*, modified to Aneirin and Taliesin, were credited in the later middle ages with the authorship of surviving collections of poems that were by then perceived as ancient.[75]

Canu Aneirin, contained in the Book of Aneirin (Cardiff, Central Library MS 2.81[76]), comprises two series of *awdlau* written in hands of the third quarter of the thirteenth century; one of the series, B, preserves orthographic features which point to one, or more probably two, Old Welsh exemplars. Most of the *awdlau* (barring some fairly obvious interpolations) are elegaic in character, celebrating – individually or collectively – a band of warriors who died in battle at *Catraeth* which is at least in origin almost certainly the strategically crucial fort of Catterick YNR, though in poetic usage a more-or-less legendary or even wholly imaginary place of battles (see **cad**). A contemporary rubric introduces the collection with the words *Hwn yw e gododin aneirin ae cant*, 'this is the "Gododdin", Aneirin sang it', and there has been a general though by no means universal inference that *Gododdin* [77] was originally a single entity, a coherent long poem, of which the two series of *awdlau* represent *disjecta membra*. Whether this really was the case is a matter of argument outwith the scope of the present work.[78] Of greater concern from the toponymist's point of view is whether the texts, and especially the (rather few) place-names they contain, can be assumed to have existed earlier than the date of the Old Welsh exemplar of the B series. The implied historical context of the *awdlau*, and their insistently 'heroic' ethos, are certainly appropriate to the period when power was becoming increasingly concentrated in the hands of successful war-band leaders and the struggle for hegemony over large parts of the North was approaching a climax. In the later sixth century, a battle, indeed many battles, may well have been fought for control of Catterick. However, the *awdlau* are evidently products of a highly formal, conservative tradition of verse-composition: phrases, whole lines or couplets, could have been reworked and reassembled time and again to create conventionally acceptable poems centuries after the people, places and events to which they referred had faded into

[72] See Forsyth 2000, pp. 19-32.
[73] See Lapidge 1981.
[74] See **bann**, and Breeze 1999a, Forsyth 2000, and Koch 2000.
[75] On the need for caution in drawing inferences from place-names in the *Cynfeirdd*, see Haycock 2013 pp. 17-18.
[76] Formerly Cardiff, MS I, and now (from September 2010) in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales.
[77] Actually taking its name from the opening word of the introductory *awdl*, itself possibly a late addition. See O'Hehir in Roberts ed. 1988, pp. 57-96; for the ethnic name *Gododdin* see **wotȫd**.
[78] For a range of scholarly opinion, see Roberts ed. 1988 and Woolf ed. 2013.

legend. The argument among scholars of early Welsh poetry will probably remain unresolved, but a cautious toponymist must take the view that place-names occurring in the *Canu Aneirin*, unless they are otherwise documented, can only be regarded as 13th century copies from an Old Welsh (ninth to eleventh century) source. Whether, or in what form, they were current at any earlier date must remain a matter of unresolvable doubt.[79]

Names from *Canu Aneirin* (CA) are referenced in the Guide by the *awdlau* in which they appear using the arabic numeral system employed by Jackson (1969b: YGod(KJ)), which follows the actual ordering in the manuscript, and in brackets the roman numeral system used by Williams in his edition (1938: CA). Frequent mention is also made of important notes and discussions in the editions of Jarman (1988: YGod(AJ)) and Koch (1997: YGod(JK)).

Although Aneirin was remembered as *mechdyrn beirdd* 'prince of poets' in a Middle Welsh triad, there is no evidence beside the rubric in the Cardiff manuscript that he was celebrated as more than a potent name in later mediaeval Wales. Taliesin, on the other hand, became the hero of an elaborate legend, drawing to himself a range of stories and themes of folklore, some of which associated him with semi-historical, as well as legendary, persons, places and events in the Old North. An indication of the range and complexity of the Taliesin legends is given by the contents of the volume named in modern times as The Book of Taliesin (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS Peniarth 2) This was written by a scribe in the early fourteenth century in south or mid-Wales, and contains a substantial collection of poems of various genres in Middle Welsh orthography, a substantial proportion of them associated explicitly with elements of the Taliesin legends, though others are religious verses, romances, elegies and prophecies. In particular, there are a dozen *awdlau* of apparently archaic character praising or lamenting rulers and princes of the 'heroic' sixth century. Seven of them are in praise of Urien, ruler of a kingdom named *Reget*,[80] while two others concern his son Owein, and two more praise Gwallawc, who may have been a ruler of *Elmet*, traces of the (presumably) eastern boundary of which survive in place-names in Yorkshire (see **Elμed**). The *Historia Brittonum* (see below) tells of the death of *Urbgen* at the siege of *Metcaud*. *Metcaud* is Lindisfarne (see ***meðgǭd)**, and there can be no reasonable doubt that *Urbgen* is Urien (once in the *awdlau*, *Uruwyn*[81]). Place-names in these *awdlau* that can definitely identified (*Arclut, Katraeth , Eidin, Elmet, Idon*) all confirm their context as the Old North. Besides these, there are around twenty other place-names, all either Brittonic or 'ancient'. If these refer to real places, they were presumably also in our region. Much effort has been expended by scholars in attempting to identify them, and proposals are duly recorded in this Guide, though none can be regarded as better than 'possible'. From the cautious toponymist's point of view, we have again a late mediaeval collection of names in texts which can be reasonably regarded as derived from exemplars of the Old Welsh period, but cannot be assumed without doubt to have been current in the time of the (barely) historical Urien, Owein and Gwallauc in the late sixth century.

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[79] Place-names occur in two *awdlau* in CA that are clearly unconnected with the battle at *Catraeth*. For discussion of *O Bentir* in CA LXXIXAB, see **pen[n**], and for *Rayadr Derwennyd* in CA LXXXVIII (A87) see **rejadər**.

[80] For discussion of the origin and location of this kingdom-name, see **rag**-, ***reg**, **rö**- and **cę:d**.

[81] BT61 (VII).

Names from these *awdlau* in the Book of Taliesin (BT) are referenced in the Guide to the *awdlau* in which they occur using the arabic numeral system followed by Gwenogvryn Evans in his edition (1910), with in brackets the roman numerals used by Williams in his edition of the 'Urien, Owein and Gwallauc' *awdlau* (and of one other unconnected with the North), published in its English form as *The Poems of Taliesin* (1968: PT).

I make reference to a few other Welsh literary works that were definitely composed before the twelfth century, such as *Armes Prydein* (ed. Williams, 1972), a nationalistic prophecy composed probably in south Wales in the 940s and preserved in The Book of Taliesin. The matter of *Y Gwŷr y Gogledd* 'Men of the North' became an important component in the prose and verse literatures of Middle Welsh. I have been very cautious in making reference to texts such as *Culhwch ac Olwen* (ed. Bromwich and Evans 1992) or *Y Trioedd Ynys Prydain* (ed. Bromwich, 2006), not least because they are well outside my own areas of expertise, but also, while accepting that they may well contain fragments of genuine history, and even place-names, preserved in traditions from the Old North, it is hardly possible to distinguish these from legendary accretions or transformations.

Historia Brittonum and Annales Cambriae

Equally difficult to evaluate, albeit marginally more secure with regard to questions of dating, are the Latin prose texts purporting to record historical events in the Island of Britain gathered, along with an important but similarly perplexing collection of genealogies, in London, BL MS Harley 3859, written around 1100.

The *Historia Brittonum* (HB, which is also found in a range of revised versions in later manuscripts, and is ascribed in the prologue to one of these later rescensions to 'Nennius') is a *bricolage*, first assembled around 830, of historical and topographical material, some of it probably from monastic annals, but much from oral tradition or from learned speculation. Some of its contents evidently derive from North British or Northumbrian sources, notably the genealogies and brief historical notes on the early rulers of Bernicia and Deira and their dealings with contemporary British rulers (HB57, 61 and 63-5). For the toponymist, *Historia Brittonum* is an important source, though one to be treated with caution. It includes the notorious list of battles fought by Arthur (HB56): much effort has been devoted by scholars and others to the identification of these, sometimes with places in the North, and such speculations are duly noted in the Guide, though they are in the realm of the wholly unprovable. The 'Northumbrian' passages give us interesting Brittonic names for places named otherwise by the Angles: *Cantscaul* (probably a calque on Hexham, see **cant** and ***scǭl**), *Din Guoaroy* (Bamburgh, see **dīn** and ***waraj**), *Meicen* (Hatfield Chase) and *Metcaud* (Lindisfarne, see ***meðgǭd**), as well as the ethnic/ territorial name *Manau Guotodin* (see ***man-** and **wotǭd**). It also provides early ninth-century, British-Latin, versions of several names mentioned earlier by Bede or other Northumbrian sources (see Jackson, 1938). Forms in the Guide are taken from the Latin text in the edition of Morris (1980).

Annales Cambriae (AC) is the name given, collectively so somewhat misleadingly, to a group of texts (conventionally A, B and C), assembled at different dates and places

though sharing some common sources.[82] The A text is found alongside *Historia Brittonum* in MS Harley 3859: it is a chronicle written at St David's in or soon after 954. It is the most important for our purposes, the other texts being later expansions and revisions reflecting (at least in the Latin annals containing two names from our region) the construction of early British history as it developed in twelfth and thirteenth century Wales. Again, it evidently draws in part (at least indirectly) on northern sources, and gives us a few important Brittonic place-names: *Armterid* (probably Arthuret, see ***arμ** and ***tērïð**), *Camelon* (see **cam[b**]) and *Strat Clud* (see **strad** and **clüd**). The last was probably current, or lately obsolete (superseded by *Cumbria*), in the mid-tenth century, but the other two are (or purport to be) names from the margins of history in the sixth century: they can only be regarded as names in a manuscript of around 1100, copied from a source assembled in the second half of the tenth century, and thought to have been current at a much earlier date. Forms follow Morris (1980) except in respect of *Camelon*, which he silently amends to *Camlann.*

Names still current, or recorded in sources from the late eleventh century onward

The main lists of place-names under each element list those which appear with documentation of early forms in currently-available printed publications, and which – in the opinion of the authors of those publications or of other published scholars, or of the present writer – may incorporate that element in their formation. In most cases, all such place-names that I have been able to trace are included, though the lists for a few very common elements may not be entirely complete.[83] The names are given in their present-day forms (as shown on current OS maps: note that a good many farm-names and 'minor' names are subject to frequent variation in spelling, so different forms will be found even in other up-to-date maps, directories and works of place-name scholarship),[84] with the location of each in a historic county (i.e. prior to boundary changes from the late 19th century onward, especially those of 1973 in Scotland and 1974 in England and Wales: see list of abbreviations)[85] and a historic parish (as far as can be ascertained – several may require correction).[86] Regrettably, for much of the time the Guide was being assembled, National Grid references were not readily available to me, but the information provided should be sufficient to initiate a straightforward on-line search for the precise location (or general vicinity in the case of 'lost' names).

The names listed are drawn from print-published sources available during the time the Guide was in preparation (2001-2010). The only sources used are those which give reliable, adequately referenced, transcriptions of early forms for the names (where any exist), and the source for each name is indicated in abbreviated form immediately after the place-name itself (with county and parish).[87] It must be emphasised that the works

[82] See Dumville 2002, Introduction.
[83] E.g. ***pol**, where numerous examples, especially in south-west Scotland, could be Brittonic or Goidelic in origin, and lack early recorded forms.
[84] 'Lost' or obsolete names are however normally given in their *earliest* recorded form.
[85] Except in the case of towns after which counties are named, e.g. Ayr, Dumfries, Peebles, York.
[86] Except in the case of places after which parishes were named, e.g. Wigan.
[87] A few exceptions are place-names that have been brought to my attention by correspondents and seem worthy of consideration as being possibly of Brittonic origin: the absence of any source reference (other

thus referenced are sources for *early forms*, they do not necessarily endorse the suggested Brittonic etymologies or any other observations appearing in the Guide: see further below, under 'Etymological Judgements'. It will be immediately apparent that the availability of such scholarly documentation varies greatly from county to county, and is sadly much sparser in southern Scotland than in northern England. The principal works referred to are as follows, those for northern England first, then those for southern Scotland.

Cumberland

Any study of the Brittonic language in the Old North is bound to pay considerable attention to the Earldom and historic county of Cumberland, with its fascinating complex of Northumbrian English, Scandinavian, Goidelic and Brittonic place-names. It is fortunate that this county was one of the first to be studied in full detail, down to the level of (extant and 'lost') field-names and other 'minor' names, in the English Place-Name Survey, volumes XX (1950), XXI (1950) and XXII (1952) (collectively PNCmb, continuously paginated). While this pre-dated the major inputs of Jackson (1953 and 1969a), and so some of the editors' judgements and observations on Celtic place-names must be treated with caution, it presents invaluable documentation of recorded forms. Cumberland was beyond the reach of the Domesday surveyors, but Gospatric's Writ (a problematic document, but probably of the mid-eleventh century, transcribed with translation and facsimile in PNCmb, EPNS vol. XXII) gives important documentation for several places in Allerdale, and the Cartulary of Lanercost Priory contains references to a rich collection of Brittonic place-names in the Barony of Gilsland in the north-east of the county; the edition of this text by Todd (1997: LanCart) is an important supplement to the survey, adding and correcting several entries.[88] Whaley's *Dictionary of Lake District Place-Names* (2006: DLDPN) adds further documentation and brings present-day scholarship to bear on names in the Lake District National Park, comprising substantial parts of historic Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire-over-Sands.

Westmorland

The county of Westmorland also benefits from a comprehensive treatment in the English Place-Name Survey, by A. H. Smith, volumes XLII (PNWml1) and XLIII (PNWml2, both 1967, paginated separately). Smith was in a position to draw on Jackson's major work (1953) as well as his personal advice, though his presentation of Brittonic elements needs to be checked against Jackson (1969a).

It is important for an understanding of the toponymy and, probably, the linguistic history of the region to understand that the county comprised the two Baronies, Westmorland and Kendal, separated by the high ridge dominated by Shap Fell. The Barony of Westmorland, north of Shap Fell (treated in PNWml2) and centred on the upper Eden Valley, occupies the south-eastern portion of the Solway basin. Its history in the crucial tenth and eleventh centuries is murky.[89] In 926, the River Eamont was the site of a

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than a 'pers. comm.') should be taken as a warning that, so far as I am aware, early forms for these names are not currently available in print.

[88] I am grateful to the late John Todd for helpful e-mail discussion of the names in the Lanercost Cartulary.

[89] The clearest presentation of the documentary position remains Stenton 1936.

ceremonial submission by rulers from the north to Athelstan of Wessex, implying that the river was regarded then as the northernmost limit of Athelstan's kingdom, and the fact that the name Cumberland was later used only for the territory north of the Eamont may imply that Westmorland remained formally outwith the kingdom of Cumbria and subsequently that of the Scots. On the other hand, subsequent events including the death of Eric Bloodaxe on Stainmore in 954 and the harrying of *Westmoringa land* in 966 suggest that this remained debatable land, while the military actions of the Kings of Scots and the claims of the Bishops of Glasgow through the eleventh, twelfth and even thirteenth centuries reveal that, from their perspective, 'Cumbria' extended as far as the Rere Cross on Stainmore, the boundary-mark between Westmorland and the North Riding of Yorkshire. That the Domesday survey failed to reach the Barony of Westmorland[90] indicates the de facto state of affairs in the 1080s, and has obvious implications for our knowledge of early mediaeval place-names in the region: there is a small but significant number of certainly Brittonic place-names, and a larger quantity of tantalising, late-recorded and mainly 'minor', names for which a Celtic etymology is at least possible.[91]

The Barony of Kendal, to the south of Shap Fell and including upper Lonsdale (Lunesdale) as well as Kent-dale, occupies the north-eastern quarter of the Morecambe Bay basin. While far from safe from Scottish attentions, this area seems to have been associated more consistently with powers to the south. It was included, albeit sparsely, in the Domesday survey, and the place-name evidence contrasts quite markedly with that of its northern partner, with important indications of relatively early Northumbrian English-speaking settlement and very few hints of Brittonic. As in the case of Cumberland, Whaley (2006) gives helpful additional documentation of names in that part of Westmorland that lies within the Lake District National Park.

Lancashire

Eilert Ekwall's *The Place-Names of Lancashire* (1922: PNLanc) is rightly regarded as a classic in the history of English place-name studies for its comprehensive treatment of the county's major names, which provided a model for the early volumes of the English Place-Name surveys. Beside his eminent authority as a Germanic philologist and his vast, affectionate knowledge of English place-names, Ekwall was exceptional in his time for his openness to the possibility of Celtic origins for such names. His presentation of early-recorded forms reveals a substantial and thought-provoking spread of certain, probable or possible Brittonic names in the county, and the currently ongoing English Place-Name Survey will surely add to the evidence. In the meantime, Kenyon (especially 1984-5, referred to in the Guide as JEPNS17), Mills (1976), P. B. Russell (1992) and, for the part of Lancashire-over-Sands now in the Lake District National Park, Whaley (2006), have published further early recorded forms for such names.

Cheshire and Derbyshire

[90] Apart from a few references to landholdings attributed to lordships whose chief places were further south.
[91] I am grateful to Mr Anthony Walker for drawing several of these to my attention.

Probable Brittonic names in the north-east of Cheshire and north-west of Derbyshire form a clear and interesting group with those of south-east Lancashire, in the valleys and hillsides of the gritstone moorlands around the north, east and south of the Manchester (Irwell/Tame) embayment, and so receive attention in the Guide. Early forms for these are published in comprehensive contributions to the English Place-Name Survey, of Derbyshire by Cameron (volumes XXVII, XXVIII and XXIX, 1959, collectively PNDrb, continuously paginated, the first of the three being the most important for our purposes), and of Cheshire by Dodgson (the most important volume for our purposes being XLIV, 1970, PNChe1[92]). Both these surveys fully take into account the work of Jackson in their handling of Celtic names.[93]

Yorkshire

The West Riding of Yorkshire is covered by another comprehensive section of the English Place-Name Survey, again by A. H. Smith, being volumes XXX-XXXVII inclusive, all published in 1961 (PNYWR1-8 respectively). Smith's detailed listings reveal an interesting array of potentially Celtic place-names throughout the Riding, his treatment of these reflecting to some extent the influence of Jackson (1953).

The North and East Ridings were also surveyed by Smith, albeit in the much earlier days of the English Place-Name Survey (respectively volumes V, 1928, PNYNR, and XIV – which includes the City of York -1937, PNYER). These consequently only consider and provide early forms for major names. These being (apart from the North Yorkshire Moors and upper Pennine dales in the North Riding) areas of primary Anglian settlement, Celtic place-names are unlikely to be frequent, though those that are found are of great interest, and more comprehensive surveys with the benefit of Jackson's and later work on Celtic toponymy might reveal a few more.

County Durham and Northumberland

The toponymy of the English parts of what was the heartland of Bernicia and the home territory of the Venerable Bede, and later St Cuthbert's Land and the Earldom of Northumbria, must hold an especial interest for any student of the linguistic history of the North. Like Cumberland and the Barony of Westmorland, these lay beyond the scope of the Domesday survey, our main sources for early recorded forms – after Bede – being Boldon Book and other records of the landholdings of the See of Durham and the Community of St Cuthbert.

Mawer's *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham* (1920: PNNtb) is a survey of major names which remains the main source for published early forms of names in Northumberland, and so is referred to in this volume as PNNtb. Mawer's coverage of County Durham was limited, and has been to a large extent superseded by Watts's

[92] Also of interest is material in part 5 of the Cheshire survey, Dodgson 1981 and Dodgson and Rumble 1998.
[93] I am grateful to Dr Paul Brotherton for drawing my attention to other potentially Celtic names in the north-west of the High Peak.

Dictionary of County Durham Place-Names (2002: DDrhPN).[94] The latter takes full account of current scholarship on Celtic toponymy, but reveals that Brittonic names are pretty scarce in the County Palatine, apart from Auckland and very possibly Binchester. Northumberland on the other hand must be of importance for our study for the indications it may yield of interaction between Brittonic and Northumbrian English speakers in the early years of the Bernician kingdom, as well as later survival or reintroduction of Brittonic in the south-west of the county. Again, a more comprehensive survey alert to the possibility of a Brittonic presence is needed to test what can only be a very partial impression on present evidence.

Southern Scotland

Like northernmost England, Scotland lacks any extensive early records of place-names comparable to Domesday Book, let alone the rich charter collections of southern England. However, the cartularies and other records of landholdings of the episcopal sees and monasteries in southern Scotland provide important evidence from the twelfth century onward, while legal records, notably the Register of the Great Seal, add a great deal more, though for a surprising number even of quite 'major' names, the earliest records date only from the sixteenth century, those for some being on Pont's maps or maps in Blaeu's Atlas derived from lost ones by Pont.

By contrast with much of northern England, southern Scotland is still at present sadly lacking in substantial place-name surveys publishing reliable transcripts of early recorded forms. The only printed publications comparable to the (early) volumes of the English Place-name Survey are Angus Macdonald's *The Place-Names of West Lothian (*1941: PNWLo), and Norman Dixon's *The Place-Names of Midlothian* (1947, print-published 2011: PNMLo), each equivalent in quality and scope to Ekwall's survey of Lancashire or Smith's of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire. Useful, though by no means comprehensive, arrays of early forms for other areas are to be found in Maxwell's *The Place Names of Galloway* (1930: PNGall, covering Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtownshire), Johnson-Ferguson's *The Place-Names of Dumfriesshire* (1935: PNDmf), J. Macdonald's *The Place-Names of Roxburghshire* (1991: PNRox), Wilkinson's *West Lothian Place-Names* (1992 WLoPN), which supplements A. Macdonald (1941) and includes names in those parts of Midlothian and Stirlingshire that have at various times been transferred to West Lothian, MacQueen's *Place-Names in the Rhinns of Galloway and Luce Valley* (2002: PNRGLV) and *Place-Names of the Wigtownshire Moors and Machars* (2008: PNWigMM), these two volumes supplementing Maxwell's coverage of Wigtownshire, and Reid's *The Place Names of Falkirk and East Stirlingshire* (2009: PNFEStg).[95]

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[94] The first volume of Watts's detailed survey of Co Durham place-names was published posthumously, 2007: it covers Stockton Ward in the south-east of the county, mainly an area of primary Anglian settlement, yielding little or nothing in the way of Celtic toponymy.

[95] In addition, I have benefitted from invaluable information regarding the early forms of several names supplied by Dr Simon Taylor from his own resources and those of the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh. Michael Ansell, Paul Brotherton, Richard Coates, Peter Drummond, Michael A. Fenty, Alex Maxwell Findlater, Henry Gough-Cooper, August Hunt, Peter Kincaid, Alasdair Livingston, William Patterson, Anthony Walker, John G Wilkinson, and a number of other correspondents who provided valuable information on early forms of particular names and/ or on local topography, are acknowledged in the Guide and are owed my thanks.

Under these circumstances, it would surely have been futile to set out on a study of Brittonic names north of the Anglo-Scottish Border were it not for the towering presence of Watson's magnificent work, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names in Scotland* (1926). Watson's study, not only in chapters XI 'British Names' and XII 'British-Gaelic names', but throughout the volume, draws attention to, and gives substantial early documentation for, hundreds of names that are of probable or possible Brittonic (or Pritenic) origin. Of course that documentation needs to be checked and filled out by local and county-wide surveys, and if such surveys extend to field-names and other 'minor' names, the leet of P-Celtic names may well prove to be much greater, but the present writer has to admit that, as far as potentially Brittonic 'major' names go, there seem to be very few that escaped Watson's eagle eye!

Analysis of Place-Names

Etymological judgements

While a desire to know the 'meanings' of place-names is generally, and very understandably, the first motive for an interest in toponymy, and any use of place-name evidence in reconstructing ethno-linguistic or landscape history must depend on judgements concerning the etymologies of the names, the complexity and uncertainty of such judgements has to be acknowledged. It should go without saying that any consideration of place-name etymology must begin with examination of the earliest recorded forms, and for many names in the North these are sparse and late. Even where an etymology seems transparent, the suspicion that the recorded forms reflect corruption and/ or reinterpretation of the original name must linger.

The present work is intended as a guide to the place-name evidence for Brittonic in the Old North, it is emphatically not a dictionary of place-names focused on providing etymologies, whether established or new. Nevertheless, allocating place-names to the entries for elements in the Guide inevitably requires cautious etymological judgement, subject to such reservations. Listing a name under an element entails the proposition that it may have been formed using that element. The bases on which such judgements have been made are reflected in the presentation of the evidence:

- Where a reference is given for publication of early recorded forms, and no other note or references accompany the entry, it may generally be assumed that the implied etymology is supported by the author of that publication;
- Where some other scholar or scholars have published alternative, Brittonic, etymologies, those are noted and referenced, and in some cases discussed, at the end of the entry, after cross-reference to other elements involved;
- Where a place-name appears without any references for early forms or for published etymological discussion, it should be assumed that the implied etymology is my own proposal (this applies mainly to some names in south-west Scotland that, though generally Gaelic in their modern appearance, may equally well have been Brittonic in origin).

So beside the publications listed above that provide reliable transcripts of early forms, a considerable number of publications of other scholars proposing Brittonic etymologies or discussing the significance of specific elements are referred to in the Guide. Among

those in book form, Coates and Breeze's *Celtic Voices English Places* (2001: CVEP) has played an important part in discussion of potentially Celtic names in England during the period in which this Guide has been in preparation, and articles therein on places in Lancashire, Yorkshire and Northumberland, along with Coates's suggestions *en passant* alongside entries in the very useful gazetteer, are duly referenced and discussed. Entries in Ekwall's classic *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (DEPN(O), fourth edition, 1960) and Watts's *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-names* (DEPN(C), 2004) offer some alternative etymologies. Among works dealing with the interpretation of place-name elements throughout England, those of Margaret Gelling are of supreme standing: *Signposts to the Past* (1978: Signposts), *Place-Names in the Landscape* (1984), and, with Ann Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names* (2000: LPN).

For southern Scotland, Dorward *Scotland's Place-Names* (1995) and Ross *Scottish Place-Names* (2001) offer sensible interpretations of several names, though the necessary details of early forms are lacking.[96] Nicolaisen's *Scottish Place-Names* (1976, but nearly always in the present work, second edition, 2001: SPN^2) is essential reading for the examination of place-name elements and their exemplification in Scottish place-names: chapter 8, especially pp. 204-228 (in SPN^2), is most important for Brittonic/ Cumbric, but the discussion of river-names in chapter 9 is also a major landmark in this aspect of Scottish toponymics. The writings of Barrow, especially his paper in Taylor ed. *The Uses of Place-Names* (1998: *Uses*) are also frequently referenced, drawing attention as they do to the significance of place-name elements and individual names in their historical contexts.

Besides these book publications, I have referred to and, often, discussed, proposals published in papers in scholarly journals. Users should be aware that, while the journals cited all undertake some form of peer review prior to publication, those proposals most likely to have been subjected to rigorous examination by experts in place-name studies are the specialist publications including the *Journal of the English Place-name Society* (JEPNS), the *Journal of Scottish Name Studies* (JSNS), and *Nomina* (journal of the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland).[97] Philological expertise will certainly have been brought to bear on papers in prestigious journals such as the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* (BBCS), *Studia Celtica* (StCelt) and the *Transactions of the Philological Association* (TPA), while good knowledge of the broader historical and archaeological contexts, though not necessarily specialist toponymic or philological expertise, can be expected from the editors and referees of regional and county publications.

Given the disclaimers above, I have been very cautious of putting forward any new Brittonic etymologies for place-names in the North: where I have done so, I have tried to present my argument adequately but briefly. Simple acknowledgement of the possibility that a good many Celtic place-names in south-west Scotland (and a few in Cumberland and north Westmorland) may equally well have been Cumbric or Gaelic in origin is the main way in which the Guide may be seen to expand the leet of possibly Brittonic names. Against this should be set a generally cautious and critical tone in my observations on many of the etymological proposals of other scholars reported in the Guide. The Index of

[96] Grant *The Pocket Guide to Scottish Place-Names* 2010 was published after work on this Guide was largely complete. It should be consulted for sound treatment of major names.
[97] Along with *Ainm*, Journal of the Ulster Place-Name Society, and *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* (BzN), both cited a number of times in the Guide.

Place-Names includes nearly 1500 entries, but it should certainly not be inferred that the total of genuinely Brittonic place-names in the North is anywhere near that number. Those of which we can be certain form a small minority, most of the rest are only 'possible' in varying, often very tentative, degrees, some are downright impossible.

Classification of Place-Names and Elements

The system of classification of place-names according to their formation and usage of elements devised by A. H. Smith (EPNE1 p liii) has proved robust in dealing with English place-names and has been followed (in a simplified form) by Parsons and colleagues in the *Vocabulary of English Place-Names* (1997: VEPN1, 2000: VEPN2, and 2004: VEPN3). However, as Padel pointed out (CPNE p. xiv), the rather more complex range of name-formations in the Celtic languages calls for a modification of that system, and the version adopted in the Guide is based on that employed by Padel with the small further addition of a category for names formed with affixes ((a2), see below), and the absence of Padel's category D (where the element has been added as a lexical qualifier to distinguish between places of the same name, or subdivisions of a territory carrying a general name: such cases are rare or absent in the North). So, under the majority of elements, being nouns or adjectives, place-names are listed under the following classifications:

a1) Simplex names (monothemes), formed with a single element, though the surviving or recorded form may have later added element(s) from a language other than Brittonic (such non-Brittonic elements being shown in the entry [*italicised*] in square brackets);
a2) Names formed with a single element plus a Celtic prefix or suffix (cross-referenced, in the cases of the most widespread ones, to entries dealing with those affixes[98]);
b1) Names in which the element appears as the generic (second element) in a close compound;
b2) Names in which the element appears as generic (first element) in a name-phrase;
c1) Names in which the element appears a specific (first element) in a close compound;
c2) Names in which the element appears as specific (second element) in a name-phrase.

Any such classification again entails some philological judgement: there are, in particular, a few names that could (on currently available evidence) be close compounds or name-phrases. Names with three elements are rare. Where they do occur, there must be a suspicion that they were based on a pre-existing two-element name (compound or name-phrase), reformed later with the 'old' name treated as a unitary element in itself, either generic or specific. However, in a case like Linlithgow WLo (see **lïnn**, **lę:d**, ***lejth** and ***cou**), it is impossible to be certain whether this was the case, or, if so, which components formed the 'original' name. In the Guide in such ambiguous cases, I have endeavoured to signal all reasonable possibilities.

Some further observations are called for on the individual classifications.

Simplex names

Relatively few names are listed under (a1). These are grammatically nouns or adjectives that predicate the defining characteristic or quality of the referent without identifying it

[98] See classified lists of elements.

verbally any further; they may be regarded as 'unspecified generics'. Many are watercourse names, and simplex names do seem to have been used quite widely, perhaps at a relatively early date, in Celtic hydronymy. The same may apply to a few names of prominent hills and other features. Monothematic habitative names, and ones referring to relatively modest topographic features, present a rather different, and possibly complex, question. While it is tempting to assume that such names are early, predating those formed with the same elements qualified by specifics, the evidence from names recorded in antiquity gives little support for this view (especially as some apparent simplex names may actually have been common nouns either misinterpreted by Latin, or later by Old English, speakers as place-names, or adopted by them as place-naming terms, see for example **āβ** (for *aβon*) and **eglę:s**, and references in the next paragraph). The broader case put forward by Carole Hough (2007) for seeing such names as in some sense (not necessarily chronological) 'prototypic' seems stronger – a particular **treβ**, for example, standing out, for reasons probably no longer retrievable, as *the* main **treβ** in a district (see discussion of Threave Ayrs x2, Kcb and Wig, under **treβ**); there are probably no simplex names in the North where a definite article has survived, though two or three might show lenition attributable to an article elided in transmission (see discussion of Giffen Ayrs, Dreva Pbl and *Reglis* MLo, under **ï[r]**). On the other hand we need also to bear in mind the possibility that individual elements remained in use as appellatives after they had largely gone out of fashion in name-formation, or were even adopted into local dialects of successor languages (English, Scots or Gaelic), and were then used to refer to what may have been relatively minor specimens of the type of habitation or feature denoted by the element (see, for example, **pant**, and compare the fate of Old East Norse *þorp* as Middle English *thorp*[99]).

Further questions arise in respect of those fairly numerous names listed under (a1) in which a Brittonic monotheme appears to have subsequently acquired an additional element, typically an Old English generic making the Brittonic part the specific. Strictly speaking, such formations should be regarded as new formations in the successor language. [100] But is it the case that the specifics were originally simplex place-names in Brittonic, opaque to English-speakers but used by them to form English names? Or are they relics of compound or phrasal names only partly recycled in English name-formation? Or were they common nouns picked up by English-speakers mistaking them for place-names? Or did some English-speakers (more or less) intuit their meaning and adopt them as loanwords in their place-naming vocabulary? Whatever the answers – and obviously any of the above could be correct in different cases – such so-called 'hybrids' must be regarded as a problematic class.[101]

Formations with affixes

[99] See EPNE2, pp. 205-12.
[100] Technically *ex nomine* formations, they are not really 'hybrids'. In nearly all cases in the Guide, the successor language would have been Northumbrian Old English, though in a very few cases it may have been Scandinavian. A formation with a Gaelic generic and a Brittonic specific opaque to Gaelic-speakers (having no Gaelic cognate, or not being recognised as having one) is theoretically possible, but I know of no examples. Cases where Gaelic-speakers have replaced a Brittonic generic with a different (but similar sounding) Gaelic one I have treated as Gaelicised versions of Brittonic name-phrases. A number of P-Celtic elements were adopted by Gaelic speakers and used in place-naming, see **bod**, **cajr**, ***carden**, ***dōl** , **mönïð, peth**, **pǭr**, and **prēs**, and Taylor 2011, 77-81 and 100-5.
[101] See Coates 2007c pp. 43-55, Padel 2013b pp. 29-32.

Names listed under (a2) are also in a somewhat ambiguous position. Semantically they are simplex, in that they predicate, adjectivally, some characteristic or quality of the referent – typically a watercourse - without identifying it verbally; they may be regarded as specifics whose generics are 'understood'. Morphologically, though, they are two-part formations.

It has been observed by Nicolaisen (1957, reprinted 2011 at pp. 20 and 40-2), that stem + suffix formation is characteristic of Celtic watercourse-names in Scotland but does not occur there in Germanic hydronyms. His deduction that such formations must have pre-dated Germanic-speaking settlement, indeed pre-dated the formation of close-compound names, rests on models of morphological and semantic evolution and linguistic history which may be over-simple (especially in the case of Gaelic names, which according to him form by far the largest proportion). Nevertheless in our area there is a reasonable likelihood that Celtic watercourse-names of stem + suffix form are relatively early (and that several in southern Scotland of apparently Gaelic form may in fact have early Celtic or Brittonic origins).

Apart from rivers and streams, such formations occur in ethnic names from the Roman-British period and in (what appear to be) district names. All of these are potentially early, though affixing remained (and remains) a significant means of word-formation in the Brittonic languages and there is no reason to suppose that this way of forming place-names ever wholly ceased. Moreover, while in some cases the combination of stem-word and affix would have been part of the place-naming process, in others the combination was probably a pre-existing formation already current in the language (usually as an adjective).

Close compounds

It is a generally accepted principle in Celtic philology that the formation of names by compounding, with a specific preceding (and phonologically modifying) the following generic, died out fairly abruptly in the mid-first millennium AD, a manifestation of a much more fundamental move from synthetic, paratactic modes of sentence construction to analytic, syntactic modes.[102] The shift of Celtic adjectives and possessive-case nouns to post-position was closely associated with this change, and again reflected the more fundamental development of a fixed-order verb-subject-object pattern of sentence construction. Thus there is an assumption that place-names with the specific in first position are likely to have originated before about 500. A good deal of caution is needed, though, with names of this type (listed by their generics as (b1) and by their specifics as (c1)). In the first place, while noun-plus-noun close compounds do indeed seem to have become largely obsolete by that date,[103] the shift of adjectives to post-position took a good deal longer – adjectives are still optionally pre-positioned in Middle Welsh (see GMW §39, p. 37), and some common ones remain regularly so to the present day. And it must be remembered that appellatives formed as close compounds at an early date may well have remained in use for centuries, either in the general vocabulary or at least as components of the place-naming vocabulary (toponymicon), and so they could still have

[102] See LHEB pp. 225-7, and *Signposts* pp. 51-2.
[103] Though they could still be formed, and were to some extent favoured in Welsh poetic diction, see CPNE p. xv.

been used (or come to be perceived) as names for particular places well after 500 (see, for example, discussion of the places named Niddry/ Niddrie under **nöwïð** and **treβ**).[104]

Name phrases

The most common type of place-name formation throughout the parts of the British Isles where Celtic languages remained current after the mid-first millennium AD is the generic-first name-phrase, a pairing of words which in a sentence would rank as a phrase formed of two discrete lexical items. Even as names, the semantic content of such phrases would very often have remained transparent to Brittonic speakers. Although recognisably two words, name-phrases are subject to phonological or morphological agreement, notably the lenition of initial consonants of specifics following feminine noun-generics, but this is by no means consistent in early recorded or surviving forms, even where (as in most cases) there was a clear phonemic contrast, reflecting that between the unlenited and lenited forms in Brittonic, between phonologically similar contrasting pairs in the receptor language, usually Northumbrian Old English. This adds an element of doubt to the analysis of several names: as we have observed, grammatical gender seems to have been somewhat fluid in neoBrittonic and an interpretation involving a (normally) feminine generic cannot be ruled out simply because the specific fails to show the expected lenition.

The elements regularly used as the generics of name-phrases form the core of the Brittonic *toponymicon*. Although in nearly all cases these words remained current in the everyday vocabulary of Brittonic speakers, their use in place-naming gave them distinctive semantic characteristics, toponymic meanings, which need to be distinguished with some care from their 'dictionary meanings'. On the whole, the range of generics occurring in name-phrases in the North (represented in names listed in the Guide under (b2)) is finite, and rather more limited than the ranges found in Wales and Cornwall. They (along with a selection of elements found in the North only as specifics) are grouped in the classified lists of elements under various categories reflecting the conventional division into 'habitatives' (which, it must be remembered, are likely to refer to landholdings as well as to the homesteads or settlements associated with them) and 'topographic terms' (using categories based on those employed by Gelling and Cole, 2000: LPN). While unusual generics should not be ruled out of court, proposed interpretations requiring ones not paralleled in other Brittonic-speaking regions must be regarded as at best doubtful.

The range of specifics (represented in names listed under (c2)) is, as in most toponymies, a good deal wider, and further research and surveys are most likely to extend the range in this category. These too belonged to the *toponymicon*, though their toponymic usage was likely to be more closely intermeshed with the semantics of everyday life. Nevertheless, even here caution is required with interpretations requiring specifics not paralleled elsewhere, especially if they are first or only recorded in Middle Welsh literary or legal texts. There may be legitimate doubt whether such words were current at all in the Old North, and even if they were used there in place-naming, their senses may have been very different from those we can adduce from Middle Welsh contexts.[105] It should also be

[104] And see Hough 2010, A. G. James 2012, pp. 72-5, and idem 2014b pp. 21 – 42.
[105] Cf. above under 'Brittonic and its Kindred: Middle Welsh'.

remembered that some common nouns were used as personal names, and, when they appear as name-phrase specifics, it is rarely possible to be sure whether they are appellatives or anthroponyms.

Distribution and Dating

The material collected in the Guide gives some indication of the distribution and density of Brittonic place-name elements across the Old North. However, reservations already noted must be emphasised: the sources vary greatly in their depth of coverage, and many of the etymologies invoking these elements are more or less tentative. In discussing individual elements, I have limited myself to a few cautious observations regarding the distribution of some of the relatively frequent elements, noting, for example, the rarity of **aber** and **treβ** south of the Solway, the concentration of **blajn** in Cumberland and southern Scotland, and the clusters of **cum[b**], **lanerc** and **treβ** in certain districts.[106] Even these may well need modifying as more data becomes available from place-name surveys.

Such comments on distribution necessarily raise or relate to questions of dating, both of the formation of individual names and of the currency of words as place-naming elements; these in turn locate our study in the context of controversy concerning the linguistic history of our region, especially around the fate of the Brittonic language, that in the fifth century was pretty well universal throughout the region, but by the end of the twelfth was probably extinct. It was this topic of 'linguistic ecology' that motivated the present study: I approached the controversy with a mind cleared as far as possible of preconceptions concerning the processes of language change involved and the ethnic, social and historical contexts in which they occurred and by which they were driven. My comments are intended to raise questions and to point to considerations, avoiding any over-determined standpoint, However, as the study developed, certain conclusions – at least tentative ones – began to take shape, and it is well to make clear to users what these are, especially how my views on the history of Brittonic in the North may differ from those of others who have studied the question.

The earliest elements listed are 'ancient' or early Celtic watercourse-naming terms, which are found throughout our region, though, as Jackson famously demonstrated,[107] Brittonic and earlier hydronymic elements occur as (or in) the names of lesser watercourses only rarely in the areas of primary Anglo-Saxon settlement, increasingly commonly to the west and north. Thus, in Northumbria, the heartland of Deira forms the northernmost extreme of Jackson's Area I, where such elements only survive in the names of the major rivers.[108] By contrast, Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire form Jackson's northern Area III, where Brittonic and early Celtic names 'are especially common, including often those of mere streams'.[109] Although he places County Durham in his intermediate 'Area II', along with Northumberland and the West and North Ridings of Yorkshire, he comments (p. 222) that 'the hilly district between the Tyne and the Tees' should perhaps be included in Area III. In fact, north of the Tees, the distinction between Areas II and III

[106] See further A. G. James 2012, pp. 81-8, and idem 2014b, pp. 21–42.
[107] LHEB pp. 220-3, on the basis of the data in Ekwall 1928 (ERN).
[108] In fact, only the R Hull and the Humber, see ***amb- *hu- *hū-**, and the rivers flowing into the Humber from 'Area II'; however, note entries for Beverley, Roos and Wawne, all YER.
[109] LHEB p. 222.

is doubtful, perhaps influenced by assumptions about Anglian settlement history. If Jackson had projected his distribution map north of the Border, the lower Tweed basin might have joined the Northumberland coast as an outlier of Area II, but even in that Bernician heartland Brittonic or earlier watercourse-names are common. Otherwise southern Scotland could be regarded as a continuation of Area III but for the fact that many watercourses, especially lesser burns in the south-west, have Gaelic names. This implies that most of our region comprises a patchwork of districts in which interaction between speakers of Brittonic and of incoming languages – Northumbrian Old English, and later Scandinavian and early Gaelic (Middle Irish) - may well have been prolonged, involving periods of stable bilingualism and phases of advance or retreat, revival or reintroduction, of languages on either side, perhaps extending over several centuries.

Names evidenced from Classical or the earliest mediaeval sources are demonstrably early, and the elements of which they are composed must have been current before the dates of those records: some such elements may have already become obsolete in the living language, others were still current and, in most cases, remained so into neoBrittonic and its successor languages (though their meanings, and their currency as toponymic terms, may have varied considerably over the centuries: see, for examples, discussion of **cajr** and **treβ**). The distribution of these names reflects, of course, the priorities and preoccupations of the authors of their various sources, or of the informants and traditions which transmitted the names.

It is a good deal more difficult to identify termini, *ante* or *post quem*, for the formation of particular names or for the currency of individual elements that came into use in the post-Roman period. As already observed, simplex names and even close-compound name formations need not necessarily have been early, [110] and there are several reasons – phonological, morphological, semantic and distributional – to question the assumption that Brittonic names in the North must either date from before the Anglian settlements and subsequent Anglicisation of the region, or else reflect static survival of enclaves of Brittonic speaking population. Attention is drawn to such considerations in the discussions of several elements in the Guide, and the issue examined, and my own position adumbrated, more fully in A. G. James 2012.

It should suffice to summarise here the few major conclusions which have emerged for the present writer in the course of fourteen years' study of the place-name evidence for Brittonic in the North. The linguistic history of the region in the early and central middle ages was a great deal more complicated than is often supposed; Anglicisation (and, in south-west Scotland, Gaelicisation) was by no means a steady, unilinear or inevitable process. Alongside the persistence of neoBrittonic in the territory ruled from Alclud, there may have been quite extensive survival or reintroduction of that language in upland parts of western and northern Northumbria during the seventh to ninth centuries (though it is doubtful whether this can be demonstrated with any assurance from place-name evidence). There was more certainly a significant revival or reintroduction of the language (in the form of Cumbric), not only in the Solway basin (historical Cumbria) but also in much of southern Scotland and perhaps more widely, during the period following the falls of York and Dumbarton to the Vikings, especially in the first half of the tenth century. It is now my view that a large proportion of place-names of Brittonic origin in those parts, especially in the upland regions, may well date from that period, and not

[110] See above under 'simplex names' and 'close compounds'.

from any earlier, and that even in the south and east of our region[111] we should be alert to the possibility that Brittonic place-names may be evidence of Cumbric- or Welsh-speaking immigration in the central middle ages rather than of 'Celtic survival'.

Note to the 2016 version

The revised version of this work incorporates several, albeit mostly relatively minor, changes. In terms of content, the most significant is the addition to the Bibliography and references in the Guide of a number of publications that have appeared, or come to the author's notice, over the past three years. In a few cases, these have prompted small modifications to the discussion of various elements or individual place-names within the Guide, but these have been kept to a minimum.

In the Classified List of Elements, a short list of colour terms has been added.

In the Guide, a rather more compact layout has been applied, which has reduced the total of pages in the Guide from 397 to 300.

Inevitably, a number of small errors, mostly typing literals or incorrect page numbers in references, have come to the author's notice; the help of others in pointing out a few of these is gratefully acknowledged. Happily, no seriously embarrassing howlers have so far come to light, but all errors noticed have been corrected.

Note to the 2019 version

Again, this revision adds to the Bibliography and references in the Guide such publications that have appeared, or come to the author's notice, over the past three years. In a few cases, these, along with helpful feedback from several users, have prompted small amendments to, or modifications to the discussion of, various elements or individual place-names within the Guide.

The most extensive tranche of amendments has been prompted by Dr. Stephen Laker's project to locate and map digitally all place-names of probable or possible Brittonic origin in England and southern Scotland, using the Gazetteer in Coates and Breeze (2000) along with the Index of Place-Names that forms Volume III of the present work. This exercise has brought to light a number of, mostly minor, errors and inconsistencies within that Index, and between the Index and the Guide in Volume II, which have been duly corrected. In particular, the location of places within the complicated and often-changed county boundaries in central Scotland is, one hopes, now more reliable.

The help of all who have contributed suggestions for amendment or improvement is greatly appreciated.

[111] South Wml, Lanc, YWR, YER, YNR, Drh, Ntb and Brw.

List of Abbreviations

(titles of published works are in many cases in short form:
for full details, refer to the Bibliography)

A

Abd	Aberdeenshire.
AC	'Annales Cambriae', Dumville, David N., 2002, or (for pre-682 entries), in Morris, John, *Nennius*, 1980.
ACPN	Sims-Williams, Patrick, *Ancient Celtic Place-Names in Europe and Asia Minor*, 2006.
AMR	*Archif Melville Richards*, on-line at http://www.e-gymraeg.org/enwaulleoedd/amr
Ang	Angus.
Angl	Anglian (dialect of OE).
Arg	Argyll.
A-Sc	Anglo-Scandinavian: see also ON.
A-SC	The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in Plummer, Charles and Earle, John, eds., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* Oxford, 1892. A-SC(E) 'The Peterborough Chronicle' Oxford, Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 636.
AT	Annals of Tighernach, in Oxford, Bodleian MS Rawlinson B488.
AU	Annals of Ulster, in Dublin, Trinity College MS H 1 8.
Ayrs	Ayrshire.

B

BBCS	*Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies.*
Bck	Buckinghamshire.
Br	British (Brittonic of the first to mid-sixth centuries). eBr early British (first to third centuries). lBr late British (mid-fifth to mid-sixth centuries).

Brc	Brecknockshire/ Brycheiniog.
Brk	Berkshire.
Bret	Breton (language, Modern, if not otherwise indicated). PrBret Proto-Breton (before the ninth century). OBret Old Breton (ninth to eleventh centuries). MBret Middle Breton (twelfth to mid-seventeenth centuries). MnBret Modern Breton (mid-seventeenth century to the present).
Britt	Brittonic (insular P-Celtic). neoBritt neoBrittonic (of the mid-sixth to mid-ninth centuries). SWBritt South-West Brittonic. WBritt West Brittonic.
BT	Evans, J. Gwenogvryn, ed., *The Book of Taliesin*, 1910.
Bwk	Berwickshire.
BzN	*Beiträge zur Namenforschung* (journal).

C

CA	Williams, Ifor, *Canu Aneirin*, 1938.
Cam	Cambridgeshire.
Celt	Celtic (group of languages). eCelt early Celtic ('Common Celtic').
Che	Cheshire.
CIB	Sims-Williams, Patrick, *The Celtic Inscriptions of Britain*, 2003.
Clk	Clackmannanshire.
Cmb	Cumberland.
Co.	County, in Ireland.
cogn.	cognate (with).
Corn	Cornish (language, Modern, if not otherwise indicated). PrCorn Proto-Cornish (before the early tenth century). OCorn Old Cornish (from the early tenth century to around 1200). MCorn Middle Cornish (around 1200 to the late sixteenth century). MnCorn Modern Cornish (late sixteenth century to around 1800).
CPNE	Padel, Oliver J., *Cornish Place-Name Elements*, 1985.

CPNS Watson, William J., *The History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland*, 1926.

Crd Cardiganshire/ Ceredigion.

Crm Carmarthenshire/ S. Gaerfyrddin.

Crn Caernarvonshire/ S. Gaernarfon.

CSD *The Concise Scots Dictionary*, ed. Robinson, Mairi, et al., Aberdeen, 1985.

ct Century.

CVEP Coates, Richard, and Breeze, Andrew, *Celtic Voices English Places*, 2000.

Cwl Cornwall.

D

D Dictionary (in abbreviated titles of dictionaries of place-names, etc.)
DCCPN Falileyev, Alexander, *Dictionary of Continental Celtic Place-Names*, 2010.
DCM MacKillop, James, *Dictionary of Celtic Mythology*, 1998.
DCML Green, Miranda J., *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend*, 1992.
DCornPN Padel, Oliver J., *A Popular Dictionary of Cornish Place-names*, 1988.
DDrhPN Watts, Victor, *A Dictionary of County Durham Place-Names*, 2002.
DEPN(C) Watts,Victor, *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-names*, 2004.
DEPN(O) Ekwall, Eilert, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* fourth edition, 1960.
DLDPN Whaley, Diana, *A Dictionary of Lake District Place-Names*, 2006.
DMxPN Broderick, George, *A Dictionary of Manx Place-Names*, 2006.
DOST *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, 1937-2002 .
DPNW Owen, Hywel Wyn, and Morgan, Richard, *Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales*, 2007.
DUPN McKay, Patrick, *A Dictionary of Ulster Place-Names*, 1999.

DB Domesday Book.

Denb Denbighshire/ S. Ddinbych.

Dev Devon.

DIL *Dictionary of the Irish Language,* 1983.

Dinneen Dinneen, Patrick S. *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla,* 1996.

Dmf Dumfriesshire.

Dnb (West) Dunbartonshire.

Dng County Donegal.

Dor Dorset.

Drb Derbyshire.

Drh County Durham.
DrhArchJ *Durham Archaeological Journal.*

DSL *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, comprising DOST (see under D = Dictionary above) and the *Scottish National Dictionary,* on-line at http://www.dsl.ac.uk/index.html.

Dwelly Dwelly, Edward, *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary*, 1993.

Dwn County Down.

E

e (in abbreviated names of languages) early.
eBr early British (first to third centuries).
eCelt early Celtic ('Common Celtic').
eG early Scottish Gaelic (obsolete by 1900).
eMnIr early Modern Irish (thirteenth to sixteenth centuries).
eOE early Old English (prior to mid-eighth century).
eOIr early Old Irish (eighth century).
eMnW early Modern Welsh (sixteenth century or later but now obsolete).

E English (language).
OE Old English (sixth to mid-twelfth centuries).
ME Middle English (mid-twelfth to fifteenth centuries).
MnE (sixteenth century to the present).

E In county abbreviations, East.
EDnb East Dunbartonshire.
ELo East Lothian.
ERoss Easter Ross.

ed.	editor or edited (by).
EGOW	Falileyev, Alexander, *Etymological Glossary of Old Welsh*, 2000.
EPNE	Smith, A. Hugh, *English Place-Name Elements:* EPNE1 *Part I*, 1956 EPNE2 *Part II*, 1956 (separately paginated).
EPNS	In titles of survey volumes, The English Place-Name Survey (volume). See also JEPNS.
ERN	Ekwall, Eilert, *English River-Names*, 1928.
Ess	Essex.
ESSH	Anderson, Alan Orr, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, volume one, 1990.

F

f	feminine.
Fif	Fife.
Flt	Flintshire/ S. y Fflint.
f.n.	field name.

G

G	Scottish Gaelic (Modern, if not otherwise indicated). eG early Scottish Gaelic (obsolete by 1900). MnG Modern Scottish Gaelic (eighteenth century to the present).
Gaul	Gaulish.
GG	Calder, George, *A Gaelic Grammar*, 1923.
Glo	Gloucestershire.
GLL	Souter, Alexander, (1949) *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.*
Glm	Glamorganshire/ S. Forgannwg.
Gmc	Germanic (group of languages). NGmc North Germanic. WGmc West Germanic.

GMW Evans, D. Simon, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* 1964.

GOI Thurneysen, Rudolf, *A Grammar of Old Irish* 1993.

GPC *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*, 1997-2002.

H

HB 'Historia Brittonum', in Morris, John, *Nennius*, 1980.

HE Bede 'Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum', in Plummer, Charles, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, 1896.

Hmp Hampshire.

HR Symeon of Durham *Historia Regum Anglorum*, in Arnold, Thomas, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, 1882.

Hrf Herefordshire.

Hrt Hertfordshire.

I

IE Indo-European (generally, in the Guide, Proto-Indo-European).
IE(NW) Indo-European (North-Western).
IE(WC) Indo-European (West-Central).

InnRev *Innes Review* (journal).

Inv Inverness-shire.

Ir Irish (language, Modern, if not otherwise indicated).
PrIr Proto-Irish (before 700, including Ogam inscriptions).
eOIr early Old Irish (eighth century).
OIr Old Irish (eighth to ninth centuries).
MIr Middle Irish (tenth to twelfth centuries).
eMnIr early Modern Irish (thirteenth to sixteenth centuries).
MnIr Modern Irish (thirteenth century to the present).
IrPN Flanagan, Deirdre, and Flanagan, Laurence, *Irish Place Names*,1994.

J

J Journal.
JEPNS *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*.

JEPNS17 Kenyon, Denise 'Addenda and Corrigenda to Ekwall, Eilert *The Place-Names of Lancashire*' JEPNS17, 1984-5.
JSNS *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies*.

K

Kcb Kirkcudbrightshire.

Kcd Kincardineshire.

Knr Kinross-shire.

Kry County Kerry.

L

l (in abbreviated names of languages) late.
lBr late British (mid-fifth to mid-sixth centuries).
lOE late Old English (tenth to mid-twelfth centuries).

Lanc Lancashire.

LanCart Todd, John M., *The Lanercost Cartulary*, Gateshead, 1997.

Lat Latin.

Lei Leicestershire.

LHEB Jackson, Kenneth H, *Language and History in Early Britain*, 1953.

LHD Jenkins, Dafydd, ed. and trans., *The Law of Hywel Dda*, 1986.

Libellus de exordio Symeon of Durham, ed. Rollason, David, *Libellus de exordio*, 2000.

LL Evans, J. Gwenogvryn, *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*, 1893.

Lnk Lanarkshire.

Lo In county abbreviations, Lothian (ELo, MLo, WLo).

LPN Gelling, Margaret, and Cole, Ann, *the Landscape of Place-Names*, 2000.

M

m	masculine.
M	Middle (in language-names). MBret Middle Breton (twelfth to mid-seventeenth centuries). MCorn Middle Cornish (around 1200 to the late sixteenth century). ME Middle English (mid-twelfth to fifteenth centuries). MIr Middle Irish (tenth to twelfth centuries). MW Middle Welsh (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries).
Mdx	Middlesex.
Mer	Merionethshire/ Meirionydd.
MLo	Midlothian.
Mn	Modern (in language-names). MnBret Modern Breton (mid-seventeenth century to the present). MnCorn Modern Cornish (late sixteenth century to around 1800). MnE (sixteenth century to the present). MnG Modern Scottish Gaelic (eighteenth century to the present). MnIr Modern Irish (thirteenth century to the present). MnW Modern Welsh (from the sixteenth century to the present).
Mnm	Monmouthshire/ S. Fynwy.
Mng	County Monaghan.
Mor	Moray.
Msx	Middlesex.
Mtg	Montgomeryshire/ S. Drefaldwyn.
Mx	Manx (language: forms cited are in 'Classical' or later Manx, i.e. post 1700).

N

n	neuter.
N	North (in abbreviated language-names): see also ON. NGmc North Germanic.
NHist	*Northern History* (journal).
Nrn	Nairnshire.

neoBritt	neoBrittonic (of the mid-sixth to mid-ninth centuries).
Nfk	Norfolk.
Ntb	Northumberland.
Ntbn	Northumbrian (dialect of OE).
Ntp	Northamptonshire.
Ntt	Nottinghamshire.

O

OIPrIE	Mallory, J. P., and Adams, D. Q., *Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European*, 2006.
O	Old (in language-names): see also ON. OBret Old Breton (ninth to eleventh centuries). OCorn Old Cornish (from the early tenth century to around 1200). OE Old English (sixth to mid-twelfth centuries). OIr Old Irish (eighth to ninth centuries). OW Old Welsh (ninth to early twelfth centuries). OW(LL) Old Welsh as evidenced in *the Book of Llan Dâv* (see LL).
OCD	Hornblower, Simon, and Spawforth, Anthony, *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 1996.
ODEE	Onions, C. T. et al. *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* 1966, reprinted with corrections 1969.
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*, 1st complete edn., 1928.
OEG	Campbell, Alastair, *Old English Grammar*, 1959.
ON	Old Norse (Scandinavian of the ninth to twelfth centuries): see also A-Sc. OEN Old East Norse (ancestor of Danish and Swedish). OWN Old West Norse (ancestor of Norwegian and Icelandic).
Oxf	Oxfordshire.

P

Pbl	Peeblesshire.
PCB	Ross, Anne, *Pagan Celtic Britain*, 1967.

Per Perthshire.

pl plural.

Pmb Pembrokeshire/ S. Benfro.

p-n. place-name.

PN In book titles, *(The) Place-Names (of).*
PNBute Márkus, Gilbert, *The Place-Names of Bute* 2012.
PNChe1 – 4 Dodgson, John McN., *The Place-Names of Cheshire* 1-4 EPNS XLIV - XLVII, 1970-2.
PNChe5(2) Dodgson, John McN., and Rumble, Alexander R., *The Place-Names of Cheshire* 5(2) EPNS LXXIV, 1998 (see note in bibliography).
PNCmb Armstrong, Aileen M, et al., *The Place-Names of Cumberland* EPNS XX 1950, XXI 1950 and XXII, 1952.
PNDev Gover, J. E. B., Mawer, A., and Stenton, Frank M., *The Place-Names of Devon* EPNS VIII, 1931, IX, 1932.
PNDmf Johnson-Ferguson, Col. Sir Edward, *The Place-Names of Dumfriesshire* 1935.
PNDrb Cameron, Kenneth, *The Place-Names of Derbyshire* EPNS XXVIII-XXIX, 1959.
PNShr Gelling, Margaret, with Foxall, H. D. G., *The Place-Names of Shropshire* EPNS LXII/LXIII, Nottingham, 1990, LXX, 1995, LXXVI, 2001, LXXX, 2004, LXXXII, 2006, LXXXIX 2012.
PNFEStg Reid, John *The Place Names of Falkirk and East Stirlingshire*, 2009.
PNFif Taylor, Simon *The Place-Names of Fife* 1, 2006; 2, 2008; 3, 2009; 4, 2010; 5, 2012.
PNGall Maxwell, Herbert, *The Place Names of Galloway*, 1930.
PNNtb Mawer, Allen, *The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham*, 1920.
PNLanc Ekwall, Eilert, *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, 1922.
PNMLo Dixon, Norman, *The Place-Names of Midlothian*, 2011.
PNMonklands Drummond, Peter, *Placenames of the Monklands*, 1987.
PNOxf Gelling, Margaret, *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire* EPNS XXIII 1953 and XXIV, 1954.
PNRB Rivet, A. L. F., and Smith, Colin, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, 1979.
PNRGLV MacQueen, John *Place-Names in the Rhinns of Galloway and Luce Valley*, 2002.
PNRox Macdonald, Jessie S. M., *The Place-Names of Roxburghshire*, 1991.
PNShr Gelling, Margaret, with Foxall, H. D. G., *The Place-Names of Shropshire* EPNS LXII/LXIII, 1990, LXX, 1995, LXXVI, 2001, LXXX, 2004, LXXXII, 2006.
PNWigMM MacQueen, John *Place-Names of the Wigtownshire Moors and Machars*, 2008.

PNWLo Macdonald, Angus *The Place-Names of West Lothian*, 1941.
PNWml Smith, A. Hugh, *The Place-Names of Westmorland* EPNS XLII and XLIII, both 1967 (PNWml1 and PNWml.2).
PNYNR Smith, A. Hugh, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire* EPNS V, 1928.
PNYER Smith, A. Hugh, *The Place-Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York* EPNS XIV, 1937.
PNYWR1-8 Smith, A. Hugh, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire* 1-8 EPNS XXX-XXXVII, all 1961.

Pr Proto- (in language-names, prior to the earliest written records).
PrBret Proto-Breton (before the ninth century).
PrCorn Proto-Cornish (before the early tenth century).
PrIE Proto-Indo-European.
PrIr Proto-Irish (before 700, including Ogam inscriptions).
PrLat Proto-Latin.
PrW Proto-Welsh (before the ninth century).

PT Williams, Ifor, *The Poems of Taliesin*, 1968.

R

R In river-names, River.

Rdn Radnorshire/ Maesyfed.

Rnf Renfrewshire.

Ross Ross-shire.
ERoss Easter Ross.
WRoss Wester Ross.

Rox Roxburghshire.

Rsc County Roscommon.

S

s.a. *sub anno* (under the year).

ScLang *Scottish Language* (journal).

sgv. singulative.

Shr Shropshire.

Signposts Gelling, Margaret, *Signposts to the Past*, 1978.

Slk	Selkirkshire.
s.n.	*sub nomine* (under the name).
SND	*Scottish National Dictionary*.
SNSBI	The Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland.
Som	Somerset.
sp.	species (of plants etc.)
SPN²	Nicolaisen, Wilhelm F. H., *Scottish Place-Names*, 2001.
StCelt	*Studia Celtica* (journal).
Stf	Staffordshire.
Stg	Stirlingshire.
Suth	Sutherland.
s.v.	*sub verbo* (under the word).
SWBritt	South-West Brittonic.

T

trans.	translator or translated (by).

U

Uses	Taylor, Simon, ed., *The Uses of Place-Names*, 1998.

V

V	Vita (Life of Saint). VC *Adomnan's Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. Anderson and Anderson, 1961. VCadoc, ed. Wade-Evans, Arthur W., *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae* 1944, pp24-141. VCuth(A) The 'Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert', in Colgrave, Bernard, ed., *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert*, 1940. VCuth(V) Bede's 'Verse Life of St Cuthbert'. VCuth(P) Bede's 'Prose Life of St Cuthbert', Colgrave, op.cit.

VK(H) The 'Anonymous Life of St Kentigern' commissioned by Bishop Herbert, surviving only as a 15th century fragment.
VK(J) Jocelyn of Furness 'Life of St Kentigern' in London, BL MS Cotton Vitellius C VIII, ff148-95, and Dublin, Trinity College MS Marsh V 3.4.16.
VSamson 'Vita Sancti Samsonis' in Fawtier, R., ed. *La vie de S. Samson* Paris, 1912.
VW Stephen of Ripon ('Eddius') 'Life of St. Wilfred', ed. Colgrave, *Eddius' Life of St. Wilfred* Cambridge, 1927.

VEPN1 Parsons, David and Styles, Tania, *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names (Á – Box)*, 1997.

VEPN2 Parsons, David and Styles, Tania, *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names (Brace – Cæster)*, 2000.

VEPN3 Parsons, David N., *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names (Ceafor – Cock-Pit)*, 2007.

VLat Vernacular (Vulgar) Latin.

W

W Welsh (language, Modern, if not otherwise indicated), otherwise West (see below).
PrW Proto-Welsh (before the ninth century).
OW Old Welsh (ninth to early twelfth centuries).
MW Middle Welsh (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries).
eMnW early Modern Welsh (sixteenth century or later but now obsolete).
MnW Modern Welsh (from the sixteenth century to the present).

W West (in county names, and abbreviated language-names other than Welsh).
WBritt West Brittonic.
WGmc West Germanic.
WLo West Lothian (see below).
WRoss Wester Ross.
Note: Dnb is used for West Dunbartonshire.

War Warwickshire.

Wig Wigtownshire.

WLo West Lothian.
WLoPN Wilkinson, John Garth, *West Lothian Place-Names*, 1992.

Wlt Wiltshire.

Wml Westmorland.

Wor Worcestershire.

Y

Y in county abbreviations, Yorkshire.
YER East Riding of Yorkshire.
YNR North Riding of Yorkshire.
YWR West Riding of Yorkshire.

YGod(AJ) Jarman, A. O. H., *Aneirin: Y Gododdin*, 1988.

YGod(KJ) Jackson, Kenneth H., *The Gododdin: The Oldest Scottish Poem*, 1969.

YGod(JK) Koch, John T., Koch, John T., *The* Gododdin *of Aneirin*, 1997.

YM Ynys Môn/ Anglesey.

Z

ZCP *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie.*

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Bede, 'Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum' and 'Historia Abbatum', see Plummer.

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Alphabetical List of Elements

āβ and *aβon*
aβall
aber, *abber*
aβr-
***ador** or **edir*
ajr and **aɣ*
***al-**
alarch
alt
***amb-**
-an
Anaw
-and
***ander**
***aŋgaw**
***anheð**
***ar** in river-names
ar-
-ar
***arβ**
arð
arɣant
arth
-as, *-is*
-aw

***baɣeð**
***bāl**
ban[n]
barð
barr
***bas**
Bassaleg
beβr
***beð**
***bedu**
***bel-**
***ber**
***bern**
bïch, *bïchan*, *boch*
bïrr
blajn or **blejn*
blo̱d
***bluch**
bod
***böðar**
bolɣ
brān
bre[ɣ]
***breμ–**
brijth
brïnn
Brïthon
broch
bronn
bröüən
***büβal**
buch
bu̱ch
***bü̱ɣ[ð]**
bu̱gẹ̄l
***bulch**
***burð**
***bu̱warth**

***cach**
cad
cadeir
***caj**
cajr
***cal-**
***calch**
cam[b] and **cambas*
can[d]
cant
***carad**
***carβan**
carden, **carδen*
carn
***carr**
carreg
***carro̱g**
carw
cẹ:d
cefel
***celeμïn**
***celled**
celli
***ceμ-**, *ceμn*, **cejn*
cẹin
***cẹ:rðīn**
***cest**
***cib**
***cïf**
***cīl**
cilurn[n]
***cīl**
***cï:n**
***cīnt**, **cïnnor*
***clas**
***clẹ:ss**
***clïjar**
***clog**, *clegïr*
clu̱d
cnou
***cnuc[h]**
coch
***cöfin**
***cog**, *cū̱g*
***cogr**
***cölẹ:n**
***colɣ**
coll
***colū̱d**
***cöμar**
cömber, **cümber*
cömbröɣ
***cō̱n**
***cönẹ:d**
***cönïð**
***cönïg**
***cönnerch**
***cor**
***cōr**
corð
corn, *curn*
cors
***cöü**
coubal
***crach**
***craμ**
***cras**
crẹ:g
***crei**
***criaβol**

***crib**
crïch
***crïs**
crojs
***cröw**
crṻg
***crum[b]**
cū[n]
***cūl**
***cṻl**
cum[b], *cum*[*m*]

daɣ
***dagr**
***dantǭg**
dār
dehou
delɣ
dę:w
***dewr**
***dïn**
dīn
***dīnas**
***dïnn**
dö
***dōl**
***draɣïn**
dragon
***drïch**
***drum**
drus
dūβ
duβ[ï]n, **doµn etc.*
duβr
durn

eb-
eβur
***echwïð**
-ed
Ę:dïn
eglę:s
***eil**
ejthin
el-
-el
elβïð
-en
***Ę:s-**

fīn
föntǭn
fos
frūd

***gaβę̣l**
Gaβr
***gāl**
***gār**
gar[r]
garth
***garw**
gēn
gïlβ
gïnt
glan
glann
glās
***glę:ss**
glę:ju
***glïnn**
goβ
***grif**
gronn
gweβr

hāl
***halę:n**
***haµar**
harð
heð
***heið**
helɣ
helïg
hen
***hēs[s]**
hesg
hī[ɣ]
hïnt
***hïsb**
***hǭð**
***hu-**
***hū-** and **hul* or **hūl*
***hwaen**

ï[r]
i[s]-
ïd
-īg, *-eg*
***[h]ïn**

-īn, *-en* and *–ïnn*
ïnïs
***īr**
is-
***ïsgor**
***ïster**, **ïstre-*, **ïstriw*
ïstṻm
***ïstwïth**

jās, **jesīn*
***-jǭl**
jṻð
jurch

laβar
***laɣn**
lanerc or **lanrec*
lann
-le
***lę:β**, **lę:µ*, **līn*
lę̣id
lech
***lech**
***led**
lę:d
lę̣id or **lad*
***lejth**
lę:µ
***leµrajth**
lę:n or *lujn*
***lethir**
lïdan
***līm**
līn
lïnn
***lï:s[s]**
***loβ**
***lǭd**
log
logǭd
***lǭn**
***long**
lǭr
losg
lost
lǭwadr
lowern
luch
lṻch, *lṻɣ*
***lud**

***lum[m]**
***lumon**
***lurɣ**
***lūs**

-µa, *mayɣ*
mab and *Mabon*
***magę:r**
maɣes
maɣl
maɣn
***mal**
***mamm**
***man-**
***mann**
march
***með-**
***medel**
***meðgǭd**
***mę̄g-**
mę:l
melïn
***merin**
***mïɣ[n], *meg**
***mīl**
***mïµed**
***mïn**
***mīn**
moch
mǭï
mölin
***molt**
***mǭn**
***mönach,** *manach*
mönïð, *mïnïð*
mönju
***mönǭg**
mōr
mǭr
***morβ**
müchïd or *müchïð*
***müged**

nant
***neð**
***nejth**
***ness**
nïµed
nöwïð

ǭch
-ǭg
***ogel**
***oɣn**
onn
or
-öü

***paladr**
pant
part[h], *pǭr*
***pasgel**
***pebïl**
peβïr
pedwar
***peir**
***pejth**
pen[n]
***pērïµ**
pert[h]
peth
pïmp
plę:β
***pol**
***polter**
pont
powę:s
pǭwę:s
prenn
prēs

rag-
***red-**
redïn
***reg**
rejadər
***rīa** or **rïjā*
rïd
rīɣ
***rijajn**
***rïn[n]**
rïw
rö-
***rod**
rǭd
rōs
rūð

***Sachs**
saµn

***scǭl**
***serch**
sïch
spïðad
***stajer**
strad
***sulu**

***tā-**
***taβl**
tad
tāl
tan
tān
***tarð**
tarw
***tejth**
***tērïð**
terµïn
***tēs**
***tew**
***ti-**
tī[ɣ]
***tīr**
***tǭd**
***ton**, *tonnen*
torr
***trajth**
treβ
***tres**
tri-
***trōn**
***trǭs**
***truch**
truïn
***trulliad**
***tǖβ**
tul
turch

ǖch-
ǖchel

wag
wal and *wāl*
***wan[n]**
***waraj**
***warthaµ**
***was**
***weβr** or **weµr*

***wei-**
***wejr**
***wel[t]**
weli
well
***went**
***werβ**
wern
werther
wï:ð
***wïðbed**
wīg
***wïlt**
wïnn
***win[n]**
wlīb
wo-
woβer
***wogerð**
wǭɣn
wor-
***worę:d**
***woreü**
wotǭd
wreig
***wrūg**
wūr

Glossary of Elements:

Middle to Modern Welsh Equivalents or Related Words

aber	**aber**
aer	**ajr**
afal	**aβall**
afon	see **āβ**
afr-	**aβr-**
ail	***eil**
alarch	**alarch**
allt	**alt**
-an	**-an**
anaw	**Anaw**
angau	***aŋgaw**
annedd	***anheð**
anner	***ander**
ar-	**ar-**
-ar	**-ar**
arian	**arɣant**
arth	**arth**
-as	**-as**
-au	**-öü**
-aw	**-aw**
awch	**o̧ch**
baedd	***baɣeð**
bâl	***bāl**
ban	**ban[n]**
bardd	**barð**
bas	***bas**
bedd	***beð**
bedw	***bedu**
blaen	**blajn**
blawd	**blo̧d**
blwch	***bluch**
bol	**bolɣ**
brân	**brān**
bre	**bre[ɣ]**
brefi	***breμ–**
breuan	**bröüən**
brith	**brijth**
broch	**broch**
bron	**bronn**
bryn	**brïnn**
Brython	**Brïthon**
bual	***büβal**

buarth	***bü̱warth**
bugail	**bü̱ge̩l**
buwch	**bü̱ch**
bwch	**buch**
bwlch	***bulch**
bwrdd	***burð**
bych	**bïch**
byddr	***böðar**
byr	**bïrr**
cach	***cach**
cad	**cad**
cadair	**cadeir**
cae	***caj**
caer	**cajr**
cain	**ce̩in**
calch	***calch**
cam	**cam[b]**
can	**can[d]**
cant	**cant**
carad-	***carad**
cardden	**carden**
carn	**carn**
carreg	**carreg**
carrog	***carro̧g**
carw	**carw**
cau	***cöü**
cawn	***co̧n**
ceffyl	**cefel**
cefn	***ceμ-**
celain	***cölḛ:n**
celefyn	***celeμïn**
celli	**celli**
celwrn	**cilurn[n]**
cerbydd	***carβan**
cerddyn	***ce̩:rðīn**
cest	***cest**
ceubal-	**coubal**
chwaen	***hwaen**
chwefr	**gweβr**
ci	**cū[n]**
cib	***cib**
cil	***cīl**

claear ***clïjar**
clais ***clẹ:ss**
clas ***clas**
clog ***clog**
cnou **cnou**
cnwch ***cnuc[h]**
coch **coch**
coed **cẹ:d**
cog ***cog**
cogr- ***cogr**
coll **coll**
coly ***colɣ**
côr ('something plaited') ***cor**
côr ('a choir') ***cōr**
cordd **corð**
corn **corn**
cors **cors**
crach ***crach**
craf ***craµ**
craig **crẹ:g**
cras ***cras**
crau ***cröw**
crei ***crei**
criafol ***criaβol**
crib ***crib**
croes **crojs**
crug **crŭ̈g**
crwm ***crum[b]**
crych **crïch**
crysedd ***crïs**
cul ***cŭ̈l**
cûl ***cūl**
cwm **cum[b]**
cŵn **cū[n]**
cyfar ***cöµar**
cyff ***cïf**
cyffin ***cöfin**
cymer **cömber**
cŷn ***cï:n**
cynhor **cïnt**
cynt **cïnt**

da **daɣ**
dagrau ***dagr**
dan **tan**
dannog ***dantǭg**
dâr **dār**
deau **dehou**
duw **dẹ:w**
din **dīn**
dinas ***dīnas**
dôl ***dōl**
draig, dragon **dragon**
drain (pl of *draen*) ***draɣïn**
drws **drus**
drych ***drïch**
du **dūβ**
dwfn **duβ[ï]n**
dŵr **duβr**
dwrn **durn**
dy **dö**
dyn ***dïn**

eb-, ep- **eb-**
echwydd ***echwïð**
efwr **eβur**
eglwys **eglẹ:s**
eithin **ejthin**
-ell **-el**
elfydd **elβïð**
en **-en**
erfin ? ***arβ**
erw ? ***arβ**

-fa **-µa**
ffin **fīn**
ffos **fos**
ffrwd **frūd**
ffynon **föntǭn**

gafael ***gaβẹl**
gafr **gaβr**
gair ***gār**
gâl ***gāl**
gar **gar[r]**
garth **garth**
garw ***garw**
gên **gēn**
glais ***glẹ:ss**
glan **glann**
glân **glan**
glas **glās**
gloyw **glẹ:ju**
glyn ***glïnn**
go- **wo-**
gof **goβ**
gofer **woβer**
gogerdd ***wogerð**
gor- **wor-**
gorau ***woreü**

grifft ***grif**
grug ***wrūg**
gwag **wag**
gwair ***wejr**
gwal, gwlad **wal**
gwan ***wan[n]**
gwarae ***waraj**
gwared ***worę:d**
gwartha ***warthaµ**
gwarther **werther**
gwas ***was**
gwaun **wǭɣn**
gwefr ***weβr**
gwell **well**
gwellt ***wel[t]**
gwely **weli**
gwern **wern**
gwig **wīg**
gwlyb **wlïb**
gŵr **wūr**
gwraig **wreig**
gwybed ***wïðbed**
gwŷdd **wï:ð**
gwyllt ***wïlt**
gwyn **wïnn**
gylf **gïlβ**
gynt **gïnt**

halen, halwyn ***halę:n**
hafar ***haµar**
haidd ***heið**
hardd **harð**
hawdd ***hǭð**
hedd **heð**
hely **helɣ**
helyg **helïg**
hen **hen**
hesg **hesg**
hy **hī[ɣ]**
hy- ***hu-**
hyn ***[h]ïn**
hynt **hïnt**
hysb ***hïsb**

ias **jās**
-in **-īn**
ir ***īr**
is- **is-**
iwrch **jurch**

llafar **laβar**
llaid **lęid**
llain ***laɣn**
llaith ***lejth**
llan **lann**
llannerch **lanerc**
llawd ***lǭd**
llawn ***lǭn**
llawr **lǭr**
lle **-le**
llech ('lair') ***lech**
llech ('slab') **lech**
lled ***led**
llefrith ***leµrajth**
llethr ***lethir**
llion **līn**
llog **log**
llogawd **logǭd**
llong ***long**
llosg **losg**
llost **lost**
lluch **lūch**
llumon ***lumon**
llus ***lūs**
llwch **luch**
llwm ***lum[m]**
llwyd **lę:d**
llwyf **lę:µ**
llwyn **lę:n**
llwry ***luryɣ**
llydan **lïdan**
llyn **lïnn**
llys ***lï:s[s]**
llywern **lowern**

mab **mab**
mael **maɣl**
maen **maɣn**
maes **maɣes**
magwyr ***magę:r**
mal ***mal**
mam ***mamm**
man ***mann**
mant ***man-**
manwydd **mönju**
march **march**
mawn ***mǭn**
mawr **mǭr**
mei- ***með-**
medel ***medel**

melin **mölin**
melyn **melïn**
merf ***morβ**
merin ***merin**
mign ***mïɣ[n]**
mil ***mīl**
min ***mīn**
moch **moch**
moel **mę:l**
mollt ***molt**
môr **mōr**
muchudd **müchïd**
mûr **mūr**
mwy **mǭï**
mwygl ***mę̄g-**
myged ***müged**
myn ***mïn**
mynach ***mönach**
mynawg ***mönǭg**
mynydd **mönïð**

nant **nant**
nedd ***neð**
newydd **nöwïð**
nyfed **nïµed**

oen ***oɣn**
-og **-ǭg**
–[*i*]*ol* ***-jǭl**
onn **onn**
orior ?***ar** in river-names

pair ***peir**
paith ***pejth**
paladr ***paladr**
pant **pant**
parth **part[h]**
pasg- ***pasgel**
pawr *pǭr* (see **part[h]**)
pebyll ***pebïl**
pefr **peβïr**
pedwar **pedwar**
pen **pen[n]**
perth **pert[h]**
peryf ***pērïµ**
peth **peth**
plwyf **plę:β**
pont **pont**
Powys **pǭwę:s**
pren **prenn**
prys **prēs**
pump **pïmp**
pwll ***pol**

rhaeadr **rejadər**
rhag **rag-**
rhath, rhawd **rǭd**
rhedeg ***red-**
rhedyn **redïn**
rheg- ***reg**
rhi **rīɣ**
rhiain ***rijajn**
rhid **rīa**
rhiw **rïw**
rhod ***rod**
rhos **rōs**
rhudd **rūð**
rhy- **rö-**
rhyd **rïd**
-rhyn ***rïn[n]**

safn **saµn**
Sais ***Sachs**
serch ***serch**
staer ***stajer**
sych **sïch**

tad **tad**
tafl- ***taβl**
taith ***tejth**
tâl **tāl**
tan **tan**
tân **tān**
tardd ***tarð**
tarw **tarw**
terfyn **terµïn**
terydd ***tērïð**
tes ***tēs**
tir ***tīr**
ton ***ton**
tor **torr**
traeth ***trajth**
trais ***tres**
traws- ***trǭs**
tre[*f*] **treβ**
tri- **tri-**
trulliad ***trulliad**
trôn ***trōn**
trum ***drum**
trwch ***truch**

trwyn	**truïn**
tu	***tūβ**
twll	**tul**
twrch	**turch**
tŷ	**tī[ɣ]**
udd	**jūð**
uwch	**ūch-**
uchel	**ūchel**
y[*r*]	**ï[r]**

ŷd	**ïd**
-yn	**-īn**
ynys	**ïnïs**
yscawl	***scǭl**
ysgor	***ïsgor**
yspyddad	**spïðad**
ystrad	**strad**
ystryw	***ïster**
ystum	**ïstūm**
ystwyth	***ïstwïth**

Classified Lists of Elements

1 Prefixes

aβr-
ar-
el-
is-
***man-**
***með-**
rag-
rö-
tri-
***trǭs-**
ūch-
wo-
wor-

2 Suffixes

-an
-and
-ar
-as
-aw
-ed
-el
-en
-īg
-īn
***-jǭl**
-le
-µa
-ǭg
-öü
-*trǭs

3 Possibly Pritenic elements[112]

aber
brïnn for **bren*

[112] These being elements that either show a markedly northern distribution, with many or most examples north of the Forth, or which appear to display distinctively Pritenic phonological or morphological features or semantic usage (see 'Pritenic and Pictish' in the Introduction), or both. For full discussion of P-Celtic place-name elements in Pictland (nearly all of which also occur south of the Forth), see Taylor 2011.

***carden**
cömber for *******cümber*
***dōl**
gronn
lanerc for **lanrec*
***mïɣ[n**] for **meg*
nïµed
peβïr
pert[h] for *pert*
peth for *pett*
pǭr
prenn
rǭd for **roth*
ṻchel for **ochel*, **ogel*

4 Elements probably or possibly adopted from Latin[113]

***bas**
bassaleg
Brïthon
cadeir
cajr
***calch**
cefel
***cest**
***cib**
***cï:n**
***cïpp**
***clas**
coch
***cöfin**
***cǭn**
***cōr**
coubal
crojs
dragon
eglę:s
fïn
föntǭn
fos
gïnt
***grif**
lę:n
***līm**
log
logǭd
***meðgǭd**

[113] See A. James (2014a).

melin
***merin**
***mīl**
***mönach**
mūr
part[h]
***pasgel**
***pebïl**
plẹ:β
pont
pǭwẹ:s
***Sachs**
sïch
terµïn
***trōn**
***truch**
***trulliad**
wag
wal for *wāl*
wīg

5 Rivers and streams

'Ancient' river-naming terms[114]

***ador**
ajr
***al-**
***amb-**
***ar** in river-names
***cönẹ:d**
***dǭn**
***hū-**
***īr**?
***ï[s]-**
***ness**
***nīð**
rīa
***tā-**
***tew**
***ti-**
***wei-**
***went**
***werβ**

[114] See Introduction under 'Distribution and Dating'.

Early Celtic river-naming terms[115]

āβ
Anaw
***ander**
***arβ**
***bel-**
***ber**
***breμ–**
***cal-**
clŭd
***cogr**
***crïs**
dẹ:w
***haμar**
ïd
***lẹ:β**
***loβ**
lǭwadr
***mẹ̄g-**
***morβ**
***ness**
red-
***win[n]**

Brittonic river-naming terms[116]

i) generic terms relating to watercourses
duβr
fos
frūd
***glẹ:ss**
***hu-**
***ïster**?
***lejth**
līn
lïnn
***merin**
nant
pant
***pol**
***polter**
woβer

[115] See previous note.
[116] These being elements that remained current (as lexical items) in recorded Brittonic languages, though as hydronymic elements (especially in simplex, affixed or compound names) they may well have been in use in the Early Celtic period.

ii) descriptive terms (possibly) used as simplex or affixed watercourse-names and/or as specifics

arth
can[d]
cant
***carad**
***carrǭg**
carw
cęin
***celeμïn**
***cï:n**
***clę:ss**
***clïjar**
***colɣ**
***cūl**
***dagr**
dūβ
duβ[ï]n
***gāl**
***gār**
garw
glan
glās
glę:ju
gweβr
***hïsb**
***hǭð**
***īr?**
jās
laβar
***led**
lïdan
***lǭd**
***lǭn**
losg
lowern
lūch
***lūs**
maɣl
maɣn
***mal**
***mïɣ[n]**
***mïμed**
nöwïð
-ǭg
peβïr
sïch
tān
***tarð**
***tres**

***wejr**
***wïlt**
***wogerð**

iii) features of or in Rivers, Streams, Estuaries and/ or Coastal Bays
aber
***bas**
***bū̄ɣ[ð]**
cam[b]
cilurn[n]
cömber
***crum[b]**
***cū̄l**
föntǭn
glann
ïnïs
ïstū̄m
***ïstwïth**
rejadər
***trajth**
***wejr**

6 Lakes (including firths and sea-lochs) and ponds

lïnn
luch
***merin**
mōr
***pol**

7 Wetlands, marshes and upland bogs

***aŋgwas**
cors
gronn
lẹid
luch
***lud**
***mïɣ[n]**
***mǭn**
wǭɣn

8 Valleys and hollows

***cöü**
cum[b]
gēn
***glïnn**

nant
pant
strad
tul

Gaps and passes

***bern**
***bulch**
***cūl**
drus
saμn

Hidden, remote, places

***celled**
***cīl**
***cūl**
***peir**

9 Hills, ridges and slopes

Heights and summits

alt
arð
***bāl**
ban[n]
barr
blajn
bre[ɣ]
brïnn
bronn
cadeir
***cïf**
***cnuc[h]**
***colūd**
***cönïg**
***cönnerch**
corn
***crib**
crūg
***lumon**
***mamm**
***man-**
mę:l
mönïð
***sulu**
torr
***warthaμ**

Ridges

***ceμ-**
***crib**
***drum**

Points, promontories and hill-spurs

ban[n]
gïlβ
***ogel**
pen[n
***rïn[n]**
rōs
truïn

Slopes and edges

***bāl**
***drïch**
***lethir**
***mīn**
rïw
***stajer**

10 Rocks and crags

***al**
carn
***carneδ**
***carr**
carreg
***carrǭg**
***clog**
crę:g
lech
maɣn
***taβl**
torr

11 Woodland and wood-pasture

cę:d
celli
wï:δ

Individual trees and kinds of trees

aβall
bedu
***cę:rðīn**
cnou
***colɣ**
coll
***criaβol**
dār
***draɣïn**
eβur
ejthin
helïg
lę:µ
onn
prenn
wern

Lesser plants and vegetation

***arβ**
blǭd
***celeµïn**
***cǭn**
***craµ**
***dantǭg**
hesg
lę:n
***lūs**
mönju
pert[h]
prēs
redïn
spïðad
***wrǖg**

12 Birds and animals

Birds

alarch
brān
***cog**
***grif**

Wild or feral animals

arth

broch
buch
***büβal**
carw
jurch
***neδ**
turch
***wïδbed**

Domestic animals

***baɣeδ**
bū̱ch
cefel
cū[n]
eb-
gaβr
march
***mïn**
moch
***molt**
***oɣn**
Tarw

13 Open pasture (including common grazings) and meadowland

***dōl**
-µa
maɣes
mönïð
***pasgel**
pejth
plẹ:β
pǭr
pǭwẹ:s?
rōs
***ton**
***wel[t]**

14 Clearings, enclosures and divisions of land

***caj**
***carden**
lanerc
lann
losg
part[h]
peth

***rod**
weli?

15 Cultivated land

***arβ**?
***cöμar**
***haμar**
pǭr?

16 Farming settlements and estates

***anheδ**
bod
cajr
***tīr**
treβ
wīg

Specialised buildings, sheds and yards

***bū̄warth**
***cröw**
***cūl**
garth
mölin
***pebïl**
tī[ɣ]

17 Chieftain's dwellings, strongholds and fortified settlements (and their associated territories)

cajr
***carden**?
dīn
***dīnas**
***dïnn**
***eil**
***hēs[s]**
***ïsgor**
***lï:s[s]**
rǭd
tī[ɣ]
wal?

18 Churches, religious houses and Church landholdings

bassaleg
***clas**
***cōr**
eglẹ:s
log
logǭd
***mönach**
? **nïµed**

19 Boundaries

blajn
cant
***cöfin**
***cor**
fīn
***līm**
***pen[n]**
terµïn

20 Roads, trackways and paths

hïnt
***luryɣ**

River crossings and bridges

pont
rïd

21 Elements (possibly) forming ethnic, kingdom or national names

-and
Brïthon
cömbroɣ
duβïn
delɣ
dẹ:w
***dewr**
-ed
elβïð
Elµed
Ẹ:s-
helɣ
***hïnt**
mǭï

nöwïð
rö-
rīɣ
-ǭg
*__perïμ__
***Sachs**
***tejth**
wīg
wal, *wāl*
wotǭd

22 Colour terms

aryant
brijth
can[d]
coch
dūβ
glan
glās
lę:d
lū̄ch
melïn
rūð
wïnn

Guide to the Pronunciation of Elements

Note: this guide relates only to the orthographic conventions used for the elements appearing as headwords, representing their (hypothetical) neoBrittonic form around the year 700. For the orthography of other languages, and of other periods of Brittonic and its descendants, see under ‘The Etymologies’ in the Introduction.

Vowels and semivowels

i High, close short front vowel, as Modern Welsh *i*.
ī High, close long front vowel, as Modern Welsh *ŷ*.
ï Lower, more retracted short *i*, as Modern south Welsh *y* in unstressed syllables, or English *i* in 'it'.
j Palatal semivowel, as Modern Welsh semivocalic *i*.

e Middle short front vowel, as Modern Welsh *e*.
ē Middle long front vowel, lengthened **e**.
ẹ Higher, closer short *e*, like French *é*.
ẹ: Lengthened **ẹ**, by 700 becoming diphthongal, *ẹ*^{i}.
ę Lower, more open *e*, like French *è*.
ę: Lengthened **ę**, by 700 becoming diphthongal, *ę*^{i}.

ə Intermediate short vowel, like Modern Welsh definite article *y*.

a Low, open short vowel, as Modern Welsh *a*.
ā Low, open long vowel, lengthened **a**, as Modern Welsh *â*.

o Middle, rounded back short vowel, as Modern Welsh *o*.
ō Middle, rounded back long vowel, lengthened **o**, as Modern Welsh *ô*.
ǫ Lower, more open **o**, like English *o* in 'not'.
ǭ Lengthened **ǫ**, like English *au* in 'naught'.
ö Fronted, middle, rounded secondary short vowel, like French *eu* or German *ö*.

u High, rounded back short vowel, as Modern Welsh vocalic *w*.
ū High, rounded back long vowel, lengthened **u**, as Modern Welsh *ŵ*.
ü Fronted, high, rounded secondary short vowel, as Modern (north) Welsh *u*.
ǖ Fronted, high, rounded secondary long vowel, lengthened **ü**.
w Bilabial semivowel, as English *w*.

Consonants

p Bilabial unvoiced plosive, as Modern Welsh *p*.
f Bilabial unvoiced fricative [φ], as Modern Welsh *ff*.
b Bilabial voiced plosive, as Modern Welsh *b*.
β Bilabial voiced fricative, becoming by 700 labiodental (falling together with **μ** as [v]), Modern Welsh *f*.
m Bilabial nasal continuant, as Modern Welsh *m*.

μ Bilabial nasal fricative, becoming by 700 labiodental (falling together with **β** as [v]), Modern Welsh *f*.

t Dental unvoiced plosive, as Modern Welsh *t*.
th Dental unvoiced fricative [θ], as Modern Welsh *th*.
s Dental unvoiced sibilant, as Modern Welsh *s*.
d Dental voiced plosive, as Modern Welsh *d*.
δ Dental voiced fricative, as Modern Welsh *dd*.
n Dental nasal continuant, as Modern Welsh *n*.
r Voiced dental trill, as Modern Welsh *r* between vowels (the Welsh aspirated [ṙ] developed in the Old Welsh period, by the tenth century but later than 700, so it is not represented in headwords: see LHEB §93, pp473-80).

c Velar unvoiced plosive, as Modern Welsh *c*.
ch Velar unvoiced fricative [χ], as Modern Welsh *ch*.
h Velar unvoiced aspirate, as Modern Welsh *h*.
g Velar voiced plosive, as Modern Welsh *g*.
ɣ Velar voiced fricative, a voiced form of *ch*.
ŋ Velar nasal continuant, as Modern Welsh *n* in 'Bangor'.

l Voiced lateral, as English *l* (the Welsh unvoiced, pharyngeal lateral [ɬ] developed in the Old Welsh period, by the tenth century but later than 700, so it is not represented in headwords: see LHEB §93, pp473-80).