

The Brittonic Language in the Old North

A Guide to the Place-Name Evidence

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Guide to the Elements

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A

āβ (m?) and aβon (f)

IE *[h₂]eb/p- > eCelt *ābo- > Br, Gaul *ābo-* (not found in Welsh, Cornish or Breton); OIr *aub* > MIr *ab* > Ir *abha* (OIr dative singular *abainn* > Ir, G *abhainn*, Mx *awin*); cogn. early Lat **abnis* > Lat *amnis*, Skt *āp-*, *apas*.

See Szemerényi (1996), p. 95, OIPrIE §8.3, pp. 125-6, Watkins (1973), Kitson (1998) at p. 88, and DCCPN p. 5.

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

With the suffix *-onā-* (see **-an**), Brittonic *āβonā-* > neoBritt *aβon* > OW *abon* > M-MnW *afon*, OCor *auon*, MBret *auo[u]n* (on Cornish *awn*, Breton *-aven*, see CPNE pp. 13-14). Again, *āβonā-* may have come to be used in Britain as a river-name (see Padel 2013b pp. 26-7), or it may have been taken for such by Latin and Old English speakers, in the simplex (a1) forms below. It seems not to occur in compound place-names in the North, and the examples of name-phrases in (c2) below are doubtful.

a1) Avon Water Lnk SPN² pp. 228-9.

Avon R Stg/WLo PNWLo pp. 1-2, SPN² pp. 228-9, PNFESTg p. 45: see above.

Avon Burn Stg PNFESTg pp. 45-6.

Evan Water Dmf PNDmf p. 98.

c2) Dalavan Bay Kcb (Kirkmabreck) PNGall p. 103 ? + **dōl-**, but probably Gaelic **dail-abhuinn*.

Denovan Stg (Dunipace) CPNS p. 508, PNFESTg p. 40 + **dīm-**: Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin. *Pendraven* Cmb (lost field-name in Upper Denton) PNCmb p. 82 **pen[n]-**, + **-i[r]-** or **-treβ-**: see discussions under **pen[n]-** and **treβ-**.

aβall (f, but variable in British)

A pre-Celtic and possibly non-Indo-European **oblu-* > IE(WC) **h₂ebVl-* > early Celtic **abalo-/ā-* > M-MnW *afal*, OCor *aua* > Corn *aval*, OBret *abal* > Bret *aval*; OIr *uball*, *ubull* > Ir *úll*, G *ubhal*, Mx *ooyl*; cogn. Gmc **aplū* > OE *æppel* > ‘apple’.

Derived from this, the word for ‘an apple’, proto-Celtic **abal-no-/ā-* > early Celtic **aballo-/ā-* > Br **aballo-/ā-*, Gaul *avallo* > MW *avall* > W *afall*, OCor singulative *aullen*, OBret singulative *aballen*; OIr *aball* > Ir, G *abhall*.

See Hamp (1979), Markey (1988) and DCCPN p. 5.

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

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

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

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

(c2) Carnavel Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 59 ? + **corn-**, but could well be Gaelic **carn abhail*.

aber, abber (usually m, earlier n)

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

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

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

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

The form *Karibyr* 1282, Carribber WLo (PNWLo p. 58), may be plural or a preserved genitive singular. If plural, it may be compared with *Eperpuill* in the 11th ct. Irish life of St Berach (CPNS p. 225), Aberfoyle Per. If the plural form (at least in the P-Celtic of the Forth Valley) was **ebir*, it shows double i-affection in **ad-beri-*. The IE root **bher* has the verbal sense ‘bear, carry’, cf.

M-MnW *beru* ‘flow’. The early Celtic prefix *ad-* here means ‘to, together’, so it is ‘a flowing together, a confluence or estuary’: see also **cömb**.

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

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

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

The most striking feature of distribution is the absence of **aber** from Strathclyde, Ayrshire and Galloway, and its ‘total absence between Dumfriesshire and north Wales’ (Barrow in *Uses*, p. 56 and map 2.1). Replacement by *G inbhear* could have occurred in south-west Scotland, but even that is uncommon in the region. If a cult of *Condatis* was of importance in northern Britannia, perhaps **Condatis* was the preferred term in that region, though it is only recorded as the name of the Roman-British settlement at Northwich Che (Jackson, 1970 at p. 71, PNRB pp 315-16, PNCh2 p. 195, and PNCh4 p xii and p. 1). See also **cömb**, noting that that element is largely restricted to the Solway basin.

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

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

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

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

b2) *Abercarf* Lnk (= Wiston) SPN² p. 211 + **garw*, the river-name Garf: see Barrow in *Uses*, p. 56.

Abercorn WLo CPNS p. 461, PNWLo p. 19 + *-corn-* + *-ig*, the Cornie Burn.

Aberlady ELo CPNS p. 460 + a river-name (now the West Peffer Burn), probably of the **lę:β* type with *-ed-* + *-ig*, but see also **loβ*.

Aberlosk Dmf (Eskdalemuir) CPNS p. 460, PNDmf p. 35 + *-losg*, or **lūs-* + *-og*, as a river-name: see Barrow in *Uses*, p. 56.

Abermilk Dmf (= St Mungo, Castlemilk) CPNS p. 460, PNDmf p. 111 + the river-name Water of Milk, see discussion under ***mal**.

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

aβr-

Brittonic **abro-*/*-ā-* > M-MnW *afr-*.

A prefix with apparent intensive or emphatic force.

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

*ador or *edir (f?)

?IE **h_aet-* ('go') + *-Vr-* > eCelt **aturā-* or *-jā-*; ? cf. Gmc **ādara-* > OE (Anglian) *ēdre*, ON *æðr*, 'a vein' (but see below).

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

A possibly ancient river-name, the Indo-European formation perhaps meaning 'a watercourse, a channel', see SPN² pp. 236-9. However, the names considered below may imply that **ædre/ēdre* was an early Old English hydronymic term, possibly, but not necessarily replacing a similar 'ancient' name.

a1) Adder, Black and White, R, with Edrom Bwk [+ OE *-hām*] and Edrington Bwk [+ OE *-ing²-*, a name-forming connective, + *-tūn* 'a farm']. Nicolaisen (1966) and SPN² p. 238 argues against Watson's (CPNS p. 46) OE *ædre*, Anglian *ēdre*, 'vein' as a watercourse-name, and Ekwall's (ERN p. 156) **ædre* 'quickly', on the grounds that these would have maintained the long initial vowel in English/ Scots; however, as Hough (2023) points out, citing Campbell (OEG §453, pp. 182-3), consonant doubling with shortening of a preceding long vowel is frequent before /t/, so an OE hydronym is the likeliest origin (**ædre* 'quickly' is ruled out as it only occurs as an adverb).

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

Ederlangbeck Cmb (= Sty Head Gill in Borrowdale), with *Edderlanghals* and *Edderlangtern* ERN p. 156, PNCmb pp. 351-2, DLDPN p. 330 [+ ON *-lang-* 'long', forming a stream-name, + ON *-bekkr* > 'beck', *-hals* 'neck', and *-tjorn* > 'tarn', respectively].

Etherow R ERN p. 156, PNDrb p. 7, PNChe1 p. 23: the settlement-name Tintwistle (PNChe1 p. 320, see also *ibid* 3 p xiv and 5.1 p xxii) implies that Etherow was an OE replacement for an ancient river-name of the **tīn-* type, see ***tī-**.

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

ajr (f) and *ay

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

See OIPrIE §22.17 at p. 406.

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

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

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

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

The river-name Aeron Crd is probably **Agronā-*, a deity name formed on **agro-*. Scholars since J Morris-Jones (see CPNS pp. 342-3) have equated the *Aeron* of CA A18 (XVIII), A66 (LXVIIA), A79 (LXXXA) and B39 (LXVIB), and of BT 29(VII), 61 (VII) and 62 (VIII) with (territory around) either the R Ayr or the Earn Water Rnf. Either may be right, if the Welsh river-name has influenced the form in the surviving texts (on mediaeval Welsh writers' pairing of Welsh place-names with similar ones in the legendary North, see Haycock 2013 p. 12, and Clancy 2013 pp. 155 and 169 nn11 and 12), but **ajr** is not the origin of either Ayr or Earn: see ***ar** in river-names and ***arμ**. See Thornhill (2021) pp. 200-5 for detailed discussion and further proposals.

It is however a possibility in:

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

*al (m?)

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

Alcluith HE I.2 in the Moore ms, *Al-* also in BM Cotton Tiberius ms A xiv, *Alclut* in *Armes Prydein*, BT61 (VII), and TYP p. 147, also *Alo Cluathe* (genitive) in AU s.aa. 658, 694 and 722, are often taken to show elided forms of **alt-**, + the river-name **-clūd**. However, *Alt-* is introduced only in the inferior Namur manuscript of HE, and *Alt Clud* is otherwise only found in AC s.a. 870. Moreover, Adomnán's *Petra Cloithe* VC I.15 cannot be ignored. Watson (CPNS pp. 32-3) saw the first element as a cognate of Old Irish *ail* ‘a rock’, seeing this also in river-names of the ‘Allan’ type: while the latter are now seen as representatives of a class of ancient river-names, see ***al-**, the case of *Alclud* remains problematic. See Haycock (2013) pp. 9 and 23-4 n29, Whalley (2021) p. 125, and for I. Williams's proposal see ***eil**; see also Taylor in PNFif5 pp. 278-9 and PNCik pp. 489-90 on the possibility that ***al** may occur elsewhere in Scotland.

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

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

***al-**

IE **h_a-el-* ('flow', see ***leid**, or o-grade **h_aol-*) or IE(NW) **h₂el-* 'shine' (see **alarch**) > eCelt **al-*.

See OIPrIE §22.11, pp. 393-4, Nicolaisen (1957) at pp. 225-8, and Kitson (1998) at pp. 80-1.

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

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

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

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

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

a2) Names apparently from **al-au-n-* include:

Ale Water Bwk (Coldingham) CPNS p. 468, SPN² p. 240.

Ale Water Rox CPNS pp. 467-8, SPN² pp. 221, 239-40, PNRox p. 4; see ***crum[b]** for Ancrum.

Allander Water Stg/ EDnb SPN² p. 240 ? + **-duβr**, but early forms are lacking.

Aln R Ntb ERN p. 5, PNNtb p. 4: see *Alauna* above, and PNRB pp. 245 and 247.

Alne YNR PNYNR p. 21: not now a river-name, perhaps it preserves an alternative name for the R Kyle (see **cūl**), or a territorial or forest name.

Ayle Burn Cmb/Ntb border ERN p. 5, PNNtb p. 9: on the phonology, see DEPN(C) s.n. Aln.

Ellen R Cmb PNCmb p. 13: see *Alauna* above, and PNRB pp. 244-5. The Roman-British records relate to the fort at Maryport, the earliest mediaeval forms to Allerdale.

Elvan, Water of, with Elvanfoot, Lnk CPNS pp. 468-9: see Padel on a Cornish parallel, CPNE pp. 4-5, and idem (1974), pp. 127-8; see also ***halę:n** for an alternative proposal by Breeze.

Tralallan or *Trolallan* Kcb (Parton) CPNS p. 363 + **treß**; perhaps a lost stream-name.

a2) River-names apparently from **al-awe-nt-* (but see also ***went**) include:

Allan Rox (→ Teviot) CPNS p. 468, but early forms are lacking.

Allan Rox (→ Tweed) SPN² p. 240.

Allen Ntb ERN p. 10, PNNtb p. 3.

Alwent Beck Drh (Gainford) ERN p. 10, DDrhPN p. 1.

Alwin Ntb ERN p. 10, PNNtb p. 5.

a2) River-names of the ‘Alt’ type might be formed from ***al-** + *-t-* without the nasal component; Alt R, with Altcar, and Alt Grange, Marsh and Scholes (Sefton), Lanc ERN p. 9, PNLanc pp. 95 and 118, and other formations with ***al-**, might have been replaced with **alt**, but see discussion under that element and **-ed**, and DEPNC(C) under Alt. The difficult name Alkincoats Lanc might likewise have had ***al-**, see under **alt** and **ce:d**.

alarch (m)

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

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

‘A swan’.

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

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

alt (f)

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

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

Cases where a stream-name with ***al-** may have been changed to **alt** are considered below. In south-west Scotland, Gaelic *allt* may have replaced Brittonic **alt** in locations where either ‘a steep height’ or ‘an upland burn’ could have been the original referent, adding to the complexity, see

CPNS p. 140 and PNFif5, pp. 280-1. On the particular quandary presented by *Al[t]clūd*, see discussion under ***al**. Finally, Coates's discussion of Oldham (see below) raises the possibility that a number of place-names with 'Old' or 'Auld' could conceal Brittonic **alt**: a few such are discussed below, and see **mayn** for 'Old Man' names.

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

Alt Lanc (Ashton-under-Lyne) PNLanc p. 29.

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

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

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

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

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

b1) Cramalt Burn and Craig Slk/Pbl border CPNS p. 138 ? + **crum[b]**- (+ **-cre:g**), but Gaelic **crom-aillt* 'bend in a burn' is more likely.

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

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

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

Garvald Burn Lnk/Pbl border.

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

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

Pennel, with *Barpennald* (= Fulton), Rnf (Kilbarchan) CPNS p. 356 + **pen[n]**-, ? + **barr-** in Barpennald, but Gaelic *bàrr-* or *baile-* is more likely. On these places, see Oram 2011, p. 241.

b2) Alkincoats Lanc (Colne) PNLanc p. 87 ? + **-tan** + **-ī[r]**- + **ç:d**. So Breeze, CVEP pp. 218-19, but see discussions under **al-**, **ī[r]**- and **ç:d**. A form with **-īn** or diminutive *-īnn* [+ OE *cot[e]* 'a cottage' + plural *-s*] might be considered, but the third syllable *-e-* in the earliest recorded form is perplexing.

Altivolie, with Altivolie Burn, Wig (Stoneykirk) PNGall p. 5 ? + **-ī[r]**- + **-boly**, but see under **boly**.

Altigabert Burn Ayrs PNGall p. 5 ? + **-ī[r]**- + **-gaβr-** + **-ed**: see discussion under **gaβr**.

Auldbreck Wig (Whithorn) PNGall p. 14 ? + *-brīch* (see **brijth**), or Gaelic **allt-bhreach*, or OE(Anglian) **ald-burh* 'old fort'.

c1) Ottercops Ntb (Elsdon) PNNtb p. 152 ? + **-duβr**, perhaps a lost stream-name [+ OE *-copp* 'a hilltop, a crest' + plural *-s*].

*amb-

?IE **ñbh-* (zero-grade of **nebh-* 'a cloud') > eCelt **amb-* > Br, Gaul **amb-* (cf. Gaul *ambis* 'a river-bank'); cf. Lat *imber* 'a shower', Gk *ómbros* 'rain', Skt *abhrá* 'a rain-cloud'.

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

An Indo-European root associated with 'moisture' is perceived in a number of river-names including those of the 'Almond' type. While this is commonly given as **ñbh-*, **ñbh-* has more convincing comparable forms.

a2) Rivers of the ‘Almond’ type, < **amb-onā-* (see *-an*), include the R Almond Per, Afon Aman Crm-Glm (though Owen and Morgan DPNW p. 16, state, without explanation, that this is from ‘a var[iant] of *banw* “pig” or “piglet”’) and another Afon Aman in Glm, as well as:

Almond R WLo-MLo, with Cramond MLo, CPNS pp. 340 and 369, PNMLo p. 75, PNWLo p. 1, SPN² p. 208 (+ *cajr-* in Cramond).

Almond Pow Stg PNFESTg p. 47.

Note that Almond Stg (Muiravonside) is named after James Livingstone, Lord Almond: PNFESTg p. 338.

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

-an

ECelt *-ono-/ā-* > *Br *-ono-/ā-* > O-MnW *-an*. See also *-īn*, and *āβ-* (for *aβon*), *bīch* (for *bīchan*), and *līdan*.

A nominal or locative suffix.

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

(i) Forms from *o*-stem nouns and adjectives. In the Old North, those formed on **laβar** are typical (on these, see De Bernardo Stempel, 2007, at p. 151n45):

Lauren Water Dnb (Luss) CPNS p. 431.

Lavern Burn Dmf (Durrisdeer).

Levern Water Rnf (or else + *-īn*).

Louran Burn Kcb (Minigaff).

Lowran or Lowring Burn Kcb (Kells) PNGall p. 204, but see discussion under **laβar**.

(ii) Forms from verbal nouns in *-to-*:

Bremetenacum, the fort at Ribchester Lanc PNRB p. 277, probably implying a lost river-name

Bremetonā-*: see **breu.

Leithen Water, with Innerleithen, Pbl CPNS p. 471, SPN² p. 228 + ***lejth-**: + Gaelic *inbhear-* in Innerleithen, perhaps replacing **aber**, but see under that.

Nethan R Lnk CPNS p. 210-11, SPN² p. 228 + ***nejth-**.

Also possibly Caddon Water Slk CPNS p. 431, if this is **calet-onā-*: see ***cal-**, but also **cad**.

Nicolaisen, SPN² p. 229, lists this with other ***cal-** river-names as ‘uncertain’.

(iii) Forms from other stems, perhaps analogous:

Almond R WLo-MLo, with Cramond MLo, CPNS pp. 340 and 369, PNMLo p. 75, PNWLo p. 1, SPN² p. 208 + ***amb-** (+ *cajr-* in Cramond).

Almond Pow Stg PNFESTg p. 47 + ***amb-**.

Bladnoch R Wig PNGall p. 41, PNWigMM p. 9 + **blōd-** (which see) + **-ōg**.

Caddon Water Slk, if this is + **cad-**, but see above.

Calneburn ELo (now Hazelly Burn) SPN² p. 229 + **cal-**.

Cargen, with Cargen Water, Kcb (Lochrutton) ? + **carreg-**, but see also **cajr**, ***ceu-** and **cein**.

Carntyne Lnk + ***carr-** + **-nejth-**, but see also ***carden** and ***carneð**.

Carron R Dmf CPNS p. 433, SPN² pp. 241-2 ? + **carr-**, which see.

Carron R Stg CPNS p. 433, SPN² pp. 241-2, PNFESTg p. 46 ? + **carr-**, which see.

Cluden Water, with Lincluden, Kcb + **clūd-**.

Colne R Lancs ERN p. 90 + **cal-**.

Colne R YWR ERN p. 90 + **cal-**.

Girvan Ayrs ? + ***garw-**, which see.

Kale Water Rox ERN p. 90, PNRox p. 4, SPN² p. 229 + **cal-**.

Lothianburn MLo CPNS p. 101, PNMLo p. 284 ? + ***lōd-** or ***lud-**, but see also **lūch**.

Lyvennet R Wml: see under ***l̥e:β** and ***l̥e:μ**.

Piltanton Burn Wig ?- ***tan-**, see ***tā-**, + **pol-** in a secondary formation.

Poltadan Ntb ? + **-tad-**, see **tā-**, + **pol-** in a secondary formation.

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

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

Bartorran, with Bartorran Hill, Wig (Kirkcowan) **torr**

Bartrostan Wig (Penninghame) **trōs**

Blockan Hole Wig (Glasserton) ***bluch**

Boddons Isle Kcb (Kells, in the R Dee) **bod**

Bodens Wa's Well Wig (Glasserton) **bod**

Bothan ELo (= Yester) **bod**

Cateran Hill Ntb (Old Bewick) **cadeir**

Cockcrossen Kcb (Tongland) **rōs**

Craven YWR (district name) ***craμ**

Dinnand YNR (Danby) ***dīn**

Dinnans Kcb and *Dinnans* Wig (Whithorn) ***dīn**

Glasson Cmb (Bowness) **glās**

Glasson Lanc (Cockerham) **glās**

Glendinning Rigg Cmb (Nicholforest) **dīn**

Lanrecorinsan Cmb (Brampton?) **īnīs**

Leyden MLo (Kirknewton) **lejth**, also ***līdan**

Parton Cmb (Thursby) **pert[h]**

Pendraven Cmb (Upper Denton) **treβ**

Printonan, East and West, Bwk (Eccles) ***ton**

Rosendale Lanc **rōs**.

Rossington YWR **rōs**.

Tartraven WLo (Uphall) **treβ**

Trostan, Trostan, frequent in SW Scotland **trōs**

Wigan Lanc **wīg**

Anaw (f)

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

The root **h₂-n-* meant 'grandmother': see OIPriE §12.3 at p. 213. However, it fell together in Celtic and in nearly all other IE language-groups with **h₄-n-*, which carried connotations of 'increase, prosperity', and is the ancestor of eCelt **an-* + *-awes* (see *-öü*) > Br, Gaul *anawes* > M-eMnW *anaw*; OIr *anae*, all nouns meaning 'riches, prosperity', see DCCPN p. 7.

The feminine singular form *An-awā-* is the name of a deity possessing both sets of connotation, a mother-goddess associated with prosperity, see PCB pp. 293-4 and 452-4, DCM p. 14, and Green

(1995), pp. 82-4. *Anaw/Ana/Anu* was more or less identified with *Dōn/Danu* (see ***dōn**), and may have been ‘christened’ as St Anne in the names of some holy wells etc. However, *-*awā-* (see –**aw**) as a nominal suffix also occurs in river-names and territorial names not necessarily implying any association with the goddess.

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

The root may possibly be present + –**ig** in Annick Water, with Annick and Annick Lodge, Ayrs (Irvine).

-and

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

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

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

This suffix occurs in the ethnic names *Brigantes* PNRB pp. 278-80 + **brey-**, and *Novantae* PNRB p. 425 (see also p. 330), + **now-*, see **nōwīð**.

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

It may be present in:

Dinnand YNR (Danby) PNYNR p. 132, *Dinans* Kcb (Minnigaff) and Dinnans Wig (Whithorn) PNGall p. 109, + ***dīn-**, which see, but see also –**an**.

*ander (f)

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

The etymology is doubtful. An alternative, IE *h₂endh-* associated with ‘flowering, blossoming, springing up’ (cf. Gk *ánthos* ‘a flower’, Skt *andhas-* ‘a herb’) is possible: it would seem semantically less plausible for the words for ‘bull-calf’ and ‘heifer’, but perhaps appropriate for ‘maiden’ or ‘married woman’, and for a river-name. See Hamp (1977-8), at p. 10. Falileyev, EGOW p. 54, sees ‘a probable Basque connection’. In any case, as Falileyev notes, the preservation of –*nd-* is unusual (see LHEB §111, pp. 508-9, and §112(2), pp. 511-13).

The root-sense of *h_anēr* is ‘man’, cf. *W nêr* ‘a hero’, Gk *anēr* ‘a man’, Skt *nar-* ‘a man, a person’. OW *enderic* (from eCelt **ander-* + *-īco-* (see *-īg*) > Br **anderico-*, M-eMnW *enderig*) glosses Latin *vitulus* ‘a bull-calf, a bullock or steer’. However, feminine forms from the same root underlie *W an[n]er* and *B annoer* ‘a heifer’, as well as *MIr ainder* ‘a married woman’, *G ainnir* ‘a maiden, nubile woman’.

Watercourse names may have been formed on this root:

a2) *Endrick Water Stg/Dnb*: see King (2007) + *-icā-*, see *-īg*. Early forms begin with *Anneric*, *Annerech* 1234xc1270, and continue as *Ainrick* etc to 1654, implying that either this word escaped the double i-affection shown in Welsh masculine *enderig* in the regional dialect, or else that the river-name was feminine **andericā-* > **andereg*, Gaelicised **aindereich* or similar. The meaning in that case could have been ‘heifer’ or ‘maiden’, or, if the origin was *h₂endh-*, ‘springing up, coming to fruition’.

Enrick, with *Enrick Burn*, *Kcb (Girthon)* PNGall p. 133, also *Black Enrick Kcb* (hill in *Twynholm*) + *-īg*; cf. *R. Enrick Inv*.

**angaw* (m)

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

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

‘Death’.

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

c2) *Pennango*, with *Penangushope*, *Rox (Teviothead)* PNRox p. 5 and pp. 37-8 + *pen[n]-*. MacDonald, PNRox p. 5, offers an early Celtic **ango-* ‘angle, corner, deviation in a boundary’: this may be justified by Latin and Germanic cognates, but is not reflected in insular Celtic, where it would in any case have become neoBrittonic **ang* (Welsh *ongl*, adopted from Latin *angulus*, is not supported by the recorded forms of this place-name). For a third possibility, see **angwas*.

**angwas* (m)

IE **sth₂o-* (zero-grade nominal form of **steh₂-* ‘stand’) > eCelt **sta-*, + negative prefix **n-* (< zero-grade of **ne-* ‘not’) + *wo-* (which see) > Br **an-wa-sto-* > OW **angwas*, cf. *anguast-athoet* (verb, 3rd singular present subjunctive, ‘would be inconstant, wavering’: see EGOW p. 7).

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

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

c2) *Pennango*, with *Penangushope*, *Rox (Teviothead)* PNRox p. 5 and pp. 37-8 + *pen[n]-*; *Pennango* would have been a back-formation from **Pen-angos-hōp*, but see also **angaw*.

*anheð (m or f)

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

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

‘A settlement, a dwelling-place’.

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

*ar in river-names

IE *h₁er-, *h₃er- > eCelt *ar-*.

These two Indo-European roots, meaning ‘set in motion’ horizontally and vertically respectively, were probably confused from an early stage, and would have fallen together in Celtic pronunciation. *h₁er- is reflected in Greek *érkhomai* ‘I set out’ and Saṅskrit *rcchati* ‘goes towards’, and probably (with o-grade) MW *or*, OBret *or*, ‘edge, border’, OIr *or* ‘border, limit’; *h₃er- in Latin *orior* ‘I rise, am born’, OE *orā* ‘a border, margin, bank, edge’, in place-names ‘a river-bank, a shore’ (EPNE2 p. 55), Greek *óros* ‘a mountain’. See OIPriE §22.10 at p. 391, and DCCPN p. 7.

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

a1) Ayr R SPN² pp. 240-1: see also ***ajr**, and Taylor's discussion of Ore Water Fif in PNFif1, pp. 48-9.

Apparent formations with a nasal root-determinative may be from **ar-m/n-*, but could be from another early hydronym **iserno-* < **h₁eih₃s-*, also meaning ‘set in motion’, + *-r-n-*; they include: a2) Armet Water MLo (Stow) PNMLo p. 75, SPN² p. 241 + **-ed**, ? < **ar-m-eto-*. but see discussion under **arμ**.

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

A very problematic river-name is:

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

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

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

A vowel-grade variant of this root might be present in the following, but see also ***īr**:

a1) Irwell R Lanc ERN p. 213, PNLanc p. 17 [+ OE (Anglian) *-wella*].
 a2) Irk R Lanc ERN p. 211, PNLanc p. 28 ? + *-ōg*, but see also **iurch*.
 Irt R Cmb ERN p. 211, PNCmb p. 17 ? + *-ed*.
 Irthing R Cmb/Ntb ERN p. 212, PNNtb p. 123, PNCmb p. 18 ? + *-ed-* + *-īn*, but see also *arth*.

ar-

IE **prh_x-* (zero-grade of **perh_x-* 'first') > eCelt **ari-* > Br, Gaul *are-* > OW *ar-* (*ir-*) > M-MnW *ar-* (*er-*, *yr-*), OCorrn *ar-*, Bret *ar*; OIr *ar*, G *air* (*ear*), Mx *er*.

See OIPrIE §19.1, pp. 309-10, and DCCPN p. 7.

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

The early sense was 'before, beside, facing, in front of'. The meaning 'on, upon' developed in late Middle Welsh under the influence of *wor-* (GMW §§204-6, pp. 183-9, cf. CPNE p. 8). Likewise in the Goidelic languages the sense was influenced by *for-*. A possible intensive use, 'over, greatly', would also have been acquired from *wor-*. In river-names, the unrelated, ancient, **ar* (retaining stress) should not be confused with this prefix. On place-names with this prefix elsewhere in Scotland, notably the several Urquharts, see PNFif5 p. 279.

On the regional name *Arclut*, see **clūd**.

Various places in the verses attributed to Taliesin appear to contain this prefix. None can be reliably located:

Arddunyon BT29(XI): Breeze (2002b), p. 169, suggests a formation + the personal name *Dunōd* + *-[j]ōn*, identifying this in turn as equivalent to the *Dunutingas* of VW17, whom he associates with Dent YWR (but see **dinn*). Williams, PT p. 125, suggests a personal name *Arddun* or *Anhun* (< *Antonius*) + *-[j]ōn*, or else a formation with *arōd*. The late MW orthography, with *-dd-* and *-nyo-*, suggests a late emendation or interpolation, making the name suspect.

Argoet Llwyfein BT60(VI) + *-ce:d*, which see: presumably close to one of the rivers of the 'Leven' type, see **le:β*.

Arvynydd BT60(VI) + *-mōnīd*, which see.

Yr Echwyd BT 57 and 60(III and VI) + *-echwīd*, which see. The prepositional prefix *ar-* is more likely than the definite article *ī[r]*.

A number of place-names listed under *ī[r]* may contained reduced *ar-*. A case where this is reasonably certain is the lost *Dollerline* Cmb (Askerton) PNCmb p. 55, + *dōl-* + river-name - Lyne, see **le:β*.

Simplex place-names with *ar-* as prefix may include:

Arlecdon Cmb PNCmb p. 335, CVEP p. 285 + **logōd*, which see [+ OE *-denu* 'a valley'].

Newton Arlosh Cmb (Askerton) PNCmb p. 291 + *-losg* or **lūs-* + *-ōg*: an intensive use of the prefix is possible here, but if so it would probably be a late, Cumbric, formation. Padel (2013b p. 38) points out that 'no convincing parallel in the Celtic world has been found'.

-ar

Early Celtic *-*aro-/ā-* > O-MnW *-ar*.

Adjectival suffix frequently occurring in river-names: see CPNS pp. 431-3 and PNRB p. 389. However, it can be a more general locative suffix, ‘place of’, see Ó Máille (1987), and in some cases, *-ar* may be a contraction from **-duβr**.

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

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

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

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

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

Lochar Water, with Lochar Moss, Dmf PNDmf p. 110 ? + **-luch-** or **lüch**, see both.

Lochar Water Kcb, with Glenlochar (Balmaghie), ? + **-luch-** or **lüch** see under both, + **glünn-**, or G *gleann* > Scots *glen*.

Lugar Water, with Lugar, Ayr CPNS p. 433 (but cf. PNRB pp. 174 and 389) + **-lüy-**, which see, and see also **duβr**.

Laringham Hill, with *Lyneringham*, ELo (ELinton) + ***līn-**, see ***lę:β** [+ OE *-ing²-hām* ‘estate named after...’].

Pertor Burn Dmf CPNS p. 357, PNDmf p. 11, SPN² p. 211 + **pert[h]-**.

Rother YWR ERNp. 348, PNYWR7 p. 136 ? + **rö-** + **-duβr-**, but see under **rö-**.

Tanner, now Glentanner Water, Silk SPN² p. 244 + ***tān-**, see ***tā-** for discussion.

Tarras Water Dmf CPNS p. 387, PNDmf p. 12 ? + ***tā-** [+ Scots plural *-is*].

*arβ (gender unknown)

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

See OIPrIE §10.3 at p. 166.

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

Breeze (2001a), pp. 21-5, suggests that the British root ***arb-** + **-ējā-** is represented by *Arbeia*, the name of the Roman fort at South Shields Drh (PNRB p. 256). The suffix **-ējā-** would imply that this was a stream-name, and the root may be an ancient one unrelated to *erfin* etc. Allowing that **-b-** may be for British [w], i.e. ***arw-ējā-**, association with IE *h₂erh₃-wo-* ‘plough’, and so with ‘fertile, cultivated land’, is another possibility: cf. the Middle Welsh land unit *erw*, either a measure, roughly ‘an acre’, or a ploughing-strip within an open field (Parsons 2022, pp.103-4), and see ACPN p. 205 on *Arva* in southern Spain.

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

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

arδ (f as noun)

IE **h₂erdhu-* > eCelt **ardū-* > Br, Gaul **Ardu-* in personal names > OW(LL) *ard* > M-eMnW *ardd*, OCorn **arδ* (in place-names, CPNE pp. 9-11), OBret *ard, art*; OIr *ard* > Ir *ard*, G *àrd*, Mx *ard*; cogn. Lat *arduus* ‘steep, difficult’, ON *qrðugr* ‘steep’. See also **harδ**.

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

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

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

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

See also Arthuret Cmb under ***arμ**.

aryant (n, later m)

IE **h₂erǵ-* ‘white, bright’ + *-nt-* (see **-and**) > eCelt **arganto-* > Br, Gaul *arganto-* (also Gaulish and north British/ Pritenic *Argento-* in personal names, showing influence of Latin *argentum*) > OW *argant* > M-eMnW *ariant* > W *arian*, OCorn *argans* > Corn *arghans*, OBret *argant* (also *argent*, see above) > Bret *arc’hant* (also dialectal *argant*); OIr *argat* (and note Ptolemy’s *Argíta*, a river-name in Ireland) > M-MnIr, G *airgead*, Mx *argid*; cogn. Lat *argentum*, Skt *rajatam*.

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

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

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

A form from from zero-grade **h₂rǵ-u-* ‘white’ (Gk *árguros*, Skt *ārjuṇa*) > eCelt **argow-* + *-jā-*, might underlie R Yarrow Lanc (cf. R Arrow Hrf), but see discussion under ***ar** in river names.

*arμ (f?)

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

‘Place, location, whereabouts’.

Proposed by I. Williams, see PNCmb pp. 51-2, in [*bellum*] *Armterid* AC573 (in London, BL MS Harley 3859). There is no other evidence for the word in P-Celtic, nor does the Goidelic form seem to occur to as a place-name generic. If a Brittonic cognate had existed and survived, it

would have fallen together as it did in Goidelic with adopted Lat *arma* ‘arms’ (Welsh *arf*). See Arthuret Cmb, below.

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

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

arth (m or f)

IE **h₂rtk̑-* (verbal noun < **h₂retk̑-* ‘destroy’, see OIPrIE §9.2 at p. 138) > eCelt *ar[χ]to-* > Br, Gaul *arto-/ā-* (in personal names, and cf. Gaulish deity-name *Artio*) > M-MnW *arth*, OCorn *ors* (influenced by Latin *ursus*), Bret *arzh*, O-eMnIr, eG *art*; cogn. Lat *ursus*, Gk *árktos*, Skt *ṛkṣa*.

‘A bear’. Bears were extinct in the North before Roman times, but for Roman-British carvings and talismans protraying bears found in the region see PCB pp. 186, 245 and 433-5 (note also the evidence for a bear-deity under the name of *Matunus* at Risingham Ntb, *ibid.* p. 435). The element is frequent in personal names such as *Arthgal* in the ‘Strathclyde’ genealogy (London, BL MS Harley 3859); for its doubtful occurrence on the Manor Valley Pbl inscribed stone (CHC511) see CIB †57a, p. 190 and n1 166. Its meaning in personal names may already be ‘warrior, champion’, a sense recorded in Middle Irish.

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

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

-as, -is

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

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

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

-aw

Early Celtic **-awā-* > Br **-awā-* > O-MnW *-aw*; OIr *-iu*.

A nominal suffix occurring in river-names and territorial names. The Goidelic equivalent forms the nominative singular of feminine *n*-stem nouns (GOI §§327-30, pp. 209-12) with oblique forms showing *-n-* such as Gaelic genitive singular *-ann* (GG §85(2), p. 96).

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

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

B

*bayed (m)

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

See LHEB §76, pp. 445-8.

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

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

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

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

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

*bāl (f)

Br **bal-m-ā-* > M-eMnW *bâl*, Bret *bal*.

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

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

ban[n] (m or f)

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

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

Primarily ‘a horn, an antler-tine’, so also ‘a drinking-horn, a sounding-horn’. In Celtic place-names generally, ‘a point, a promontory, a hill-spur’, and in Brittonic and Pritenic place-names, ‘a summit’, a use which may have shaped the Gaelic and Manx development of the dative-locative singular *beinn* to an independent noun, especially in hill-names (see Barrow in *Uses*, p.

56); however, given the rarity of Brittonic **ban[n]** in surviving hill-names, the influence of unrelated **pen[n]** might also have been a factor.

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

Banna PNRB pp. 261-2, the Roman fort at Birdoswald Cmb, see Wilmott 2001, p. 97.

Bannauem Taburniae Patrick *Confessio* §1: see PNRB pp. 511-12, C. Thomas (1981), pp. 311-12, and Dumville (1993), p. 134 and n11. The elements ***-went-** and **-bern** may be involved, see under those for further discussion. The location remains a topic of endless speculation.

Bannawg: see Bannockburn below.

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

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

Carmunnock Lnk CPNS pp. 196 and 367 + **cajr-**, **cor-** or ***cōr-** + **-ōg**; however, Jackson (1935) at pp. 31 and 59, reads MW *mannog* as a variant of *bannōg*, but see also **mann** and ***mōnach**.

Govan Rnf ? + **wo-**: Clancy (1996 and 1998), argued for this etymology, and Breeze (1999), identified it further with *Ouania* in HR s.a.756. However, see Macquarrie’s objections (1997b). The stress-shift to the first syllable, which Macquarrie sees as a problem, would be normal if Cumbric **gwo-van* had been Gaelicised as **gu-bhann*, especially if this formation was in use as a Gaelic common noun. However, Macquarrie favours the traditional derivation, Gaelic *gobán* < *gop-* ‘a beak’ + diminutive suffix *-án*, referring to the ridge on which Govan Old Kirk stands, which may have been a pointed headland before it was truncated by shipbuilding works. Because of the perceived appropriateness of ‘a low summit’ to the artificial mound, possibly a 10th ct Viking-age assembly place, revealed by archaeology at Doomster Hill (see Driscoll, 1998), the Cumbric origin proposed by Clancy received support from Forsyth in Taylor (2002) at pp. 29-30. It should be noted, though, that Doomster Hill did not have a ‘pointed’ summit, and the meaning ‘a small pointed ridge’ could equally well be ascribed to Cumbric **gwo-van* as to Gaelic *gobán*, so the ridge rather than the mound may still be the original referent. The phonological issues arising from Clancy’s and Breeze’s proposals are dealt with by Koch in Taylor (2000) at pp. 33-4. See also **wo-**.

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

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

¹ On the difficulty in reconciling *in medio Albanie* (VCadoc) with this location, see Clancy 2022, 319-24. .

barð (m)

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

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

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

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

barr (m, but possibly also f)

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

On the (uncertain) etymology, see EGOW p. 14. On the gender, see CPNE p. 7.

‘Top’; in place-names ‘a summit, a hill-crest’. It may possibly refer to ‘points’, see Barrow-in-Furness and Dunbar below. In southern Scotland and Cumberland it is difficult to distinguish the Brittonic and Goidelic cognates. That the latter is common as far as Argyll, but rare to the north and north-east (CPNS pp. 184, 234, PNFif5 p. 293), might reflect Brittonic influence, but the distinctive sense ‘a hillock’ seems peculiar to Gaelic. For possible adoption into local Scots in Kcb, see s.v. *barr* in SND, and Ó Maolalaigh 2022a, pp. 94 and 120.

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

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

b2) ‘Bar-’ occurs very frequently in Ayrshire and Galloway, being the regular Anglicised form of G *baile-* ‘a farm’ in these parts. Barbrethan Ayr (Kirkmichael), for example, is probably **baile Breatann* ‘Briton’s farm’ (cf. Balbrethan Ayr (Maybole), see **Brithon**), and Barewing Kcb (Balmaclellan) **baile-Eoghainn* ‘Ewan’s farm’ (with the originally Brittonic personal name *Eugein* > *Ywein*). Cases where the specifier may be Brittonic in origin could have had **barr-** as generic, but local topography needs to be considered:

Barcheskie Kcb (Rerrick) PNGall p. 22 + *-*hesgin*, singulative form of **hesg**, which see.

Barchock Kcb (Kells) PNGall p. 22 ? + **-coch**.

Bardnoch Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 23 + **-dantōg**, or **-tān-** (which see) + **-ōg**, either Gaelicised to *-ach*.

Bareagle Wig (Old Luce) PNRGLV p. 69 + **-egle:s**, which see.

Barglass Wig (Kirkinner) PNGall p. 24, PNWigMM p. 96 + **-glās**, otherwise Gaelic *-glas*.

Bargrug Kcb (Kirkgunzeon) PNGall p. 24 + **-crūg** or **-wrūg**, but see under both of these.

Barhaskin Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 25, PNRGLV p. 70 + **-hesgin*, singulative form of **hesg**, which see.

Barlocco, with Bar Hill and Barlocco Isle, Kcb (Borgue), also Barlocco, with Barlocco Bay and Barlocco Heugh, Kcb (Rerrick), PNGall p. 26, and possibly Barloke, with Barloke Moss Kcb (Borgue) and Barluka Kcb (Twynholm) PNGall p. 26, all ? + **-logōd**, which see.

Barlue Kcb (Balmaghie) PNGall p. 26 ? + **-lūch** as a stream-name, see under that element.

Barmeal Wig (Glasserton) PNGall p. 27, PNWigMM p. 98 ? + **-mę:l** or Gaelic *-maol*, less likely **-mayl**.

Barmeen, with Barmeen Hill, Wig (Kirkcowan) PNGall p. 27, PNWigMM p. 96 ? + **-*mīy[n]**, or Gaelic *-mīn* ‘smooth’.

Barpennald Rnf (= Foulton, Kilbarchan) CPNS p. 356 probably Gaelic *bàrr-* or *baile-* added to a Brittonic name, see Pennel under **alt** and **pen[n]**.

Bartorran, with Bartorran Hill, Wig (Kirkcowan) PNGall p. 32, PNWigMM p. 96 + **-torr-** + **-an** as diminutive, or else G sg. *-torráin* or pl. *-torran*: Ó Maolalaigh 2022b, p. 322.

Barrostan, with Barrostan Burn and Barrostan Moss, Wig (Penninghame) PNGall pp. 32-3, PNGall pp. 32-3, PNWigMM p. 96 ? + **-trōs-** + **-an**, with epenthetic *-t-*: see **trōs**.

Barwick Kcb (Dalry) PNGall p. 34 ? + **-wīg**.

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

*bas

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

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

‘Shallow’, adjective.

a2) Bazard Lane Wig (stream-name, New Luce) PNGall p. 34 + **-ar**, which see.

b2) Bazil Point Lanc (Lancaster) PNLanc p. 175 ? + **-līnn**, which see.

c2) Dunipace Stg PNFESTg 39 – 40 ? + **dīn** - + **-īr-**; for Reid’s ‘**dun-y-bais*’ read **dyn-y-bas* ‘fort of the shallow’.

bassaleg (presumably f)

Greek *basilikón* was adopted as Latin *basilica*. If it was adopted thence into West Brittonic before the seventh century, it should have been subject to internal i-affection, but see below.

‘A church’. A *basilica* was a large, rectangular public hall, typically built alongside the forum in cities of the western Roman Empire. Such buildings were widely adopted or imitated as churches from the time of Constantine onward. In Continental usage, *basilica* came to mean ‘a major church, possessing relics of a saint’ (see Knight (1999), p. 142), but it is doubtful whether this distinction was observed in Insular Latin, and there is so far no archaeological evidence of any attempt at ‘basilican’ church architecture in Britain before the stone-building campaigns of Wilfred and Benedict Biscop (see Thomas (1981), p. 142, and Blair (2005), pp. 65-73). On the other hand, the word seems to have been used of especially grand churches, or simply as a rhetorical variant for *ecclesia* in the sense of ‘a church building’ (see **egle:s**, and Brown (1999) at p 360). The root relationship with Greek *basileús* ‘a king’ would have been known to literate clergy at least from the circulation of Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologies* (XV.iv.9), by the mid-7th ct, so ‘a royal church’ is a possible interpretation.

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

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

beþr (m)

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

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

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

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

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

*beð (m)

IE **bhedhh₂*- (e-grade of **bhodhh₂*- ‘dig’) > eCelt **bedo-* > Br **bedo-* > W *bedd*, MCorne *beth*, MBret *bez*; cf, from o-grade **bhodhh₂*-, Gmc **baðjam* > OE *bedd* > ‘bed’.

‘A grave’. Possibly in:

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

*bedu (f)

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

‘Birch-trees’, as a collective noun. See DCM p. 37 for birch-trees in Celtic legend and literature.

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

Possibly in:

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

*bel-

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

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

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

*ber

IE **bher-* (see **woβer**, also **beβr**) > eCelt **ber-* > Br **ber-*; cogn. Lat *fermentum* ‘yeast, leaven’, Gmc **bermon* > OE *beorm* ‘yeast, leaven’, and (from zero-grade) OE *brēowan* > ‘brew’, (from o-grade) Gk *porphúrein* ‘to bubble’, Skt *bhurati* ‘quivers’, *bhurvan* ‘restless motion (of water).

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

Suggested by Ekwall, ERN p. 100, in:

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

*bern (presumably f)

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

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

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

bich, bichan, boch

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

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

Forms in **-an** are:

OW *bichan* > M-MnW *bychan*, feminine *bechan*, MCorn *byhan* > Corn *byghan*, Bret *bihan*; c.f. OIr *bec[c]an* > Ir *beagán*, G *beagan*, Mx *beggan*. See EGOW p. 15. In the Goidelic languages, *-an* forms are used adverbially as well as adjectivally.

c2) Ecclefechan Dmf (Hoddum) CPNS p. 168, PNDmf p. 55 ?+ **egle:s-**, but see discussion under that heading.

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

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

c2) Drumburgh Cmb PNCmb p. 124 + **drum-**: see DEPN(O) s.n., but see also **buch**.

bïrr

?IE **mṛǵh-* > eCelt **birro-/ā-* > Br **birro-/ā-*, IBr feminine *-ber[r]-* > MW feminine *berr* > W *byr*, feminine *ber*, Corn *ber*, Bret *berr*; O-MIr *berr*, eG *beàrr*; ? cf. Lat *brevis*, Gmc **murgjaz* (? > OE *myrige* > ‘merry’), Gk *brakhús*.

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

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

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

blajn (m) or **blejn*

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

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

The *-e-* predominates in early forms in the North, with *-a-* occurring in southern Scotland; none show any trace of *-j-* except Plenmeller Ntb (*Pleinmelor(e)* 1279, 1307: influence from OF>ME *plain* > ‘plain’ may be suspected here). Jackson, LHEB §41, p. 362 n1, explains the forms with *blen-* in terms of secondary stress on the generic element in place-names (b2 below). However, Padel, CPNE p. 23, adduces the Breton form, the hypothetical antecedent of the (once-attested) Cornish form *blyn*, as evidence for a possible variant **blejn* (perhaps from **blacnjo-?*).

Alternatively, he suggests a relationship with Welsh *blen* ‘hollow’: c.f. O-MIr *blén* > Ir *bléan*, *bléin* ‘groyne’, in place-names ‘an inlet, bay or creek formed by a lake or large river’, see DUPN p. 26 s.n. Blaney Frm, also ‘a narrow tongue of land’, Dinneen s.v.; this is *blian* in Gaelic, but its only topographic use seems to be in the Perthshire dialect form *blein* used for ‘a harbour for boats’, Dwelly s.vv. As Padel says, the records of names in the North are too late to be reliable guides to what the Cumbric word would have been.

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

For the devoicing [bl-] > [pl-], see discussion under **brinn**.

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

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

a1) Blindhurst Lanc (Lancaster) PNLanc p. 166 [+ OE *hyrst* ‘wood’], or else OE or AS cand *blind* ‘dark, obscure’, but the location makes *blajn* a possibility.

Blind Keld Cmb (Berrier and Murrah) PNCmb p. 181 [+ ON *kelda* ‘a spring’], or else *blind* as in the previous entry.

Blindsill Lanc (Deane) PNLanc p. 43 [+ OE *-hyll* > ‘hill’], or else *blind*.

Plann Ayrs (Kilmaurs): T. O. Clancy at SPNS meeting, Troon, 7.5.2011.

b2) Blantyre Lnk Nicolaisen et al (1970) s.n. + **-tīr**: see Breeze (2000-6) at p. 1, and see Blennerhasset below.

Blanyvaird Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 43 + **-ī[r]**- + *-beirð* (plural of *barð*, which see, Gaelicised as genitive singular *a’bhaird*): Maxwell, PNGall s.n., proposes OIr *blén*- here, see discussion of this above.

Blencarn Cmb PNCmb p. 214 + **-carn**.

Blencathra Cmb (= Saddleback, Threlkeld) PNCmb p. 253, DLDPN p. 289 ? + **-cadeir**, but see discussion under that element.

Blencogo Cmb PNCmb p. 122 + **-cog-**, which see for discussion, + **-öü** [or + ON *-haugr* ‘a hill, heap, mound’].

Blencow Cmb (Dacre) PNCmb p. 186 + **-coch** or **-*cöü** [or + ON *-haugr*]: see Breeze (2002c), pp. 291-2.

Blendewing Pbl (Kilbucho) + **-duß[i]n**, which see.

Blenket Farm Lanc (Cartmel) PNLanc p. 196 + **-cę:d**.

Blenket Rig Cmb (Arlecdon) + **-cę:d**; mentioned by Ekwall at PNLanc p. 196, though not in PNCmb; on OS 6” map 1867 (N. Whalley pers. comm.)

Blenkinsopp Ntb (Gilsland) + **-*cejn-** (see *ceμ-*) or **-cęin** [+ OE *-hop* ‘enclosed valley’]: see Breeze (2002c), at p. 292.

Blennerhasset Cmb PNCmb pp. 265-6 + **-treß-** or **-tīr-** [+ ON *hey-sátr* ‘hay-shieling’]: Coates, CVEP p. 285, suggests a compound (c1) formation here **blajn-tīr*, ‘upland territory’; such a compound could well have been in use as an appellative, so the name need not necessarily be early.

Blindbothel Cmb PNCmb p. 345, DLDPN p. 35 + **-bod**, which see [or else OE *blind-* > ‘blind’, but early forms show *blen-*]: see P. A. Wilson (1978).

Blind Cant Lanc (tributary of Cant Beck, Tunstall: not in PNLanc) + **-cant**: see Higham (1999) at pp. 65-6 and n20.

Blindcrake Cmb PNCmb pp. 266-7, DLDPN p. 35 + **-cręig**.

Planmichel Lnk (unlocated, possibly = Carmichael) + personal (saint’s) name *-Michael*: see Breeze (2000a) at pp. 73-4.

Plendernethy Brw (Ayton) + -i[r]- or -treβ- + a lost stream name, -*nejth- + -īg?: J. G. Wilkinson, pers. comm, see *nejth.

Plenmeller Ntb (Haltwistle) PNNtb p. 158 ? + -mę:l- + -bre[γ]-, but see discussion under **mayl** and **mayn**.

Plenploth MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 355, PNMLo p. 369 + -plę:β, which see: Watson, CPNS loc. cit., gives **pen[n]**- here, but early forms favour *plen-* for **blajn**.

Plent[r]idoc MLo (Borthwick, = Arniston) CPNS p. 136, PNMLo pp. 100 and 379-80, Barrow in *Uses* p. 73 ? + -*red- or -tri- + -?- + -ōg: see discussion under *red and tri.

blōd (m)

IE *młh₂- (zero-grade of *melh₂- ‘grind’) + -t- > eCelt *mlāto- > Br *blāto*- > OW *blot*- (see EGOW p. 17) > MW *blaut* > W *blawd*, OCorn *blot*-, pl *blēt* > Corn *blēs*, OBret -*blot* > MBret *bleut* > Bret *blod*, *bleud*; cf. OIr *mláith* ‘soft, smooth’, also verbal noun *mleith* ‘grinding’ > G *bleith* ‘grinding, a mill’, Mx *blieh* ‘grinding’; cf. Lat *mola* ‘a mill-stone’, Gmc **melwam* > OE *melu* > ‘meal’, Gk *múlē* ‘a mill’, Skt *mṛnati* ‘grinds’.

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

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

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

a2) *Bladnoch* R Wig PNGall p. 41 (note the pronunciation recored by Maxwell as 'Blaidnoch') + **-an-** + **-ōg-**: MacQueen, PNWigMM pp. 9-10, sees a deity-name, **Blāt-on-āccā-* (perhaps involving the 'flower' word) here, but according to Jackson (LHEB §9 p. 292), *ō* is invariably *ō* in place-names adopted into OE, not *ā*. Ó Maolalaigh 2022b, pp. 287 and 372n7 proposes Mlr *blaitnech*, > G **blaidneach* ‘strong, powerful’. Perhaps cf. *R. Bladen* and *Bladon* Oxf, PNOxf pp. 7 and 252, though that river-name is unexplained.

*bluch

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

A Brittonic word of unknown origin meaning ‘bare, bald’. See Padel (1980-2).

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

SWS Scots *bluchan* (SND s.v., Ó Maolalaigh 2022a pp. 82 and 121n14), ‘a small coalfish, pollack or whiting’, may be from this Brittonic word + **-an** as diminutive. It occurs at *Blockan Hole* Wig (Glasserton) PNGall p. 43.

bod (f)

IE **bhu* (zero-grade of **bheu(h_x)*:- see below) *-tō-* > eCelt **butā-* > Br **botā-* > MW *bod*, OCorn **bod* (see CPNE pp. 23-6), O-MBret *bot*; O-MnIr, early Gaelic *both*; cogn. OWN *búð*, OEN *bóð* > ME (northern dialects) *b[o]uth*, MScots *buith*, ME (other dialects) *both* > ‘booth’ (see VEPN1 pp. 134-5).

IE **bhu-tō-* is a nominal, participial or intensive form of the verbal root **bheu(h_x)*- ‘come into being, exist’, taking the sense ‘a dwelling, a habitation’ (see OIPrIE §22.1, pp. 368-9, also Coates 2012 p. 81). However, it falls together with the verbal noun *bod* ‘existence’ in Old to Modern Welsh, and there is little non-toponymic evidence for its use as a common noun in the sense of ‘a dwelling’ in any of the Brittonic languages (but see CPNE p. 24). However, its use in place-names (most commonly in north Wales and west Cornwall), along with its Goidelic and Germanic cognates, confirms its use as a general habitative appellative, later superseded by more specialised terms such as **treß** and **ṡy**. It perhaps remained in use for a humble or temporary homestead, to be reinforced by similar usages in Gaelic, Scandinavian, Middle English and Older Scots.

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

Outwith the areas defined by Taylor, **bod** seems scarce in southern Scotland and absent from England (except Cwl, see Padel 2013b p. 16, and note Blindbothel Cmb below); however, the picture is complicated by its possible replacement by the Germanic or Goidelic cognates, or by the related Old English word *bōðl*, *botl* (Northumbrian forms: the vowel-length is variable), itself associated with a relatively early period of Anglian settlement (see SPN² pp. 100-1 with map 2, and VEPN1 pp. 135-7), or with Gaelic *bad* ‘a spot, a clump’ (see below), or even with Gaelic *baile* (see Taylor 1997, pp. 6-7).

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

a2) A form with **-an** as a diminutive, rather than Gaelic *bothán* ‘a bothy’ (or the adopted form *bothan* possibly current in Older Scots) may be present in:

Boddon’s Isle Kcb (in the R Dee at Kells) PNGall p. 44; but, as at Boddon’s Folly downstream, this was probably a personal name, a form of Baldwin.

Boden Wa’s Well Wig (coastal feature at Glasserton) PNGall p. 44.

Bothan ELo (= Yester): see Taylor (1999), Whalley (2021), p. 127.

b2) Badintree Hill Pbl (Tweedsmuir) CPNS p. 424 ? + **-[h]in-** + **-treß**, ‘**bod** belonging to the **treß**’; Watson sees Gaelic *bad* here, see above, but gives no suggestion for the specific.

Baldernock EDnb ? + **dö-** + personal (saint’s hypocoristic) name *-Ernóc*, perhaps Brittonic **Ernōg*, but probably the Goidelic *Ernéne* discussed by Watson in CPNS pp. 187-8, and so probably a Gaelic formation: see Taylor (1996) p. 104, and Macquarrie (2012) pp. 389-91.

Balfron Stg Taylor (1996) at p. 104 + **-brinn** or **-bronn**: see also Taylor (1997) at p. 18.

Balfunning Stg (Drymen) Taylor (1996) at p. 104 + personal (saint's) name *Winnian*.

Balernock Dnb (Garelochhead), and Balornock Lnk, both CPNS p. 202 + **lowern-** + **-ōg**, a lost stream-name or personal (saint's) name **Lewirnōg/ *Lowernōg*: see discussion under **lowern**.

Barmulloch Rnf + **-ī[r]**- + ***mönach**: Gaelicised, but not Gaelic in origin, see discussion under ***mönach**.

Bedcow Dnb (Kirkintilloch) CPNS p. 424 ? + **-coll**, but Gaelic **bad-coll* 'hazel-clump' is more likely.

Bedlay (Cadder), with Bothlin Burn EDnb, + **-linn**, which see.

Bedrule Rox CPNS p. 134, PNRox p. 10 + river-name Rule, see ***rīa**: the name was evidently influenced by that of *Bethóc*, a lady who held this and other manors in the Rule valley in the mid-12th century, but the earliest recorded forms point to **bod-**.

Bonhill Dnb Taylor (1996) p. 104 + -? [OE (Northumbrian) *bōðl* (see above) > Scots *buithel-* + *-hyll* is favoured by the earliest forms, *Buthelulle* c1270 etc.]

Bothkennar Stg Whalley (2021) p. 127 + female personal (saint's) name *Cainer*, see **cēin**, and Taylor (1996) pp. 43–6.

Bothwell Lnk Taylor (1996) p. 104, Whalley (2021) p. 127 ? + **-*wel[t]** or **-*well** [*Botheuill* 1242 raises doubts as to the apparently transparent Scots **buith-well* as the *-e-* needs explaining, and Northumbrian OE *wella* normally becomes *well* or *wall*; however, Scots **buithel-well* might underlie this, or even Old West Norse **búða-velli* '(at, dative singular) booths' meadow', raising interesting historical possibilities!]

c2) Blindbothel Cmb PNCmb p. 345, DLDPN p. 35 ? + **blajn-**, which see [**bod** replaced by OE *bōðl*, see above]: see Wilson (1978).

*böðar

IE **bhodh_xr-* > eCelt **bodaro-/ā-* > Br **bodaro-/ā-* > MW *bydar* > W *byddar*, Corn *bothar*, Bret *bouzar*; OIr *bodar* > Ir, G *bodhar*, Mx *bouyr*; cogn. Skt *bhadirā*.

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

Watson, CPNS pp. 51-2, suggested this + suffix *-tjā-* for the name of the R Forth in Classical sources, *Bodotria*, *Bo[g]dería*, *Bdora*: PNRB pp. 269-71, PNFif1 p. 39, PNCIk pp. 96-7. Rivet and Smith say there that this suggestion 'should not be too hastily dismissed', but review several other possibilities including ***boy[ð]** (which see), British *boud-* 'victory', and IE **bhudhno-* 'bottom'. See also Isaac (2005) at p. 191 for objections to all these proposals: he considers the name to be 'not obviously Celtic or IE'; Breeze (2007a), compares Welsh *budr* 'filthy, foul'; for a summary of proposals, see PNFif1 p. 41. It is unlikely that the river-name Forth is derived from or related to any of these: see discussion under ***red**.

boly (n, later generally m, but variable)

IE **bholǵh-* (o-grade of **bhelǵh-* 'swell, puff up') > eCelt **bolgo-* > Br, Gaul *bulgo-/ā-* > OW(LL) *bolg-* (in p-ns) > M-eMnW *boly* > W *bol* (in S Wales, *bola*), not found in Corn, Bret *bolc'h*; OIr *bolc* > M – MnIr *bolg*, G *balg*; cogn. Gmc **balgiz* > OE *belg* > 'belly', Skt *upa-barhani-* 'a bolster'; cf. also 'bellows' and 'billow'.

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

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

In *Blatobulgion*, PNRB pp. 268-9, the interpretation ‘flour-sack’ is attractive, as the fort at Birrens was evidently a major grain-store; however, the name could have originally been topographic. + **blōd-**. See Jackson (1970) at p. 69. For the probably identical formation in Blebo Fif, see CPNS p. 411 and PNFif2 pp. 191-2.

a1) Bellshill Lnk [+ OE -hyll]. See Breeze (2000a): he argues that [o] > [e] under the influence of [-ly]. However, it is doubtful if the latter would have survived to give *[-lj], recorded as *lʒ* in early (16th ct) forms. The final [y] was probably reduced to *[ə] or extinct by the OW/Cumbric period (contra LHEB §88, pp. 468-9: *Bolg-ros* in LL is probably a proto-Welsh form faithfully copied); Brittonic [-ly] would have been adopted as Northumbrian OE [-lǣ], > [-lɪ] in Scots, so even if **boly** had > **bely*, it would have fallen together with Scots ‘belly’, which is probably the element here. The *lʒ* spellings perhaps reflect the influence of Gaelic *baile*.

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

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

brān (f, but variable in early records)

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

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

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

c2) Carrifran Dmf (Moffat) PNDmf p. 97 ? + *cajr-* + *i[r]-*, or *carreg-*, but see discussion under *cajr*.

Powbrand Syke Wml (on Stainmore) + **pol-**, or ON personal name *-Brandr* (= ‘firebrand’).

bre[ɣ] (f)

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

See OIPrIE §13.1 at p. 223 and §17.5 at p. 282, ACPN pp. 49-54, DCCPN pp. 11-12, LHEB §79, pp. 445-8, and §89, pp. 469-70, CIB †39, p. 132, †65, p. 207, †74, pp. 220-1, and p. 287.

The early etymology and relationships among the apparent cognates are very problematic. There may have been a non-Indo-European root, or formal and/or semantic influence from a non-Indo-European language. The root-sense is apparently verbal, ‘keep, protect’, leading to nominal senses to do with ‘fort, defended place, stronghold’, and these naturally suggest ‘height, hill’.

In Continental place-names, **brigā-* often does refer to a hill-fort, but this is not the case in Britain, where it generally indicates simply ‘a high place, a hill’ (see Richards (1972-3) at p. 366, and PNRB pp. 277-8).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a1) *Brydonhill* Cmb (lost field-name in Waterhead) PNCmb p. 117 [+ OE *-dūn*, and, later, pleonastic ‘hill’]: c.f. Bredon Wor and Bredon Hill Lei, but ‘Bry-’ would be from OE **breġ* adopted before loss of [-y] which Jackson dates as early as the mid-6th century, see LHEB §79(1) p. 455 and §89(7) p. 470 and CIB †39, p. 132.

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

Hallbankgate Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 85, Hullerbank Cmb (Hayton) PNCmb p. 88, and lost *Hulverhirst* *ibid.* + **hal-** [in Hallbankgate and Hullerbank, **bre[y]** replaced by OEN *banke* > ‘bank’, + ON *-gata* > northern English *gate* ‘a road’; *Hulverhirst* + OE *-hyrst* ‘a wooded hill’; but ME *hulfere* ‘holly’ may be the origin].

The compound **mę:l-bre[y]*, + **mę:l-**, occurs so frequently as to suggest that it was an established appellative for a distinctively ‘bare hill’. See further under **mę:l-**; for examples in Wales see Richards (1972-3) at p. 366 and DPNW p. 324, in Cornwall, CPNE p. 30.

Mellor Drb PNDrb p. 144.

Mellor Lanc PNLanc p. 73, JEPNS17 p. 46.

Mallerstang Wml PNWml2 pp. 11-12 [+ ON *stong* ‘a post’].

Plenneller Ntb PNNtb p. 158 + **blajn-**, but see discussion under **mayn** and **mę:l-**.

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

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

*breμ-

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

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

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

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

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

brijth, **brīch*

IE *mṛk-* (zero-grade of **merk-* ‘darken’) > eCelt **mric-to-/ā-* >

(1) Br **brichto-/ā-* > O-MW *brith*, feminine *breith* > W *brith*, feminine *braith*, MCorn *bruith* > Corn *bryth* (in place-names, CPNE p. 32), Bret *brīzh*, feminine *breizh*; OIr *mrecht*.

(2) Br **bricco-/ā-* > M-MnW *brych*, feminine *brech*, Corn **brygh* (in place-names, CPNE p. 31-2), Bret *brec* ‘h ‘pox’: OIr *brec* > MÍr *brecc* > Ir *breac*, G *breacta*, Mx *breck*.

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

‘Variegated, mottled, speckled’.

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

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

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

c2) *egglesbreth* Stg (= An Eaglais Bhreac, Falkirk) Nicolaisen (2011) pp. 60-73, PNFESTg pp. 32-6 **egle:s-** (or Gaelic *eaglais-*). See Nicolaisen’s discussion (2011) loc. cit. His apparent assumptions, that P-Celtic had been extinct, and Gaelic in regular use, in this part of the Forth valley for up to three centuries before the earliest records (HR and *Historia post Bædam*) are questionable, even if we agree with him in rejecting the view that these incorporate 8th ct annals. Spellings with $-t[h]$ could preserve a Cumbric or Pictish form **egluīs-vreith* still current in the area even in the late 11th/ early 12th centuries, although Nicolaisen sees these as miscopyings with $-t$ for Goidelic $-c$.² Whether P- or Q-Celtic, lenition is only shown in the form *eaglesuret* (Melrose Chronicle 1185x98); elsewhere, $-b-$ probably represents [v]. If any or all of the early spellings do reflect a P-Celtic form, the vowel, whether *e*, *i*, or *y*, represents [ei]; this is quite possible in the context of transcription. Nicolaisen acknowledges, p. 68, ‘a reasonable possibility of an earlier Cumbric name’, and a Cumbric or Pictish name transmitted directly or via Gaelic to speakers of early Scots could underlie any of the 12th century forms. See **egle:s-** for further discussion, also Reid in PNFESTg, pp. 32-5.

Other possible cases under (c2) include:

Auldbreck Wig (Whithorn) PNGall p. 14 ? + **alt-**, or else Gaelic **allt-bhreac*.

Mossbrock Gairy Kcb (Carsphairn), also spelt ‘-brook’, PNGall p. 213 ? + **mayes-**. The second part is Scots, either *gairy* ‘streaked’ (of cattle), or, as a noun, ‘a vertical outcrop of rock on a hillside’ (probably from Gaelic *garbh*, see ***garw**). ‘Streaked’ might favour **mayes-brīch*, and Taylor’s suggestion anent G *breac* (PNFif5 p. 308), that it may denote strips or patches of

² 12th ct forms in $-brīch$ possibly imply a variant + **-vrech*, cf. Breich Water above, though Nicolaisen argues that they represent early Gaelic $-*vrec$.

adjacent land under different use, could be relevant, c2) Mossbrock Gairy...but it is ‘a puzzling name’ Maxwell, PNGall loc. cit. On present-day maps, this name does not appear, but may be now Moorbrock Gairy.

Cumrech Cmb (Irthington) Lan Cart + **cum[b]**-, with Middle English [-e-] for [-i-], or else **cum[b]**- + **-i[r]**- + - ?

brinn (m, but maybe f too in Br and neoBritt)

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

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

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

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

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

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

a1) Brinns Wml (Shap rural) PNWml2 p. 173

Bryn, with Bryn Hill, Lanc (Winwick) PNLanc p. 100: early forms suggest **brun[n]*, though there can hardly be Pictish influence here: however, see above, and discussion under Trabroun, (c2) below. Watts, DEPN(C), favours OE *bryne* ‘burning, fire’, referring to land scorched through natural causes or cleared by burning. See also Edmonds (2010) at p. 52 for consideration of the possibility that this name reflects 12th ct Welsh settlement.

Burnswark Dmf (Hoddum) Neilson (1909), at p. 39 n6, PNDmf pp. 54-5 s.n. Birrenswark [+ OE *-weorc* > ‘work’]; see Halloran (2005 and 2010). If this was formed from a simplex **brinn-**, it may have been in a ‘Pritenic’ form **bren-* or *brun-*; for recorded instances of *bren* > *burn* cf. Burnturk Fif (Kettle) and PNFif 2 pp. 261-2, Newburn Fif, *ibid.* 492-6, and Strathburn Fif (Leuchars) PNFif4 pp. 545-6.

b1) Cameron MLo PNMLo p. 290 + **-cam[b]**: influenced by the Gaelic personal name *Cam-shròn* ‘crooked-nose’ > Cameron; see Taylor’s discussion of Cameron Fif (x2) in PNFif5, p. 309. Knorren Beck and Fell Cmb ERN pp. 231-2, PNCmb p. 19 + **cnou-**, with soft mutation.

Noran (or Noren) Bank Wml (Patterdale) PNWml p. 226 ?+ **cnou-**, likewise (A. Walker, pers. comm.).

Yeavinger, with Yeavinger Bell, Ntb PNNtb p. 221,+ **gaßr-**, with soft mutation, or else + **-hünt** or **-in-**: see **gaßr**, and Hope-Taylor (1977), p. 15.

b2) Names beginning ‘Barn-’ may have been Gaelicised to **bàrr an* or *bàrr na-*:

Barnaer Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 27 ? + **-ajr**, which see: a Gaelic formation with *bàrr an* is possible here.

Barncluith Lnk (Hamilton) CPNS p. 352 + river-name Clyde, see ***clüd**: Watson counts this as **prenn-**.

Barnweill Ayrs (Craigie) SPN² p. 213 + **-*büßal** or **-bügeil**: Nicolaisen counts this as **prenn-**. Compare Bambougle WLo, under **prenn**.

Barnego Stg (Denny) PNFESTg 70, and Brenego Ayrs (Tarbolton) SPN² p. 213 ? + **-i[r]-** + **-goß**: again, Nicolaisen counts this as **prenn-**; see also Breeze (2006a); but both may involve G *bàrr-* ‘summit’ or *bearn-* ‘gap’ + *-eag* ‘notch’, see Reid in PNFESTg.

Burntippet Moor Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 84 ? + **-wïðbed** (A. Walker pers. comm.), but early forms favour A-Sc *brenk* > ME *brenke* > ‘brink’ in an ‘inversion compound’ with a personal name, see under **wïðbed**. If the name is P-Celtic, it seems to have the Pritenic **burn[n]-* as specifier: see above, and (c2) Trabroun below.

c2) Balfron Stg Taylor (1996) at p. 104, and idem (1997) at p. 18 + **bod-**, which see. Soft mutation, if Brittonic, implies a phrasal formation, ‘dwelling of a hill’ (cf. GMW §19, p 14). However, internal *-b-* in early forms may represent [b] or [v], and the lenition may be due to Gaelic influence. Both elements show such influence, the second perhaps that of Gaelic *broinn* ‘belly’ (used as nominative in place of *brù*, see Dwelly s.v.): alternatively, it could originally have been Brittonic/ Pritenic **-bronn**.

Roderbren Ayrs (Tarbolton) SPN² p. 213 + **rïd**, **rod** or **rōd**: Nicolaisen counts this as **prenn-**, implying that that element is feminine.

Trabroun ELo (Gladsmuir) and Trabrown Bwk (Lauder) CPNS pp. 359-60 + **treß-** + **-i[r]-**: both show the Pritenic **brun[n]*, without *i*-affection (see above), suggesting that such forms were in use well south of the Forth. The formation is likely to be a late one (see **treß** and **i[r]**). **-bronn** is an alternative possibility, but less likely.

Brithon (m)

IE **k^wr-* (zero-grade of **kwer-* ‘make, cut’) *-t-* > eCelt **k^writ-* + *-ano-* (see **-an**) > eBr **Pritano-* adopted as Latin (plural) *Britanni* (> mediaeval Latin (plural) *Brittani*) > IBr, influenced by this Latin usage, *Brit[t]ano-*, *Brettano-*, from which a new formation in insular Latin, *Brittones* > M-MnW *Brython*, Corn *Brython*; OIr (plural) *Bretain* > M-MnIr *Breatan*, also *Breathan* (see CPNS p. 15n1), G *Breatunn* ‘Britain’, Mx *Bretyn* ‘Wales’; adopted as OE (pl) *Brettas*, ON (plural) *Bretar*.

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

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

The cognate Goidelic forms, O-MIr *Cruithen*, plural *Cruithin*, *Cruithni* > Ir, G *Cruithne*, are generally taken to refer to (people perceived as) ‘Picts’, though this should be regarded with

caution, especially with regard to the *Cruithni* in Ireland. See Jackson in *Problem*, pp. 158-60, and Broderick (2014), p. 9 n2.

‘A Briton’. If the proposed IE etymon is correct, it may refer to some kind of body-decoration, ‘ornamented, tattooed’, but any such origin was probably long-forgotten by the time the word was used in the earliest historical sources (the possibly coincidental Latin sense of the ethnic term *Pictus* is, of course, a wholly different matter: see ***pejth**). Presumably *Brit[t]ano-* was used by the Brittonic-speaking people of southern Britain to refer to themselves, though the variant **Priteno-* may have been used fairly widely in the north, coming to be reserved for the Picts as the ethnic and political geography beyond the Antonine Wall developed during the 4th – 7th centuries.

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

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

Culbratten Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 27, PNWigMM p. 23, ? + ***cūl-** or ***cūil-**, but more likely Gaelic **cūil-nam-Breatann*: see under ***cūl** and ***cūil**.

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

Glenbarton Dmf (Langholm) CPNS p. 184, misplaced by Watson ‘in Annandale’, actually in upper Eskdale ? + **glinn-**, but probably Gaelic **gleann-Breatann*; see ***Sachs** for Glensaxon nearby.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Brethstrette Wml (Ambleside) PNWml1 p. 21, and *Brettestrete* Lancs (Clitheroe and Downham) PNLanc p. 224 n1, + OE(Ang) *strēte* ‘a road’; both were probably routes, maybe Roman in origin, used by ‘Cumbrian’ traders or drovers as markets expanded in the 10th -12th centuries.

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

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

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

Brettargh Holt Lanc (Woolton) PNLanc p. 111, JEPNS17 p. 63, and Brettargh Holt Wml PNWml1 p. 90, + ON *-cérgi* ‘a shieling’, on which see Higham (1977-8) and Fellows-Jensen (1977-8 and 1980). These seem to be classic examples of the involvement of Cumbrian Britons alongside Scandinavian and Irish/Gaelic speakers in the exploitation of hill-country in 10th -11th centuries.

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

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

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

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

broch (m)

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

See LHEB §§145-6, pp. 565-9, CIB #42, pp. 134-9, and DCCPN p. 12.

‘A badger’ in all the Celtic languages. However, the root sense seems to be, as in Latin, ‘spiked, pointed’, so ‘sharp-toothed’. The reference in place-names may be to sharp rocks (so Rivet and

Smith, PNRB p. 283), or to pointed stones or stakes forming defensive *chevaux de frise* (cf. **paladr**).

Brocāvum PNRB pp. 283-4, + suffix *-āwo-*, but see also ***wrūg**: the fort at Brougham Wml. Brougham, PNWml2 p. 128, is OE **burg-hām* ‘estate-centre with a fort’, though it may have been influenced by a neoBrittonic **Brochōw* < *Brocāvum*, see Gelling (1978), pp. 54-6.

Brocolitia PNRB pp. 284-5 + suffixes *-lit-* and *-jā-*, on which see CIB p. 150 and n896, but see also ***wrūg**: the fort at Carrawburgh Ntb. The meaning of **-lit-* is disputed, and contingent on whether *broc-* is interpreted as ‘badgers’ or ‘spikes’.

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

bronn (f)

IE **bhreu* (see **brīnn**) *-s-* > eCelt **brus-* + *-nā-* > Br **brunnā-* > OW(LL) *bronn* > W *bron*, Corn *bron*, Bret *bronn*; OIr *bruinne* > Ir,G *bruinne*; cf. Gmc **breustam* > OE *brēost* > ‘breast’.

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

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

a1) *Broni damfield* Lanc (field-name in Melling) P. B. Russell (1992) at p. 33 and Edmonds (2010) at p. 52.

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

c2) Balfroun Stg + **bod-**, or else – **brīnn**: see under both these elements.

Trabroun ELo (Haddington) and Trabrown Bwk (Lauder) + **treß-** + **-i[r]** -, or else **-brīnn**, which see.

bröüən (f)

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

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

‘A quernstone, a grindstone on a handmill’.

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

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

**büβal* (m)

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

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

‘An ox’. True wild oxen were long since extinct in the North, but feral cattle (among them the ancestors of the White Park Cattle at Chillingham Ntb³) could well have been present in the hill country. In Modern Welsh, *bual* is used for ‘buffalo’ and ‘bison’.

c2) Barnweill Ayrs (Craigie) probably lenited plural *-*βüβail*, + **brinn-** or **prenn-**: see Breeze (2006a), but see also **bügeil**.

buch (m)

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

See LHEB §5(1), pp. 274-5, and §5(3), pp. 277-8.

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

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

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

būch (f)

IE **g^wōu-* > eCelt **bou-* + *-cc-ā-* > late British **būccā-* > OW *buch* > MW *bywch* > W *buwch*, OCorn *buch* > M-MnCorn *bugh*, Bret *buc'h*; O-MnIr *bó*, G *bò*, Mx *booa*; cogn. Lat *bōs*, genitive

³ Those at Cadzow are an ancient domesticated herd, those at Drumlanrig a re-established herd of ancient origin.

bōvis (note also Latin *vacca*, which may have influenced the Celtic forms), Gmc **kōuz* > OE *cū* > ‘cow’, Gk *boús*, Skt *gaus*; probably adopted from Gaelic as Scots *bow* ‘cattle’, though this may be < northern ME *bu* < ON *bú* in the sense of ‘livestock of a farm’.

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

‘A cow’.

An adjectival form of the archaic plural **biw* > MW *biw* (GMW §30, p. 27), Corn **byu* (in place-names, CPNE p. 22), Bret *bioù*, may be present in Traboyack Ayr (CPNS p. 361), + **treβ-** + **-ōg**, influenced by Gaelic *bàthaich* ‘a cowhouse’, or perhaps reflecting a Cumbric equivalent **biw-ōg*.

See also **būgeil** and ***būwarth**, also ***būy[δ]** for Bowland Lanc.

***būy[δ] (n, later m?)**

IE **bheugh* > eCelt **beug-to-* > IBr **bō:gdo-*; cogn. Lat *fugere* ‘to flee’, Gmc **beugan* > OE *būgan* > ‘to bow’ (and cf. Gmc **bug-* > OE *boġa* and ON *bogi* > ‘a bow [weapon]’), Gk *pheúgein* ‘to flee’, Skt participle *bhugna* ‘bent’.

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

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

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

c2) Bowden Hill WLo (Torphichen) PNWLo p. 90, WLoPN p.17 ? + **-dīn**, Anglicised [or else OE **boġa-dūn* ‘bow hill’], but see under **dīn**.

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

Bow Cmb (Orton) PNCmb p. 145.

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

Bowes YNR PNYNR p. 304.

būgeļ (m)

IE **g^wōu-* (see **būch**) *-k^wel-* (‘to turn, to steer’) > eCelt **bou-col-jo-* > IBr **būcoljo-* > OW(LL) plural *bucelid* > MW *bugeil* > W *bugail*, O-MCorn *bugel*, Bret *bugel* ‘a child’; OIr *bóchail* > M-MnIr *búachaill*, G *buachaill*, Mx *bochilley*; cogn. Gk *boukólos*.

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

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

Barnweill Ayrs (Craigie) SPN² p 213 + **brinn-** (which see) or **prenn-**: if this is **-bügel**, the earliest recorded form, *Berenbouell* 1177x1204, requires a development in Scots, [ʒ] > [w], presumably due to the preceding [u], but see also ***büßal**.

Knockbogle Kcb (Twynholm) PNGall p. 177 + **cnuc[h]-**: again the –g- favours a Brittonic rather than Gaelic origin, cf. Cnoc na Buachaille (*Knockbochill* 1612) Bute (Rothesay) PNBute pp. 488-9.

*bulch (m)

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

‘A gap, a pass’.

Perhaps in:

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

*burð (m)

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

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

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

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

*būwarth (m)

IE *g^wōu- (see **būch**) + - *ghordho- (see **garth**) > eCelt *bou-cc-ā-garto- > eBr *bɔ:cc-garto- > IBr *būch-γarto- > MW buorth > W buarth, Corn *buorth (in place-names, CPNE p. 35), OBret buorth.

See LHEB §75, pp. 440-4, and §149, pp. 571-2. On the variation between –a- and –o- see CPNE p. 35.

‘A cattle-yard, an enclosure, pen or fold for livestock’. The phonology implies a relatively early compound-formation, indicating that *garto- had the meaning ‘enclosure’ by late Roman-British (see discussion under **garth**). Nevertheless, if this is the generic in Birdoswald Cmb, as suggested by Ekwall DEPN(O) s.n., it is likely to be a ‘heritage’ name of the central middle ages, rather than one given by Britons of the seventh century: see discussion under ***burð**.

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

C

***cach (m?)**

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

‘Excrement, dung, filth’.

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

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

cad (f)

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

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

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

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

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

Catterick YNR (PNYNR p. 242, PNRB pp. 302-4) is Ptolemy’s *Katou[r]aktónion*, *Cataractoni* in the Antonine Itinerary; Bede has both *Cataracta* and *Cataractone*, reflecting (probably) the current vernacular and written sources respectively. *Catraeth* in CA, though not a regular development from *Cataracta* (Padel 2013 p. 137 and 150 n104), is almost certainly Catterick (Williams in CA pp. xxxii-iv, Jackson in YGod(KJ) pp. 83-4, Koch in YGod(JK) p. xiii). Catterick was a strategically vital stronghold, though in CA and in later Welsh poetry (where mentions of it are rare, see Haycock 2013 pp. 16-17 and 38 n94), *Catraeth* may be a more-or-less imaginary place (see Dunshea and Padel, both in Woolf ed. 2013). The formation may be **cad-**

+ **-rōd-** (which see) or + **-*trajth-**, + suffix *-ōnjon* (see PNRB pp. 302-4 and Hamp 1993). If so, it was influenced by Latin *cataracta* ‘rapids’. However, both Jackson (LHEB §60 at pp. 409-10 and note, and §144(3), p. 564) and Gelling (1974, pp. 31, 33 and 57) see Catterick as simply *Cataracta* plus the Brittonic suffix *-ōnjon*. On the form *Cetreht* in the OE Bede, which appears to be early evidence for syncope (albeit dependent on assumptions about the date of the adoption of the name by English speakers), see Sims-Williams 1990 pp. 240 and 245-6, and Padel 2013 p. 119. Catterick Moss Drh (Stanhope) DDRhPN p. 24 is unlikely to have the same origin, more probably OE **catta-rić* ‘wild-cats’ strip or track’, see loc. cit.

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

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

c1) The Catrail Slk ? + **-*eil**, which see; the *-r-* could only be intrusive or analogical, a name-phrase with **-ī[r]**- would make no sense. An ancestor of Welsh *cadwr* ‘magnificent’ might be involved (D. Hunt pers. comm.), but the etymology of that word is problematic, see LHEB §71(1), pp. 429-31 and CIB #19 at p. 73 with n335.

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

cadeir (f)

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

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

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

OIr *cathir* ‘a fort’ > MlIr *cathair*, falling together with Irish and Scottish Gaelic *cathair* ‘a chair’ (see GOI §318, p. 202), certainly has to be taken into account in Scotland. As well as its being likely at Catter Dnb, *cathair* of either origin could underlie some names with ‘Car-’ (see **cajr**). *Cathair* rather than *cadeir* is also likely to underlie the place-name *Cathures* in VK(J), which Jocelin identified with Glasgow, but which might in fact have been the Antonine Wall fort at

Cadder EDnb see below, also Durkan (1986) at pp. 278 and 285-6, and Macquarrie (1997), pp. 128-30. On the etymology of *cathair*, see Schrijver 1995, pp. 447 – 8.

Ekwall in PNLanc, p. 50, and in early editions of DEPN(O), proposed for Chadderton Lanc a British cognate of OIr *cathir*, **caterā-* > neoBrittonic **cader*, but he abandoned this in the 4th edition of DEPN(O) (1960). There is no evidence for such a word in Brittonic, but, again, that a loan-word meaning ‘a chair’ came, apparently quite quickly, to be used as a place-name for ‘a fort’ is perplexing.

Personal names have been suggested instead of **cadeir** in some place-names. NeoBrittonic **Cadur*, a hypocorism of **Catuwiros* (see EPNE1, p. 130 and LHEB §136 at p. 555, noting that Jackson does not explicitly reject this) or of *Caturugos* (see CIB #17, p. 51 n185, and #387, p. 114, n622), could have been Anglicised as **Ĉ[e]at[t]or*, which might explain forms of the ‘Chatterton’ type, but not others, and there is no evidence for its existence. A similar observation would apply to neoBrittonic **Cedri*, a hypocorism of **Caturīgos* (see CIB #19 at p. 73 and n333, and #65 at p. 210).

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

Cateran Hill Ntb (Old Bewick) ? + **-an**, but early forms are lacking: see Watts (1979) at p. 123.

Caterlaising Cmb (Threapland) PNCmb p. 271 [+ ON personal name *-Leysingr*, a possible formation in the early 10th ct context, see Blencathra, (c2) below]. Coates 2013, p. 36, suggests that this name may ‘perhaps’ involve Scandinavian *kattar*, genitive singular of **katt(u)-* (ON *kǫttr*), ‘a cat’.

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

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

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

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

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

c2) Blencathra Cmb (= Saddleback, Threlkeld) PNCmb p. 253, DLDPN p. 289 + **blajn-**: forms like *Blenkarthure* 1589, showing assimilation to the legendary Arthur, have obscured the original form. Coates, CVEP p. 281, suggested a MÍr personal name *Carthach* here, ‘but the implications of that with a Brittonic generic need exploring’. Such a formation is not inconceivable in the context of early 10th century settlement in this area. **Cathro* from *Caturugos* (see above) would be another possibility. Nevertheless, Blencathra is undoubtedly chair-shaped!

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

*caj (m)

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

In origin, a verbal noun, ‘an enclosure’, with a hedge, wall, or combination of both (cf. **cajr**). The semantic development to ‘a field’ is peculiar to Middle – Modern Welsh. If this word was used in the north, its meaning would probably have been ‘a hedged enclosure’.

b2) *Cadzow* (= Hamilton, Lnk) ? + **-dehou**; see Breeze (2002d) pp. 34-5; or else **ce:d-**, which see; this may have been a royal residence in the 10th-11th cts, see Barrow (1980), p. 44. *Caraverick Cmb* (Hesket in Forest) PNCmb p. 202 + **-i[r]**- + **-eβur-** or **-*hauar-**, + **-ig-** or **-ōg-**: or else + **cajr-**. See **eβur** and ***hauar**.

cajr (f)

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

Otherwise, this word might be derived from a distinctive British usage of Latin *quadra* ‘a square’, see CPNE p. 50; for possible derivation from Latin *castrum* ‘encampment, fort’, see Schrijver (1995), pp. 447 – 8 and 454; see Coates (2012) p. 82 for references, the latter adding a possible Proto-Semitic root **kpr* to the range of suggestions.

The primary meaning seems to be ‘an enclosed, defensible site’. Several names with this element in the North are sites of Roman forts or other military works (e.g. Cardurnock, Carleith, Carlisle, Carmuir, Carriden, Carvoran, Carzield, Castleary, Cramond, Kirkintilloch, and compare Taylor's list in PNFif5, p. 317), while others are, or are close to, hill-forts or other prehistoric defences (e.g. Caerlanrig, Cardrona, Carfrae Bwk, Carwinley, Carwinning). Indeed, wherever this element occurs as a simplex (see (a1) below), or with a specifier indicating an elevated position, distinctive colour, presence of wild creatures, etc. (see (b2) below), the possibility of an ancient defensive site is worth exploring. However it does not necessarily follow that such names were given at an early date, nor that **cajr** was used as a major habitative element any earlier than, say, **treβ**. Such terms were probably current synchronically, and may indicate a difference in function rather than antiquity.

Moreover, Padel's discussion of Cornish **ker* (CPNE pp. 50-2, also *idem* 2023 pp. 276=8) draws attention to the use of the cognate for settlements that, while enclosed, were not primarily defensive. Jackson (1963) argued that **cajr** sites in the Solway region, apparently lacking trace of any substantial defences, are comparable to *kêr* sites in Brittany. These are farmsteads or hamlets typically at some distance from parish centres, and probably associated with the colonisation of marginal land in the central middle ages (Le Duc 1999 at p. 149, Padel 2023 pp. 278-80). However, unlike the Breton examples, several of the Cumbrian cases became parishes or major centres within parishes, and Barrow (1973, pp. 65-6) suggested that they were associated with administrative and/or revenue-collecting territorial units comparable to the Northumbrian *scētras*, though he did not commit himself as to whether they were formed before, during or after the period of Northumbrian rule. Taylor (2011 pp. 100-1, and in PNFif1 p. 466 anent Kirkcaldy) takes a similar view in relation to comparable place-names in southern Pictland, and considers that **cajr** was adopted into Gaelic and Middle Scots toponymy, at least in that region (*ibid.*, see also PNFif5 p. 317). It seems reasonable, then, to see the Cumbrian (and, perhaps, southern Scottish) **cajr** sites, other than those associated with Roman or ancient fortifications, as ‘stockade-farms’ or ‘stockade villages’, antecedents to the ‘green villages’ typical of the dales of northern England and the Scottish Borders, which are seen by landscape historians as planned settlements, products of a major reorganisation of landholdings in the late 11th- early 12th centuries (see B. K. Roberts 2008). If so, they belong to the latest period in which Cumbric was

still spoken in these areas, as the language of a community that evidently included enterprising and apparently successful stock-farmers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kaer rian BT29: this might be Cairnryan Wig, see **rīy**.

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

Carhullan Wml (Bampton) PNWml2 p. 189 [+ OE -**hōh-land* ‘land on a heel-shaped ridge or spur’, or late OE personal name *Holand* as in DB Wor:23.14: see LHEB p. 245 on the significance of such bilingual formations], but see also ***carr**.

Carlton Cmb PNCmb pp. 73-4 [? + OE *-lēac-tūn* ‘a leek enclosure, (later) a kitchen-garden’; however, ON **karla-tūn* ‘a freeman’s farm’ is possible - if so it shows late Cumbric influence in the stressed penultimate syllable].

a1) Here, as generally, it must be emphasised that monothematic names are not necessarily early. They may well date from a time when the element had ceased to be used regularly in name-phrase formation, and there are strong reasons for regarding *keir* as a word adopted into Middle Scots, see Taylor 2011 pp. 110-11 and in PNFif 5, pp. 414-15 (though note that in the latter he decides that some simplex Keir names ‘were certainly, or very likely, coined by speakers of a Celtic language’ because of their early appearance in the records).

Keir Dmf CPNS p. 368, PNDmf p. 67.

Keirhill WLo (Abercorn) PNWLo p. 22 [+ OE *-hyll*].

Keirs Ayr (Dalmellington) Brooke (1991), p. 320 [+ Scots plural *-is*].

a2) Castle Carrock Cmb PNCmb pp. 74-5 + *-ōg*, cf. Welsh *caerog* ‘fortified’.

Castlecary EDnb CPNS p. 370, PNFESTg p. 37 + *-öü*, or a variant plural **-ið*; Reid, PNFESTg loc. cit., following Ekwall, ERN p. 71, suggests Cary may have been a watercourse-name, see **carr*.

b2) Modern forms with ‘Caer-’ have been influenced by the Welsh spelling:

Caerketton Hill MLo (Lasswade) PNMLo p. 85 + personal name *-Catel* [or ON *Ketil*], probably a lost settlement after which the hill was named.

Caerlanrig Rox (Teviothead) CPNS p. 368, PNRox p. 6 + *-lanerc*.

Caerlaverock Dmf, also *Carlaverock* ELo (Tranent), and possibly *Carlaverick* (Rox or Slk), but the latter may be an error for Caerlanrig, see below; CPNS p. 367, PNDmf p. 6 + personal name *-Līuarch* (> Modern Welsh *Llywarch*), otherwise + a lost stream-name **laβarōg/īg*, see discussion under *laβar*, also *-ōg* and *-īg*.

Caermote Cmb (Torpenhow) PNCmb p. 326 + **molt*, cf. *Carmalt* below.

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

Caraverick Cmb (Hesket in the Forest) PNCmb p. 202 + *-eβur-* or **hauar-* + *-ōg* or *-īg*, or else + **caj-* + *-ī[r]-*; see *eβur* and **hauar*.

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

Carcluie Ayr (Dalrymple) ? + a personal name based on Brittonic **cluw-* ‘heard of, famous’, cf. Modern Welsh *Clewien*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cardunneth Pike Cmb (Cumrew) PNCmb p. 77 + personal name *Dūnōd* < *Donātus*, possibly a local saint (cf. Powdonnet Well Wml, see *pol*), or the chieftain of that name, son of Pabo (see **dīnn*).

Cardurnock Cmb PNCmb pp. 123-4 + *-durn-* + *-ōg*.

Caresman Hill Pbl (Peebles) ? + **-mayn**; see Drummond (2009) at p. 14.

Carfrae Bwk (Channelkirk) and Carfrae ELo (Garvald), both CPNS p. 369 ? + **-bre[y]**, but see discussion there.

Cargen, with Cargen Water, Kcb (Lochrutton) CPNS p. 367, PNGall p. 58; if this does have **cajr-**, the second element is presumably the earlier name for the stream, perhaps **-geint* (see **cant**), or **-gejn* (see ***ceμ-**) or **-gē:n* (see **çein**); otherwise it may be **carreg** (which see) + **-an**.

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

Carlatton Cmb: see discussion of this above.

Carlaverock ELo (Tranent), and possibly *Carlaverick* (Rox or Slk): see Caerlaverock Dmf above.

Carleith Dnb (Duntocher) + ***-lejth**: a lost stream-name?

Carlisle Cmb PNCmb pp. 40-2 + **-Luguvalion**, ancient place-name derived from a personal name **Lugu-walos*, see **lūch** and **wal**; **cajr-** may not have been prefixed to the name before the 9th or 10th century, see the note above on Caer Ligualid, and in PNCmb pp 40-1, PNRB p. 402, and Jackson (1948), (1970) at p. 76, (1963) at pp 80-2, and in LHEB at p. 226, §41 at p. 362n1 and §208 at p. 688n1.

Carlowrie WLo (Dalmeny) CPNS p. 370, PNWLo p. 5, WLoPN p. 22 ? + **-laþar-** or **-lōr-**, + **-īn**, or + **-lowern**.

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

Carmaben Lnk (Dolphinton) + personal name (possibly of deity or legendary figure) *-Mabon*, see **mab**.

Carmalt Cmb (Workington) PNCmb p. 455 + **-*molt**, cf. Caermote above.

Carmichael Lnk CPNS p. 367 + personal or saint's name *-Michael*; otherwise may be Gaelic *ceathramh* 'a quarterland', see Breeze (2000a), and Coates (2007) at p. 31 n29. See also **blajn** for *Planmichel*.

Carmondean WLo (Livingston) PNWLo p. 77, WLoPN p. 22 ? + **-mōnið** [+ OE *-denu* 'a valley'], but see the next entry.

Carmonlaws, WLo (Linlithgow) PNWLo p. 114, WLoPN p. 22 ? + **-mōnið** [+ OE *-hlaw* 'a mound' > Scots plural *-lawis* 'hills'], but a corruption of *Carmel-*, for the Carmelite friars, is likely here.

Carmuir, Easter and Wester, Stg (Falkirk) CPNS p. 370, PNFEStg p. 31 + **-mōr** or **-mūr** [+ Scots plural *-is*].

Carmunnock Lnk CPNS pp. 196 and 367 ? + **-bann-** or ***mann-** + **-ōg**, or + **-mōnach**; Watson CPNS p. 367 says 'not a *caer*', but only *Cormannoc* 1177 raises doubts, *Cerminock* 1187 and later forms are consistently *Cer-* or *Car-*; however, see also **cor** and ***cōr**: see Breeze (2000b) at pp. 120-1.

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

Carnetly Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 84 ? + **-jūð** [+ OE *-hlaw* > ME *-law*]: see Breeze (2006b) at p. 328, but see also **car-**, **dō** and **-īn**.

[*Chef*] *Carnenuat* unlocated, ?Rnf (in the Inquisition of King David) ? + **-nōwīð**, or else **car-** + **-wī:ð**; this is unlikely to be the same place as Carnwath Lnk.

Carnwath Lnk CPNS p. 368 ? + **-nōwīð**, or else **car-** + **-wīð**.

Carraith MLo (Stow) PNMLo pp. 372-3 ? + **-rōd**; which see (also for *Carthow*)

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

Carrubber WLo (Linlithgow) CPNS p. 105, PNWLo p. 58, WLoPN p. 22 ? + *-ebir*, see **aber**.

Carrick Heights Ntb (Elsdon) PNNtb p. 40 + **-wīg** [or OE *-wīc*]; see Coates, CVEP p. 324.

Carriden WLo CPNS pp. 369-70, PNWLo p. 26, WLoPN p. 22 ? + **-Ē:đin**, but see discussion under that element, and also **carden**.

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

Carrington MLo PNMLo pp. 111-12 ? + **-īn** [+ OE *-tūn* 'a farm', but OE personal name *Cēnhere-* + *-ing*⁴ - is much more likely: see Dixon, PNMLo loc. cit., and SPN² p. 31].

Carruthers Dmf (Middlebie), also *Carruderes* Bwk?, CPNS p. 368, PNDmf p. 91 ? + personal name –Rodri (hypocorism of *Røderch > Welsh Rhydderch, perhaps Rhydderch Hael, ruler of Alclud in the late 6th century), but see **ruð**; note that Carradus Wood Wml (Mansergh) PNWml1 p. 52 probably takes its name from the surname Carradice, a variant of Carruthers, see Hanks and Hodges (1988), and Reaney and Wilson (1997), s.n. Carruthers (both sources giving /krīdɛrʒ/ as the pronunciation of the Dmf name).

Carrycoats Ntb (Throckington) PNNtb p. 40 ? + -i[r]- + -cɛ:d-, but see discussion under both of these; alternatively, it may be named from the Carry Burn, see *carr.

Carstairs Lnk CPNS pp. 386-7 + lost stream-name *Tarras identical to the one in Dmf, see *tā-; **cajr** replaced in early recorded forms by NF *castel* > Scots *castle*-; see Barrow in *Uses*, p. 73. *Carthanacke* Cmb (= Maidencastle, Watermillock) PNCmb pp. 255-6, also *Carthanet* Wml (in Pooley Bridge, Barton, across the R Eamont from Maidencastle, not in PNWml), + *Tanōg, hypocorism of the saint's name *Taneü* (Thanea, Thaney, Thenew), the mother of St Kentigern, see ESSH pp. 127-30: she might have been the 'maiden' of Maidencastle, see Jackson (1958), but see also Coates (2006b).

Carthow see *Carraith* above.

Carvoran Ntb (Greenhead) ? + a personal or ethnic name (cf. the Gaulish ethnic group *Morini*, on the Channel coast opposite Kent, and the personal name *Morinus* in VSamson, see CIB p. 286, and see *merin); alternatively, **morijnā* (W *morwyn*) 'maiden', noting the road known as Maiden Way terminates here; for this word see LHEB p. 462-3 and n.1, and CIIB p. 154 n918; see also LHEB p. 551n3.

Carwinley Cmb (Arthuret) + personal name –*Wendoleu*, maybe the chieftain defeated at the battle of *Arūderið*, AC s.a. 573, see discussion above, and **arū**, ***tērið**.

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

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

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

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

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

Currochtrie, High and Low, Wig (Kirkmaiden) PNGall pp. 101-2, PNRGLV p. 10 ? + -ūch- + -tīy or -treβ: but G *ceathramh* 'quarterland' is possible here; see also under tīy and treβ,): cf. Kirroughtree below, and see James (2014b), p. 25

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

Kirroughtree Kcb (Minigaff) CPNS p. 367, PNGall p. 174 ? + -ūch- + -treβ, which see; or else + personal name -**Uchtrid*, i.e. Uhtred Lord of Galloway (1161-74), see discussion under treβ. Again, G *ceathramh* 'quarterland' is possible.

Trevercarcou Dmf or Kcb (unlocated) + treβ- + -i[r]-, ? + -coll, or else + -carreg- or -carrōg- + -öü, see both **carreg** and **coll**, and cf. Carco, Carcove and Cargo above; on the location, see CPNS p. 359, Brooke (1984) citing Barrow at p. 54n, Breeze (2005) at p. 91, and Findlater (2008), Appendix I pp. 72-3 (see also under **carrōg**).

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

*cal-

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

IE **kal-*, or zero-grade **kǵ-* > eCelt **cal-* (see under (a2) below); Latin *callus*, *callosus*, adopted as English ‘callous’ and ‘callosity’), possibly a variant of IE **kar-*, see **carn** and ***carr**, and Thornhill (2020) p. 17, *idem* (2021) pp. 199 and 214, and *idem* (2022) pp. 75-6 and notes 32, 34 and 35.

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

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

The ‘call’ root, eCelt **cal-* + *-āco-* (see **-ōg**), was favoured by Jackson (1948 and 1970) for Ptolemy’s *Kálagon* (PNRB p. 288). If this is the fort at Burrow in Lonsdale Lanc, a river-name

**Calāgā-* may be inferred, perhaps an alternative name for this stretch of the R Lune. For *Galava* see under **gāl*.

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

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

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

a2) River-names of the ‘Calder’ type are formed from **cal-* + the adjectival suffix *-eto-/ā* (see **-ed**, and DCCPN p. 12). The root-sense ‘hard’ is favoured as British and Gaulish *caleto-/ā-* survives as Welsh *caled* (found in r-ns, see Parsons 2022 p. 141 and n107), Middle Cornish *cales*, Middle Breton *calet*, cf. Middle Irish *calath*, *calad* ‘hard’ (in Modern Irish and Scottish Gaelic mainly nominalised as *caladh* ‘a harbour’); but see Thornhill (2022), p. 75 n32. Note also the name of Arthur’s sword, *Caledvwlch* ‘hard-notch’, in *Culhwch ac Olwen*. The names below (except possibly the Calders) are all compounds with this adjective + **-duβr**, which suggests that **caleto-dubro-* was an early Brittonic appellative with some specific meaning that is now obscure. On the phonology of this compound, see LHEB §144(1), p. 563, where Jackson explains the prevalence of ‘Calder’ over ‘Calter’ by the preceding *-l-* (after syncope) counteracting the normal development of *-dδ-* to *-tt-* (see also The Calders and Calter, below).

Calder Loch Wig PNWigMM p. 20.
Calder R Cmb PNCmb pp. 7 and 427, ERN p. 60.

Calder R Lanc (→ Ribble) PNLanc p. 66, ERN p. 60.

Calder R Lanc (→ Wyre) PNLanc p. 140, ERN p. 59.

Calder R Rnf ERN p. 60.

Calder R YWR PNYWR7 pp. 121-2, ERN p. 59.

Calder Water Lnk (→ Avon).

North or Rotten Calder Lnk (→ Clyde).

South Calder Lnk (→ Clyde).

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

Caldour Rox (? near Kelso) Watson (2002), p. 114 n1, ERN p. 60 n. 1.

Callendar Stg CPNS p. 105: the *-n-* is intrusive.

Calter Cmb ERN p. 60: Ekwall identifies this with Wyth Burn, for which see PNCmb pp. 325-6.

Calter, with *Calterber*, YWR (Clapham) PNYWR6 p. 234 [+ OE(Angl) *-berg* or ON *-berg* ‘a hill, a drumlin’]. The *-lt-* here may reflect late Old Welsh/ Cumbric devoicing of *-ld-*, see LHEB §54(1), p. 400 n1, and cf. ***polter**. If so, it implies Cumbric- (or Welsh-) speaking settlement in this area as late as c1100, cf. discussion of Penyghent under *-ī[r]*-.

Cawder Gill and Hall YWR (Skipton) PNYWR6 p. 72, but see under **duβr**.

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

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

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

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

*calch (m)

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

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

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

Middle Welsh tradition concerning the Men of the North mentions a place named *Calchuynid*, ***calch-** + **-mōnið** (lenited). Watson’s acceptance (CPNS p. 343) of Skene’s view that this was

Kelso (see below) was uncharacteristically uncritical: contrast Jackson's view (1955b, at p. 83). The location is best regarded as unknown.

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

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

Kelso Rox CPNS p. 343, PNRox p. 24 [+ OE *-hōh* 'a heel', in place-names, 'a heel-shaped spur of land', see LPN pp. 186-8, > Scots *-heuch*: the 'limestone heugh' at Kelso strikingly matches the English examples illustrated by Gelling and Cole].

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

cam[b] and **cambas* (presumably m)

IE (WC) *[s]kamb- > eCelt **cambo-/ā-* > Br, Gaul **cambo-/ā-* > OW *kam*, (LL) *cam* > M-MnW *cam*, O-MnCorn *cam*, OBret *camm* > Bret *kamm*; OIr *camb* > MÍr *camm* > Ir, G, Mx *cam*, adopted in Scots formations, see Ó' Maolalaigh (2022a), pp. 90 and 93; cogn. Gk *skambós*, and possibly OE (south of the Humber) *hamm* 'land in a river-bend', see EPNE1 pp. 229-31 and LPN pp. 46-55.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cam Beck, with Kirkcambeck (Askerton), Cmb PNCmb pp. 7, 56 and 92, Lan Cart 1 etc.

Cammo MLo (Cramond) PNMLo pp. 174-5; see Barrow in *Uses* at p. 38, where he treats it as Scotticised form of Gaelic **camusach*, but it could be Brittonic in origin.

Cammock YWR (Settle) PNYWR6 p. 151; cf. the cluster of ‘Crummock’ type names in Craven, see **crum[b]**.

Cammock Beck, with Cammock House, Cmb (St Cuthbert Without) PNCmb p. 148.

a2) Br **camb-asto-* (see **-as**) > MW *kama* > W *camas*, Corn **camas* (in place-names, CPNE p. 37); OIr *cambas* > MIr *cammas* > Ir *camas*, G *camus*, Mx *camys*; note also Br plural **camb-asti* > MW *kemeys* (in poetry) > W *cemais* (in place-names), see LHEB §168 at p. 602, ELI pp. 10-11, and DPNW p. 80 s.n. Cemaes Mtg and YM.

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

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

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

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

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

Camelon Stg ? + **-linn**, but see above and under **cōlē:n**.

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

Cameron MLo PNMLo p. 290 + **-brinn**.

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

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

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

can[d]

IE **[s]kan[d]-* (‘shine’, ? a-grade of **[s]ken-*, see **cein**) > eCelt **cando-/ā-* > Br, Gaul *cando-/ā-* > MW *can[t]* > W *cann*, Corn *can*, O-MBret *cand*, *cann* > Bret *kann*; cf. OIr *cáin* > Ir *caoin*, G *càin*, but see also **cein**; cogn. Lat *candere*, Skt *candati* (also Skt *candra* ‘the moon’), and cf. Gk *kainós* ‘new, fresh’ (< **kan-jo-*).

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

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

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

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

c1) Cander R Lnk CPNS p. 455 + **-dußr**.
See also **winn** and **treß** for Fintry.

c2) Carcant MLo CPNS p. 369, PNMLo p. 234 + **cajr-**, but the topography favours **cant**. Cargen, with Cargen Water, Kcb (Lochrutton) CPNS p. 367, PNGall p. 58 ? + **cajr-** (which see) + suffix *-jā-*, > **gein[d]*; or else **-geint* (see **cant**), **-gejn* (see ***ceµ-**), or **-gę:n* (see **cęin**); or otherwise **carreg** (which see) + **-an**.

Enterkine Ayr (Tarbolton), and Enterkin Burn and Pass Dmf (Durrisdeer) PNDmf p. 33, + *neint-*, see **nant**, + **-i[r]**-, an ‘incorrect’, analogical definite article if **can[d]** was a stream-name here; see also **cant**, ***ceµ-**, and **cęin**.

Water of Ken, with Kenmure, Glenkens and Loch Ken, Kcb PNGall p. 162, but **cant** + *-jā-*, or ***cöņę:d**, or **cū[n]**- + **-ed-** + *-jā-*, are also possible; but eG *cenn* is more likely, the r-n being a back-formation, see under **cant**.

Glencoyne, with Glencoyne Beck, Cmb (Watermillock)/ Wml (Patterdale) ERN p. 178, PNCmb pp. 15 and 254, PNWml2 p. 22, DLDPN pp. 131-2 + **glinn-** or Mlr *glenn-*; Ekwall ERN p. 178 suggested an early Celtic hydronymic element **kainos* here, but see under **cant**, **cęin** and **cōn**. Talkin Cmb PNCmb pp. 88-9 + **tal-**, or else **-cant** or **-cejn*, see ***ceµ-**, and Coates in CVEP, p. 369.

Tantallon ELo ? + **dīn-** + **-tāl-**, or else **-cant** or **-cejn*, see ***ceµ-**, but see discussion under **tāl**.

cant (m)

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

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

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

Cantscaul in HB64 and AC s.a. 631, + **-*scōl**, identified by I. Williams as the site of the battle of *Hefenfeld* (633) near Hexham Ntb; see also Jackson (1963b). Watts (1994) explains *Cantscaul* as a neoBrittonic equivalent, or a learned translation of, OE *Hagustaldesham*, which he interprets as

‘the estate of a young nobleman’ (see ***scōl**). If so, **cant** here was seen, significantly, as the equivalent of OE *hām* ‘an estate’.

a1) Cant Beck, with Blind Cant and Cantsfield, Lanc (Tunstall) ERN p. 69, PNLanc pp. 169 and 183: Blind Cant, though now a stream-name, may be + **blajn-**, which see, and see Higham (1999) at pp. 65-8 and n20.

Cant Clough Lanc/YWR see Higham (1999) pp. 66-7.

Cant Hills Lnk (Shotts); see Higham op. cit. at p. 67.

Cantley YWR PNYWR pp. 39-40 [+ OE *-lēah* ‘a clearing, pasture, meadow’]; Smith offers *Canta-*, an unrecorded though plausible OE hypocorism (Ekwall gives the same for Cantley Nfk, DEPN(O) s.n.).

a2) Candie Stg (Muiravonside), also *Candy Stg* (Grangemouth), PNFESTg pp. 41-2 ? + **-īg**, but see under that.

a2) Ekwall, ERN p. 224, proposed **cant-** + the suffix *-jā-* > **ce:nt* for the R Kenn Som, while Owen and Morgan, DPNW p. 79, see ‘possibly ... an unrecorded pl. form’ in Afon Ceint YM; either way, a similar formation could underlie any of the following, though **can[d]**- + *-jā-* > **ce[n]d*-, or else ***cein**, are possible in all cases, along with a range of others as noted:

Cargen, with Cargen Water, Kcb (Lochrutton) CPNS p. 367, PNGall p. 58 ? + **cajr-** (which see) + suffix *-jā-*, > **-geint*; or else **gein[d]* (see **can[d]**), **-gejn* (see ***ceμ-**), or **-gē:n* (see **cein**); or otherwise **carreg** (which see) + **-an**.

Enterkine Ayr (Tarbolton), and Enterkin Burn and Pass Dmf (Durrisdeer) PNDmf p. 33, + **neint*, see **nant**, + **-ī[r]**-, which see, or else **-can[d]**-, *-cejn* (see ***ceμ-**) or **-ceñ**.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Pennygant Hill Rox (Castleton) CPNS p. 354 + **pen[n]**- + **-ī[r]**- (which see); the lenition is abnormal, if this is **cant**: it is close to the Rox/Dmf border, but see also **gint**.

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

*carad

IE **keh_a-* (verbal root, ‘love’) + *-r-* + *-t-* (participial) > eCelt **carato-/ā-* > Br **carato-/ā-* > M-MnW *carad-* (+ various suffixes), Corn *karad-*, Bret *karad-*; cf. OIr verb *caraid* ‘loves’.

See OIPrIE §20.8 p. 343.

‘Beloved’.

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

*carβan (m)

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

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

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

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

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

*carden, *carden (f)

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

The meaning has generally been taken to be ‘a wild place, a thicket’. However, GPC gives ‘enclosure, fort’ beside ‘thicket’, and Breeze has shown (1999b) at pp. 39-41, that the latter sense is largely derived from a misunderstanding on the part of the late 18th century lexicographer W. Owen Pughe. Breeze argues that ‘a fort, an enclosure’ is a more likely interpretation of the three recorded instances of this rare word in Middle Welsh poetry, but see Nicolaisen (July 2000) at p. 5, Breeze’s rejoinder (2002d), Nicolaisen again (2007) at pp. 120-1; A. James (2009, reviewing Cavill and Broderick 2007) at pp. 150-1 writes: ‘An impartial reading of the citations in GPC

suggests that a *cardden* is somewhere difficult to get into or through. A meaning like “an enclosure surrounded by a thick hedge” would seem reasonable. In any case, it was apparently adopted by Gaelic speakers as a place-naming element,’ (see Taylor 2011, pp. 101-2) ‘and its meaning may have been modified in their usage’.

Jackson (1955a, see also Nicolaisen, SPN² p. 204, and idem 1996, pp. 25-7 and map III) regarded the use of ***carden** in place-naming as a feature of Pictish, and (at *Problem* p. 164), he explained *-rd-* as an example of the non-lenition of voiced stops after *-r-* characteristic of Pritenic. However, following Watson (CPNS pp. 352-3), he noted its occurrence south of the Forth, indicating that some Pritenic features, both phonological and lexical, were shared by the northernmost dialects of Brittonic.

a1) Cardoness Kcb (Anwoth) PNGall p. 58 (misplaced in Girthon), [+ ON *-nes* ‘a headland’, **Carden-nes* eventually superseding *Karden* 1240 as the name of the stronghold]; see Brooke (1991) at p. 307.

Carriden WLo PNWLo pp. 225-6; Wilkinson, WLoPN p. 22, suggests ***carden** here, but the (epenthetic?) *-i-* is recorded as early as the 12th century; see also **Ē:dīn**.

c1) Cardross Dnb CPNS p. 353 + **-rōs**: Nicolaisen (1966, p. 24), puts this ‘on the fringe of Pictland’, ignoring its proximity to the British capital at Dumbarton!

Note that Cardross MLo is named after Lord Cardross, see WLoPN p. 22.

Carntyne Lnk ? + **-*dīnas**, but the 16th ct form *Cardindinas* is probably not reliable: see **carn** and ***carr**.

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

carn (f)

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

‘A heap of stones’. In place-names it can refer to a rocky hill or hillock, a tumble of stones or scree, or a man-made feature, such as a boundary, a way-mark, or a prehistoric or later burial-mound. In southern Scotland, as in Pictland, it may have been widely replaced by Gaelic *càrn*, and subsequently by Scots *cairn*. Its use in the names of quite large hills in the Grampians seems to be a feature of regional Pictish or Gaelic toponymy, not seen further south (see Drummond 2007, pp. 25-6, and Taylor, PNFif5 p. 322).

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

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

a1) Cairns, East and West, MLo PNMLo pp. 303-4, WLoPN p. 18, but probably Scots.

Stone Carr Cmb (Hutton Soil) PNCmb p. 213: Camden’s *Carron* may favour **carn**, but see also ***carr**.

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

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

Cairn Burn Kcb (Terregles) PNGall p. 52.

a2) Several names may be **carn-** + **-īg** or **-ōg**, though the ones in Scotland may be Gaelic formations, *càrn*–or *ceàrn*- ‘a corner’ + *-ach* or *-óg* (see Taylor’s discussion of Carnock Fif, PNFif1 p. 210):

Cairnoch Stg (St Ninians) + *-jōg* (see **-ōg**), Gaelicised with *-each*; identified by Barrow with *Kernach* in VK(J).ix: see Macquarrie (1997a), pp. 128-9.

Carnick Castle Wml (Waitby) PNWml2 pp xi and 25-6 + **-īg**.

Carnock Stg (St Ninians) + **-ōg**: traditionally identified with *Kernach*, but see Cairnoch above.

Charnock Richard, with Heath Charnock etc., Lanc (Standish) PNLanc pp. 129-30, JEPNS17 p. 73 + **-ōg** [with regular OE palatalisation in **ċærn-*].

Dalgarnock Dmf (Closeburn) CPNS p. 449, PNDmf p. 14 + **dōl-** + **-ōg**: possibly a lost stream-name, cf. Garnock below and see also ***gar**.

Duncarnock Rnf (Newton Mearns) + **dīn-** + **-ōg**: a hill-fort.

Garnock R, with Garnock parish, Ayr CPNS p. 449 + **-ōg**, but see also ***gār**.

b2) Cairndinnis ELo (Traprain) CPNS p. 372 + **-*dīnas**.

Cairnglastenhope Ntb (Simonburn) ? + a lost stream-name, ***glas-** or ***gleiss-** + **-īn-** [+ OE *-hōp*].

Cairngryffe Lnk CPNS p. 470 + **-grif**, which see.

Cairnmore Wig (x2, in Kirkmaiden and Mochrum) PNGall p. 55 + **-mōr**, but probably Gaelic.

Cairnpapple Hill WLo PNWLo p.3, WLoPN 17-18 + **-*pebīl**, but see discussion under that element.

Cairnryan Wig (Inch) PNRGLV p. 13 + ***rīyon**, see ***rīy**, but the first element is probably Gaelic *càrn*.

Cairntable Lnk CPNS p. 203 + **-*taβl**, which see.

Carfin Lnk (Bothwell) CPNS p. 367 ? + **-winn**: Gaelicised, if not Gaelic in origin.

Carmyle Lnk (Old Monkland) CPNS p. 367 + **-mę:l** (which see) or ***mīl**, or else **cajr-**: see Breeze (2000b), pp. 120-1.

Carnavel Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 59 + **-aβall**, but see under that element.

[*Chef*] *Carnenuat* in the Inquisition of David is unlikely to be the same place as Carnwath below, but a lost place-name formed + **carn-**, ? + **-*[h]īn**, + **-wī:δ**.

Carnesmoel Wig (= Kirkinner) PNGall p. 171, CPNS p. 182, Brooke (1991) p. 320 ? + **-mę:l**, but see ***carneδ**.

Carnetly Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 84 ? + **-dō-** (which see) + saint’s name *-*Eljō*, but see also **cajr**.

Carnwath Lnk CPNS p. 386 + **-ī[r]** - + **-wī:δ**, but see also **cajr** and **nōwīδ**.

Carntyne Lnk ? + **-ejthin**, or else ***carr-** + **-*nejth-** + **-an**; less likely are ***carden-** + **-*dīnas**, or ***carneδ-** + **-īn**, but see under ***carneδ** and ***dīnas**.

c2) Blencarn Cmb PNCmb p. 214 + **blajn-**.

Glencairn Dmf PNDmf p. 47 + **glīnn**, Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin; see also ***carden**.

***carneδ** (f)

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

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

In Welsh *uasge* and *p-n*s, especially in north Wales, it commonly refers to a cairn, a burial-mound or a similar-looking natural feature, but the identifiable examples below in southern Scotland are more substantial hills.

The Old Irish gerund *carnad* from the verbal root *carnaid* ‘heaps, piles up’ > Ir *carnadh*, G *càrnadh*; though they retain the abstract sense, ‘(act of) piling up’, this may underlie the Galloway Gaelic dialectal form *càrnas* used as a hill-name. The latter might have replaced ***carneð** in names like *Carnesmoel* and Cairnsmore, though these are probably Gaelic in origin.

a2) Cairnsmore of Carsphairn, of Dee, and of Fleet, all Kcb ? + **mōr**, but see above.

Carnethy Hill MLo CPNS p. 369, PNMLo p. 86 + plural morpheme *-i* or *-öü*.

Carnesmoel Wig (= Kirkinner) PNGall p. 171, CPNS p. 182, Brooke (1991) p. 320 ? + **mę:l**; less likely **car**n, or else Gaelic **carnas mhaoil*.

Carntyne Lnk ? + **-in**: the form *Carnethyn* in the Inquisition of David might suggest a long vowel in the final syllable, but its preservation in low stress – whether by late Cumbric, early Gaelic, or Scots speakers – would be surprising. See also **car**n and ***carr**.

***carr** (?m, but uncertain)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Carron R Stg CPNS p. 433, SPN² pp. 241-2, PNFESTg p. 46 + *-onā-*, see **-an**: Nicolaisen (1960) regards ***carr** as either an Old European or an early Celtic hydronymic element, but observes that the ‘Carron’ formation with a nasal suffix is peculiar to Scotland, where there are five rivers of this name. ‘Carron is extremely common, almost suggesting appellative usage of that term, at one

stage' idem (2011) p. 28; however, Hamp (1990), p. 193, argues for derivation from **kr-*, zero-grade of **ker[s]-* 'run', see ***carβan**.

Carrot Burn Rnf ? + *-ent-jā-*.

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

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

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

Names that are apparently not hydronymic in origin include:

Carrow Ntb (Newbrough) PNNtb pp. 39-40 ? + *-öü* [or an English formation with adopted *carr-* + OE *-rāw* > 'row', referring to a natural or man-made 'stone-row'].

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

Stone Carr (Penruddock) PNCmb p. 213: earlier *Carron*, but there is no river here. See also **carn**.

For names of the 'Carrick' type see **carreg**.

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

c2) Painshaw Drh (Houghton) DDRhPN p. 94 **pen[n]-**, perhaps + a plural form *-*ceirr*, with normal Old English palatalisation giving *-cer*, later replaced by OE *sceaġa* 'a wood' > *-shaw*.

carreg (f)

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

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

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

'A rock, a rocky place'.

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

a1) Cark, with High Cark, Lanc (Cartmel) PNLanc pp. 197 and 199; Ekwall suggests this may be from an earlier name for the R. Eea, in which case it could have been ***carrōg**.

Carketun Lanc (Childwall) P. B. Russell (1992) at p. 39 [+ OE *-tūn* 'a farm'].

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

Carrock Fell Cmb (Mosedale) PNCmb p. 305; PNCmb editors treat this as **carreg**, but the early forms give no support for that; see under ***carr** and ***carrōg**.

Currick Rox (Castleton) PNRox p. 13.

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

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

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

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

Cargo Cmb PNCmb pp. 94-5 ? + **-coll** or **-öü**, but cf. Carco above; early forms and the first-syllable stress favour **carreg-** rather than **cajr-** here.

Trevercarcou Dmf or Kcb (unlocated) + **treß-** + **-i[r]-**, ? + **-coll** or **-öü**, but cf. Carco above; or else + **-cajr-** or + ***carrōg-**, see both; on the location, see under **cajr**.

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

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

*carrōg (f)

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

See discussion under ***carr** and **carreg**.

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

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

carw (m)

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

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

‘A hart, a stag’.

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

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

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

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

c2) Garf Water, with *Abercarf* (= Wiston), Lnk + **aber-**, ? with Gaelic substitution of *-bh* for *-w*, but see also ***garw**.

cę:d (m)

?IE(NW) **kait-* > eCelt **caito-* > Br, Gaul *cę:to-* > OW *coit* > M-MnW *coed*, OCorn *cuit* > MCorn *col[ys]* > Corn *cos*, OBret *cot*, *coet* > MBret *koed* > Bret *koad*; cogn. Gmc **χaiþiz* > OE *hǣþ* > 'heath', ON *heiðr*.

The word is masculine, but in Modern Welsh functions as a plural or collective noun, with a feminine singulative *coeden*.

The Indo-European origin is uncertain, this may be a non-Indo-European word adopted by both Celtic and Germanic. On the phonological developments in neoBrittonic, see LHEB §27(3), pp. 328-30. On Anglicised forms, see *ibid.* §27(2B) at p. 327, and on forms with *-th* in north-west England, see Cubbin (1981-2); for examples throughout Scotland, and discussion of other possible sources of 'keith' in place-names, see CPNS pp. 381-3, and Taylor (2011) p. 85 and PNFif5, pp. 326-7; for a comprehensive overview and discussion, see Whalley (2021). The possibility that apparently Gaelic place-names with *-cha[i]dh* disguise an earlier Brittonic form with **-cę:d** should not be overlooked. On forms with *coid*, see under (c2) below.

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

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

Distributed widely in England (LPN pp. 223-4), in Cornwall (CPNE pp. 66-8), Wales ELI p. 49), and Scotland (SPN² pp. 220-1) including Pictland (CPNS pp. 381-2, Taylor 2011, pp. 86-7 and in PNFif5 pp. 326-7). Some concentrations of names with this element in the North are of interest as evidence of early-mediaeval woodland, for example in western East Lothian and in south Lancashire.

In early historical and literary sources:

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

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

CT60(VI) *gweith argoet llwyfein*: + **ar-**, '[a place by] woodland associated with *llwyfein*'; *argoed* was lexicalised to mean 'woodland, forest' as early as the 12th century, and so may be the case here, see GPC s.v. *argoed*. See PT p. 77 for other references to this battle in mediaeval Welsh literature, and for discussion of *llwyfein* see ***le:β**.

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

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

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

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

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

On Keith and related forms, see above.

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

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

Kittyflat MLo (Stow) PNMLo pp. 375-6 ? [+ ME/ Scots *-flat*, see EPNE1 p.175], possibly preserving a lost stream-name, cf. Keithing and Kethyn Burns in Fife, PNFif5 p. 326.

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

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

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

Other possibly affixed forms include:

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

Kevock Mills MLo (Lasswade) PNMLo p.283 ? + **-ōg**; cf. *aqua de Kethok* Fif, PNFif3 p. 47.

Worsley Lanc (Eccles) PNLanc p. 40, JEPNS17 p. 34 + **wor-** [+ OE *lēah* 'a clearing, pasture, meadow'] or else **-celli**: see Cubbin (1972-3), Whalley (2021) p. 136; Mills (1976), p. 152, favours an OE personal name *Weorc-*.

b1) Bathgate WLo CPNS pp. 381-2, PNWLo pp. 80-1 + ***bayed-**; perhaps a compound appellative.

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

Culcheth Lanc PNLanc p. 97, JEPNS17 P. 55 + **cūl-**, which see, and LHEB §15, pp. 302-3, §23.2, pp. 321-1, and §§136-7, pp. 554-7, Cubbin (1972-3), Whalley (2021) pp. 119-20, 125, 160-3.

Culgaith Cmb PNCmb p. 184 + **cūl-**; cf. Culcheth and refs. there.

Glascaith Cmb (Askerton or Kingwater) Lan Cart 153 + **glās-**; see J Todd (2005) at p. 93, and Whalley (2021) as for Culcheth above.

Glasketh Cmb (lost: possibly not the same place as *Glascaith* above, see Todd, loc. cit.) Lan Cart + **glās-**; see Whalley (2021) as for Culcheth above.

Towcett Wml (Newby) PNWml2 p. 146 + ***tūβ-** or ***tul-**, but see both of these.

Tulketh Lanc (Preston) PNLanc p. 146, JEPNS17 pp. 83-4 + **tul-**, which see, and see Whalley (2021) on the final consonant, and Padel (2013b pp. 13 and 21-2) for parallels in England and Wales.

Winckley, with Winkley (*sic*) Hall, Lanc (Mitton) PNLanc p. 141 (note that Ekwall spells it Winkley here, but Winckley on p. 40) ? + **wīn-** [+ OE *-lēah* 'a clearing, pasture, meadow']: see Cubbin (1972-3) at p. 181; or else **-celli**.

b2) Cathcart Rnf CPNS pp. 366-7 + river-name Cart, but see ***carr**; see also **cajr** (b2).

Cathpair MLo (Stow) PNMLo p. 362 + **-peir**.

See Whalley (2021) pp. 122, 137, 148-50 and 163 for both of the above.

c1) If Pencaitland, discussed under (c2) below involves an appellative *-*cē:d-lann*, it belongs here, along with:

Ketland Wml (Warcop) PNWml2 p. 85 ? + **-lann**, but the documentation is very late and inconsistent.

c2) Alkincoats Lanc (Colne) PNLanc p. 87 + ***al-** or **alt-** ? + **-tan-** **-ī[r]-**, which see [+ OE *-cot[e]* 'a cottage' replacing **cē:d** + later plural *-s*]; see Breeze, CVEP pp. 218-19. If correct, OE *-cot[e]* implies that the Brittonic form had developed a rounded vowel, *coīd*, so not before the early 8th century (see LHEB §27(3), pp. 328-30, James 2008, p. 199, Whalley 2021 pp. 135-6); or else **alt-** + **-īn**.

Blenket Farm Lanc (Cartmel) PNLanc p. 196 + **blajn-**.

Blenket Rig Cmb (Arlecdon) + **blajn-**; mentioned by Ekwall at PNLanc p. 196, though not in PNCmb; on OS 6th map 1867 (N. Whalley pers. comm.)

Carrycoats Ntb (Throckington) PNNtb p. 40 ? + **cajr-** + **-ī[r]-** [+ OE *cot[e]* 'a cottage' + later plural *-s*], but see also ***carr**; again, if OE *-cot[e]* has replaced **-cē:d**, this is a post-7th century development.

Coitquoit Pbl (Newlands) + ?-; perhaps ***cnuc[h]-**, cf. Knockcoid below.

Cumquethil Cmb (unlocated) Lan Cart 260 + **cumb-** [+ OE *-hyll*]: this might be the same as *Quinquaythil* below.

Dalkeith MLo CPNS p. 382, PNMLo p. 211 + ***dōl-**; absence of lenition here is probably due to the influence of the neighbouring Barony of Keith (see above, (a1), and Pencaitland below); this tract of woodland may well have extended as far west as the R South Esk. Cf. Dalkeith in Knr.

Dankeith Ayr (Symington) Taylor (2011) p. 87 + ***dōl-**: identical in origin to Dalkeith.

Dinckley Lanc (Blackburn) PNLanc pp. 70-1, JEPNS17 p. 45 + **dīn-** [+OE *-lēah* 'a clearing, pasture, meadow'], see Cubbin (1972-3) at p. 178, or else **-celli**, or cf. OW(LL) pers. n. *Dincat*.

Inchkeith Bwk (Lauder) CPNS p. 382 + **īnīs-**; for Inchkeith in the Firth of Forth, which may be formed with saint's name Coeddi, see PNFif1 pp. 411-12; perhaps the Bwk name is transferred from the island.

Kincaid Stg + **pen[n]-**, replaced by early Gaelic *cenn-*: cf. Pencaitland etc. below: it is interesting that neighbouring landholdings are named Kinkell (Gaelic *ceann na coille*, cf. CPNS p. 397) and Woodhead, essentially the 'same' name in three languages (P. Kincaid pers. comm.).

Knockcoid Wig (Kirkcolm) CPNS p. 381 (mislocated in Kcb), PNRGLV p. 93 + ***cnuc[h]-**; again, *-coīd* implies a rounded vowel when it was adopted by Gaelic speakers, see above under Alkincoats. However, this and the next entry could be Gaelic **cnoc-coimhid*, **cnoc a' choimhid*, 'watch-hillock', see Clancy (2012) p. 90, Whalley (2021) p. 135.

Knockycoid Ayr (Colmonell) + ***cnuc[h]-** + **-ī[r]-**; cf. Knockcoid above.

Lanrequeitheil Cmb (Burtholme) PNCmb p. 72, Lan Cart 149: ? + **lanerc-**, or else + personal (saint's?) name *Jiūðhael*, see **jūð**.

Rosket Lanc (Wigan) PNLanc p. 122 + **rōs-**.

Name-phrases with **pen[n]**- are common in Wales and Cornwall (see CPNS p. 181; see also Kincaid above):

Pencaitland, with Penkaet Castle (Fountainhall) nearby, ELo CPNS p. 355 + **-lann**; note that *coedlann* is a compound appellative in Middle – Modern Welsh meaning ‘a copse’ or ‘an orchard’ (cf. Ketland, (c1) above), and this might be involved in this place-name, perhaps (as Watson implies, CPNS loc. cit.) a monastic possession. However, Penkaet may well have been the primary name, and, if so, the **ce:d** was probably the tract of woodland implied by the Barony of Keith (see above), the name referring to a location at the ‘head/ end’ of that wood; see also Dalkeith above.

Penketh Lanc (Prescot) PNLanc p. 106, JEPNS17 p. 59; see above and Whalley (2021).

Penniquite Burn Ayr (Dalmellington) ? + **-i[r]**- (M. Ansell, pers. comm.); again, a rounded vowel is implied.

Quinquaythil Cmb (Walton, ? = Nickies Hill) Lan Cart 224 and 259-63: the first element is obscure, perhaps Middle Irish/early Gaelic *cenn-* replacing **pen[n]**- as in Kincaid above, or **cejn-* (see ***ceμ-**), but a personal name *Gwengad* may be involved [+ OE *-hyll*], see **cum[b]**, and also *Cumquethil* above.

cefel (m)

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

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

‘A work-horse, a nag’.

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

cein

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

See EGOW p. 24.

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

On OIr *cáin* see CIB #48 at p. 177 n1069: it forms the female saint's name *Cainer*, as at Bothkennar Stg (+ **bod-**) and Kirkiner Wig.

Cĕin- + *-jā-* is a plausible alternative as the etymon for the stream-names listed under **cant** (a2), namely:

Cargen, with Cargen Water, Kcb (Lochrutton)
 Enterkin Pass Dmf (Durrisdeer)
 Enterkine Ayrs (Tarbolton)
 Glencoyne Beck Cmb (Watermillock)/ Wml (Patterdale)
 Water of Ken, with Kenmure, Glenkens and Loch Ken, Kcb
 Kinder R, with Kinder Scout, Drb
 King Water Cmb
 See **cant** for discussion of these.

**celeṃin* (m)

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

or, alternatively,

IE **kolh₁-* (o-grade of **kelh₁-* above) > eCelt **colem-īno-* > W *celefyn* etc.; cf. OIr *colba* > Ir *colbha*, G *colbh* ‘a post’, and G (Islay) verb *colbh* ‘to sprout, shoot’; cf. Lat *collis* ‘a hill’, *columna* ‘a column’, *culmen* ‘a summit’ and *culmus* ‘a stalk’, Gmc **χulni-* > OE *hyll* > ‘hill’, Gk *kálamos* ‘a reed’.

In Welsh, ‘a stalk, a stem’.

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

**celled*

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

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

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

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

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

celli (f)

IE **k^lh₁-* (zero-grade of **kelh₁-* ‘rise up, stand’, see ***celeṃin** and ***colūd**) + *-d-* > eCelt **caldī-* > Br **caldī-* (Gaul *caldī*) > OW(LL) *celli* > M-MnW *celli*, O-MCorn *kelli*, OBret *celli* > Bret *killi*;

O-MIr *caill* > Ir *coill*, G *coille*, Mx *coill*, *keyll*; cogn. Gmc **χultam* > OE, ON *holt* ‘a thicket, a coppice’, Gk *kládos* ‘a twig, a branch’.

See LHEB §72(1), p. 432.

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

It is strikingly rare in the North (as, as it happens, is *holt*), though it is common in Wales and Cornwall in names recorded from the 11th-12th centuries onward, and may have been replaced in Scotland by the Gaelic cognate (which itself is regularly anglicised as ‘Kell-’, see PNFif5 pp. 336-7).

a1) Kells Kcb PNGall p. 162 [+ Scots plural –s]; see also ***celled**, otherwise a Gaelic form with toponymic suffix, *coille-as* (Ansell 2022, p. 199).

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

b1) Winckley Lanc PNLanc p. 141 + **wīn-**, cf. Worsley above and see under **ceꝥ:d**.

c1) *Keltor* Stg (= Torwood, Blairdrummond) CPNS pp. 348-9 + **-torr**, or Gaelic *-tòrr*; either way, the partial translation into Scots is noteworthy.

c2) Dinckley Lanc (Blackburn) PNLanc pp. 70-1, JEPNS17 p. 45 + **dīn-**, cf. Worsley above and see under **ceꝥ:d**.

***ceμ-, ceμn, *cejn (m)**

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

A form ***ceμ- + -ed** may underlie:

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

Chevet, with Chevet Gange, YWR (Royston) PNYWR1 pp. 278-9.

Langschevet Lanc (Bury) see PNYWR1 p. 279 [+ OE *lang-* ‘long’].

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

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

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

Giffen Ayr (Beith) ? + **-ī[r]**-, but see Clancy (2008) at p. 101 n2; or else ***cōfīn**.

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

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

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

Harthkyn Cmb (lost field-name in Ponsonby) PNCmb p. 428 ? + **harð-**: see Breeze (2002e), pp. 310-11; otherwise MĪr **árd-choin* ‘hound’s height’ is possible, or cf. *Hartkin* below.

Hartkin Wml (Bampton) PNWml2 p. 190: cf. *Harthkyn* above, but ME **hard-kyne* (‘declivity, chasm’, ON *kinn*) is likely.

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

Tantallon ELo ? + **dīn-** + **-tāl-**, or else **can[d]** or **-cant**, but see under **tāl**.

Several hill-names in the Solway basin with ‘Kin-’ might conceivably be formations with **cejn-*, but early Gaelic *cenn-* (perhaps replacing **pen[n]**-) is always likely:

Kincriolan Cmb (Bampton) Lan Cart ? + **-*criaβol**.

King Harry Cmb (Cumwhitton) PNCmb p. 79 + **-*hauar-** (which see) + **-īg**.

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

Kinmont Cmb (Corney) PNCmb pp. 364-5 ? + **-mōnīð**.

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

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

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

*cē:rδīn (f)

eCelt **cair-ad* + *-īnī-* (see **-īn**) > Br **cērdīnī-* > MW *kerdin* > W *cerddin*, Corn *kerden*, Bret singulative *kerzhinnen*; PrIr (Ogham) *-cairatin-* (in a personal name, see CIB #22 at pp 82-3 and n402) > MĪr *cáerthann* > Ir *caorthann*, G *caorann*, Mx *keirn*.

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

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

*cest (f)

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

See LHEB §7, pp. 282-3, CPNE p. 55.

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

c2) Prendergast Bwk (Ayton) ? + **prenn-** or **brinn-** + **-treß-**, with lenition: see Breeze (2002d); or else – **gast** which see However, both Hanks and Hodges (1988 s.n.) and Reaney and Wilson (1997 s.n.) derive the surname Prendergast from *Brontegeest* near Ghent in Flanders, saying that Prendergast Castle and parish Pmb are named from this family. Hanks and Hodges add that the Bwk place ‘apparently’ also takes its name from the family, while Reaney and Wilson (1997 s.n.) state more bluntly that it ‘takes its name from the Welsh Prendergast’. There was Flemish settlement in south-eastern Scotland as early as 1165x74, when this place-name is first recorded, see Toorians 1996. Flemington is two miles to the north-east; Burnmouth, another mile east, was formerly Port Fleming; and Toorians (op. cit. pp. 679, 688 and 693) identifies records from this period of several Flemish-named persons in the adjacent parish of Lamberton. So a derivation from *Brontegeest*, or some other Flemish name, seems likely, perhaps via some branch of the Prendergast family, though a direct connection with the place in Pmb need not be assumed. However, see Taylor 2021, 55 – 7.

*cīb (m, but variable?)

Latin *cūpa* adopted (with gender-change) as British **cūpo-* > MW *kib* > W *cib*, Bret *kib* (not recorded in Cornish); cf. OE *cy:pe*.

See LHEB §15, pp. 302-3, and §23(1), pp. 317-19.

Any rounded receptacle, ‘a bowl, cask, coop, cup, etc.’ It occurs in some, late-recorded, minor place-names in Wales, presumably with a topographic sense (though for Bwlchycibau Mnt Owen and Morgan, DPNW p. 59, give ‘pass of the husks’, *cibyn*, alongside possible *cibau* ‘referring to hollows in the local topography’). On the possible meaning ‘a fish-trap’, see Inskip below. See also ***cipp**.

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

*cīf (m)

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

See LHEB §§145-7, pp. 565-70, C. Smith (1983), p. 939, Parsons (2022) p. 98.

Primarily, ‘a block, a stock or stump, a tree-trunk’. Gaelic *ceap* is used of a small, pointed or lumpy hills on top of high ground (Drummond 2007 p. 27, PNFif5 p. 326). However, *cyff* in Welsh place-names, like its Cornish and Breton cognates, seems not to be a hill-name, but typically refers to once conspicuous tree-stumps or stump-like stones, including, perhaps, gravestones (see C. Smith and Parsons, both loc. cit.).

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

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

**cīl* (m)

IE **kuh_x-* (zero-grade of **keuh_x-* 'be bent, be rounded') + adverbial *-l-* > eCelt **cūlo-* > **cūlo-* > MW *kil* > W *cil*, OCorn *chil* > Corn **kyl* (in place-names, CPNE p. 58), Bret *kil*; O-MnIr *cúl*, G *cùl*, Mx *cooil*; cogn. Lat *cūlus*, Skt *kūla-*.

A de-adverbial noun from a root meaning 'back, behind'. In all the Celtic languages, the topographic meaning is typically 'a nook, a retreat, an out-of-the-way place', not 'back' in the sense of a 'a ridge', for which see **ceμ-*.

It is not easy to differentiate this from **cūl*, nor (in some cases) from Middle Irish/ early Gaelic *cill* 'a church'. In the Solway basin, it may also be replaced by Old Norse *gil* 'a ravine'.

b2) Gilcrux Cmb PNCmb p. 287 + *-crüg*; influenced by ON *gil* and Latin *crux* 'a cross', but see discussion under *crüg*.

[*siccam de*] *Gileredh* Wml (lost field-name in Newby) PNWml2 p. 148 ? + *-i[r]*- + *-*red* as a stream-name (A. Walker, pers comm).

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

cilurn[n] (n, later m)

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

The etymology is doubtful: see EGOW p. 28.

'A tub, a bucket, etc.'

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

*cī:n (m)

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

See LHEB p. 83, also §44 at p. 366 and §102 at p. 495, and C. Smith (1983), p. 939.

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

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

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

cint, *cinnor (m)

?IE **kmt-* (? zero-grade of **komt-* 'a hand', see *cant*) > eCelt **centu-* > Br **cintu-*, Gaul *Cintu-* (in personal names) > OW(LL) *cin* (cf. W *cynt*, 'formerly', Corn *kens* 'former, formerly', Bret *kint* 'before'); OIr *cét-*, *cétu* > Ir *céad*, G *ceud*, Mx [yn] *chied*; ? cogn. Gmc **χind* > OE *–hind*, *hinde-* > '[be]hind, hind[most], etc.'

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

'First', adverbially or adjectivally.

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

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

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

*clas (m)

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

The root-sense of *classis* is 'summoned, called up', so used of a group assembled or conscripted for a specific purpose – a military unit, a fleet, a school form. In early Christian monasticism, it was used of monastic communities; as adopted into (West) Brittonic, its meaning extended by metonymy (and was perhaps influenced by the, unrelated, *clausa* 'an enclosure, a close', and/ or by ***clē:ss** in the sense of 'an enclosing ditch, a monastic *vallum*') to the buildings and precincts of monasteries.

By the ninth century in Wales, *clasau*, like English minsters, seem to have served as mother-churches of extensive territories: see Pryce (1992), pp. 41-62, and Petts (2009) pp. 172-3.

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

b2) Clashmahew Wig (Inch) PNGall p. 71, PNRGLV p. 10: the saint here might be **Mōha*, Machutus, cf. *Lann Mocha* in LL (CPNS p. 197); Machutus of Gwent is traditionally identified with *Maclovius*, St Malo of Brittany; see Macquarrie (2012) pp. 381-2, and Taylor (2009) pp. 71-2. Whether or not this is the same saint, the generic has been Gaelicised to **clais-* (or *'glais < eaglais*), and the first syllable of the name interpreted as *-mo-* ‘my’. Clashmurray Wig (Kirkcolm) PNGall p. 71, perhaps Gaelic **clais-* or *'glais-Mhuire*, but could have been originally ***clas-** + *-Mair*, St Mary.

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

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

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

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

Glaisters Kcb (Kirkpatrick Durham) PNGall p. 146 [+ Scots pl. *-is*].

Rig o’the Glasters Wig (New Luce) [+ Scots *rigg o* ‘ridge of’ and pl. *-is*].

***cl̥e:ss (m)**

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

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

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

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

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

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

*clijar

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

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

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

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

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

*clog (f), *clegir* (m)

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

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

‘A rock, a crag, a steep cliff’, in place-names maybe a standing stone or other stone perceived as significant, as at Clackmannan, just outwith our area, formed with Gaelic or Gaelicised *clach*- plus the P-Celtic regional or ethnic name *Manau* (see ***man-**) in a Gaelicised genitive singular form *-Mannan*; see Taylor (2020) pp. 290-3.

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

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

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

b2) Clayshant Wig + -: Brooke (1991) at p. 320 lists this as Brittonic because of the form *Clocsent* c1275, but it is likely to be early Gaelic **clach-sénta* ‘signed, i.e. carved or inscribed, stone’.

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

Lochmabenstone Dmf (Gretna) *Clochmabenstane* 1398, CPNS pp. 180-1: Gaelicised if not Gaelic *Cloch*-. See Clancy (2016), pp. 75-7. For discussion of *-Mabon-* see **mab** [+ OE *stān* > ‘stone’, Scots *stane*]. The eventual loss of initial C- is due to the influence of Lochmaben, some 18 miles north-west.

c2) Drumclog Lnk CPNS p. 203 + ***drum**-.

Brittonic **cloc-erjo-* > OW(LL) *clecir* > M-MnW *cleg[y]r*, Corn **cleger* (in place-names, CPNE p. 60), OBret *cleker*, *clecher* > Bret *kleger*. *Cleg[y]r* is common in Welsh place-names, see AMR. It is sometimes used as a plural form of *clog*, but it can refer to a single rock or crag, see Williams (1945), pp. 23-4.

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

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

clūd (f)

IE(WC) **klowh_x-* (o-grade of **kleuh_x-* 'wash') *-teh₂-* > eCelt **cloutā-* > Br **clō:tā-*; cf. Latin *cloāca* 'a sewer' < early Latin **cluo* 'I cleanse', OE *hlūttrian* 'to make clear, purify', Gk *klūtō* 'I wash'.

The form is apparently past participial, so the root sense is 'pure, cleansed' rather than 'she who washes, purifies' (see Isaac (2005) at p. 195). Usage in Celtic personal names may support the inference that **Clō:tā-*, presumably 'she who is pure', was a deity (cf. CPNS p. 44, PNRB p. 310, CIB #14 at p. 32 n57, #38 p. 116 n638 and #46 p. 147 n872), though Nicolaisen, SPN² p. 229, considers it 'primarily a river-name'.

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

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

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

c2) *Kinclaiith* Lan (Glasgow) ? + **-cömber**: see Taylor (2007b) p. 4, and Whalley (2021) p.125.

cnou (f)

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

See LHEB §46(2), pp. 370-2, and §207(5), pp. 685-6.

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

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

**cnuc[h]* (m)

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

The etymology is problematic: the relationship with the Germanic words like OE **cnocc* is uncertain, but the evidence favours a root, which may be non-Indo-European, common to Celtic and Germanic; there may be a connection with the hypothetical ***cönig**, but see discussion under that heading. For later developments in the the English/ Scots words, see, s.v. ‘knock’, OED sb², DOST n² and SND n³.

In place-names, ‘a knoll, a hillock, a small but pronounced hill’. On this element in place-names in Wales and Ireland, see Richards (1960-1) and Matley (1965), on its cognate's frequency in Gaelic toponymy, Drummond 2007, pp. 29-30.

As the great majority of names with ‘Knock-’ or similar in the North are in areas of Gaelic or Irish-Norse influence, only those with a possibly Brittonic specifier are listed below:

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

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

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

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

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

Knockietore Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 182 + **-ī[r]-** + **-torr**.

Knockmain Kcb (Girthon) ? + **-mayn**.

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

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

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

Knockycoid Ayr (Colmonell) + **-ī[r]-** + **-cē:d**, which see.

See also the names discussed under ***cönig**.

coch

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

See LHEB §145, pp. 565-6, and §147, pp. 569-72, but note also CIB #42 at p. 134 and refs.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Cockcrossen Kcb (Tongland) PNGall p. 75 + **-rōs-** + **-an** or **-īn**, but see **rōs**.

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

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

*cöfin (m)

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

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

‘A (common, shared) boundary.’

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

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

*cog, *cūg (f)

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

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

a2) Gogar, with Gogar Burn, Stg (Denny) CPNS p. 210, PNFESTg p. 40, WLoPN p. 17, and Gogar, with Gogar Burn, MLo (Ratho) PNMLo p. pp. 352-3, ? + **-ar**; proposed by Wilkinson in WLoPN, but see also **wo-**, **coch**, ***cor**, ***wogerð**, and **garth**.

c2) Blencogo Cmb PNCmb p. 122 + **blajn-** ? + **-öü**, but see above [or ON *-haugr* > ME *-howe* may be involved].

Penicuik MLo CPNS p. 355, PNMLo pp. 333-4 + **pen[n]**- + **ī[r]**-: see Watson, CPNS loc. cit., on the absence of lenition, and under **ī[r]**- on the date of formation. The vowel here may imply a Cumbric **cūg*, which would have been adopted as late Northumbrian OE **cūc* > Scots *-cūk*: see LHEB §22(3) at pp. 316-17.

*cogr (f)

IE **keu-* (‘bend’) + *-kr-* > eCelt **coucrā-* > Br **cō:crā-* > M-MnW *cogr-* (in compounds), Corn **coger* (in place-names, CPNE p. 62); OIr *cúar* > Ir, G *cuar*, Mx *coar*; cogn. Skt *kucati* ‘bends, curves’, and cf. Gmc **χauχaz* > OE *hēah* > ‘high’, ON *haugr*.

See OIPrIE §22.5 at p. 383.

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

a1) Cocker R, with Cockermouth, Cmb PNCmb pp. 9 and 361.

Cocker R, with Cockerham, Lanc PNLanc pp. 168 and 170, JEPNS17 p. 170.

Cocker Beck, with Cockerton, Drh (Darlington) DDrhPN p. 27.
Cokerdene Lanc (Leyland) PNLanc p. 168 [+ OE *denu* 'valley']; a lost stream-name.

*cöle:n (f)

?IE **skol[h₁]*- (o-grade of **skel[h₁]*- 'cut, split') + *-n-* > eCelt **colan-jā-* > MW *celein* > W *celain*, OBret *colæn* > MBret *queleenn* > Bret *colenn* (not recorded in Cornish); OIr *colainn* (falls together in Irish and Gaelic with *colann* 'a body' < **colanā-* (see below), dative *colainn*).

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

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

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

*coly (m), *colyinn (f)

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

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

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

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

Closely related is Celt **colīnā-* > Br **colīnā-* > W *celyn*, Corn *kelin*, Bret *kelenn*; OIr *cuillen* > Ir *cuilean*, G *cuilionn*, Mx *cuilean*, all 'holly', cognate with OE *holegn* > 'holly'. However, a form with the plural or collective suffix *-inn* is recorded as OW *colginn* (glossing *arista* 'awns, beard on an ear of grain'), OCorn *culin* (glossing *palea* 'chaff'): see EGOW p. 34, and, on the apparent absence of i-affection, LHEB §162, pp. 589-90, and §172, pp. 606-9, and CIB †18 at p. 65.

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

a2) Conheath Ntb (Bellingham) and Conheath Dmf (Caerlaverock): see Barrow (1992), p. 132n22. These have *Colne-* and *Culen-/Kulen-* in early forms, the latter suggesting Gaelic influence. Alternatively, they may be associated with the river-names derived from **col-aunā-* > **colūn*, of unknown meaning, see ERN p. 88 on the R Colne Esx, along with LHEB §20 at pp.

308-9 and §208 at pp. 688-9 on Clowne Drb and Clun Shr (but for the Rivers Colne in Lanc and YWR, see ***cal-**); if so, this may be another case where an ancient hydronym came to be identified with a tree-name, cf. **derw** for the ‘Derwent’ and ***le:β** for the ‘Leven’ families. [Both Conheaths have OE *-hæp* > ‘heath’].

coll (f)

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

‘Hazel’, collectively. On hazel in Celtic mythology see DCM p. 235, on its importance in prehistoric and early historic Scotland, see Dickson and Dickson (2000), pp. 257-60.

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

a1) Celtic stream-names may be preserved in:

Colloway Lanc (Lancaster) PNLanc 175 and Cowan Bridge Lanc (Tunstall) PNLanc 184 (? + OE *-ing*², see Watts in DEPN(C) s.n. Cowan Bridge).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Moscow Rnf (Kilmarnock) CPNS p. 378 + **mayes-**.

*colūd (gender uncertain)

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

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

*cömar (m, but earlier f)

IE *ko[m]- ‘together’ + *-h₂erh₃y-* ‘plough’ (verb) > eCelt *com-arā- > Br *comarā- > MW *kyuar* > W *cyfar*, Corn *kevar (in place-names, CPNE p. 56), MBret *cemer* > Bret *keñver*; OIr *ceamar* > Ir *cómhar*.

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

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

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

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

cöंबर, *cüंबर (both m)

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

On the reduction of the prefix, see LHEB §199, pp. 657-9, and §201, pp. 664-6; on the assimilation of *-mb-*, see *ibid.* §§111-112(1), pp. 508-11.

The Pictish form (apparently restricted to Ang, east Per, and Fif) shows a different development, with loss of nasality and voice, so that *-nb-* > *-pp-* > *-p-*, and preservation of rounding in the vowel of the first syllable (see PNFif 4 p. 283 anent *Cupar*, and *ibid.* 5 p. 347). Both the Pictish and the Cumbric (see below) forms are important as evidence for distinctive features in northern P-Celtic from an early date.

‘A confluence’. The semantic base and possible religious associations being similar to those of **aber**, which see, the only distinction might be that *con-* was used where the two watercourses were more or less equal in size.

Cymer is quite frequent in Wales, DPNW p. xxxix lists six examples, and in Cornwall where CPNE refers to six or seven. In the North, the distribution overlaps with that of **aber** in Dmf (and, doubtfully, further north), but it is apparently largely restricted to the Solway basin. Note that most of the place-names listed below show (in their early and modern forms) *-u-* in the first syllable, suggesting a Cumbric *cüंबर, higher and more rounded than its Welsh equivalent and comparable to Pritenic *cuper.

a1) Camerton Cmb PNCmb pp. 281-2 [+ OE *-tūn* ‘a farm’]: consistently *Cambre-* in early forms, making either **cöंबर** (or Cumbric *cüंबर) or OE *Cumbre-* (see **cöंबरöy**) doubtful. Gillcumber Head Wml (Winton) PNWml2 p. 29 [+ ON *gil-* ‘a ravine’], but no documentation before the 19th ct.

b2) Cumbernauld EDnb CPNSp. 243 ? + **-in-** + **-alt-**: this is generally taken to be Gaelic, *comar-nAlt, see CPNS loc cit and Ó Maolalaigh in *Uses*, pp. 19 and 47, but *Cumyr-* 1417, hints at a Cumbric predecessor.

Cummertrees Dmf PNDmf p. 18 + *-*trēs: -b-* in *Cumbertres* 1204 and 1207 favours a Brittonic origin here. See Breeze (2005b), but see also **cömröy**.

Longcummercatiff Cmb (Holme Low) PNCmb p. 293 + *-?* [+ OE *lang-* > 'long']: see Coates in CVEP, p. 283.

Kinclaith Lan (Glasgow) ? + *- clüð*: see Taylor 2007b, p. 4.

cömröy (m pl)

IE **morǵ-* > eCelt **mrogī-* > Br **com-* (<IE **ko[m]-*, see ***cöuar**) *-brogī-*, cf. Gaul *-brogā-*, > OW(LL) plural *cymry* > M-MnW *Cymry*; adopted in MÍr as *combrec*, see below.

On the etymology of this and related Welsh words, see Hamp (1982) and Schrijver (1995), p. 133.

The root meant primarily 'a boundary', cf. Latin *margo* 'a margin, a boundary', Gmc **markō-* > OE(Ang) *merc* > 'mark', ON *mork* (and Gmc **markam* ON *mark* 'a landmark'). This developed in the Celtic languages as M-MnW *bro*, OÍr *mruig* > MÍr *bruig*, eG *bruigh*, 'a piece of land, a territory', and in ethnic names, as *-*brogoi* 'inhabitants', see ACPN p. 56. The combination in Brittonic with the prefix **com-* (which, as Hamp loc. cit. shows, must post-date *-mr-* > *-br-*) would have formed a noun, 'people living in the same territory, fellow-countrymen'.

Cormac used the Middle Irish adopted form *combrec* as a noun for 'the Brittonic language' (*Sanas Cormaic*, ed Meyer 1913, entries 110 and 206). As this preserves *-mb-*, the word was probably being used in a general sense for Brittonic speakers by 900. However, there is no real evidence for its use in a specifically ethnic sense until the tenth century, when it occurs at least fourteen times in *Armes Prydein* (see Williams 1972, pp. 20-1), referring primarily to the Welsh of Wales: on this and other uses in Old-Middle Welsh literature, see R. G. Gruffydd in Bromwich and Jones (1978), pp. 25-43, and Rowland (1990), p. 389.

In the later tenth century, the Latinised form *Cumbri* is used by Æthelweard (Chronicle IV s.a. 975, in the dative plural *Cumbri*), and he also used *Cumbrenses* (s.a. 875, where it significantly translates A-SC's *Stræcled Walas*). William of Malmesbury and Symeon of Durham (or his source) use *Cumbri*, but Florence/John of Worcester, Richard and John of Hexham, Richard of Howden and Ailred of Rievaulx generally use *Cumbrenses*. The derived territorial name *Cumbria* is used by John of Hexham and William of Newburgh, and occurs in legal documents from the thirteenth century. The questions, who exactly were the *Cumbrenses* and what territory was known as *Cumbria*, are controversial and probably require differing answers in different textual and historical contexts.

Ælfric in his life of St Swithun XXI 450 uses the Anglicised form *Cumera* (as genitive plural) for all the 'Britons' whose kings paid homage to Eadgar in 973. However, the form occurring in English-formed place-names is normally **Cumbre*, genitive plural **Cumbra* (EPNE1 P. 119, see also Gelling, *Signposts*, pp. 95-6). Outwith the Old North, it occurs in the Welsh border counties and through much of the Danelaw, suggesting that it is evidence of Cumbric- and Welsh-speaking migration during the period of Scandinavian rule rather than indigenous Brittonic survival: see A. James (2009). However, the use of *Cumbra* as a personal name, presumably a for someone perceived as a 'Briton' in some sense, should not be overlooked: see Gelling loc. cit. and cf. Smith in PNYWR2, p. 216. Possible examples in the North include:

Camerton Cmb PNCmb pp. 281-2 [+ OE *-tūn* 'a farm'], but see **cömber**.

Comberhalgh, with Cumeragh Lane, Lanc (Kirkham) PNLanc p. 149, JEPNS17 p. 86 [+ OE *-halh* 'land in a river-bend' or 'a detached portion of land'].

Cumber Coulston ELo (Haddington) not in PNMLo; see Morgan (2013) pp. 46n and 48, but this was held in the time of William I by William de Belencumber, i.e. Bellencombe in Normandy, so the prefix is likely to be from that name (W. Patterson pers. comm.)

Cumberland PNCmb p. 1 [+ OE *-land*].

Cumberworth YWR (Emley) PNYWR2 p. 216 [+ OE *-worþ* ‘an enclosure’].

Cummersdale Cmb PNCmb p. 130 [+ English genitive plural *-s-* + > ‘dale’ < ON *dalr*].

Cummertrees Dmf PNDmf p. 72; see P. Morgan loc. cit., but see also **cömb**er.

An Old Norse genitive plural **Kum[b]ra* is evidenced in the Cumbrae Islands, *Kumreyiar* in *Háconssaga Háconssonar* 1263x84, and see Hines (2002) at pp. 13 and 27.

*cōn (f)

Latin *canna* > Insular Latin **cāna*, adopted as British **cānā* > MW *caun* > W *cawn*, Corn **keun* (in place-names, CPNE pp. 55-6).

‘Reeds’, collective noun. Possibly in:

c2) Glencoyne, with Glencoyne Beck, Cmb (Watermillock)/ Wml (Patterdale) ERN p. 178, PNCmb pp. 15 and 254, PNWml2 p. 222, DLDPN pp. 131-2 + ***glinn-**, perhaps as the name of the beck, but see discussion under **cant**, and also **can[d]**, **cant** and **cein**, and LHEB §27(a2) at p. 328.

*cōne:d (f?)

An ancient toponymic term of uncertain origin and meaning, represented by river-names of the ‘Kennet’ type, and possibly by names of the ‘Cound’ type: the British antecedent form was presumably **cunētju-*, see PNRB pp. 328-9, ERN pp. 99 and 225-8, LHEB §28 at p. 332 and §204 (B4) at p. 676, but see also **cū[n]**. Relevant cases in the North are:

Coundon Drh DDRhPN p. 30 [+ OE *-dūn* ‘a hill’, or else OE *cuna-*, genitive plural of *cū*, ‘cows’ + *-dūn*]: Watts, DDRhPN loc. cit., compares Cound Brook Shr (PNShr1 p. 102), and Countisbury Dev (PNDev p. 62) [+ OE dative singular *-byrig* ‘a stronghold’], but he points out that neither at Coundon nor at Countisbury is there any substantial river, and that the OE generics of both Coundons and Countisbury imply hill-names.

Water of Ken, Kenmure, Glenkens and Loch Ken, Kcb PNGall p. 162, but **cein[d]*- (see **can[d]**) or **cant** + *-jo-*, or **cū[n]**- + **-ed-** + *-jo-*, are also possible, but see discussion under **cant**.

Kent R Lanc/Wml border PNLanc p. 169, PNWml1 p. 8, ERN pp. 226-8: for Jackson’s dismissal of Ekwall’s derivation from **cūnetjo-* see **cū[n]**.

In regio quae dicitur Kintis VCuthA, site of a miracle of St Cuthbert, indicates a territory in Northumbria possibly named from a river (or other topographic feature) with a name of this type. *Polterkened* Cmb (Gilsland) LanCart + ***polter-**: this may well be a stream-name of the ‘Kennet’ type, but see also ***ceμ-**, **-ed**, and ***cōnið**.

*cōnið (m)

Br **cūn-* (see **cū[n]**) + *-ido-* > M-MnW *cynydd*.

‘A master of hounds’, cf. *Kynwydion* (< **Cūnētjones*), name of a Strathclyde war-band. Suggested as a stream-name by Breeze (2006b) at p. 330, in:

c2) *Polterkened* Cmb (Gilsland) LanCart + ***polter-**, but see also ***ceμ-**, **-ed**, and ***cōņę:d**.

***cönig** (m/n?)

A very problematic form apparently underlying the three County Durham place-names and one in Lancashire, all discussed below, along with Conock and Knook Wlt and Combs Ditch Dor; it may also be possibly relevant to some of the names considered under ***cnuc[h]** (which is almost equally difficult). Several proposals have been put forward over the years, but none has achieved general acceptance:

1) An IE **kun-* or **kn-*, perhaps related to **ġonu-* ‘a knee’, > eCelt **cuno-* ‘a point, a height’, + *-āco-* (see **-ōg**); see ERN p. 225-8, where Ekwall derives the river-name Kennet from the same proposed root, + *-et-jā-* (see **-ed**). However, Jackson (1948), pp. 54-9, and (1970), p. 71, challenges the existence of any such root, and Coates (1982-3), pp. 15-16, gave reasons for rejecting *-āco-* in Consett Drh (see below). Still, the possibility of ancient (non-Indo-European?) **kun-* associated either with rivers or with hills, cannot be ruled out; such a root may also be involved in * **cnuc[h]**: see (4) below.

2) A Brittonic personal name **Cūnāco-* > Welsh *Cynog* (see **cū[n]** and **-ōg**): Coates’s objections would still apply in the case of Consett, though Breeze (2002-3), makes a case for a Middle Breton form *Conek*, introduced here by a Norman-period Breton settler. However, this leaves the other place-names in the group unexplained.

3) An early Celtic **concos* ‘a horse’, proposed by H. Birkham as cited in PNRB, p. 314: Rivet and Smith favour this in *Concangis* (Chester-le-Street Drh: see below), relating that name to a number of Roman-period personal and ethnic names such as the Celt-Iberian *Concani*, and suggesting a totemic tribal name. The word is otherwise unknown in Celtic, though ‘descendants abound in Germanic’.

4) An early Celtic, but not Brittonic, **cunuci-* is seen by Coates (1982-3), pp. 15-18, as phonologically the best etymon for the Durham place-names and for Conock Wlt. He regards it as ‘a hill-name (not necessarily a word for “hill”...)’, and leaves aside any questions of its root-etymology or of its relationships with either ***cnuc[h]** or with the ‘Kennet’ group of river-names. Nevertheless, acceptance of ancient root **kunuki-* or similar, possibly non-Indo-European though maybe common to early Celtic and Germanic, seems the most promising starting-point for an understanding of these perplexing names.

Concangis, PNRB pp. 314-15, corresponds to *Kuncacester* VCA and Symeon’s *Cunececestre* in *Libellus de exordio*, i.e. Chester-le-Street Drh, DDrhPN p. 28. On the suffix, ? *-anco-*, see PNRB p. 372.

a1) Consett Drh (Lanchester) DDrhPN p. 29 [+ OE *-hēafod* > ‘head’].

Cong Burn Drh DDrhPN p. 28 is generally taken to be back-formed from either *Kuncacester* or Consett, or else named after the eponymous ***cönig**, whoever or whatever that was. However, the stream-name could be primary, giving its name to both the settlements.

Cuncelachebruge Lanc (Ormskirk) P. B. Russell (1992) at p. 38 [+ OE *-læc-* ‘a stream flowing through boggy land’, + OE *-brycg* ‘a bridge’ in a secondary formation].

*cönnerch (m or n?)

IE **derk-* > eCelt **con-* (<IE **ko[m]*- ‘together’) –*derco-* > Br **conderco-*; cf. OIr *condercar* ‘looks around’; cf. Gk *dérkomai* ‘I see’, Skt *dr̥ṣṭi* ‘sight’.

A verbal noun from the root ‘see, gaze’ with the prefix *con-*, so ‘a viewpoint, a look-out place with views all around’.

Evidently this is the meaning at *Condercum* PNRB p. 316, the Roman fort at Benwell Ntb.

Coates’s suggestion, CVEP pp. 165-6, that this element underlies Kinder (Scout, etc) Drb, PNDrB p. 116, is doubtful: assimilation of *-nd-* > *-nn-* is unlikely to have been later than aspiration of *-rk* > *-rch*, see LHEB §112(2), pp. 511-13 and §§148-9, pp. 570-2. In any case, it is questionable whether any spot on this moorland plateau can really be said to have views ‘all around’ (except of extensive peat-bog!). The name Kinder appears in early modern sources to have referred only to land around the R Kinder, and the river-name may well be primary. See Brotherton (2005) at pp. 108-14, and discussion under **cant**.

*cor (m?)

A problematic word, with senses in Welsh usage and place-names (also in Cornish place-names, CPNE p. 65) of ‘a boundary, an enclosure, a limit’. It is generally associated with Middle Welsh *côr* ‘something plaited or bound’, which could presumably include a laid hedge or a wattle fence. However the etymology of this is obscure. It has received most attention in the context of Bangor, name of three major early monasteries (in Flt, Crn and Dwn): see Jones (1991-3). None of these is in the Old North, though the influence of Bangor-is-Coed Flt (see HE II.2) could well have extended as far north as the Ribble. The meaning of **ban-gor* is again generally taken to relate to either a wattle fence or other ‘woven’ structure forming the monastic enclosure, or to a monastic fish-trap.

The word is often associated with OIr *cora*, ‘a palisade or wall’, also ‘a fish-weir’, and occurring in compounds such as *cleth-chor* ‘a wattle setting’; it is a verbal noun from the root *cu[i]r-* ‘put, set in place’ (e.g. Watson, CPNS p. 210). However, the Indo-European root of this is probably **k^wr-*, zero-grade of **k^wer-* ‘do, make’ (OIPrIE §22.1, pp. 368-71), which would yield P-Celtic ***por* (or **pr-*, which may be present in Welsh *pryd* ‘a point in time’), not **cor*.

Alternatively, this element may be associated with Modern Welsh *cwr* ‘a corner, small point, end, projecting part, limit’ (and see again CPNE p. 65), cognate with OIr *corr* > Ir, early G. Mx *corr*, as a noun, ‘a corner, an end, a peak, a point’. Taylor in PNCIk, p. 73 sees this extending to river bends, which seems appropriate to three of the places named Gogar, see below.

a2) Corra, with Corhouse, Corra Linn and *Fincorra*, Lnk (Lesmahagow) CPNS p. 202 (not in index), Taylor (2009) at pp. 85-7 + **-ōg**: a territorial name, see Taylor’s discussion, loc cit.: Gaelicised, or else Gaelic *corrach* as an adjectival form of *corr* in one of its senses.

Gogar, with Gogar Burn, Stg (Denny) CPNS p. 210, PNFESTg p. 40, WLoPN p. 17, and Gogar, with Gogar Burn, MLo (Ratho) PNMLo p. pp. 352-3, + **wo-**: Watson, CPNS loc. cit., compares Gaelic *fochar*, literally ‘a small cast’, topographically ‘a hill-spur’, but this entails combining a Brittonic prefix with the Goidelic verbal noun *-cor* discussed above, and a semantic development that (if it occurred at all) was peculiar to some dialects of Scottish Gaelic. But see above and PNCIk 72-3; for other discussions of this troublesome place-name, see **coch**, **cog**, **garth** and ***wogerð**.

b2) Carmunnock Lnk CPNS pp. 196, 367 ? + - ***mann-**, which see, + **-ōg**, but see also **cajr**, ***cōr**, **bann** and ***mōnach**.

*cōr (m)

Gk *chorós* adopted as Latin *chorus* and thence as British **cōr-* > W *côr*, Corn *cür*, M-MnBret *cor*.

‘A choir’. The metonymic use for the quire as part of a church building is found in insular Latin from the eleventh century, though in Welsh only from the thirteenth. As church architecture and liturgical practices developed, it came to refer loosely, as did English ‘quire’, to the chancel, but there is no sign of its being used for free-standing structures until post-Reformation times (as in the Book of Common Prayer, ‘in quires and places where they sing’, and Shakespeare’s Sonnet 73, ‘bare ruin’d choirs’). The difficult Welsh place-name Corwen Mer has been interpreted as **côr-faen* ‘sanctuary stone’ (DPNW p. 98, also pp. 260-1 for late-recorded Llangorwen Crd), referring to a possible menhir incorporated into the building, but this rests on a misunderstanding: *côr* means ‘sanctuary’ in the liturgical sense of the sacred space around the altar, not in the wider sense of ‘a place of refuge’. All this casts doubt on Breeze’s (2000b) proposal of this element in:

b2) Carmunnock Lnk CPNS pp. 196, 367 ? + - ***mōnach**, but see also **cajr**, ***cor**, **bann** and ***mann**.

corð (m)

IE **kor-jo-* > eCelt **corjo-* > Br, Gaul *corjo-* > OW *-cord*, *-goord* (in compounds) > MW *cord* > W *cordd*, OCorn **corð* > Corn *cor-*, *-cor* (in compounds and place-names, CPNE pp. 64-5), OBret **cor* (in compounds and place-names); M-MnIr, eG *cuire*: cogn. Gmc **χarjaz* > OE *here* ‘army, war-band’ (OEG §331(4) n6, p. 138), and cf. Gmc **χarðjīs* > OE *heord* > ‘herd’.

From the earliest Indo-European attestations, this root refers both to ‘a people, a community, a tribe’ in general as well as to ‘an army, a host’ in particular (see ACPN pp. 64-5 DCCPN p. 16). In the Welsh Laws, it occurs in various compounds in its general, ‘civil’ sense, ‘a family, a clan’. However, in the Roman-British North, especially along and between the two walls, it seems to have been a term for a strategic central place, the ‘hosting place’ of a regional population.

In Classical records and inscriptions it is frequently garbled, sometimes being confused with the unrelated Latin term *curia*, ‘a court, an electoral, legislative or judicial meeting-place’ (see OCD s.n., senses 1 and 2). The confusion would have been scribal, not aural, see Jackson (1948) at p. 56.

Apart from the two surviving place-names (see below), lost place-names in Classical sources that may incorporate this element include:

Corionototæ PNRB p. 322, where T. Charles-Edwards’s interpretation is cited: **corjo-no-toutā* (> *tō:tā-*) ‘people of (a tutelary deity named) **Corjonos* (“lord of the host”)', referring to an otherwise unknown ethnic group probably from north of Hadrian’s Wall, who are commemorated in an inscription (RIB 1142) at Hexham Ntb.

Curia Textoverdorum PNRB pp. 329 and 470-2, and see Hind (1980a). Presumably the *corjā-* of another ethnic group, on whose name see ***tejth**, named on an inscription (RIB 1695) from Beltingham near Chesterholme Ntb.

Kórda PNRB pp. 316-17, a *pólis* of the *Selgovæ*, perhaps Castledykes Lnk, but note Jackson's reservations at LHEB p. 473 – 'highly doubtful'.

Kória PNRB pp. 317-19, a *pólis* of the *Damnonii*, perhaps Barochan Hill Rnf.

Koúria PNRB p. 320, a *pólis* of the *Votadini*, perhaps Inveresk MLo, Arthur's Seat MLo, Traprain Law ELo, or Corbridge Ntb (see Parsons in Parsons and Sims-Williams eds. 2000, p. 170, citing A. Strang).

The second part of the Roman-British place-name commonly given as *Corstopitum* (from the Antonine Itinerary) is hopelessly garbled. This too has been identified with Corbridge Ntb, see PNNtb pp. 52-4, Richmond (1958) p. 140n, PNRB pp. 322-4, Hind (1980a), and Wilkinson 2004 pp. 87-8 n62. Breeze's suggestion (2001a), **cor-so-betum* 'dwarf, i.e. seedling, birch-trees' (see **bedu*) is scarcely credible as a place-name and tortures the evidence. See also **cors** and **rid**.

The only possible traces of this element in surviving place-names are at Corbridge and Corchester, both Ntb PNNtb pp. 52-4 [+ OE *-brycġ*, *-ċeaster*]. Whether or not Corbridge can be identified with either of the early references above, both names may preserve an Anglicised form of **corð-** as the generic. However, absence of Old English i-mutation and presence of an apparent composition vowel in early forms (e.g. *Corebricg* c1040 [late 12th ct]) raise questions regarding the form and date of adoption.

corn (m), *corn* (f)

IE **k₁r-* (zero-grade of **ker-* 'horn') + *-n-* > eCelt **corno-* > Br **corno-* > OW *-corno-* (in compound), *corn* (LL) > M-MnW *corn*, M-MnCorn *corn*, OBret *corn* > Bret *korn*; OIr *corn* > M-MnIr *corn*, G *còrn*, Mx *corn-* (in derivatives); cognate with, or possibly adopted from, Lat *cornū*, also cognate with Gmc **χornaz*, *-am* > OE *horn* > 'horn'.

See PNRB p. 325, ACPN pp. 65-6, DCCPN p. 16.

Breeze (1999b), pp. 42-3, draws attention to the feminine noun *corn*, a variant of obscure origin occurring in hill-names in Wales (e.g. Y Gurn Goch etc. on the Llŷn Peninsula; see also Williams 1945 pp. 15-16). The vowel may have been raised by the following *-rn-*, though abnormally (cf. LHEB §4(1) pp 272-3), and shows no sign of a-affection.

Like its cognates, **corn** means 'an animal's horn', but extends to musical and drinking horns and to horn-shaped objects or features. *Corn* is used in Middle Welsh of conical or pyramidal mounds, heaps, ricks, spires etc.

A Brittonic place-name with this element might be hinted at in the lost *cornu vallis* in the anonymous Life of Abbot Ceolfrith 30. It has been speculatively associated with Hornsea YER or a location further south in Holderness.

Otherwise, 'the only derivative of [**corn**] which has survived in Scotland' according to Watson, CPNS p. 461, or indeed anywhere in the Old North, is:

a2) Cornie Burn, with Abercorn, WLo PNWLo pp. 12-13 + **-ig** (+ **aber-**). For variant forms of Abercorn in HE, see Plummer (1896) vol I p. 26: these confirm that *-corn* was current at an early date in the North (see above). The subsequent development to *-corn* could have been due to the influence of Brittonic, Pritenic or Gaelic. The connection with 'horn' is unclear.

cors (f)

eCelt **corecsā-* (cf. Italo-Celt **carec's-*) > Br **coressā-* > OW(LL) *cors* > M-MnW *cors*, OCorn singulative **korsen* (ms *kaisen*) > Corn **cors* (in place-names, CPNE p. 66), Bret *korz*; OIr *curchas* > Ir *curchas*, G *curcais*; cogn. Lat *carex*.

‘Reeds, rushes, sedge’, used pretty generally of marshland vegetation and, by metonymy, of marshes and swamps.

Coates, CVEP p. 272, considers this to be a word adopted into English as a place-name element, so regards formations with English elements (mostly found in southern and western England) as purely English. There seems to be no clear evidence for such adoption in the North, though **cors** can be hard to distinguish from ‘cross’ in its Old English, Goidelic or Brittonic guises (see **crojs**), or Gaelic *cars* < Scots *carse* ‘marsh, riverside, floodland’. The latter (< OScots *kers*, possibly < ON *kjarr* ‘brushwood’). is likely to have replaced it, and see also ***cras**.

This element might possibly be present, ? + **-peth** or **-rið** in the difficult Roman-British name *Corstopitum* PNRB pp. 322-4, but the recorded forms are evidently garbled: see discussion under **corð**.

Place-names in Cors- or Cars- are especially common in Galloway, see PNGall pp. 78-9. Examples where **cors** might be involved, include:

a1) *Corscruiks* MLo (Temple) PNMLo p. 387 [+ OE *crōc* > Scots plural *cruikis* ‘bends’]
 Corse Burn Kcb (x 2, Girthon and Minigaff).
 Corslet MLo (f.n. in Temple) PNMLo p. 386 [? + OE *læcc* > Scots *latch* ‘a boggy stream, a piece of boggy ground’].

a2) Corsick Rox (Smailholm) PNRox p. 35 + **-īg**, which see, or **-ōg** [or + OE *-wic*: Macdonald, PNRox loc. cit.], but see also **crojs**.
 Corsock Kcb (x2: New Abbey and Parton) PNGall p. 79 + **-ōg**, but see also **crojs**.

b2) Carsluith Kcb (Kirkmabreck) PNGall p. 62 + **-lē:d**: see Brooke (1991) at p. 349, but see also under **lē:d**.

Corselus Strand Kcb (Kells, ? + **-losg**).

Corsemalzie Wig (Mochrum) + stream-name Mailzie Burn, see **mayl** and **-īg**.

*cöü (m)

IE **keuh_x-* ? > eCelt **cowo-* > Br **cqwo-* > MW *ceu* > W *cau, cou*, Corn **kew* (in place-names, CPNE p. 57), Bret *kev*; MIr *cúa* > Ir, G *cuas*; cogn. early Lat *covus* (which may have been adopted as early Celtic **cowo-*) > *cavus*, Gk *koilos*, Skt *śu-* in compounds.

Noun or adjective, ‘hollow’.

b1) Glasgow Lnk CPNS p. 385 + **glās-**.

Linlithgow WLo PNWLo pp. 53-4 + **-lē:d-** or **-*lejth-**, see both of these, with + **līnn-** as a secondary formation.

c1) Cover R YNR ERN p. 100, PNYWR p. 2 + **-*ber** or **-bre[y]**, see LHEB §45(2) at p. 372; or else **gaβr-** or **woβer**, see both of these.

c2) Blencow Cmb (Dacre) PNCmb p. 186 + **blajn-**, or else **-coch** [or ON *haugr* > ME *-howe*]; see Breeze (2002c).

coubal (m)

Late Latin *caupal[l]us* > British Latin **cōupalus*, adopted to > OW(LL) *coupal-* > MW *keubal* > W *ceubal* (in compound *ceubalfa*), Corn **caubal-* (in a place-name, CPNE p. 44), OBret *caubal-*; ?OIr *caubal* (in GPC, but not DIL); adopted as OE(Ntb) *cuopil* > Scots and northern M-MnE *coble*, *cobble*.

See OED s.n. *coble*, DOST s.n. *cobill*, SND s.n. *coble*, LHEB §25, pp. 321-2, and §46(2), pp. 370-2, also Padel's discussion, CPNE p. 44.

'A skiff or small boat'.

a1) Cabus Lanc (Garstang) PNLanc p. 165 [English plural *-es*]: Breeze proposes this in CVEP, pp. 220-1, but early forms like *Kaibal* 1200x10, *Caybel* 1246 can hardly be from neoBrittonic *coubal* (LHEB §46(2), pp. 370-2). They might, very speculatively, reflect a Cumbric **caiūbal*, compare the SW Brittonic variant in Cornish and Breton; if so, it would have to be a late (post-eighth century) adoption into Northumbrian Old English to be phonologically plausible; however the form in the Lindisfarne Gospel (Matthew) gloss is *cuopil*, and subsequent ME/ Older Scots forms lend no support. Moreover, there seem to be no parallels for this word, whether singular or plural, being used as a simplex place-name.

*crach (f)

eCelt **c[a]raccā-* > Br **craccā-* > MW *crac* > W *crach*, Corn *cragh*, Bret *krak*; cf. M-MnIr and G *carrach*, Mx *carrag*.

See LHEB §57, pp. 403-4, and §§145-7, pp. 565-70, and CIB #42, pp. 135 - 9.

A collective noun, 'scab, mange' on animals, and 'scabs' on humans.

Breeze (2000b) at pp. 125-6, sees this in:

c1) *Crachoctre* Brw (unlocated: *Crachoctre Strete* apparently ran from near Reston Bwk toward Oldhamstocks ELo, M. A. Fenty pers. comm.) ? + **-*ūch-** or **-ōg-**, + **-treβ**. *Crachawg* as a derogatory term for pieces of land etc. is recorded in Welsh in GPC, but only from the fourteenth century and not at all in AMR.⁴ Moreover, this compound formation raises suspicion: compounds like **ocheldreβ* (see ***ūch**) and **nōwiðdreβ* (see **nōwið**) are likely to have been in use as common nouns, but that is improbable in this case, and, while pre-positioned adjectives are admittedly more common in Old and Middle Welsh than in Modern Welsh, and are normal in early compounds, we do not find formations with *-ācā-* > **-ōg-** in first position.

⁴ **Crachan* 'scabby one' as a stream-name is suggested for Pwllcrochan Pmb DPNW p. 402 on the basis of early forms, but *crochan* 'a cauldron' occurs as the name of three other streams in the same county.

However, a formation with ***och-dreβ** (north Brittonic equivalent of Welsh *uchdre* 'upper farm') might be plausible, but the first element would still be problematic, and unlikely to be ***crach-** 'scab, mange'. Scots/ northern Middle English *craik-* 'a crow' might be involved, but *-octre* can hardly be 'oak-tree' (as has been suggested), as Old English *āc* remained as [āk] to become *aik* in Scots and northern English.

A very tentative suggestion is **cre:g-** (which see) 'a rock', adopted into Old English and Scots as 'crag', 'craig'. The devoicing of *-g*,⁵ would imply that **Crāc* was originally an independent simplex place-name later combined with ***och-dreβ** to give **Crāc-ochdre* 'Upper-farm Crag'.

*crau (m)

IE(WC) **kremh₂u-* > eCelt **cremu-* > Gaulish and Italo-Celtic **cremu-*, but Br **cramu-* > MW *crav* > eMnW *craf*, not recorded in Cornish or Breton; MĪr *crem* > Ir, G *creamh*; cogn. Gmc **χremsaz* > OE weak noun *hramsan* > 'ramsons', Gk *krémmuon*, *krómmuon* 'an onion'.

On the lenition, see LHEB §98(2), p. 488.

'Ramsons, wild garlic (*Allium ursinum*)', though in early usage it may have referred to other members of the onion family.

a2) Craven YWR PNYWR6 pp. 1-2 + **-an**; cf. Cremona in Italy, on which see De Bernardo Stempel in Parsons and Sims-Williams (2000) at pp. 86, 88 and 105. Craven is likely to have been an early territorial name, perhaps a regional chiefdom incorporated into Northumbria as a *sćir*.

*cras

M-MnW *cras*, Corn *cras-* (in compounds), Bret *kras*.

A verbal root of uncertain origin, 'scorch, parch, bake', used adjectivally and also + **-ōg**. In describing land, the sense might be 'rough, hard'.

It is very difficult to distinguish this from **cors** or **crojs**, especially when + **-ōg**, and Gaelic *crasg* 'a crossing-place' (see **crojs**) adds to the complication.

a2) *Tercrosset* Cmb (Kingwater) PNCmb p. 97 + **torr-** + **-ōg**: see Coates CVEP p. 284, but Breeze (2006b) at p. 330, argues for **crojs** here.

cre:g (f)

?IE **kr* [s]- (zero-grade of **kar-*, see ***carn** and ***carr**) > eCelt **cr-* + *-acjā-* > West Br **cracjā-* > OW(LL) *creic* > MW *creig* > W *craig*; MĪr *craicc* > Ir *creig*, G *craig* (adopted as Scots *craig*).

⁵ cf. Blindcrake Cmb, Crake R Lanc, Crakeplace Hall Cmb (Dean), Craik Rox (Roberton), Craike Hill YER (Kirkburn) and Crayke YNR (an important early monastic site).

Note also eCelt **cr-* + *-acā-* > South-West Br **cracā-* (adopted via British and Old English as ME *cragge* > ‘crag’) > Corn **crak* (in place-names, CPNE p. 68), MBret *cragg*; cf. OIr *crec* > Ir, G *creag*, Mx *creg*.

On the etymology, especially the variation between forms in *-jā-* and *-ā-*, see LHEB §137, pp. 556-7, and §167, pp. 597-603. In forms adopted into Old English and Scots, the variation between ‘crag’ and ‘craig’ is a complex matter, reflecting not only the two different forms in early Celtic but also changes in vowel-length in Middle English and Older Scots, as well as possible adoption of Scandinavian-influenced forms.

As to the final consonant, *-c* [-k] would have been normal in a form adopted from Brittonic into early Old English (LHEB p. 557), and this is reflected in place-names in northern England and the Borders, but variation in early recorded forms and ultimate predominance of *-g* [-g] may reflect Goidelic influence (direct or via Scandinavian) or later developments in Middle English and Older Scots, as well as differentiation from northern Middle English and Scots *crake* ‘crack’.

‘A crag, a prominent rock’.

It is very difficult in many cases to judge whether a place-name originally contained this element in its Brittonic, Goidelic or English/Scots form, and/or whether one of these has been replaced by another. Confusion with **crūg** or its English-adopted forms is also possible, as well as with ON *kráka* (with possible OE cognate **craca*) > dialectal *crake* ‘a crow’.

a1) Simplex place-names where a Brittonic origin is reasonably likely include:

Crake R Lanc ERN p. 102, PNLanc p. 191 (note that Ekwall's allusion to a R. Craik in Wml seems to be erroneous).

Craik Rox (Roberton) PNRox p. 33.

Craike Hill YER (Kirkburn) PNYER p. 1 [+ ON *-haugr* > ME *-howe*, replaced by ‘Hill’ in later records].

Crayke YNR PNYNR p. 27: on the topography associated with the Northumbrian *mynster* here, see Blair (2005), p. 222 and note; both here and at Craike Hill, derivation from neoBrittonic **cre:g** seems justified, in spite of Thomson's doubts (1964, at p. 49).

Crichton MLo PNMLo pp. 191-2 [+ OE *-tūn* ‘a farm’].

Others, more doubtful, include:

Castle Greg Stg WLoPN p. 18 [+ME/Scots *castel-*], but see also **crūg** and ***wrūg**. Crakeplace Hall Cmb (Dean) PNCmb p. 367 [+ ME (< OF) *-place* > ‘place’ in the sense of ‘residence’, ‘Hall’ added later]; regarded by Armstrong et al. as Celtic, but ME *crake* ‘a crow’ seems very possible.

Crickle YWR PNYWR6 p. 39 [+ OE *-hyll*], but see **crūg** for discussion of this and similar place-names in YWR.

Greysouthen Cmb PNCmb p. 397 [+Mlr personal name *-Suthán*, so Mlr *craicc-* is more likely].

Greystoke Cmb PNCmb pp. 195-6 [+ OE *-stoc* or OE *stoc*/ ON *stokkr*], but see ***crei**.

a2) *Crec[c]hoc* Cmb (Upper Denton, = *Cretton* PNCmb p. 82) Lan Cart 56 + **-ōg**: see Todd (2005) at p. 94, where he also gives *Crechok* Lan Cart 214, probably a field-name in Banks Cmb (Burtholme), but see also **crīch**.

b2) There are no definite examples of this element as a generic in Brittonic name-phrases, but several apparently Gaelic place-names in southern Scotland could have been Gaelicised from Brittonic originals, e.g:

Craigantyre Wig (Stoneykirk) ? + **-[h]in-** + **-tīr**.

Craigdews Wig (Mochrum) PNGall p. 82 + **-dūβ**.

Craigdhu Wig (x2, Glasserton and Kirkcowan) PNGall p. 82 + **-dūβ**.

Craigdow Loch Ayr + **-dūβ**.

Craigdilly Slk (Yarrow) ? + **-tāl-** + **-ōg**, see **tāl**.

Craigentye Wig (Glasserton) PNGall p. 85 ? –[h]jīn- + **-tīy**, or Gaelic *creag an tighe*.

Craiglosk Kcb (Balmaclellan) PNGall p. 88 ? –**iosg**.

Craigour MLo (Newton) CPNS p. 137, PNMLo p. 331 ? + **-gaβr**, which see, or **-woβer**, but this is probably a modern, transferred name (see Dixon PNMLo loc. cit.).

Craigover Rox (Maxton) CPNS p. 137 ? + **-gaβr**, which see, or **-woβer**.

Craigower Kcb (Kells) PNGall p. 90 ? + **-gaβr**, which see, or **-woβer**.

Craigower Wig (Inch) PNGall p. 90 ? + **-gaβr**, which see, or **-woβer**.

Cf with these last four, Craigowerhouse Fif, PNFif4 p. 119.

See also ***crach** for discussion of *Crachoctre* Brw.

c2) Blindcrake Cmb PNCmb pp. 266-7 + **blajn-**.

Penraig ELo (East Linton) CPNS pp. 354-5 (incorrectly 345 in CPNS index) + **pen[n]-**.

Traverraig Dmf (Durrisdeer) PNDmf p. 34 + **treβ-** + **ī[r]-**.

Torcaik MLo (Borthwick) PNMLo p. 104 + **torr-**.

Trochrage Ayr (Girvan) CPNS p. 360 + **treβ-** + **ī[r]-**.

*crei

MW *crei*, MBret *crai*.

Etymology obscure.

The sense in Middle Welsh is ‘raw, untreated, unprocessed’, used of meat, milk, dough, cloth etc., though in Middle Breton it is ‘sour, over-fermented’.

It is generally taken to be the origin of the ‘Cray’ family of river-names, see ERN p. 103 and CVEP pp. 61-3, both mainly considering the R Cray Knt. As a river-name, it may have implied ‘fresh’, or ‘rough’ (of the river-bed), or even ‘bubbling’ (as in fermenting).

a1) Cray, with Cray Beck, Gill and Moss YWR (Arncliffe) PNYWR6 p. 116.

Cray YWR (Stainland) PNYWR3 p. 50; a lost stream-name here.

Crailling Rox PNRos p. 17 [+OE *-hline* ‘a ridge, a ledge’], or + diminutive suffix *-el* [+ OE *-ing*² ‘place named after...’], or else the first element might be a Northumbrian OE cognate of Old Norse *krá-*.

Greystoke Cmb PNCmb pp. 195-6 [+ OE *-stoc*, in the sense of ‘an outlying farm’, see EPNE2 pp. 152-6, or OE *stoc*/ ON *stokkr* > ‘stock, a tree-stump’, perhaps used as a prominent mark, EPNE2 p. 156], but see also **cre:g**.

*criaβol (f)

MW *kryawal*, *crawel* > W *criafol*, *criawol*.

‘Berries’, collectively, especially those of rowan. The singulative, *criafolen*, is a synonym for *cerddinen* ‘rowan-tree’ (see ***cērðīn**) in Middle Welsh.

c2) *Kincriolan* Cmb (Brampton) Lan Cart ? + *cejn-*, see ***ceμ-**, noting the reservation expressed there. The form in the Cartulary reflects a singulative **criawolen*, with *-β-* > *-w-*, implying adoption from late Cumbric into late Old English: see LHEB §65, pp. 414-15, and GMW §10, p. 9.

*crib (f)

Br *cripā- > MW *crib*, Corn *krib*, Bret *krib*

'A crest', in place-names 'a summit-ridge'. In Welsh place-names, AMR shows seven examples (diminutive forms such as *cribyn* are more common, cf DPNW p. 101); in Cornwall, Padel CPNE p. 70 lists several, though all but four are coastal rock-names. However, it does seem likely at:

a1) Cribbielaw MLo (Stow) PNMLo pp. 363-4 [+ OE *-hyll-*, + Scots *-law*]

crich

IE **kripo-* 'short hair, facial stubble', or *[s]kr- (zero-grade of *[s]ker- < *sek- 'cut' + -r-), + -p- > eCelt **crip-so-/ā-* > Br **criχso-/ā-*, cf. Gaulish personal name *Crix[s]us* and Lepontic place-name *Crixia* (ACPN p. 197) > OW *crich-*, feminine *crech-* (see EGOW §38, p. 36), > M-MnW *crych*, feminine *crech*, MCorn feminine *crech*, Corn masculine **krygh* (in place-names, CPNE p. 70), Bret feminine *krec'h*; cogn. Lat *crispus* (with metathesis).

Basically, 'crinkled, wrinkled', probably primarily of hair, but in place-names it could refer to the terrain or, if a stream-name, to the bed and/or the water rippling over it.

a2) *Crec[c]hoc* Cmb (Upper Denton) Lan Cart 56, and *Crechok* Cmb (lost field-name in Banks, Burtholme) Lan Cart 214, both + *-ōg*, but see discussion under **crę:g**.

*cris (gender unknown)

A hypothetical verbal noun associated with MW *dy-crysin* 'rush, hasten, attack', and *crysedd* 'onrush'.

This is proposed by Breeze (1999b), as a plausible stream-name in:

c2) Penchrise Burn, with Penchrise Pen, Rox (Cavers) PN Rox p. 5 + **pen[n]**-. Macdonald, PN Rox loc. cit., gives 'hill with a girdle', presumably invoking OIr *cris* > G *crios*; there is a hill-fort here, but **pen[n]**- is unlikely to have been prefixed to a pre-existing Goidelic name, and no Brittonic cognate of OIr *cris* is known.

crojs (f)

Lat *crux* > British Latin **crox*, adopted as Br **croχs* > OW(LL) *crois* > M-MnW *croes*, OCorn *crois*, MBret **croes* (in place-names), *croas* > Bret *kroaz*; O-MIr *crois* > Ir *crois*, G *crois* (note also *crasg* and *cròsg*, also possibly **crois*, see PNBute pp. 493-4 and 543), Mx *crois*; MIr *crois* adopted as ON *kross*, thence as late OE *crois* > 'cross'.

Note also the parallel development: Lat *crux* adopted (by more 'correct' speakers of Latin) as Br **croχs* > neoBrittonic **crujs* > M-MnW *crwys*, OCorn **cruws* > Corn *crois* (see CPNE pp. 72-3).

See LHEB pp. 86-7, §5 at p. 274, and §§126-7, pp. 535-40, and CIB #14 at pp. 23-4.

Primarily, ‘a cross’, in place-names, a monument of wood or stone in the form of, carved with, or surmounted by, a cross. Metaphoric extension to ‘a crossing-place’ or ‘a place lying across (a boundary, etc.)’ is common in Welsh and the Goidelic languages (see Márkus’s discussion of Crossbeg and Crossmore (Rothesay) in PNBute pp. 492-4 and 543-4), though doubtful in Cornish (CPNE pp. 72-3). In any case, confusion with Gaelic *crois* or *crasg*, as well as with the Brittonic elements ***cras** and **cors**, and the impossibility (very often) of knowing whether a cross once stood at any particular place, make confident identification and interpretation generally difficult.

a2) Corsick Rox (Smailholm) PNRox p. 35 + **-īg**, which see, or **-ōg** [or + OE *-wic*: Macdonald, PNRox loc. cit.], but see also **cors**.

Corsock Kcb (x2: New Abbey and Parton) PNGall p. 79 + **-ōg**, but see also **cors**. *Tercrosset* Cmb (Kingwater) PNCmb p. 97 + **torr-** + **-ōg**: Breeze (2006b) at p. 330, argues for **crojs** here, but see also ***cras**.

Glencorse MLo (Penicuik) CPNS pp. 145, 486, PNMLo p. 227 + **glinn-** + **-ōg**: as Watson, CPNE locs. cits. shows, definitely ‘a crossing-place’, though whether Brittonic or Gaelic **gleann-croiseach* is indeterminable.

c2) Drumcross WLo (otherwise *Crosston*, Bathgate) CPNS p. 146, PNWLo pp. 83 and 87 + ***drum-**, but Gaelic **druim-crois*, ‘crossing place on a ridge’ is more likely here.

Glencrosh Dmf (Glencairn) PNDmf p. 47, and Glencross or Glencorse Dmf (x2, Closeburn and Tynron) CPNS pp. 180 and 486, PNDmf pp. 15 and 125, all + **glinn-**, or Gaelic **gleann-croise*.

*crōw (m)

eCelt **crāwo-* > Br **crōwo-* > MW *creu* W *crau*, Corn *krow*, Bret *kraou*; OIr *cró* > Ir *cró*, G *crò*, Mx *crao*; adopted from Brittonic or Goidelic as OE **cro* >, in Modern English dialects, *crow*, *crew*, *cree*, and in Scots dialects *crue*, *croy*, *cray*; adopted from OIr *cró* as Icelandic *kró*.

In English and Scots dialects, this word occurs throughout the Scottish lowlands and northern England, and even south of the Humber: see Wakelin (1969), and for *crue* and *cruive* in Galloway Scots, Ó Maolalaigh (2022a) pp. 87-8.

The earliest sense, preserved to some extent in the Goidelic languages, and probably seen in CA AB23(XXIIIAB), is probably ‘a defensive stockade’ or ‘a barrier of spears’. However, in non-military contexts it refers to some simple wooden enclosure or building, ‘a hut, cabin, hovel, penfold or pigsty’.

Mathreu BT61(VII) may be an error for **Machreu*, + *moch-*, see Williams at PT p. 81. Cf. *Muckra* Slk and *Muckraw* WLo below, and see under **-ua** and **treß**.

a1) *Crew* Cmb (Bewcastle) PNCmb p. 61.

b1) *Muckra* Slk (Ettrick) CPNS p. 138, and *Muckraw* WLo (Torphichen) CPNS p. 147, PNWLo pp. 96-7, are probably Gaelic **muc-ràth* or **mucrach*, but possibly replacing a Brittonic formation + **moch-**, which see.

b2) *Crewgarth* Cmb (Ousby) PNCmb p. 229 ? + **-garth**; but a Middle English formation with dialectal *crew-* + *-garth* < ON *garðr* is likely.

crüg (m)

?IE *[s]kr- (zero-grade of *[s]ker- 'turn, bend') + -Vk- > eCelt **crouco-* > early Br **cr̥o:co-* > late Br **crūco-* > OW *cruc* > M-MnW *crug*, O-MnCorn *cruc*, OBret *cruc* > Bret *krug*; adopted as OIr *crúach* > M-Mn Ir *crúach*, G *cruach*, early Mx *crock*; adopted as OE *crūc*, *crȳc*, *crȳc̆* (see EPNE1 p. 115, LPN pp. 159-63); ?cogn. Gmc **χrugjaz* > OE *hrycğ* > 'ridge', ON *hryggr* > Scots and northern English *rig*.

See LHEB pp. 37-8, §22(1), pp. 313-14, and §22(3), pp. 315-17, and CPNE pp. 73-4.

'An isolated, abrupt hill' (Gelling and Cole, LPN p. 159) seems a good definition for the Celtic word as well as for its use in Old English place-naming; sometimes just 'a hillock, a knoll', also a man-made mound, cairn or barrow. In Irish and Gaelic the adopted word came to be used for haystacks, turf-clamps etc; in Manx, the earlier *crock* was superseded by other hill-words, notably *cronk*, see **cnuc[h]** (in Modern Manx, *crock* is the English word, 'a pot', etc.).

Croucingum PNRB p. 328, located by Rivet and Smith 'apparently in southern Scotland', seems to show an early Celtic diphthong *-ou-* and an early Celtic suffix *-inc-*. The spelling *-ing-* may be a miscopying, but could reflect British Latin pronunciation, or even Germanic influence (cf. the Old English *-ing* suffixes, see EPNE pp. 282-303, GOE §450, pp. 181-2, and Lass (1994), §8.3.3A(v), pp. 201-2).

The word seems to have been adopted into English, at least as a place-naming element, at different times in different areas, see Gelling and Cole LPN p. 159, Probert 2007 pp. 234-7, and Padel 2013b pp. 6 and 22-3. There are few place-names in the North where the Brittonic element, rather than its English-adopted form, can be confidently identified, and confusion with **cr̥:g** is possible.

a1) Combinations with English elements that might be based on a pre-existing Brittonic name, they could be formations with OE *crūc*, include:

Carsreugh Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 61, PNRGLV p. 63, Brooke (1991) at p. 320 [+ME/Scots *castel-*; early forms have *Castel-*, *Cas-*, *Cres-*. MacQueen in PNRGLV favours Scots *carse-* prefixed to (presumably pre-existing) Gaelic *-craobhach* 'wooded'].

Castle Greg Stg WLoPN p. 18 [+ME/Scots *castel-*], but see also **cr̥:g** and ***wrūg**.

Croichlow Fold Lanc (Bury) PNLanc p. 63, JEPN17 p. 43 [+OE *-hlāw*, but the first element would have been, or have become, OE *crȳc̆-*].

Grougfoot WLo (Bo'ness and Carriden) PNWLo pp. 29-30 [+ OE *-fōt* > 'foot']; the initial voicing is unexplained, may be a trace of a lost definite article **ī[r]**.

The Old English formation *crȳc-hyll* is widespread (see LPN pp. 161-3), and often serves as a specifier to an Old English generic, so it may be regarded as a common noun used in English place-name formation. That being so, any Brittonic predecessor cannot be assumed. Examples in the North include several in YWR (references are to PNYWR) Creechill Gate and Close (field-names in Arksey) 1 p. 26, Crickle, with Crickle Beck, (Martons, E. Staincliffe) 6 p. 39, Crigglestone (Sandal Magna) 2 p. 101, *Crikelez* (lost f-n in Lindley) 2 p. 302; any of these could have been formed with **crūg** or **cr̥:g**, or be wholly English formations. Crugleton Wig is probably OE **crūc-hyll-tūn*, though again it may have been formed on a pre-existing **crūg**; however, Brooke's proposal (1991 at p. 318) involving Brittonic **crūg-** + OE *-hyll-* + Gaelic *-dùn*, seems unnecessarily complicated. MacQueen, PNWigMM p. 19, compares it with Crigglestone YWR. Kirkley Ntb, PNNtb p. 214, is probably OE **crȳc-hyll-lēah*. Kirkby, in a number of cases, appears to be a hill-name where there is no evidence for a church or 'church-farm' (ON *kirka-bý*): M. Spence, at a meeting of the English Place-Name Society (2006), argued that this may be a Scandinavian substitution for OE *crȳc-berg*.

b2) Croglin Cmb PNCmb p. 183 ? + **-līnn**, but the location favours ON *krókr-* > 'crook', 'a bend' + OE *-hlynn* 'a torrent'.

Kenyon Lanc (Golborne) PNLanc pp. 98-9, JEPNS17 p. 56 ? + Brittonic personal name *Einjōn*, see Ekwall's discussion in PNLanc, loc. cit.

c2) Bargrug Kcb (Kirkgunzeon) PNGall p. 24 + **bar[r]**-, but the lenition would be irregular; ***wrūg** may be preferable, or Gaelic **baile-gruaig* 'farm with long grass'.
 Cumcrook Cmb (Bellbank) PNCmb p. 59 + *cum*-, see **cum[b]**: the formation is Celtic, although both elements were adopted into Old English.
 Gilcrux PNCmb p. 287 + ***cīl**-, influenced by ON *gil* 'a ravine' and Latin *crux* 'a cross', but Gaelic **cil-cruaich* 'a church with a (notable) cross' is not impossible here.

***crum[b]**

?IE **krumb-* > eCelt **crumbo-/ā-* > Br ** crumbo-/ā-* > MW *crum* > W *crwm*, Corn *crom*, OBret *crum* > MBret *crom*, *croum* > Bret *kromm*; OIr *cromb* > MIr *cromm* > Ir, G *crom*, Mx *croym*; cogn. Gmc **krumbo-* > OE *crumb* > E (northern dialects) and Scots *crom*, *crum*.

The origin of this word in Celtic and Germanic, along with related words like 'cramp', 'crimp' and 'crumple', is somewhat uncertain. A root common to Celtic and Germanic, whether Indo-European or not, seems to be implied.

'Bent, crooked, curved', in names usually of, or associated with, watercourses. As well as the Goidelic forms, the presence of Old English *crumb*, not to mention an unrelated Old Norse personal name *Krumr*, makes identification of Brittonic formations difficult. The survival of *crom*, *crum* in Scots and northern English may well have been encouraged by both Cumbric and Gaelic usage, especially among migrants during the tenth and eleventh centuries throughout the North: see A. James (2008), and discussion of the 'Crummock' group of names below.

a2) Cromack Close YWR (Pudsey) PNYWR3 p. 239.
Cromock Hole YWR (Stainburn) PNYWR5 p. 50.
Cromoke Howsestead YWR (Otley) PNYWR4 p. 208.
 Crumack YWR (Oxenhope) PNYWR3 p. 264
 Crumack Close YWR (Bingley) PNYWR4 p. 170.
 Crummack YWR (Austwick) PNYWR6 p. 229, where Smith also discusses the other YWR examples listed here.
 Crummock Beck Cmb PNCmb p. 10.
Crummock Croftes YWR (Giggleswick) PNYWR6 p. 147.
Crummock Holme YWR (Morley) PNYWR3 p. 54.
 Crummock Water Cmb (lake, and former name of the upper reach of the R Cocker, flowing into the lake) PNCmb p. 33.

All the above are probably + **-ōg**, though where early forms are lacking, Old English **crumb-āc* 'crooked oak' cannot be ruled out, nor the surname Crummock which is well-attested, though never prolific, in Airedale, Craven and north-eastern Bowland where the eight YWR examples are located. This cluster suggests that the word may have been adopted into the local dialect of Middle English in a general sense of 'something crooked', perhaps from Cumbric-speaking immigrants during the Scandinavian period (see A. James 2008), or even from migrant Welsh shepherds, miners, etc. at a later date. Of these YWR 'Crummocks', only Crummack (Austwick) is recorded before the sixteenth century.

b1) Ancrum Rox PNRox pp. 8-9 + river-name Ale, see ***al**-; OE *crumb*, being an adjective, does not normally occur as a generic, so if this an OE formation, it shows Celtic influence.

c1) Cramalt Burn and Craig Slk CPNS p. 138 + **-alt**, or Gaelic **crom-aillt* 'bend in a burn'.

Crimple Beck YWR ERN pp. 104-5, PNYWR7 p. 124 + **-pol**; Crimble Dale Beck PNYWR7 p. 124 and *Crimple Sike* (lost field-name in Horsforth) PNYWR4 p. 152, are apparently from the same origin, but note OE **crymel* 'a small piece (of land or water)' EPNE1 p. 118, PNLanc p. 167, which Smith sees in Crimble (Golcar) PNYWR2 p. 293, Crimbles (x3, Netherthong PNYWR2, p.287, Pudsey 3 p. 238, Stocksbridge 1 p. 258), and Crimsworth, with Crimsworth Dean, YWR (Wadsworth) PNYWR3 p. 200 (though note that this could be from a stream-name, early forms favour *crymel*, but do not rule out Brittonic **crum-pol*); Ekwall likewise sees *crymel* in Crimbles Lanc (Cockerham), PNLanc pp. 166-7.

cū[n] (m)

IE **k[u]wōn-* > eCelt **cū-*, oblique *cuno-* > Br, Gaul *cu-*, *cuno-* > OW *cu*, *cun* > M-MnW *ci*, *cŵn*, OCorn *ki*, **cūn* > Corn *ky*, *kuen*, *cun-* (in a compound, see CPNE pp. 58 and 76), Bret *ki*, **co[u]n*; OIr *cú*, *con* > M-MnIr *cú*, *con*, G *cù*, *coìn*, Mx *coo*, *coyin*; cogn. Lat *canis*, Gmc **χundaz* > OE *hund* > 'hound', Gk *kúon*, *kunós*, Skt *śva*, *śvan*.

See LHEB §63 p. 413, but note that Jackson assumes IE **k^wwōn-* rather than **k[u]wōn-*, which would give early Celtic **cwū-*, *cwuno-*, and would require irregular failure of *-kw-* > *-p-* in P-Celtic.

'One of the most widely attested words in Indo-European' Mallory and Adams OIPrIE p. 138. 'A dog', but in the Celtic and Germanic languages, specifically 'a hound'. A very popular element in Celtic personal names; its status as a place-name element is doubtful, though it may occur in some early river-names.

a2) Water of Ken, with Kenmure, Glenkens and Loch Ken, Kcb PNGall p. 162 + **-ed-** + *-jo-*, but **cein[d]*- (see **can[d]**) or **cant-** + *-jo-*, or ***cōņ:d** are also possible: see discussion under **cant**. Kent R Lanc/Wml border PNLanc p. 169, PNWml1 p. 8, ERN pp. 226-8: Ekwall's derivation from **cūnetjo-* (**cū[n]**- + **-ed-** + *jo-*) 'hound-stream' is dismissed by Jackson (1970 at p. 71), LHEB §28(2) pp. 331-3 and §204(C4), p. 676, and PNRB pp. 328-9): see ***cōņ:d**. King Water Cmb PNCmb pp. 19 and 95 ? + **-ōg**: see Breeze (2006b) at p. 329, also CVEP pp. 126-8, and cf. Conág in Kintail Inv, CPNS p. 445, but see also **cant**, ***ceμ-** and **cēin**. On the possibility that Consett Drh may incorporate a personal name **Cūn-āco* see under ***cōņig**.

c1) *Conglas* Lnk (burn in East Kilbride) CPNS p. 458 + ***glę:ss**, which see; however, *Conglas* may be an erratic form for the surviving farm-name Knoweglass in E. Kilbride (P. Lyon, pers. comm.)

c2) *Manhincon* Wig (Craighlaw) Brooke (1991) at p. 320 ? + **-mayn-** + **-[h]jin-**.

See also ***cōņ:d** and ***cōņið**.

*cūl (m)

Early Modern Welsh *cūl* 'a hut, bothy, sty, kiln' is of obscure origin, but might be preferable to ***cūl** in:

b2) Culbratten Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 97, PNWigMM p. 23, Morgan 2013 p. 37, Ó Maolalaigh 2022b, pp. 307 and 309-10 + **-i[r]**- + **-Brithon**, but Gaelic **cūl nam Breatann* 'nook, hollow of the Britons' is likely.

Culruther Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 150, PNWigMM p. 112 + **rö-** or **rūð-**, + **-ar** or **-duβr**: but see ***cūl-** for discussion.

*cūl

eCelt *cailo-/ā- > Br *coilo-/ā- > M-MnW *cul*, O-MnCorn *cul* OBret *cul*; OIr *cóil* > Ir, G, Mx *caol*.

See LHEB §15, pp. 302-3, §22.2(3), pp. 315-17, and §23(2) at p. 320.

Adjective, ‘narrow’. Replacement by, or confusion with, Gaelic *caol*, is possible, but that element seems not to be common in southern Scotland. On the district- and river-name Kyle (Ayr), and related names, see Thornhill (2022), especially pp. 68-71.

a1) Kyle, R YNR ERN p. 232, PNYNR p. 4 + suffix *-īso-*, but see LHEB §21, pp. 311-12, and §22.2(3), at pp. 316-17. See also ***al-** for a possible alternative name for this river.

b2) This element might have been used as a noun, cf. Gaelic *caol* ‘a narrow place, a strait’, but there is no record of such usage in Brittonic:

Colvend Kcb PNGall p. 76 ? + - **wīnn**, implying a feminine noun.

Culbratten Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 97, PNWigMM p. 23 + **-ī[r]-** + **-Brithon**, but see ***cūl**.

Culmalzie Wig (Kirkinner), on the Mailzie Burn, see **mayl** and **-īg**.

Culruther Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 150, PNWigMM p. 112 + **rō-** or **rūd-**, + **-ar** or **-duβr**, looks like a lost stream-name of the ‘Rother’ type, see **rō-** and **rūd-**. Unless *Culruther* 1462 was a scribal error, this was presumably close to, but not necessarily the same place as, Glenruther; however, this was earlier *Clonriddin* (sic) 1137; on the basis of that form MacQueen, PNWigMM p. 112, proposes Gaelic *cluain-ridir* ‘knight’s meadow’, suggesting a possible association with the Templars or Hospitallers; it would also have been a strategic location during the period of division and conflict in the earldom of Galloway in the third quarter of the twelfth century (A. Livingston pers. comm.).

c1) in the following, ***cūl** could be either a pre-positioned adjective or a (b2) noun:

Culcheth Lanc (Winwick) PNLanc p. 97, JEPNS17 P. 55 + **-cē:d**, which see, and LHEB §15, pp. 302-3, §23.2, pp. 321-1, and §§136-7, pp. 554-7.

Culgaith Cmb PNCmb p. 184 + **-cē:d**; cf. Culcheth.

See Whalley (2021), 118-20 for discussion of ‘Cul-’ in both these names.

cum[b], cum[m] (m, but also f in British and Gaulish)

IE **kumbh-* > eCelt **cumbo-/ā-* > Br, Gaul **cumbo-/ā-* > OW(LL) *cum* > M-MnW *cwm*, Corn **comm* (in place-names, CPNE pp. 63-4), Bret *komm*; ? adopted as O-MnIr *cúm* and cf. Ir, G *com* ‘a cavity, a hollow’ (see IPN p. 59); ? adopted as OE *cumb*, Scots *coomb*; cogn. Gk *kúmbē*, Skt *kumbha*.

On the Indo-European etymology, see Hamp (1991-2), p. 17, and OIPrIE §15.1, pp. 239-40.

On *-mb-* > *-mm-*, see LHEB §112, pp. 509-11. On the question whether Old English *cumb* was adopted from Brittonic, compare LHEB loc. cit. with Gelling (1984), p. 103, also in LPN, pp. 106-7.

The meaning given by Cole in *Nomina* 6 (1982), pp. 73-87, for Old English *cumb*, ‘a short, broad valley, usually bowl- or trough-shaped, with three fairly steeply rising sides’, seems appropriate to most examples in the North, whether Brittonic or English in origin, though some in low-lying parts of Cumberland are in quite shallow depressions. The root is associated with ‘bowls’ and ‘pots’ in the Greek and Sanskrit cognates.

Not many cases in northern England can be confidently ascribed to Brittonic; however, second-syllable stress in names like Cumrew confirms a Brittonic, probably Cumbric, origin: see LHEB p. 226. In southern Scotland, the only examples seem to be in simplex forms, see (a1) below.

a1) Simplex names may be Brittonic or Old English/ Scots:

Coomb Burn Dmf (Wamphray) PNDmf p. 128.

Coomb Dod Lnk/Pbl border.

Coomb Sike Dmf (Langholm) PNDmf p. 85.

Cooms Dmf (Ewes) PNDmf p. 40.

Cowm, with Cowm Brook, Lanc (Rochdale) PNLanc p. 59.

White Coomb Dmf (Moffat).

b1) Pulinkum Wig (Kirkmaiden) PNRGLV p. 85 (not in PNGall) ? + ***pol-** + **-winn-**: perhaps Brittonic **winn-cum[b]* with Gaelic *pol-* added and **-winn-** replaced by Gaelic *fhionn*.

b2) A striking cluster of names in 'Cum-' in north-east Cumberland (most of them first or only recorded in the Lanercost Cartulary) suggest that this formation was favoured by a particular group of colonists, probably Cumbric-speaking settlers, or indigenous Cumbric speakers involved in a major reorganisation of landholdings, in the central middle ages (cf. **lanerc**):

Cumcatch Cmb (Brampton) PNCmb p. 66 + **-*cach**.

Cumcrook Cmb (Bellbank) PNCmb p. 59 + **-crūg**: both elements could be English adoptions, but the formation is Celtic.

Cumdivock Cmb (Dalston) PNCmb p. 132 + a lost stream-name, or a personal name **Döβōg* < **dūβ-** + **-ōg**.

Cumheueruin Cmb (Kingwater; also possibly another in Walton) Lan Cart 151, 204 + **-*heuer-** (see ***hapar**) + **-winn**: see Todd (2005, especially at p. 99; alternatively, + **-*gweβr-** + **-īn**. Either way, **cum[b]-** is probably a secondary addition by Cumbric speakers.

Cumquencath Cmb (Burtholme) PNCmb p. 71 + personal name *Wengad*, cf. *Guencat* CA IIIB (B39) and Breton *Guengat*. This same personal name may occur in *Quinquaythil* Cmb (? Walton) Lan Cart 224, 259-63 [+ OE *-hyll*], in *Cumquethil* Cmb (unlocated) Lan Cart 260 [again + OE *-hyll*], which might be the same place as *Quinquaythil*, and maybe in Friar Waingate Bridge (Kingwater); see Todd op. cit. at pp. 91-2 and 99. If this is the origin of *Quinquaythil*, *Q-* implies [gw-], so it was not formed – or at any rate not adopted by English speakers – until the ninth century or later, see LHEB §49, pp. 385-94. However, *Cumquethil* could be **cum[b]-** + **-cē:d-**, see discussion under **cē:d**.

Cumrech Cmb (Irthington) Lan Cart 225 ? + *-βričh*, see **brijth**: possibly a stream-name, or the valley of a stream named **Brīch*. See Todd op. cit. pp. 92 and 97. Otherwise, it may be a formation + **-i[r]-** + an unknown element.

Cumrew Cmb PNCmb p. 77 + **-riw**, which see.

A few place-names in Cumberland have 'Cum-' prefixed to an apparently non-Celtic second element, suggesting ex-nomine formation by Cumbric-speakers on pre-existing Northumbrian Old English names:

Cumrenton Cmb (Irthington) PNCmb p. 92: forms from 1582 have *-renton*, but also *-rintinge*, and no certain etymology is possible.

Cumwhinton Cmb (Wetheral) PNCmb pp. 161-2 + saint's name or Norman-French personal name *Quentin*: if it was a personal name, it must have been a very late (late eleventh or early twelfth century) Cumbric formation. However, the cult of St Quentin was known to Bede, and there were churches dedicated to him at Kirkmahoe Dmf and Kirk Hammerton YWR, as well as a relic in York Minster, so it is possible that this place was associated with a Northumbrian church or *mynster* dedicated to this martyr. Nevertheless, the formation with prefixed **cum[b]-** must still have been relatively late.

Cumwhitton Cmb PNCmb pp. 78-9 + a pre-existing Northumbrian Old English place-name *-*Hwītingtūn*.

D

day

eCelt **dago-/ā-* > Br, Gaul *dago-* (in personal names) > OW *-dag* (in personal names), LL *dá, dag-* > M-MnW *da,* > Corn *?*da* (see CPNE pp. 80 and 334), Bret *da;* OIr *dag, deg-* > M-MnIr, G *deagh,* Mx *jeih-* in compounds.

See LHEB §76, p. 445, and §81 pp. 458-9. See also ***dewr.**

‘Good’.

Watson, CPNS p. 400, suggests that this may underlie:

Dechmont Hill Lnk (Cambuslang).

Dechmont, with Dechmont Law, WLo PNWLo pp. 77-8.

Both + **-mōnið**, and in both cases replaced with the MIr/ eG superlative *dech-*. Alternatively, Br *teco-* > O-MnW *teg* ‘fair’ (see EGOW p. 145), might have been similarly replaced (as suggested by Wilkinson, WLoPN p. 18). Both hills, as Watson says, command good views, but the adjective, whether ‘good’ or ‘fair’, might have applied to the quality of the hill-pasture (see **mōnið**).

***dagr (n, later m)**

IE **[d]h₂ekru-* > IE(WC) *dakr-* > eCelt **dacrū-* > Br **dācrū-* > MW *dagreu,* singulative *deigyr,* > W *dagrau,* singulative *deigr[y]n,* OCorn *dacr-* > Corn *dager,* singulative *dagren,* OBret *dacr* > MBret plural *dazrau* > Bret plural *daerou;* OIr *dér* > MIr *déor* > Ir *deoir,* G *deur,* Mx *jeir;* cogn. OLat *dacruma* > Lat *lacrima,* PrOE **teahur* > ‘tear’, Gk *dákru.*

See OIPrIE §11.6 at p. 191, LHEB §61, p. 412, and GMW §30(c3), p. 30, and §32(c), p. 33.

‘Tears, weeping’, in the Celtic languages generally an uncountable collective noun with singulative and/or analogical plural forms for ‘a teardrop’ and ‘teardrops’. Semantic extension to ‘damp, moisture, wetness’ of any kind, but especially ‘trickling’, is reflected in place-names based on (former) stream-names:

a1) Dacre, with Dacre Beck, Cmb ERN p. 111, PNCmb pp. 10 and 185.

Dacre, with Dacre Banks, YWR (Ripon) PNYWR5 pp. 139-40.

Daer Water Lnk CPNS p. 469; recorded forms, consistently *Deihir* in 13th – 14th ct records, leave Watson’s equation with Aberdare Gln in doubt, and may favour a derivative of OIr *dér*: see ***dagr.**

Note that Dockra and Dockraw Ayr, Dockray Cmb and Wml, Docker Wml and Lanc, are all likely to have either OE *docce* ‘dock, sorrel’ (*Rumex* spp., also perhaps ‘butterbur’ *Petasites* spp. or ‘yellow water-lily’ *Nuphar lutea*, see EPNE1 p. 133, and Grigson 1955, pp. 235-6), + *-ra* (nominal suffix, see EPNE2 p. 78), or else AS cand **dakk-* (Old Norse *dōkk*) ‘a hollow’ + Old Norse *-erg* ‘a shieling’ or *-rá* ‘a land-mark, a boundary’. Ekwall PNLanc p. 185, suggests *dōkk-* in Docker Lanc (Whittington), and Smith in PNWml 1, p. 130, takes up that suggestion for Docker Wml (New Hutton); early forms for Docker Lanc include *Docherga* 1294, and the same or similar for Docker Wml from 1154 on, so *-erg* is likely in those two names.

*dantōg (m)

IE **h₁dont-* ‘a tooth’ > eCelt **dant-* + *-āco-* (see *-ōg*) > Br **dantāco-* > MW *dannog*, OCorn *-denschoc* > Corn *-dosak*.

See LHEB §103, p. 496, and §§108-9, pp. 505-7.

Literally, ‘toothed’, applied in Welsh and Cornish to betony (*Stachys officinalis*). This plant is near the northern limit of its natural distribution in southern Scotland, so local abundance might have been noteworthy. The Botanical Society of the British Isles *Atlas of British and Irish Flora* (accessed 20.06.07) shows pre-1970 records for this species in hectads on the Carrick coast Ayr and in southern Kcb.

However, it should be noted that the appearance of this plant in mediaeval and early modern herbals probably derives from a misidentification of Pliny the Elder’s *betonika*. It is doubtful whether betony was really much used, let alone cultivated, as a medicinal herb, though it was occasionally applied to wounds or drunk as an infusion. Like English ‘betony’, **dantōg* might well have been used for other plants with toothed leaves. See Allen and Hatfield (2004), pp. 212-13.

It is perhaps present in:

c2) Bardennoch Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 23 + **barr-**; this is an unlikely location for betony, but ‘toothed’ might apply to the topography; but see **tān**.

Tradunnoch Ayr (Maybole) CPNS pp. 391-2, SPN² p. 216 + **treß-**: see Breeze (2000c) at pp. 55-6, or **-redīn-** + **-ōg**, which see, and see also James (2014b) pp. 29 and 35

dār (f), *derw*, *dru-* (normally f, but variable)

1) IE **doru-* > eCelt **daru-* > OW(LL) plural *deri* > M-MnW *dâr*, OCorn *dar*, OBret *dar*; O-MIr *daire*, *daur*, eG *dair* > Ir, G *doire*, and cf. G *darach*, Mx *darrag*; cogn. Gk *dōru*, Skt *dāru*.

2) IE **deru-* (e-grade of **doru-*) > eCelt **derw-* > Br, Gaul *deruo-* > OW singulative *derwen* > M-MnW collective *derw*, Corn collective *derow* (see CPNE p. 80), Bret collective *derv*, *dero*.

3) IE **dru-* (zero-grade of **doru-*) > eCelt **dru-* > Br, Gaul *Dru-* (in personal names) > Pictish *Dru-* (in personal names); ?OIr *druī* > Ir *druadh*, *draoi*, G *drùidh*, Mx *druaigh*, all ‘a druid’, and cf. W *derwydd*; cogn. Gmc **trewan* > OE **trēow* > ‘tree’, ON *tré*, Gk *drūs*, Skt *dru-*.

These represent the principal Indo-European root meaning ‘a tree’, found e.g. in Greek ‘an oak’, and in the Celtic languages, collectively ‘oaks, an oakwood’. See Friedrich (1970), pp. 140-6, OIPRIE §10.1, pp. 156-7, and §10.5, pp. 169-70, and DCCPN pp. 17-18 s.v. *deruo-* and *dru-*. On oaks in Celtic mythology, see PCB pp. 59-65 and 346-51, DCM p. 309, DCML p. 164. The etymology of ‘druid’ is controversial: an alternative derivation would involve early Celtic **derwo-* > Middle Welsh *derw* ‘true’, Old Irish *derb* ‘sure’.

Hind (1980b), pp. 547-8, supported by Hamp (1982b), pp. 42-4, sees the root **derw-* in *Deura...anglice Deira* HB61 (also *Deur* HB61 and 63; *De[i]ri* etc. in HE). The form *Deur* is explained by them as showing diphthongisation before [-w], but the unrounding in Bede’s Anglicised form requires **Deurji-* with Brittonic final i-affection (certainly not Old English i-mutation). The regional name might be associated with that of the River Derwent YNR-YER, see below, but see also ***dewr**.

The root **derw-* (see (2) above) has traditionally been associated with river-names of the ‘Derwent’ type. These are mainly in Britain, but see ACPN pp. 69-70 and map 12.10 for examples in Gaul and Persia. The formation would be with the participial suffix *-ent-*, or possibly *-went-*, + *-jo-*: see ERN pp. 121-2, PNRB pp. 334-5, LHEB §6 at p. 282 and §107, pp. 502-3 (for neoBrittonic and Anglicised forms), and cf. Bede’s *Deruentionis fluvii* HE IV.29 and *Diorwentionis fluvii* VCP, for the River Derwent Cmb, discussed below. However, Kitson (1996), at pp. 77-81 and 94, has argued that these reflect a British re-interpretation of an ancient river-name **drawant-* < IE **dre-* (from **dreh_a-* ‘run’, see OIPrIE §8.3 at p. 127, and §22.12 at p. 398) + *-w-* (from *-*awe-*, see **al-*) + present participial *-ant-* (cf. Sanskrit *dravant* ‘running’ and river-name *Dravantī*).

For discussion of *Rayadr Derwennyd* CA LXXXVIII (A87), in the lullaby *Pais Dinogad*, see **rejadər**, and on *Derwenydd* in mediaeval Welsh poetry, see Haycock 2013, p. 27 n37).

The river-name Derwent Cmb is first evidenced in the name of the fort at Papcastle, *Derventio* PNRB pp. 334-5. Note Bede’s *Deruentionis fluvii* HE IV.29, and *Diorwentionis fluvii* in VCP, for this river: C. Smith (1979) at p. 5 suggests that, as this form does not occur in VCA, it may reflect an eighth century local pronunciation known to Bede himself. For later forms see PNCmb p. 11.

The Derwent YNR-YER is likewise evidenced in the name of the fort at Malton, *Derventio[ne]*. For this, Bede has *annem Deruentionem* HE 11.9 and 13, again favouring *-went*; or later forms see ERN pp. 121 - 2, PNYER pp. 2 - 3, and PNYNR p. 3.

Other rivers of the ‘Derwent’ type in the North are:

Darwen R, with Darwen town, Lanc PNLanc pp. 66 and 75, JEPNS17 p. 47,

Derwent R Ntb-Drh PNNtb p. 62, DDrhPN p. 34.

The root **dār** (see (1) above), or plural *deri* (as in LL), or else **der[w]-*, > **dar-* in Scots, may be present in:

a1) Daer Water Lnk CPNS p. 469; Watson says this is probably identical with Dare’ of Aberdare Glm, for which see DPNW p. 4, though the doubts expressed above apply to Owen and Morgan’s interpretation of Aberdare, and recorded forms leave Watson’s equation in doubt; they may favour a Gaelic form of **dār**, which see.

Darrou, with Darow Burn, Kcb (Kells and Girthon) PNGall p. 105: Ansell (2022) p. 199 suggests *G an Doire Dhubh*.

b2) *Dercongal*, earlier *Dergungal*, *Darcungal* etc., Dmf (= Holywood) CPNS p. 169, PNDmf p. 59 + saint’s name **Conwal*; the Melrose Liber forms with *Der-*, *Dar-*, consistently confirm **dār**, it is not a saint’s name + **dōl-* formation. Note the several places named Kirkconnel in Dmf (Kirkconnel parish, and in Kirkpatrick Fleming and Tynron) and Kcb (Tongland and Troqueer), note also Kilwhannel Ayrs (Ballantrae); on these, and the problems in distinguishing forms of the saints’ names Comgall and Conval (*Convallus* in VK(J)), see Macquarrie 2012, pp. 344-5 with nn19-20, 347-9 with nn61-6, 353 with n2, and 423 with n47. The Premonstratensian abbey was founded at Holywood in the late twelfth century by John, Lord of *Kirkconeval*.

Darling How Cmb (Wythop), which may or may not be the same as *Darlinhou*, with *Darelin*, in the Lanercost Cartulary, PNCmb p. 457 + **-linn-**, probably a stream-name [+ ME *-howe* < OE *-hōh* ‘a heel-shaped hill-spur’, or ON *haugr* ‘a mound’].

See also **dußr** for Deer Burn Dmf, and Taylor’s discussion of Dairsie Fif, PNFif4 at p. 327, and **mayes** for Moss Derry Kcb (Girthon).

dehou

IE **dek̑-* [zero-grade of **deik̑-* ‘right, correct’] + *-s-* > eCelt **deks-* + *-iwo-/ā-* > Br, **dexiwo-/ā-*, Gaul *Dess-* (in place-names) > OW(LL) *dehou* > MW *deheu* > W *deau, de*, Corn *dyhow*, Bret *dehou*; OIr *dess* > Ir, G *deas*, Mx *jiass*; cogn. Lat *dexter*, Gk *deksíōs*, Skt *dakṣina*.

The suffix *-iwo-* in Celtic (and Greek) is exceptional. For Brittonic developments, see LHEB §125, p. 535.

The nominal and adjectival developments from the root **deik̑-* bear, in nearly all Indo-European language-groups, the meanings ‘right hand’ and ‘south’, along with auspicious connotations.

Proposed by Breeze (2002d), pp. 34-5, with the meaning ‘south’, in:
c2) *Cadzow* Lnk (= Hamilton) + **caj-*, which see, but see also *ce:d*.

dely (n, later m)

IE(NW) **dhelg-* > eCelt **delgo-* > Br **delgo-* > OW(LL) *dal, dala*, OCorn *dele[h]*; OIr *delg* > Ir, G *dealg*; cogn. Lat *falx* ‘a sickle, a bill-hook’, OE *dalc* ‘a brooch, a clasp’.

See LHEB §87, pp. 466-8.

An Indo-European verbal root meaning ‘pierce, sting’, giving a noun meaning ‘a pin, a thorn, etc.’, and, by metonymy, referring to various kinds of dress-ornament having pins, clasps, etc. In Gaelic place-names, the reference of *dealg* is presumably to thorns, but it seems to be rare in southern Scotland.

The Brittonic form seems to be seen only in *Delgovicia*, probably the fort at Wetwang YER PNRB pp. 331-2, and see Jackson (1970) at p. 72; ? +-*wīg*, but see discussion under that element. If, as suggested there, it is based on an ethnic name, *delgo-* may signify ‘spear’ or suchlike.

de:w (m or f)

IE **deiwo-/eh₂-* (adjectival form from **deih₂-* ‘shine, be bright’, via **dh₂ei[u]-* with laryngeal metathesis and o-stem termination) ‘brightly shining one’, hence ‘day’ > eCelt **deiwo-/ā-* > Br *dēwo-/ā-*, Gaul *Deo-*, *Diuuo-* (in personal names) > OW *duiu-* > MW *dwyw* > W *duw*, OCorn *duy* > Corn **dev* (in place-names, see CPNE p. 82), MBret *doue*; OIr *día* > Ir, G *dia*, Mx *jee*; cogn. Lat *deus*, *dīvus*, Gmc **Tīwaz* > OE *Tīw* ON *Týr*, Gk *Zeús*, Skt *deva-*.

See OIPriE §23.1, pp. 408-9, DCCPN p. 17, LHEB §28, pp. 330-5, EGOW p. 51, GMW §30b note 4, CPNE p. 82, Isaac (2005) p. 191. The Pritenic form may have remained as **de:w*, see Jackson (1955a), p. 162.

The basic Indo-European word for ‘god’, etymologically associated with brightness, light, the sky and the day (see above and OIPriE reference). While **Diēus* was probably an Indo-European sky-god, in the Celtic languages **deiwo-* was a common noun, ‘a god’, not the name of a deity until it was adopted as such with the coming of Christianity, doubtless following Christian use of Latin *Deus*.

The feminine form **deiueh₂-* > **de:wā-* ‘a goddess’ occurs as the name of several rivers in Britain, and related forms in river-names or derived settlement-names in Ireland, Gaul and Spain (PNRB pp. 336-7, ACPN pp. 70-1 and map 12.22). As Isaac points out (2005 p. 192), the use of this word in naming rivers is ‘a diagnostically Celtic cultural phenomenon’. Ptolemy’s *Dēoúia* is the R Dee Kcb (PNRB p. 337, CPNS p. 50, PNGall p. 106, Isaac 2005 pp. 191-2).

However, Dee R YWR PNYWR7 p. 126, is a late back-formation from Dent (see PNYWR6 p. 253). The relationship between this river-name and the place-name Dent is problematic, it is uncertain whether Dent was primarily a location-name or the ancient name of the river, see ***dinn**.

a2) A form **de:w-jo-* seems to underlie what may be a lost river-name *Deuwy* BT62 (VIII), *Dyuwy* BT60 (VI): see PT pp. 102-3.

A form **de:w-onā-* may underlie river-names of the ‘Don’ type, including: Doon R Ayr CPNS p. 212; see also SPN² p. 229 on the ‘pairing’ of rivers of the ‘Dee’ and ‘Don’ types, cf. Ptolemy’s *Dēoúiana*, a place on, and named from, the R Don Abd (PNRB p. 338, Isaac 2005 p. 192), but see also ***dōn**.

A similar formation is not impossible for river-names of the ‘Devon’ type, but these are generally taken to be from **dūb-onā-*, see **dūβ**, and also **duβ[i]n**.

*dewr (m as a noun)

Early Celt **dego-* (see **day**) + *-wiro-* (see **wir**) > late Br **dey’wirə* > MW *deur*, OBret *deurr*; OIr *dagfer*.

‘Bold, brave [man]’, used as both a noun and an adjective in Middle Welsh.

Breeze (1997) suggests that the plural, as an ethnic name, underlies *Deura...anglice Deira* HB61 (also *Deur* HB61 and 63; *De[i]ri* etc. in HE). The form *deivyr* CA VA (A5) etc. (alongside *deur*, *dewr*) may support this, but unmodified single-element forms like this are not typical of British ethnic names. At several points in CA it is unclear whether these words mean ‘Deira’, ‘Deirans’ or simply ‘brave men’; where *deivyr* does refer to the Deirans, it may reflect popular etymology or poetic word-play. On the long-continued use by Welsh writers of *Deifr* as a term for the English see Haycock 2013 pp. 10 and 32 n48. See also **dār**.

*dīn (m)

IE(NW) **dhǵhm-* (zero-grade of **dhǵhom-* ‘earth’) + *-on-* > eCelt **don-jo-* > Br **donjo-* > M-MnW *dyn*, Corn *den*, Bret *den*; O-MnIr, G *duine*, Mx *dooinney*; cf. Lat *homō*, *humānus*, OE *guma*, ON *gumi*.

For the Indo-European origins and cognates, see OIPriE §8.1 at p. 210 and §12.1 at p. 206. For Brittonic development, see LHEB §166(1), p. 595, and §167, pp. 597-9.

‘A human being, a person’.

A form with **-an**, or an archaic participial **-and**, probably underlies several place-names in Wales of the form ‘Dinan’, associated with standing stones: AMR lists records from five parishes, and

see Richards (1990/1), p. 378. A similar sense, ‘a little man’ or ‘something resembling a person’, could be appropriate in:

a2)

Dinnand YNR (Danby) PNYNR p. 132: there is a boundary-stone here, see Coates CVEP p. 343. *Dinnans* Kcb (Minnigaff) Oram 2022, p. 55, cf. Dinnans below.

Dinnans Wig (Whithorn) PNGall p. 109, PNWigMM p. 142, Ó Maolalaigh 2022b p. 319: there are no obvious standing stones here, though there are promontory forts and iron-age settlements in the vicinity; MacQueen in PNWGMM and Ó Maolalaigh favour *G dùna(i)n* ‘little fort(s)’, MacQueen suggesting the word may have come to be used for ‘a little hill’.

Dinnins, or Dinnings, Hill Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 109; the suffix here may be *-īn*, giving a similar sense. It is close to the Solway/ Ayr watershed.

However, earlier forms for both Dinnans and Dinnins favour *-o-* or *-u-* in the first syllable, and Gaelic *ù* is frequently fronted and unrounded in Galloway place-names (PNRGLV p. 92): if these names are formed with *dùn-*, this could have replaced *dīn-*, which see.

dīn (m, earlier also n)

?IE(Celtic and Germanic only) **dheu-no-* or **dheuh_x-no-* > eCelt **dūno-* > Br, Gaul *duno-* > OW(LL) *din* > M-MnW *din*, Corn **dyn* (in place-names, CPNE p. 84), OBret *din*; O-MIr *dún*, G *dùn*, Mx **dun* (possibly in a place-name, see DMxPN pp. 101-2); cogn. WGmc **tūnaz* > OE *tūn* ‘a farming settlement’ > ‘town’; Gaulish *dūno-* may have been adopted as LowWGmc **dūn* > OE *dūn* ‘a hill’, but see Gelling in LPN p. 164 and ACPN p. 13 n59.

The IE etymology is very uncertain: it might involve the root **dheu-*, see **duβ[ī]n**, and see OIPrIE §13.1 at p. 223, ACPN pp. 12-13 with notes 57 and 59, *ibid.* pp. 73-4 and map 12.2, DCCPN p. 18, PNRB p. 275, and Jackson (1982a) at p. 33. For the development in Brittonic see LHEB §23, pp. 317-21.

In the Celtic languages, ‘a fort’, often – but not necessarily – a hill-fort. The relationship with Old English *tūn* and *dūn* is very problematic, and raises semantic issues that may well be relevant to the history of the Celtic word: is the sense primarily ‘a defensive enclosure’ or ‘a hill’? Perhaps ‘a place of refuge’ comes closest to the core sense.

The Brittonic word may have been widely replaced in the North by Gaelic *dùn* (see Watson, CPNS p. 372), and perhaps in compounds by Old English *dūn* (as a generic in second position), while interaction among the three languages may have complicated the semantics of each still further. Gaelic *dùn*, in its turn, is often confused with *druim* ‘a ridge’ (see drum), and Old English *dūn* often falls together with *denu* ‘a valley’ (see LPN p. 167).

The possibility is raised below (see (b2) Dunbar) that the fronting *ū* > *ū̄* > *ī* may have been late in the north of our region; this would, of course, have increased the likelihood of confusion with Old English *dūn* and (if we accept the presence of Goidelic-speaking clerics in the area as early as the seventh century), Old Irish *dún*.

It is notable that the Goidelic cognate *dún/ dùn* does not occur in compound place-names in Ireland or Scotland (and Taylor notes important early fortified sites in Fife without *dùn* names, PNFif5 p. 360), though it is extremely common in (presumably later) name-phrases in both countries (see IPN pp. 75 – 9, MacDonald 1980-1); in Scottish Gaelic, it apparently came to be used of unfortified hills and hillocks (see Dwelly s.n., and MacDonald *op. cit.* p. 38, but cf. Taylor in PNFif5 p. 359). It is very rare or absent in Mann.

Another phonological consideration is the frequent devoicing of initial *d-* > *t-* when **dīn** is the generic of a name-phrase (cf. Tintagel Cwl and Tintern Mon).

If compounds with *Dūno-* recorded in Classical sources do refer to man-made enclosures, they are among the oldest surviving ‘habitative’ place-names in Britain, and among the earliest to have personal names as specifiers, though these may well be names of deities or legendary ancestors (see Coates in CVEP, p. 5).

Among the Roman-British place-names, *Dunum* [*Sinus*] (Ptolemy’s *Doūnon kólpos*, PNRB pp. 344-5), probably on Tees Bay, stands out as being apparently a Brittonic simplex name (though a second element might have been lost in transmission). Otherwise, a number of compounds with British *dūno-* are recorded on and south of Hadrian’s Wall. It is striking that none of these survive in any form, supporting the archaeological evidence that old iron age forts or their Roman successors were not generally kept in use in the immediate post-Roman period south of the Wall, although there was extensive re-use of hill-forts to the north (see Dark 2000, p. 193). However, in the Northumbrian heartlands, such forts may have been widely re-named with Old English *burh* (as in the case of *Din Guoaroy* HB61 and 63, = Bamburgh Ntb, and of Almondbury YWR if this was *Camulodunum*). Examples include:

Cambodunum PNRB pp. 292-3, Bede’s *Campodunum* HE II.4, + **camb-**, which see for discussion and reference.

Camulodunum PNRB p. 295 + deity-name *Camulos* (see PCB pp. 102, 457 and 472, DCML p. 141, DCM p. 66): apparently the Roman fort at Slack YWR, though the name may have been transferred from the major hill-fort at Almondbury YWR, or from a lesser one nearer to Slack (for Boece’s misidentification of this with Camelon Stg, see ***cōlē:n**).

Lugudunum* PNRB pp. 401-2 + deity-name *Lugu-*, see **lūy: unlocated, probably in the North; most scholars think north of Hadrian’s Wall, but see Londesborough alongside Leven Seat etc. under (b1) below.

Rigodunum PNRB p. 448 + **rīy-**, probably the hill-fort at Castleshaw YWR.

Segedunum PNRB pp. 452-3 + **hī[y]**-, the fort at Wallsend Ntb.

Uxelodunum PNRB p. 483 (add to the evidence for this name its appearance on the Staffordshire Moorlands Pan, see Anonymous (2003), pp. 324-5) + **ūchel-**: the fort at Stanwix Cmb.

a1) Din Fell Rox (Castleton) CPNS p. 372, PNRox p. 13: Dinley and Dinlaybyre nearby might be related to this hill-name, ? + **-le**; cf. Dinas Dinlle Crn DPNW p. 124, but Macdonald in PNRox, on the basis of 16th ct forms, sees OE **dūn-lēah* here, ‘a clearing by a hill’.

Dunion Hill Rox (Bedrule) PNRox p. 10: ? + plural suffix *-jon* [influenced by OF *donjon* > English and Scots ‘dungeon’].

Teinside Rox (Teviothead) PNRox p. 38: with devoiced initial, influenced by Scots *teind* ‘a tenth, a tithe’ [+ OE *-sīde* > ‘side’]. There is a hill-fort here, but the derivation remains doubtful. An alternative might be a lost river-name of the ‘Tyne’ type (see ***ti-**), perhaps an earlier name for the R Liddel, or one derived from OE *denu*, cf. R Dean MLo.

a2) *Cnokdentwald* Cmb: see ***dīnn**.

Dinnans Kcb (Minnigaff) and *Dinnans* Wig (Whithorn) : see under ***dīn**.

Dinnins, or *Dinnings*, Hill Kcb: see under ***dīn**.

Dinley and *Dinlaybyre* Rox: see *Din Fell* above.

Glendinning Rigg Cmb (Nicholforest) PNCmb p. 105 + **glinn-**, or Mlr/eG *glenn-*, + **-an** or **-īn**.

b1) A number of place-names might, albeit doubtfully, be derived from **Lugudūno-*, or even identified with *Lugudunum*, above:

Londesborough YER PNYER p. 231 ? + **lūch-** Wilkinson (2004) at pp. 88-9 equates this with *Lugudunum* (see above), but see under **lūch**.

Lothian CPNS p. 101 ? + **lūch-** + plural suffix *-jon*, i.e. an ethnic name formed from **Lugudūno-*, but the earliest recorded forms raise doubts, see discussion under **lūch**. Lothianburn MLo (Lasswade) CPNS p. 101, PNMLo p. 284? + **lūch-**, which see for discussion, but also ***lōd** and ***lud**.

Loudon Hill Ayr (Darvel) CPNS pp. 198-9 ? + **lūch-**.

b1) A possible compound with a descriptive specifier is:

Bowden Hill WLo (Torphichen) PNWLo p. 90, WLoPN p. 17 ? + **būyð-**, Anglicised: there is a hill-fort here, but OE **boga-dūn* ‘curved hill’ is likely. The form *Bondba* 1698 raises further doubts.

b2) A number of sites of known or probable historical importance belong here, some surviving, others having Anglicised or replacement names:

Dalmeny WLo CPNS pp. 104 and 515 n104, PNWLo pp. 3-4 ? + **-mayn-** (which see) ? + **-īn**, or else the territorial name *-*Mannan*, see ***man-**.

Din Eidin = Edinburgh MLo CPNS pp. 340-3: see discussion under **Ē:dīn**. Note that the earliest record, AU s.a. 638, refers to *Etin*: it is not certain whether **dīn-** was an integral part of the name in Brittonic usage.

Din Guoaroy = Bamburgh Ntb PNNtb p. 10 ? + **-waraj**, which see.

Dinsol yn y Gogledd in *Culhwch ac Olwen* (ed. Bromwich and Evans (1992), see note on p. 567) is interpreted by Breeze (2000a) at p. 76, as + **-*sulu** and speculatively identified with Soutra MLo.

Dunbar ELo CPNS p. 141 + **-barr**: if either *Dyunbaer* or *Dynbaer* VW38, in the two earliest surviving manuscripts (11th cent.), reflects Stephen’s own spelling, it would be one of the earliest uses of ‘y’ by an anglophone writer. If either represented 8th cent. pronunciation as [-ū-], it could indicate that unrounding of the vowel had not occurred (see LHEB §23(2), pp. 319-21), which would be consistent with the Pritenic retention of both [ū] and [o:] (as in Pritenic *ochil*, see under **ūchel**). This would imply that this important dialectal feature extended south of the Forth.

Dunpender, *Dunpelder* = Traprain Law ELo (Prestonkirk) CPNS p. 345 + **-*peleidr**, plural of ***paladr**; Gaelicised *dùn-*; this might be a transferred name, but see Drumpellier below.

b2) Other phrasal names which may have had **dīn-** as generic include:

Denovan Stg (Dunipace) CPNS p. 508, PNFESTg p. 40 + **-aβon**, see ***āβ**.

Dinckley Lanc (Blackburn) PNLanc pp. 70-1 + **-cē:d-**, which see, [+ OE *-lēah* ‘a clearing, pasture, meadow’].

Dinduff Wig (Kirkcolm) PNRGLV p. 79 + **-duβ**; earlier recorded forms have *-u-*; cf. Dunduff Fif PNFif1 p. 308.

Dinmont Lair Rox CPNS p. 372 ? + **-mōnið** [+ Scots *lair* ‘a fold’], but see also **molt** for Scots *dinmont*.

Dinwiddie Rox (Castleton) CPNS p. 372 + **-wī:ð-** + suffix *-jo-*.

Dinwoodie Dmf (Applegarth) CPNS p. 372, PNDmf p. 5 + **-wī:ð-** + suffix *-jo-*.

Drumelzier Pbl CPNS p. 421 + **-*medlur**, see ***medel**, Gaelicised to *dùn-*, replaced by *druim-*, see above.

Drumpellier Lnk (Old Monklands) PNMonk pp. 3 and 11 + **peleidr**, plural of ***paladr**: identical in origin to *Dunpender* above; either might be transferred from the other, but there is no evidence for a fort here.

Dumfries CPNS pp. 421-2 + **-prēs**, which see for discussion; or else **drum-** or Gaelic *druim-*, or Gaelic *dronn-* ‘a hump’.

Dumpert Stg (Muiravonside) PNFESTg p. 32 + **pert[h]**.

Duncarnock Rnf + **-carn-** + **-ōg**, or else Gaelic **dùn-carnach*.

Duncow Dmf (Kirkmahoe) CPNS pp. 183 and 422, PNDmf p. 73 + **-coll**, or else Gaelic **dùn-choill*.

Dundreich Pbl + **-drīch**, Gaelicised if not Gaelic **dùn-dreich* in origin.

Dunduffel, ? = Dun Daugh (New Monkland), Lnk PNMonk pp. 3-4 + **-dūβ-** [+ OE *hyll* > – ‘hill’], but Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin.
 Dundyvan Lnk (Old Monkland) PNMonklands p. 11 ? + **-duβ[i]n**, Gaelicised, + *-jo-* causing double i-affection giving **difβin*: see Wilkinson (2002) at p. 140 and note.
 Dungavel Hill Lnk (Wiston and Robertson) ? + ***gaβel** or *-göβe:l* (see **goβ**)
 Dunipace Stg PNFESTg 39–40 ? + **-i[r]** - + - ***bas**, which see.
 Dunmallard Hill Cmb (Dacre) PNCmb p. 187 ? + **-mę:l** + **-arδ**, but see under **mę:l**.
 Dunree Ayrs (Cassilis) CPNS p. 199 ? + **-rīȳ**, but probably Gaelic **dùn-righ*.
 Dunscore Dmf PNDmf p. 28 + ***isgor**.
 Duntarvie, with Duntarvie Craig, WLo (Abercorn) CPNS pp. 36 and 147, PNWLo p. 16, WLoPN p. 24 ? + **-terpūn**, or a lost stream-name formed with **tarw-** + **-ed**, Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin; see WLoPN p. 24.
 Tantallon ELo ? + **-tāl-** + suffix *-on*, or *-ceun* (see **ceun**): *Dentaloune* or *-onne* on the Gough Map, 1355x66, favours **dīn-**: see discussion under **tāl**.
 Temon, with Temon Beck, Cmb (Upper Denton) ERN p. 301, PNCmb p. 81 + **-mayn**: initial devoicing (in all recorded forms) may have been encouraged by *Nenthemenu* Lan Cart 9 etc., i.e. *Neint-Tenmon* ‘valley of the Temon Beck’ [+ ME *-howe*]: see discussion under **mayn** and **nant**. However, the hydronymic ***tā-** might be involved.
 Timble YWR PNYWR5 p. 128 ? + **-mę:l**, but early forms are inconsistent, a connection with OE *tumbian*, ‘to tumble’, cannot be ruled out.
 Tynron Dmf PNDmf p. 127 ? + ***drum**, or *rhôn* ‘lance, spear’, see Watson 1925, but a Gaelic formation with *dùn* or *taigh* is possible.

c2) Poldean Dmf (Wamphray) PNDmf p. 129 + **pol-**.

*dīnas (f)

M-MnW *dinas*, Corn **dynas* (in place-names, CPNE p. 85), apparently not found in Breton.

A derivative of **dīn-** + **-as**, ‘a fort, refuge, stronghold’.

Very common in Wales: see M Richards in *ÉtCelt19* (1972), pp. 383-8. It is most often a simplex name, or one qualified by a separate word. Richards op. cit. lists 59 simplex and 29 with qualifiers. In the North, it seems to be restricted to hill- and stream-names in Galloway, the Borders and Lothian, a distribution suggesting that it was only used during the period of Cumbric expansion into these areas, the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Dīnas alternates with **Dīn** in Middle Welsh references to Din Eidyn. Note also the metaphorical usages, e.g. in CA A35, A37 and A44 (XLVIA), and BT57 (III).

a1) Simplex forms in the North generally show initial devoicing, *d-* > *t-*:

Dinnis Hill WLo (Bo’ness and Carriden) PNWLo p. 147.

Tennis Castle Pbl (Drumelzier) CPNS p. 372.

Tinnis, with Tinnis Burn etc., Slk (Yarrowkirk).

Tinnis and Tinnishall Dmf (Canonbie) [Tinnishall + OE *-halh*].

Tinnis Burn (x2, in Dmf and Rox), both rising on Tinnis Hill on the Dmf (Langholm)/Rox (Castleton) border CPNS p. 372.

Tinnis Hill Dmf (Kirkpatrick Fleming) Hough 2004 p. 128 [+ OE *-halh*].

c2) To judge by AMR, name-phrases with **dīnas** as specifier are uncommon in Wales, and most that exist are formed with the definite article; all these in the North are doubtful: Cairndinnis ELo (Traprain) CPNS p. 372 + **carn-**, Gaelicised.

Carntyne Lnk ? + ***carden** -, but the 16th ct. form *Cardindinas* is probably not reliable: see **cardn** and ***carr**.

***dinn** (originally n)

? IE (NW: Celtic and Germanic only) **dindo-* > eCelt **dindo-* > Br **dindo-*; O-MIr, eG *dind*, *dinn*; cogn. OE *tind*, ON *tindr*, > ‘tine’.

A hypothetical Brittonic cognate of OIr *dind*, primarily meaning ‘a sharp point’, but associated topographically with ‘a height, a strong point, a notable place’: see MacMathúna (1989-90) at p. 152.

a2) Proposed, originally by Ekwall, ERN pp. 120-1, in:

Dent YWR PNYWR6 pp. 252-3 + **-ed**: the river-name Dee here is a late back-formation from Dent, though that could have been primarily the river-name, in which case the proposed etymology would not be appropriate, see **de:w**. Discussion of this place-name has moreover been persistently muddled by the identification of this place with the lands *in regione Dunutinga* granted to Ripon according to VW17, and associated in turn with the semi-legendary chieftain *Dunawd* (< **Dönōd* < *Donātus*, see Morris (1973) p. 214n4). Early forms give no support for this identification; whatever the correct etymology for Dent, it certainly has nothing to do with *Dunawd*. If the **regio Dunutinga* was around Dent, the name in VW is very garbled. If, on the other hand, the **Dunutingas* were named after any *Dunawd*, their *regio* was not Dent.

a2) Other place-names that may preserve the same formation include:

Cnokdentwald Cmb (Dalston) PNCmb p. 132 + **cnuc[h]** [+ OE *-wald* ‘woodland’], but it could be **dīn-** + **-ed**.

Dent Cmb (field-name in Millom) PNCmb p. 421 + **-ed**.

Dent, with Dent Hill, Cmb (Cleator) PNCmb p. 358 + **-ed**.

Dent Hill Wml (Stainmore) PNWml2 p. 76 + **-ed**; but probably named from Dent House, which was named after a family.

These may also be compared with Dinnet Abd.

dö

IE **tewe-/o-* > eCelt **towe-* > Br **towe-* > O-MnW *dy* (also stressed form, neoBritt **tou* > MW *teu*), Corn *the*, Bret *da*; early OIr *to* > O-MnIr, G *do*, Mx *dty*; cogn. Lat *tuī*, *tīs*, Gk *seīu*, *seu*, Skt *tava*, *tē*, and cf. IE zero-grade **twe-ino-* > Gmc **þīnaz* > OE *þīn* > ‘thine’, ON *þín*.

For IE forms and cognates, see IIEL §8.4, pp. 211-20; for the Brittonic forms, LHEB§pp. 641-3, and §198(2), pp. 656-7; for the Goidelic forms, GOI §443, p. 297, and §446, pp. 280-3.

Genitive of the second person singular personal pronoun, developing in Indo-European as a possessive adjective, ‘thy’, ‘thine’.

This occurs in place-names with the names of saints, usually in hypocoristic form. The first person singular *mo* ‘my’ is more common in Goidelic formations, but it does not follow with any certainty that those with the second person form are Brittonic, even where the saint’s name seems to be so. Examples include:

Baldernock EDnb + **bod-** + saint's name **Ernōg*, but a Gaelic formation **both-d'Ernóc*, for *Ernéne*, is likely: see CPNS pp. 187-8 and Taylor (1996) at p. 104.

Carnetly Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 84 + **carn-** + saint's name **Eljō*, for *Eliud* < *Elidius*: see LHEB §47(6), pp. 382-3, and CIB #60 at pp. 199-200 with note 1224, but see also **cajr** and **jūð**.

**dōl* (f)

? IE(NW)**dʰol-* > eCelt **dolā-* > M-MnW *dōl*, 'probably no such word' in Corn (CPNE p. 334), nor, apparently, in Bret; ? adopted from Britt as early G *dal*, *dol* > G *dail*; cogn. OE *dæl*, ON *dalr* > 'dale'.

See the etymological discussion in PNRB at p. 340.

The root is associated with concavity, in place-names generally 'a valley'. However, it seems to have fallen out of use in Goidelic and SWBritt, and to have survived only in WBritt and Prit, with the meaning 'a water-meadow, a haugh': see GPC s.n., ELI p. 29 and PNCmb p. 55. *Dōl* is very common in Wales as generic or specifier: the number of individual names containing this element in AMR amounting to several hundreds.

There may have been semantic influence from ON *dalr* > ME, Scots *dale* on usage in the Old North and Pictland, extending to Gaelic *dail*, which itself was very probably adopted from Cumbric or Pictish. Note that Watson frequently uses 'dale' for Gaelic *dail* in CPNS, though he points out that the geographical distributions of ON *dalr* and Gaelic *dail* are more or less exclusive (p. 415), so adoption of the P-Celtic word is more likely. In the Solway region, ***dōl**, *dail* and *dalr* did co-exist, but the Celtic words are of course more likely to be in first position as name-phrase generics, the Scandinavian (or Middle English/ Scots) in final position. Gaelic *dail* is also common in Ayrshire and Galloway, and occurs throughout southern Scotland (CPNS p. 414), usually with Gaelic specifiers, but in few cases a Gaelicised form of a former Brittonic name may be suspected: see, e.g., Dalgleish below. For the distribution of ***dōl**/*dail* in Pictland, see Nicolaisen (1996), p. 26. but see also Taylor 2011, pp. 85, 88 and 103.

Of particular interest is the number of names in Pictland formed with Gaelic *dail* plus a saint's name (S. Taylor, pers comm). This suggests that ***dōl**, possibly **dāl* in Pritenic (see above), might have been adopted specifically as a term for a piece of church land, maybe with semantic influence from OE *dāl* 'a portion', > 'dole', Scots *dale* (for which see PNFif5 p. 349): see Dalleagles and Dalorrens below.

b2) Dalavan Bay Kcb (Kirkmabreck) PNGall p. 103 + *-aβon*, see **aβ**, or else Gaelic **dail-abhuinn*.

Dalemain Cmb (Dacre) PNCmb pp. 186-7 ? + **-mayn**, but note the absence of lenition; Ekwall, DEPN(O) s.n., treats this as an 'inversion-compound' with an ON personal name, **dal-Máni*.

Dalewascumin Cmb (Denton) Lan Cart + personal name *-[G]wascolman* 'devotee of Colmán' (probably Bishop Colmán of Lindisfarne).

Dalfibble Dmf (Kirkmichael) PNDmf p. 76 + ***pebil**.

Dalgarnock Dmf (Closeburn) CPNS p. 449, PNDmf p. 14 + **-carn-** or *-*garn-* (see ***gar-**) + **-ōg**, or else + Gaelic *-*gairneach*; whichever was the case, it was presumably a stream-name, cf. R Garnock Ayr.

Dalgleish Slk (Ettrick) + **-*glę:ss**, or Gaelic *-glais*.

Dalgliesh, Nether, Ayr (Maybole) + **-*glę:ss**, or Gaelic *-glais*.

Dalkeith MLo CPNS p. 382, PNMLo p. 211 + **-cē:d**: the absence of lenition can be attributed to the Scots form Keith, name of the barony to the east, probably based on that of an ancient, wooded, territory with which Dalkeith may have been associated: see **cē:d**.

Dalleagles Ayrs (New Cumnock) + **-eglē:s**, or Gaelic **dail-eaglaise*: even so, a possible relict of an early church estate, see MacQueen (2005) at p. 169 n13, and A. James (2009b) at pp. 145-6 n32 (suggesting that **dōl-eglē:s* might be equivalent to OE **eclēs-halh* ‘detached or reserved portion of an ecclesiastical estate’, as in Eccleshall Stf, Ecclesall YWR).

Dalreagle Wig (Kirkinner) PNGall p. 103, PNWigMM p. 23 ? + **-i[r]**- + **-eglē:s**; but G **doire-riaghail* is more likely, see discussion under **rīy**.

Dalry MLo CPNS pp. 144 and 200, PNMLo p. 124 ? + **-rīy** or **-wrūg**, but Gaelic **dail-rìgh* or **dail-fhraoich* are possible; Dalry Ayrs is named from Rye Water, unless that is a back-formation, see ***rīa**; St John’s Town of Dalry Kcb, is probably **dail-fhraoich* or *-ruigh* ‘slope’.

Dankeith Ayrs (Symington) Taylor 2011 p. 87 + **-cē:d**: see Dalkeith above.

Deloraine, Easter and Wester Slk (Ettrick) CPNS p. 417 ? + personal (6th ct ruler’s) name - *Urβayen* > *Urien*, but Gaelic **dail-Odhràin*, commemorating St Odhrán of Iona, is at least as likely, see above on *dail*- + saints’ names in Pictland.

Dollerline Cmb (Askerton) PNCmb p. 55 + **-ar**- + -river-name Lyne, see ***lę:β**.

*dōn (f)

? IE **deh₂-* + *-nu-* > eCelt **dānu-* > late Br **dōnu-*

See OIPrIE §8.3 at pp. 126-7.

A river-name of great antiquity and controversial etymology. Watson in CPNS pp. 211-12 derived river-names of the ‘Don’ type from **deiw-* (see **dę:w**) + *-onā-*. This is supported by the example of Ptolemy’s *Dēoúana*, a place on, and named from, the R Don Abd (PNRB p. 338, and see Isaac 2005 p. 192), and it is probably correct in cases like Doon Ayrs (note in both Abd and Ayrs/ Kcb the proximity of rivers named Dee). However, the Don YWR was certainly *Danu*, which Jackson (1970) at p. 72 derived from a cognate of OIr *danae* > Ir *dana*, G *dàn*, Mx *daanagh*, ‘bold’. This ignores the numerous rivers outwith the sphere of Celtic influence (especially in regions of Iranic linguistic influence) that apparently share the same root. Current scholarly opinion therefore favours an ‘ancient’ root, possibly **deh_a-nu-*: see Nicolaisen (1957) at p. 245, Kitson (1998) at p. 88, and DCCPN p. 17.

The issue is complicated by the probable identity between the river-name and that of the goddess *Dānu* > *Dôn*, on whom see PCB pp. 290, 293-4 and 452-4, DCM p. 130, TYP pp. 327 and 549, and Green (1995) pp. 57-66. She again might be connected with OIr *danae* but for the records of a Vedic deity *Dānu*, herself associated with rain and moisture, and her son being the power that holds back the waters above the heavens. The identity of *Dānu* is further complicated by intertwining with that of *Ana*, *Anu*, on whom see **Anaw**.

As a footnote, the Gaelic adjective *dàn* ‘bold’ may be present + *barr-* + *-ach* in the hill-name Bardennoch Kcb (Carsphairn), *Bardannoch* on Pont’s map.

a1) The simplex river-name must in all cases have been adopted into Old English after the late British rounding of *ā* but before it was diphthongised > *au*, i.e. in the neo-Brittonic period, 6th – 8th centuries: see LHEB §9, pp. 290-2, and §11, pp. 293-6.

Don R Drh DDRhPN p. 35, and see PNRB p. 329 on *Danum*.

Don R, with Doncaster, Dunford Bridge, etc., YWR ERN pp. 126-8, , PNYWR7 p. 126 (also Little Don R, *ibid.* p. 127), and see PNRB p. 329.

Doon R Ayrs CPNS p. 212: if this is ***dōn**, the vowel may have been influenced by Gaelic *dùn* ‘a fort’, but see **dę:w**.

*drayin (m?)

?IE(NW) *dhergh- ‘a sharp point’) + -no- > eCelt *drageno- > Br plural *drageni- > M-MnW plural *drain*, MCorne plural *drein* > Corn plural *dreyne*; O-MIr *draigen* > Ir *draighean*, G *draigheann*, *droigheann*, Mx *drine*.

The status of the Indo-European (NW) root is doubtful, but for Germanic and Slavic cognates see OIPrIE §10.1 at p. 160. On the Brittonic forms, see LHEB §76, p. 445, and CPNE p. 88.

Collective noun, ‘thorns, thorn-bushes’, either Blackthorn (*Prunus spinosa*), Bramble (*Rubus* spp.), or Hawthorn (*Crataegus* spp.). The Brittonic languages all distinguish ‘a thorn’ (W *draen* (f), OCorne *drain*, Bret *draen*) from the singulative ‘a thorn-bush’ (W *draenen*, Corn *dr[a]enen, Bret *draenenn*).

c2) Either of the following could be MIr/early Gaelic formations:

Drumdryan MLo CPNS p. 144 + **drum-**, which see.

Dundraw Cmb PNCmb pp. 139-40 + **drum-**: loss of the final syllable could be due to Old Norse speakers substituting **draginn*, which Middle English speakers ‘translated’ as *dræg-* > ‘draw’, so ‘a drag, a steep slope’, omitting *-inn as this was taken to be the Scandinavian suffixed definite article: see also Coates at CVEP p. 286.

Pendrachin Elo (Athelstaneford) ? + **pen[n]**

Pendragon Castle Wml (Mallerstang) PNWml2 p. 13 ? + **pen[n]**-, but see **dragon**.

Pendraven Cmb (lost field-name in Upper Denton) PNCmb p. 82, but see discussion under **pen[n]**.

dragon (m)

IE *dṛk̑ - (zero-grade of *derk̑ - ‘see’, see ***drīch**) + -ont- > Gk *drákōn*, adopted as Lat *draco*[n]-, thence as MW *dracon* (alongside Latin *draco* adopted as Br **draci-* > MW *draic* > W *draig*, OCorne *druic*); cf. IE *dṛk̑ -si- > MIr [muir-] *dris* ‘a sea-monster’.

‘A dragon’. The form *dracon* is used in MW as an honorative for ‘a prince, a warlord, a great warrior’. Whether its use in this sense in CA (A22, A25) is evidence that it was current in neoBrittonic or even in Old Welsh is a matter for debate (but note the use of the Latin word in the story of Emrys in HB42).

In any case, neither of the following names is likely to be early:

c2) Pendragon Castle Wml (Mallerstang) PNWml2 p. 13 + **pen[n]**-, but this name (first recorded in 1309) is likely to have been a product of the later mediaeval enthusiasm for Arthurian romance. On Uthr Bendragon, see Bromwich (2006).

Polstragon Cmb (Bewcastle) PNCmb p. 62 + ***pol-**. The devoiced -lt- might reflect late Cumbric [-lt-], see LHEB §54(1), pp. 400-1 and note 1. However, the earliest form *Polstraghaue* 1485 leaves the etymology (proposed by Breeze, CVEP p. 287) in doubt: later forms are obviously influenced by ‘dragon’ and may derive from a miscopying of a name suffixed with ME -*howe*.

*drīch (m)

IE *dṛk̑ - (zero-grade of *derk̑ - ‘see’, see **dragon**) > eCelt **dricco-* > Br **dricco-* > MW *drich* > W *drych*; OIr *drech* > Ir, G *dreach*, Mx *dreagh*.

Basically, ‘a look’, so ‘a facial expression’, and, in place-names, ‘an aspect, an outlook’, especially a favourable one on a sunny hillside. This is the case in Welsh place-names (AMR lists about 20 examples, although it seems not to be attested in non-toponymic usage, at least in Modern Welsh), and also in Scottish Gaelic (perhaps influenced by Cumbric/ Pictish usage, CPNS p. 414, PNFif5 pp. 356-7).

c2) Both of the following are probably Gaelic:

Dundreich Pbl CPNS p. 140 + **dīn-**, Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin.

Pittendreich MLo PNMLo pp. 280-1 ? + **peth-** + **-[h]īn-**; see discussion under **peth**.

*drum (m)

eCelt **drumo-* > Br **drumo-* > M-early MnW *drum* > W *trum*, Corn **drum* (in place-names, CPNE p. 89); O-MnIr *droim* > G *druim*, M *dreym*; adopted as Scots *drum*.

‘A back’: in place-names, ‘a ridge’.

Ptolemy’s use of *drûmòs* ‘an oak-wood’ (<*dóru*, see **dār**), in the context *Kalēdónios drûmòs* = *Caledonius Saltus* (PNRB p. 290), suggests that Celtic **drumo-* was mistaken for the Greek word, giving rise to the still-potent myth of *Calidonia Silva/ Coet Celidon/ Great Wood of Caledon*, on the non-existence of which see Smout, MacDonald and Watson (2005) pp. 20-5, and Rackham (2006), pp. 390-3.

This element occurs in place-names in Wales and Cornwall, but much less frequently than its Gaelic cognates; all but seven or eight of the many examples in AMR are apparently secondary formations with **drum* added (in the late Middle to early Modern Welsh period?) to pre-existing names. In southern Scotland, and even in Cumberland, it is hard to be sure whether names have the Brittonic element, especially given the frequent confusion between Gaelic *druim* and *dùn* (which itself could have replaced Brittonic **dīn**). See Drummond 2007, p. 34. For a specific usage in Galloway Scots see Ó’ Maolalaigh (2022a) p. 104.

a1) Simplex names like Drem ELo CPNS p. 141, and Drum MLo CPNS p. 144, are likely to be Gaelic or Scots (Ó’ Maolalaigh 2022b p. 372 n8); Drum Kcb (frequent, e.g. in Lochrutton and New Abbey parishes) PNGall p. 113, is likely to reflect local Scots usage (see Ó’ Maolalaigh 2022b p. 372 n8).

b1) Mochrum Kcb (Parton) and Mochrum Hill with Mochrum Loch Ayr (Kirkoswald): see Mochrum Wig below.

Mochrum Wig PNGall p. 212, Brooke (1991a) at p. 320 + **moch-**, or else Gaelic **muc-druim*, but either way, a very unusual compound form.

Muldron, with Muldron Burn and Forest, MLo (West Calder) PNMLo p. 395, WLoPN p. 29? + **mę:l-**, or else Gaelic **maol-druim*, but note that early forms for Meldrum Abd, which might be supposed to have the same origin, show a mysterious first element *Melge-*, *Melki-*. Early forms show *-lr-*, *Mulron* 1512 etc, up to *Mulrane* 18th cent., implying that the /d/ is epenthetic and leaving the original of both elements very doubtful.

b2) *Drumaben* MLo (West Calder) PNMLo p. 399 + pers. (deity?) n. *-Mabon*, see **mab**.

Drumburgh Cmb (Bowness) PNCmb p. 124 + ***boch** (see **bīch**) or **-*buch**, which see for discussion. Early forms do not favour Gaelic **druim-buic*.

Drumcross WLo (otherwise Crosston, Bathgate) CPNS p. 146, PNWLo pp. 83 and 87 + **-*crojs**, which see, or else Gaelic **druim-croise*.

Drumdryan MLo (Marchmont) CPNS p. 144 + **-*drayīn**, or else Gaelic **druim-draighinn*.

Drumkalladyr Ayr, near the head of the R Nith, + **caled-* (see **cal-*) + **-duβr**, see both of these: the formation is probably secondary, with Gaelic *druim-*.

Drumlanrig Dmf (Durrisdeer) PNDmf p. 32 + **-lanerc**, or else Gaelic *druim-* added to a Cumbric simplex name; in view of the earliest records Drumlangryg 1384 etc., Gaelic *druim-* prefixed to Scots **lang-rigg* < ON **lang-hryggr* 'long ridge' cannot be ruled out in this location. Drumwalt Wig (Mochrum) PNGall p. 127, CPNS p. 180 ? +-**wel[t]** -, but see PNWigMM p. 20. Dundraw Cmb PNCmb pp. 139-40 ? +-***drayin**, which see for discussion.

Drumbreddan Wig (Stoneykirk) PNGall p. 117, PNRGLV p. 91, Drumbretton Dmf (Annan) CPNS p. 15, PNDmf p. 2, and Drumbrydon MLo (Woodhall) PNMLo pp. 160-1, are probably all Gaelic formations, but of interest as they are formed with *-Breatan* 'of Britons', see **Brithon**. Likewise, Drumalbin Lnk (Carmichael), 'of Scots', doubtless echoing the greater Drumalban to the north, see Morgan (2013) pp. 167-8, Taylor 2021, 50 - 1.

c2) Mindrum Ntb PNNtb p. 143, DEPN(O) s.n. + **mönñð-**: see LHEB p. 355. Tynron Dmf PNDmf p. 127 ? + * **din-**, which see.

drus (m)

IE **dhwōr-* (ō-grade of **dhwer-* 'pierce') + *-est-* > eCelt **durestu-* > Br **drustu-* > OW *drus* > M-MnW *drws*, cf. MCornd *darat* > Corn *daras*; O-MnIr, G *dorus*, Mx *dorrys*; ?cf. Lat *foras* 'out of doors', *fores* 'double doors'.

The precise history of the Celtic forms is 'thoroughly obscure' according to P. Schrijver (quoted in EGOW at p. 51). They exist alongside the more regular development eCelt **durā-* > OW *dor* > W *dôr*, MCornd *dor*, Bret *dor*, OIr *dor*, cogn. Lat *foris* 'outside', OE *dor* > 'door' (also OE *duru* > northern ME/ early Scots *dure*), Gk *thúrā-*, Skt *dvarau*, and 'in all major Indo-European groups', OIPriE §72 at p. 108, and see also DCCPN p. 18.

'A door, doorway, gate, gateway'. It occurs in later Welsh place-names and in early Modern Welsh literature in the sense of 'a narrow gap or pass', but its presence in earlier Welsh toponymy is not certain. For Irish and Scottish Gaelic examples, see DUPN p. 59 and PNFif5 p. 356.

Whaley (2001), pp. 77-96, and in DLDPN pp. 348-9, argues for this element in the following, but see also ***trōs**:

a1) Truss Gap Wml (Shap) PNWml2 p. 178, DLDPN p. 349 and plate 2.

a2) Trusdoor Cmb (Ireby) DLDPN pp. 348-9 and plate 1 (not in PNCmb) + **-µa** [+ OE *-dor* 'door'].

dūβ

IE **dhu-b-* (?zero-grade of **dheu-* + *-b-* 'deep', see **duβ[i]n** and **duβr**) > eCelt **dubo-/ā-* > Br, Gaul **dubo-/ā-* > OW *du* > M-MnW *du*, OCornd *duw* > Corn *du* (in place-names, see CPNE pp. 89-90), O-Mn Bret *du*; OIr *dub* > Ir, G *dubh*, Mx *doo*.

See DCCPN p. 18, LHEB §5(2), pp. 275-7, and §66, pp. 415-16, EGOW p. 51.

‘Black’. As a place-name element, common in hydronyms (see ERN pp. 129-35), and, later, in name-phrases.

Duabsis[s]is PNRB pp. 340-1, is reconstructed by Rivet and Smith as **dub-ab-isso-* (i.e. + **-āβ-** + *-isso-*) ‘place on the dark water’, implying a lost river-name, ‘apparently in southern Scotland’.

For discussion of *Kepduf* in VK(H), possibly Kilduff ELo, see under ***cif**.

In Anglicised forms:

- i) those with a short *-u-* either reflect neoBrittonic **duβ* prior to the ‘new quantity system’ (circa 600? See LHEB §§34-5, pp. 338-44) or else shortening when adopted into Old English;
- ii) those with *-i-* or *-e-* in name-phrases (c2) may reflect a weakened, pretonic, **dōβ-* (later sixth century, LHEB §§201-5, pp. 664-81);
- iii) those with *-ju-*, ‘dew’, reflect a lengthened and fronted *-ū-*, a development in Old Welsh, and presumably in Cumbric, of the 7th – 9th centuries (LHEB §5(2), pp. 275-7 and §20(3), pp. 310-11), implying relatively late adoption into Old English (see Cardew (c2) below).

a1) Dove R YNR ERN p. 134 (which see for discussion of all rivers of this name in England), PNYNR p. 3.

Dove R YWR PNYWR7 p. 127.

Dye Water Bwk: see Nicolaisen 2011 p. 23.

a2) Stream-names + **-ōg** are possible in:

Devoke Water Cmb PNCmb p. 33: early forms indicate **duβ-*, see above.

Cumdivock Cmb (Dalston) PNCmb p. 132 + **cum[b]**-, which see.

Moor Divock Wml (Askham) PNWml2 p. 201 [+ OE *mor-* > ‘moor’].

However, it is not clear in the latter two cases what streams may have borne this name, and a Cumbric personal name *Dyfog* < **Dōβōg* < **Dubāco-* might be involved. The early forms for Moor Divock favour **duβ-*, but those for Cumdivock, weakened **dōβ-* > *Dev-* (see above).

River-names of the ‘Devon’ type are taken by Ekwall (ERN p. 124) and Nicolaisen (SPN² p. 228) to be **dūβ** + *-onā-*. Glendevon WLo (Kirkliston) is probably a transferred name from Glendevon Per, itself named from such a river; see also PNFif1 p. 37 and PNCIk pp. 107-8 for discussions of the Rivers Devon and Black Devon, Clk and Fif. It would seem reasonable to include in this class a number of place-names in southern Scotland that seem to include a similar form (such as Devon, with Devonburn and Glendevon, Lnk (Lesmahagow), Devonshaw Hill Lnk, Devonside Lnk and Dowanhill Lnk) but as most of these are not obviously associated with rivers or substantial streams they are discussed under **duβ[i]n**, which may also be the origin of the river-names.

c1) Denis Burn Ntb (near Hexham), Bede’s *Denisesburna .i. Rivus Denisi* HE III.1, ERN p. 120, + **-*ness**: so Ekwall, but note Jackson’s scepticism, LHEB §67(7-8), pp. 421-4, and §204B(1-2), pp. 674-5. Otherwise maybe **dubn-issā-*, see **duβ[i]n**.

The ‘Douglas’ type of river-name is probably **dūβ-** + a derivative of **glast-* (see discussion under ***gleiss**). On the phonology, see LHEB §74(1), pp. 436-8, §204B(2), p. 675, and §205, pp. 678-81, also Breeze’s (2015c, p. 174) discussion of *Dubglas* in HE 56. There are several in the North (see ERN pp. 129 ff.), including:

Devil’s Burn or Water Ntb PNNtb p. 62.

Douglas Muir Dnb CPNS p. 458.

Douglas R Lanc ERN p. 129, PNLanc p. 126, JEPNS17 p. 70.

Douglas R, and town, Lnk CPNS p. 458.

Douglas Ing Wml (Hoff) PNWml2 p. 94 [+OE *-ing* ‘a hill’, EPNE1 p. 282]: maybe a lost stream-name, but could be from *Douglas* as a personal name here.

Dowlache Lanc (Ince Blundell) P. B. Russell (1992), pp. 34-5 (not in PNLanc): see ***gl̥eiss**, but Russell favours **duβr-** + **-luch**.

Dowlass Moss YWR (Ingleton) PNYWR6 p. 245, again cf. Dowlais.

Dunsop R, with Dunsop Bridge, YWR PNYWR6 p. 212, *ibid.* 7 p. 127 [+ OE *-hop*].

A few stream-names are formed with **dūβ-** + **-*pol** (or Gaelic **dubh-poll*):

Dipple, with Dippool Water (= Black Burn), Ayrs CPNS p. 349.

Dipple or Dippool Water Lnk (→ Mouse Water) CPNS p. 349.

Dipple Burn WLo (Bathgate): J. G. Wilkinson pers. comm.

Duple (= Blue Cairn, Kirkmichael), with Duple Burn, Dmf (rising in Kirkpatrick Juxta) CPNS p. 349, PNDmf p. 82.

Duddon R Cmb/Lanc ERN p. 137, PNLanc p. 191, PNCmb p. 11, DLDPNS p. 102 ? + *-*īdun*, cf. Eden, see ***īd-**: R. Coates pers. comm., and see now Coates 2013b.

Glendowlin Wml PNWml1 p. 206 + **gl̥inn-**, or M̄Ir/early G *glenn-*, added to **dūβ-** + **-l̥inn**: A. Walker, pers. comm.

c2) Cardew Cmb PNCmb pp. 131-2 + **cajr-**: a good example of a late, Cumbric formation, with **-δū-*, see above, and Jackson (1963) at pp. 81-3.

Craigdews Wig (Mochrum), and Craigdhu Wig (x2, Glasserton and Kirkcowan), both PNGall p. 82 + **cr̥ę:g-**: cf. Cardew above, but these have been subject to Gaelic influence, if not Gaelic in origin.

Craigdow Loch Ayrs + **cr̥ę:g-**, likewise Gaelicised or Gaelic in origin.

Dunduffel, ? = Dun Daugh (New Monkland), Lnk PNMonk pp. 3-4 + **d̥in-** [+ OE *hyll* > ‘hill’], but Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin.

Ecclesdo YWR (stream-name in Kirkheaton) PNYWR2 p. 229 ? + **eg̥les-**, which see.

c2) **gl̥inn-** + **-dūβ**, or M̄Ir/early G *glenn-dubh*, occurs a number of times in the North:

Glen Dhu Cmb (Bewcastle) PNCmb p. 61, with pseudo-Gaelic antiquarian spelling.

Glendow, with Glendow Sike, Dmf (Ewes).

Glendue, with Glendue Burn and Fell, Ntb (Hartleyburn) PNNtb p. 94.

duβ[i]n, *doun, etc.

?IE **dhu-b-* (zero-grade of **dheu-b-* ‘deep’, see **dūβ** and **duβr**) + *-n-* > eCelt **dubno-/ā-*, also **dumno-/ā-*, > Br, Gaul **dubno-/ā-*, **dumno-/ā-* > OW(LL) *duuin* > MW *dwyyn* > W *dwfn*, *dyfn*, OCorn *dofen*, *duuen-* > M-MnCorn *down*, M-MnBret *down*, *don*; O-M̄Ir *domain* > Ir, G *domhain*, Mx *dowin*, also OIr *domun* > Ir, G *domhan*, ‘the world, the universe’; cf. Gmc **diupaz* > OE *dēop*, AScand **dēp* (ON *djúpr*) > ‘deep’.

The Indo-European status and etymology of the root is controversial: see OIPrIE §18.2 at pp. 292-3. It may involve the verbal root **dheu-* ‘die, come to an end’, see **d̥in**.

Celtic forms vary in three ways:

i) non-nasal *-b-* > *-β-* versus nasal *-m-* > *-μ-*, see LHEB §97, pp. 483-6 especially p. 484 n3, and, on Continental forms, DCCPN p. 18;

ii) vowel *-u-* in South-West and West Brittonic versus *-o-* in Pritenic (and possibly in the ‘Brit/Prit’ of the North): see Koch (1980-2);

iii) absence or presence of an adventitious vowel in the second syllable,

so the range of potential forms in the neoBrittonic of the Old North is expressed by the formula **du/ob/μ[i]n*.

An adjective meaning ‘deep’. It may have borne a cosmological significance in early Celtic world-views, perhaps associated with cultic offerings to powers of the underworld: see PCB pp. 46-59, DCML pp. 170-1, Green (1986), pp. 138-50, and Woodward (1992), chapters 4 and 5.

It may have carried such connotations, or even have been a deity-name, in the ethnic name given by Ptolemy as *Damn[ón]ioi* for which Rivet and Smith, PNRB pp. 342-4, read **Dumn-* (alternatively, as Koch points out, **Domn-*). However, Isaac (2005), p. 191, argues for IE **dm(h₂)-* (zero-grade of **demh₂-* ‘put together, build’) + *-no-n-io-* > eCelt *damnonio-/ā-*, cf. Welsh *defnydd* and OIr *damnae*, both ‘matter, material’, so the name may mean ‘men of substance’ or ‘builders’. See also P. Russell (2002) at p. 185. If the sites associated with them by Ptolemy are a reliable guide, their territory extended from the lower Clyde basin across the Campsies and central Forth as far as Strathallan (Ardoch) and Strathtay (Inchtuthil, if that was *Victoria*): see Driscoll and Forsyth (2004) at pp. 4-11 and Fraser (2009) pp. 15-22.

Note that this occurs as an element in a personal name on the Yarrowkirk Slk stone: DVMNOGENI (for the variant reading DIMNO-, see CIB p. 120).

a1) Wilkinson (2002), pp. 139-43, drew attention to a number of place-names in central Scotland that apparently contain this element, though in monothematic (a1) forms, **dūβ-on-* is equally possible. Any or all of them might contain a lost stream-name, presumably of the ‘Devon’ type (see **dūβ**, but note that the rivers discussed there could, conversely, belong here), but apart from Devon Burn Lnk they do not have obvious associations with watercourses. Wilkinson’s suggestion that they might be associated with the *Damnonii* (see above) is interesting but speculative. They include:

Devon, with Devon Burn, Devonburn (a settlement), and Glendevon, Lnk (Lesmahagow): see Taylor (2009) at pp. 87-8; for Glendevon WLo, see **dūβ**.

Devonshaw Hill Lnk [+ OE *sceaġa* > ME/Scots *shaw* ‘a wood’].

Devonside Lnk [+ OE *-sīde* . ‘side’].

The latter two are not apparently connected with *Devon* (Lesmahagow), see **dūβ** and Wilkinson (2002) at pp. 142-3. The modern form ‘Devon’ in all these cases probably reflects the influence of the English county-name, itself from the ethnic name *Dumnonii*, PNRB pp. 342-3.

Dowanhill Lnk (Govan) [+ OE *-hyll* > ‘hill’]: possibly **doβ/μn* here.

a2) Denis Burn Ntb (near Hexham), Bede’s *Denisesburna .i. Rivus Denisi* HE III.1, could be **dubn-issā-*, but see **dūβ** (c1).

c2) Blendewing Pbl (Kilbucho) + **blajn-**.

Cardowan Lnk (Glasgow) + **cajr-**: another possible **doβ/μn* form.

Dundyvan Lnk (Old Monkland) PNMonklands p. 11 ? + **dīn-**, Gaelicised, + *-jo-* causing double *i*-affection giving **dīβin*: see Wilkinson (2002) at p. 140 and note.

Glendivan Dmf (Ewes) PNDmf p. 41 + **glīnn-**, similarly modified.

Poldevine Dmf (Wamphray) PNDmf p. 129 + **pol-**.

Poldivan Lake Dmf (Closeburn) + ***pol-**: modified like Dundyvan above [+ OE *-lacu*, here probably ‘a stream’, see EPNE2 p. 8].

A curious group of place-names across Lothian and Rnf are apparently of identical origin, though the first element is not certain and the meaning of the name-phrase is obscure. If they are ***part[h]-** + **-dūβ[i]n**, the formation may have been an appellative, perhaps a low-lying land or land with deep soil, though the early form (probably for Parduvine MLo, see PNMLo p. 112) *Parduarneburne* 1144 suggests the second element may have been a stream-name, but doubtfully **dūβ[i]n**. see CPNS pp. 372-3, PNMLo p. 112, and Wilkinson (2002) at p. 140 n7, and also ***part[h]-**. They are:

Pardivan ELo (Whitecraig) CPNS pp. 372-3.

Pardivan MLo (Cranston) PNMLo p.190.
 Pardovan WLo (Linlithgow) CPNS pp. 372-3, PNWLo p. 62, WLoPN p. 29.
 Parduvine MLo (Carrington) CPNS pp. 372-3, PNMLo p.112
Perdovingishill Rnf (lost) CPNS p. 372, WLoPN p. 29 [+ OE *-hyll* > ‘hill’].

duβr (m)

?IE **dheu-b-* ‘deep’ (see **dūβ** and **duβ[ī]n**) + *-r-* > eCelt **dubro-* > Br, Gaul *dubro-* > OW *dubr* > MW *duuir* > W *dŵr*, *dwfr*, O-MnCorn *dour*, M-MnBret *dour*; ? adopted as OIr *dobur* > Ir, G *dobhar*, Mx **dooar* (in place-names and compounds).

On the variable quality of *-β-*, consonantal or vocalised, see LHEB §67(3), pp. 418-19, and §67(8), pp. 423-4. This is reflected in Modern Welsh *dŵr* beside *dwfr*, and in the presence or absence of *-v-* in Anglicised forms.

‘Water’. Frequent in Brittonic river-names, and *dobhar* is common in Scottish river-names (CPNS pp. 453-6), though it is rare in Ireland and Mann, so the Gaelic usage may well have been reinforced by Cumbric and Pictish models. However, it should be noted that **dur[i]a* is regarded by some scholars as an ‘Old European’ hydronym (see De Bernardo Stempel (2000) at p. 99), so some of the river-names listed below may conceivably be ‘ancient’. See also ACPN p. 72 and DCCPN p. 18.

a1) Deer Burn Dmf (Kirkmichael) DPNDmf p.76; Gaelic *doire* ‘oakwood’ (see **dār**) or OE *dēor* > ‘deer’ are both possible.

a2) Several river-names, or place-names formed from lost river-names, may be formed with the prefix **rō-** or **rūd-**:

Carruthers Dmf (Middlebie) CPNS p. 368, PNDmf p. 91 + **cajr-**; see under **cajr** and **rūd**.

Culruther, and *Glenruther*, Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 150 + **cūl-** or ***cūl-**, *Glenruther* + ***glīnn-** or early Gaelic *glenn-*; but probably Gaelic, see under ***cūl**.

Riddrie Lnk (Glasgow: the area south of the Molendinar Burn) + **-īg**; see Durkan (1986) at p. 284, and cf. *Dourie* and *Pendourick* below.

Rother R YWR ERNp. 348, PNYWR7 p. 136.

Rutherglen Lnk [+ Scots *-glen*].

Rutter Force, with *Low Rutter*, Wml (Drybeck) PNWml2 p. 99, but see also **rejadər** and **treβ**.

a2) A lost stream-name **duβr-** + **-īg** may be implied at:

Dourie Wig (Mochrum) PNGall p. 112, Gaelicised as **dobhráig* or **duraich*, see PNWigMM pp. 20-1.

Pendourick MLo (Newtongrange) CPNS p. 355 + **pen[n]-** + **-īg**, presumably preserving a lost stream-name.

b1) As a generic in compounds, **-duβr** is regularly reduced to *-der* or *-ter* in Anglicised forms. This is seen in the numerous river-names, and names apparently derived from river-names, of the ‘Calder’ type, < **caled-* (see ***cal-**) + **-duβr**:

Calder Loch Wig PNWigMM p. 20.

Calder R Cmb PNCmb pp. 7 and 427, ERN p. 60.

Calder R Lanc (→ *Ribble*) PNLanc p. 66, ERN p. 60.

Calder R Lanc (→ *Wyre*) PNLanc p. 140, ERN p. 59.

Calder R Rnf ERN p. 60.

Calder R YWR PNYWR7 p. 121, ERN p. 61.

Calder Water Lnk (→ Avon).

North or Rotten Calder Lnk (→ Clyde).

South Calder Lnk (→ Clyde).

The Calder (East, Mid-, and West) MLo CPNS pp 105-7 and 455, PNMLo pp. 301 and 389, WLoPN p. 16: see discussion under ***cal-**.

Caldour Rox (Kelso) Watson (2002), p. 114 n1.

Callendar Stg CPNS p. 105: the *-n-* is intrusive.

Calter Cmb ERN p. 60: Ekwall identifies this with Wyth Burn, for which see PNCmb pp. 325–6.

Calter, with *Calterber*, YWR PNYWR6 p. 234 [+ OE(Ang) *-berg* or ON *-berg* ‘a hill, a drumlin’]: see discussion under ***cal-**.

Cawder Gill YWR (Skipton) PNYWR6 p. 72, but Smith, PNYWR loc. cit., considers ON **kald-erg* ‘a cold shieling’ appropriate to the location.

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

Kielder Burn Ntb PNNtb p. 237, ERN pp. 62 and 231; see under ***cal-**.

b1) Other possible compounds with **-duβr** include:

Allander Water Stg/ EDnb SPN² p. 240 ? + ***al-** (which see).

Cander R Lnk CPNS p. 455 + **cand-** or **can[t]**.

Glaser, Water of, or Glazert Burn, Ayrs (Stewarton, Dunlop) + **glās-**; *Glashdurr* Blaeu, see PNFif4 pp. 47 – 8 (anent Glassart Burn Fif) and n5, and Clancy (2013b) p. 295; both this and the next could be Gaelic **glais-dobhar*.

Glazert Water Stg (Campsie) + **glās-**; *Glashdurr* Pont, see PNFif4 loc. cit. n6.

Hodder R YWR/Lanc ERN p. 198, PNLanc p. 139, PNYWR2 p. 129 ? + ***hōð-**, but see under that heading.

Kinder R, with Kinder Scout etc., Drb ? + **can[t]**- , **cein** or *cein-* (see ***ceμ-**), but see also **cönnerch** and **treβ**.

Lugar Water, with Lugar village, Ayrs CPNS p. 433 + **lūy-**: more probably **lūy-** + **-ar**, i.e.

Loucarā-* (cf. Loughor Glm, see Jackson (1948) at p. 57, and PNRB pp. 388-9), but the variant *Lugdour* c1200 raises the possibility of **-duβr.

Ottercops Ntb (Elsdon) PNNtb p. 152 + **alt-** [+ OE *-copp* ‘a hill-top, crest’, + plural *-s*].

Lugton Water Ayrs/Rnf, with Lugton Ayrs *Lugdurr* Pont + **lūch-**; see Nicolaisen (1958) pp. 189-205, and Clancy (2013b) pp. 294-5.

See also ***polder**.

c1) Deerness R Drh ERN p. 119, DDRhPN p. 34 + **-ness**: see LEHB §204 (B2), p. 675, Watts 1979, p. 122, and Kitson (1998), at p. 91 n28.

Dowlache Lanc (Ince Blundell) P. B. Russell (1992), pp. 34-5 (not in PNLanc) ? + **-luch**, but see under **dūβ** and ***glę:ss**.

c2) A formation similar to that of Welsh *Glendŵr* (Ang x3, Mtg) may be seen in:

Glenderamackin R Cmb ERN p. 179, PNCmb p. 15, DLDPN p. 132 + ***glinn-** [+ Mlr personal name *-Machán* probably added later].

Glenderaterra Beck Cmb ERN p. 179, PNCmb p. 15, DLDPN p. 132 + ***glinn-** [+ an obscure personal name added later].

durn (m)

? IE **dor-* (o-grade of **der-* ‘to tear, to skin’) + *-n-* > eCelt **durno-* > Br, Gaul *durno-* > MW *durn* > W *dwrn*, Corn *dorn*, Bret *dorn*; O-MnIr *dorn*, G *dörn*, Mx *doarn*.

‘A fist’, In place-names in the North, this occurs only + **-ōg**, and refers to ‘fist-sized stones’, apparently collected for use as projectiles, though perhaps also as cobblestones. The same is true of Gaelic *dòrnach*, perhaps influenced by Cumbric/ Pictish usage, see CPNS pp. 404 and 488. There seem to be no parallels for such toponymic usage in Wales or Ireland.

a2) Dornock Dmf CPNS pp. 182-3, PNDmf p. 22 + **-ōg**, or else Gaelic *dòrnach*.

c2) Cardurnock Cmb PNCmb pp. 123-4 + **cajr-** + **-ōg**.

N.b. Baldernock EDnb does not have this element: see **bod**.

E

eb- (m)

IE **h₁ek^wwo-* > eCelt **ek^wo-* > Br, Gaul *epo-* > M-MnW *eb-*, *ep-* (both in compounds), O-MnCorn *eb-* (in compounds and place names, see CPNEp. 90), OBret *eb* > Bret *eb-* (in compounds); OIr *ech* > Ir, G *each*; cogn. Lat *equus*, OE *eoh*, Gk *híppos*, Skt *aśva*.

See OIPrIE §9.2 at p. 139, DCCPN p. 19, and LHEB §50 at p. 394.

‘A horse’. The most ancient Indo-European word for the animal, ‘nearly universal’ in the Indo-European languages (Mallory and Adams OIPrIE loc. cit.), though superseded in the Brittonic languages by the compound form **epalo-* > W *ebol*, Corn *ebel*, Bret *ebeul*, and by more specific terms including **cefel** and **march**.

On the cult of the horse-goddess Epona, well-evidenced in the central Wall zone, see PCB pp. 286-8, DCML pp. 90-2, Green (1995) pp. 184-7, DCM pp. 167-8.

Ptolemy’s *Epiákon*, ‘a *polis* of the Brigantes’ (PNRB p. 360), probably the fort at Whitley Castle Ntb (Kirkhaugh), was probably based on a tribal name **Epijácoi*, or a personal name **Epijácos*, + *-j-* + *-āco-* (see **-ōg**).

c1) Echline WLo (Dalmeny) CPNS p. 147, PNWLo p. 7 ? + **-lann**: possibly a Gaelicised form of a Brittonic/ Pritenic compound **eb-lann* meaning ‘a horse paddock’. See under **lann**, also Taylor (1998b) at pp 8-10.

eβur (m, but earlier f?)

eCelt **eburo-/ā-* > Br, Gaul **eburo-/ā-* > M-MnW *efwr*, Corn **evor* (in a place-name, CPNE p. 96), Bret *evor*; OIr *ibar* > MIr *ibhar* > Ir *iúr*, G *iubhar*, Mx *euar*.

There is probably a relationship with IE **h₁eiw-* > eCelt **iwo-/ā-* > W *yw*, OCorn (singulative) *hiugin*, MBret (singulative) *iugin*; PrIr *ivā-* (in a personal name) > OIr *éoi*; cogn. Gmc **ihwaz* > OE *ih*, *ēoh* > ‘yew’.

The early Celtic meaning is uncertain, see Schrijver 2015. In the Goidelic languages it is ‘yew’ (a yew-tree or collectively), but in Middle Welsh it is ‘cow-parsnip, hogweed’ (*Heracleum* spp.), while in Breton it is ‘alder-buckthorn’ (*Frangula alnus*). On the yew in Celtic mythology, see PCB pp. 87-9 and DCM p. 380.

Although ‘a common element in Continental toponymy’ (PNRB p. 357, cf. ACPN p. 78, DCCPN p. 18), it is doubtful whether it was toponymically productive (in any of its meanings) in neoBrittonic, and even the Roman-British examples may involve a personal name **Eburos*: see Jackson (1970) at pp. 73-4, and in LHEB p. 39, but note P. Russell’s reservations (1988), pp. 131-73, and Breeze’s (2019a).

Roman-British and early mediaeval forms with *ebor-* show Vernacular Latin influence, preserved in ecclesiastical usage of the place-name *Eburācum*, York (see below), in which Bede (for example) varies between *-u-* and *-o-*: see LHEB p. 34 and §5(1), pp. 274-5.

A lost Roman-British place-name *Eburo Cas[t]ellum*, ‘apparently in southern Scotland or Northumberland’ (PNRB p. 358), may represent British **Eburo-dūnon* or similar.

a2) *Caraverick* Cmb (Hesket in the Forest) PNCmb p. 202 + **caj-* + *-i[r]-* or *cajr-* + *-ig* or *-ōg*, but see also **hajar*.

Ebroch Burn Stg (Kilsyth) PNFESTg pp. 47-8 ? + *-ōg*, but Pont’s *Abbroch* leaves this in doubt. York PNRB pp. 355-7, PNYER pp. 275-80 + *-ōg* (but see discussion under that element, and Jackson and Russell references above). English speakers equated *eβur-* with PrOE **evur* > OE *eofor* ‘a boar’ (see OEG §331(2), p. 138), and replaced *-āc-* > *-ōg* with *wic*. This must have happened between the lenition of *-b-* and syncope of *-u-*: Jackson (LHEB §197, pp. 654-6) dates this to the late fifth century, but Sims-Williams’s chronology would allow up to the early seventh century (CIB §3.7, p. 291); back mutation of *-e-* in Old English began before 700 (OEG §210(1-2), pp. 88-9). For later developments in Old English and Anglo-Scandinavian, see Fellows-Jensen (1987).

*echwið (m)

MW *echuit* > eMnW *echwydd*.

A verbal noun, perhaps from the Indo-European root **seik-* (‘pour out, overflow’ OIPrIE §22.11, p. 393). In Welsh poetic usage it refers to ‘a flow, a current, fast-flowing water’. Morris-Jones (1918) at pp. 68-70 considered that it could mean ‘a tidal current’, but Williams, PT pp xlii-iii, insisted that it could only be ‘a cataract of fresh water’. GPC gives ‘fresh water’ but queries ‘cataract’.

Yr Echwyd BT57(III) and BT60(VI), probably + *ar-*: Williams in his edition of *Armes Prydein* (ed. Bromwich 1972, pp. 67-8) suggests it may be a calque on Catterick, taken to be **Cataracta* (see *cad*), but see Breeze (2010, and 2012b at p. 62); the latter’s extension of the meaning to include ‘swamp, waterlogged, flooded country’ seems dubious. On *Echwydd* in *hengerdd* poetry see Haycock 2013 pp.29-30, nn40-1, questioning Williams’ earlier opinion that it may have been a regional name.

-ed

The early Celtic nominal suffix *-eto-/ā-* > *-ed*, in Middle and Modern Welsh is used mainly to form verbal nouns, but in place-names, suffixed to nouns or adjectives, it may mean ‘having the quality of...’ the term to which it is added, or it may be understood as ‘territory’ (see DCCPN p. 19 s.v. *etu-*). In river-names, it seems sometimes to have been suffixed to ‘ancient’ forms that had presumably lost any semantic sense.

A lost river-name, perhaps for the Ribble or this stretch of it, probably underlies *Bremetenacum*, the fort at Ribchester Lanc (PNRB p. 277): + *brej-* + *-an-* + *-āco-* (see *-ōg*).

For *Agned* see under **anjaw*.

Examples of river- or stream-names, or places named after watercourses, which may have this suffix include:

Aberlady ELo + *aber-* + a lost river-name (now the West Peffer Burn?) **lę:β-* or **loβ-* (see under both these) + *-ed-* + secondary suffix *-ig*.

Alt R Lanc ERN p. 9, PNLanc p. 95: Ekwall proposed IE **pal-*, cf. Latin *palus* ‘a marsh’, + *-eto-*, cf. Afon Aled Denb DPNW p. 14, but see *alt*, and discussion of this name in DEPNC).

Altigabert Burn Ayrs + **alt-** + **-i[r]**- , or Gaelic *allt a'* , + perhaps a lost stream-name **gaβr-** + **-ed-**: see **gaβr**.

Armet Water MLo + ***arμ-**, or **ar-** (in river-names) + **-m-**: see both of these.

Caddon Water Slk + ***cal-**.

‘Calder’ + ***cal-** + **-duβr-**: for river-names of this type, see under ***cal-**.

Catlowdy Cmb (= Lairdstown, Nicholforest): + **cach-** + perhaps a lost stream-name ***loβ-** + **-ed-** , + secondary suffix **-ig-**: see **cach** and ***loβ-**.

Duntarvie, with Duntarvie Craig, WLo (Abercorn) CPNS pp. 36 and 147, PNWLo p. 16,

WLoPN p. 24+ **dīn-** + perhaps a lost stream-name **tarw-**, which see, + **-ed-**, but see also **terμīn**.

Irt R Cmb ERN p. 211, PNCmb p. 17 ? + ***ar-** or **īr-**.

Irthing R Cmb/Ntb ERN p. 212, PNNtb p. 213, PNCmb p. 18 ? + ***ar-** or **īr-** + **-inn** (see **-īn**), but see also **arth**.

Water of Ken, with Kenmure, Glenkens and Loch Ken, Kcb PNGall p. 162 + **cū[n]**- + **-ed-** + **-jā-**, but **can[d]**- or **cant-** + **-jā-**, or ***cōne:d**, are also possible, see discussion under **cant**.

Kent R Wml PNWml1 p. 8 ERN p. 227 ? + **cū[n]**- + **-ed-** + **-jo-**, but see discussion under **cū[n]**, also ***cōne:d**.

Lesudden Rox (St. Boswells) PNRox p. 34 ? + ***li:s[s]**-, which see, + **wīnn**.

Lyvennet R Wml + ***le:μ-**, see discussion of this (and of *Llwyfenydd* in poems attributed to Taliesin) under ***le:β-**.

Meggat, Water of, Dmf CPNS p. 375, PNDmf p. 134 + ***me:g-** or **miy[n]**-, see both.

Megget Water Slk (to St Mary’s Loch) + ***me:g-** or **miy[n]**-, see both.

Mite R Cmb + ***me:g-**, but see under that heading, and also **müchid**.

Polterkened Cmb (Gilsland, ? = Peglands Beck) ? + **polter-** added by Cumbric speakers to an earlier stream-name **-cejn-**, see ***ceμ-**, + **-ed-**, but see also ***cōnīð**.

Poutreuet Ntb (Falstone) ? + ***pol-** + perhaps a lost stream-name **treβ-** + **-ed-**, but see ***pol**, **treβ**, and also ***polter**.

Prenteineth Rnf **brīnn-** or **prenn-** + perhaps an ancient river-name **tān-**, see ***tā-**, + **-ed-**, but the suffix here may be **-at-**; see discussion under **prenn** and ***tā-**, and also **tān**.

Rossett Wml (Kendal Ward, Langdales) PNWml1 p. 207 + **rōs-**, but ON *hross-sátr* 'horse shieling' is the likeliest origin.

Teviot R (Rox, Slk) + ***tī-** + root-determinative **-m-** + suffix **-jā-** (see LHEB §98(2), p. 488, §99, pp. 489-91, and §174(2), pp. 612-13); **-ed** here seems to be a secondary suffix added to the ancient river-name by Cumbric speakers later than the eighth century.

Waren Burn Ntb ? + **wern-**, which see.

Werneth Che (Hyde) and Werneth Lanc (Oldham) + **wern-**, which see; on dialectal **-eth** see Whalley (2021), pp.124-5.

A different semantic range, and possibly a suffix of ultimately different origin, may be present + **carw-** in the ethnic name *Carvetii*, PNRB pp. 301-2. Likewise, a suffix indicating either an ethnic group or an area of territory might be in the kingdom-names **Elped** (see discussion under that heading) and *Reged* (see under **rag**, ***reg** and **rō-**). A form with a long vowel, early Celtic ***-eito-/ā-** > British ***-ēto-/ā-** > neoBrittonic ***-e:d**, is frequently mentioned as an alternative in the case of territorial names, but it should be noted that there is no trace of the expected development of this to ***wīd** (see LHEB §28, pp. 330-5).

Either a territorial sense, or else simply descriptive ‘having the quality of...’, is possible if this suffix is present in:

The Calders (East, Mid-, and West) MLo may be ***cal-** + **-ed-** + **-tīr-**: see above and under ***cal-**.

Chevet YWR (Royston) PNYWR p. 278 ***ceμ-**.

The Cheviot Ntb PNNtb p. 44 + ***ceμ-**, but see under that.

Cnokdentwald Cmb (Dalston) PNCmb p. 132 + **cnuc[h]**- ? + **-dīn-** or **-*dīnn-** , see under all of these.

Dent YWR PNYWR6 pp. 252-3 + **dīnn-**, which see for discussion.

Dent Cmb (field-name in Millom) PNCmb p. 421 + **dīn-** or **dīnn-**.

Dent Hill Cmb (Cleator) PNCmb p. 358; ditto.

Dent Hill Wml (Stainmore) PNWml2 p. 72; ditto.

Langschevet Lanc (Bury) see PNYWR p. 279 + ***ceμ-**, which see.

Menning Bridge Wml (Patterdale) PNWml2 p. 226 + **mayn-**, which see.

Pind Hill Wml/YNR boundary + **pen[n]-**, which see.

E:din

A Brittonic cognate of OIr *étan* (> Ir *éadan*, Gaelic *aodann*, Mx *eddin*) ‘a face’ (in place-names, a rock- or hill-face) has often been adduced to explain the name *Din Eidyn*, Edinburgh. Indeed, the Tigernach annalist (s.a. 638) equated the two words, using the genitive singular *Etain* where the Ulster Annal has *Etin*. However, there is no evidence for such a cognate (which would in any case require Brittonic **etino-* rather than **etano-* underlying the Goidelic form), and Watson’s view, CPNS p. 341, that ‘the meaning of *Eidyn*, *Dùn Éideann*, is quite obscure’, remains authoritative. See *Scottish Place-name News* 32 (2012), p.9, for note on A. Ahlqvist’s proposal involving a personal name attested in mainly Continental Celtic sources, in genitive singular, *Atiānī*.

There is, as Watson showed (ibid. pp. 341-2), some evidence to suggest that **E:din** was the name of a district centred on the **din**. If so, it might well have been an ancient chiefdom which may have been incorporated at some stage into the confederacy of the *Votadini* (see **wotōd**). For discussion of this place-name in CA, see Williams in CA pp. xxxvi-xvi, Jackson in YGod(KJ) pp. 75-8, and idem (1963) p. 70, but its legendary rather than historical-geographical status in CA and other mediaeval Welsh literature needs to be recognised.

Other place-names that apparently involve this form may well reflect folklore around a giant called *Etin* or *Edin*, though he was probably an OE *eoten* > Scots *etin* ‘a giant’ in origin, the form *Edin* turning him into an imaginary eponym of Edinburgh. This is very likely in the case of Edin’s Hall Broch on Cockburnlaw Bwk (Abbey St Bathans). It might apply too at Duneaton Lnk and the lost *Dunedin* Rox (CPNS loc. cit.). But see PNBute pp. 357- 61, where Márkus considers the possibility of ON *þing* in Edin and associated place-names.

Carriden WLo CPNS p. 369, PNWLo pp. 25-6, presumably + **cajr-**, presents more complex problems. It may well be equated with *Kair Eden*, substituted for *Penfahel* (Kinneil) in an 11th century interpolated *capitulum* at the beginning of a 13th century manuscript of Gildas’s *De Exidio Britonum* (see M. O. Anderson, 1960, at pp. 101-2). However, neither this nor the certain early forms for Carriden, from *Karreden* c1148 on, support any case for supposing that *Cair Eidyn* in Middle Welsh poetry refers to this place rather than Edinburgh. It was nevertheless the site of the Roman fort *Velunia* (PNRB p. 490, and see **well**), and was probably a place of some strategic importance in early mediaeval times. The name is obscure: its development may have been influenced by the biblical Eden. With that possibility in mind, it could be a relic of **E:din** if that was a territorial name (as suggested above), but it is probably unrelated. A lost stream-name of the ‘Eden’ type might be entailed: see ***id-**. But see also ***carden**.

egle:s (f)

Gk *ekklēsia* adopted as Lat *ecclesia* > BrLat **eclēsia*, adopted as Br **eclē:sjā-* > OW(LL) *eccluys* > MW *egluy*s > W *eglwys*, Corn *eglos*, Bret *iliz*; adopted from neoBritt as OIr *eclais* > Ir, G *eaglais*; adopted as OE **eclēs* in place-names.

On the phonology see LHEB §28, p. 335, §61, p. 412, and §137, p. 557. On the stress-shift in the adopted OE form, see OEG §71, p. 30, and §493, p. 200, and for seminal discussion of the OE adoption, Cameron (1977).

Greek *ekklēsia* meant primarily ‘a legislative assembly of citizens’, and its earliest use in Latin was in this sense. In Hellenic Jewish usage (as in the Septuagint), it referred to the congregation in the Temple or a synagogue, and, by extension, to the Jewish community as a whole. The Christian Church adopted this usage from an early date in both Greek and Latin writings, both for local communities of Christians (as in the Apocalypse) and for the universal Church (following Matthew 16.18). From the 3rd-4th centuries, metonymic reference to a church building begins to be evidenced, though it is not common before the 6th century. So the main sense of British Latin **eclēsia*, British **eclē:sjā-*, was probably ‘a/ the Christian community, the Church (as an institution)’.

It was evidently used by the time of Old English adoption to refer to places, though whether it was a Brittonic place-name (in simplex form or as an element) by this time is doubtful (for differing views, see Barrow (1983) at pp. 6-7, Hough (2009), and A. James in *ibid.* at pp. 127-8, and under (a1) below). Whether or not it was so used, even in the sixth century it may not have indicated primarily a church building, but rather the habitation of a Christian community (an early monastery), and, like other habitative terms, it probably included in such reference the area of land where that community held authority and on which it was dependent for maintenance (James *op. cit.* pp. 129-30).

There is no evidence that **eclēs* was adopted in Old English as a common noun, and may have been taken simply as a place-name without any awareness of its meaning or connotations (cf. *aþon*, see **āβ**): the fact that it only occurs as a specifier with English generics favours this view (Hough *op. cit.* pp. 110-14). However, it is reasonable to see the English **eclēs* place-names as evidence for a pattern of British monastic settlements and/ or ecclesiastical landholdings in existence by the late 6th century, though not necessarily as evidence for Christianity in the late Roman or immediate post-Roman period. The surviving names themselves reflect the takeover of these landholdings by English-speakers (possibly, but not necessarily, the Anglian Church) and, in the case of the Old English names with **eclēs-* as specifier, the later reorganisation and eventual break-up of **eclēs* territories (A. James *op. cit.* pp. 140-2, and see Barrow *op. cit.* and Taylor 1998b on the relationship between **eclēs/ eclais* place-names and later patterns of ecclesiastical and secular administration). Thus it is doubtful whether they are reliable guides to the actual locations of early church buildings or monasteries, or evidence for ‘Celtic survival’, whether linguistic or in any other sense. See also now: Elsworth, Daniel, 2011, ‘Eccles Place-Names in Cumbria’ *TCWAAS* 3.11, pp. 234-38.

a1) Simplex place-names may or may not be of Brittonic origin: **eclēs* may have first been treated as a place-name in Old English usage (see discussion above):

Eccles Bwk CPNS p. 153, and see Barrow (1973) pp. 28-32 *idem op. cit.* (1983) at p. 5, and James (2009) pp. 130-1.

Eccles Dmf (Penpont) PNDmf p. 106; see James (2009) p. 137.

Eccles Lanc PNLanc p. 37, JEPNS17 p. 33, and see Kenyon (1988-9), pp. 32-8 and *idem* (1991), pp. 95-7.

Eggliš Stg (= St Ninians) see Barrow (1983) at p. 6, MacQueen (1998), pp. 39-53, and James (2009) pp. 127-8: possibly Gaelic in origin, but there is no other evidence for *eclais* as a simplex place-name. Both Brittonic/ Pritenic and Northumbrian Old English are possible here.

Regles Tower MLo (Penicuik) CPNS p. 153, PNMLo p. 63 ? + **ī[r]**-, but ‘doubtful’ according to Barrow (1983), p. 3: a Gaelic descendant of OIr *reiclēs* ‘a recluses’s cell, an oratory’ is possible (Watson at CPNS *loc. cit.*).

In field-names and other ‘minor’ names, especially in Lancashire and Yorkshire, the Modern English surname Eccles, or a transferred name, cannot be ruled out if documentation is late, for example:

Eccles Tenement Lanc (Barnacre) JEPNS17 p. 96.

Eccles YWR (field-name in Stanbury) PNYWR3 p. 271.

Eccles Parlour YWR (Soyland) PNYWR3 p. 67.

Also Ecclesgrass Head and Exley Gate, see below. However see Faull and Smith (1980) and A.G. James (2009) p. 132 and note 15.

a1) Names in the North with OE **eclēs* combined with an OE generic, which again might or might not have replaced a Brittonic simplex **Eglē:s*, may include:

Eaglesfield Cmb PNCmb p. 378 [+ OE *-feld* ‘open land in wooded country, wood-pasture’]; see A.G. James (2009) pp. 135-6 and p. 144 n16; the specifier might alternatively be a Scandinavian-influenced Old English personal name like **Egwulf* < *Ecgwulf*, or a hypocorism like **Egel* < *Ecgel*, but voicing of *-c-* before *-l-* is common in northern Middle English: see further Eggleston below.

Eaglesfield Dmf (Middlebie), identical to the above, and probably transferred from there by the Smith family who established the small town (several members of which were named Eaglesfield; M. Parker pers. comm.), but see discussion of Ecclefechan under (b2) below, and A.G. James (2009) p. 136.

Eaglesham Rnf [+ OE *-hām* ‘a farming settlement, an estate’]; see Hough (2009) p. 121 n16, A.G. James (2009) pp. 137-8, and idem (2010) at pp. 123-4.

Ecclaw Bwk (Duns) [+ OE *-hlāw* ‘a low, mound-shaped hill’]; see A. James (2009) p. 131; the absence of any trace of *-s-* makes this doubtful, OE *āc* > Scots *aik* ‘oak’ might be the first element.

Ecclerigg Crag, with Ecclerigg Farm and House, Wml (Troutbeck) PNWml1 p. 190 DLDPN p. 106, also Ecclerigg Hall Wml (Killington) PNWml1 p. 40, [+ ME *-rigg* ‘a ridge’]; again, absence of *-s-* leaves this uncertain: see Whaley in DLDPN loc. cit. and A. James (2009) p. 135.

Ecclesall YWR PNYWR1 p. 192 [+ OE *-halh* ‘a hollow’ or ‘a detached or reserved portion of an estate’]; see A. James (2009) pp. 133 and 144 n18, and Padel (2013b) p. 29.

Eccles Cairn Rox (Yetholm)/Ntb (Kirknewton) border [+ Scots/ English *-‘cairn’*].

Ecclesfield YWR PNYWR1 p. 244-5 [+ OE *-feld*, see Eaglesfield Cmb above]; see A.G. James (2009) pp. 132-3.

Ecclesgrass Head YWR (field-name in Horsforth) PNYWR4 p. 151 [? + **-glās**, which see, or OE *gærs* > ‘grass’; see discussion under **glās**, and the note above regarding field-names etc. in Yorkshire and Lancashire].

Eccleshalghforth Ntb (lost field-name in Togston) [+ OE *-halh-*, cf. Ecclesall above, + northern ME *-forth* = ‘ford’, see EPNE1 p. 180].

Eccleshill Lanc (Blackburn) PNLanc pp. 75-6, JEPNS17 p. 47 [+ OE *-hyll* > ‘hill’]; see A.G. James (2009) p. 133-4.

Eccleshill YWR (Baildon) PNYWR3 pp. 258-9 [+ OE *-hyll* > ‘hill’]; see A.G. James (2009) p. 132.

Eccleshull Lanc: see Eccleston (Prescot) below.

Eccleston Lanc PNLanc p. 131, JEPNS17 p. 74 [+ OE *-tūn* ‘a farm’]; see A. James (2009) p. 133.

Eccleston, with *Eccleshull*, Lanc (Prescot) PNLanc p. 108, JEPNS17 p. 61: [+ OE *-tūn*]; see A.G. James (2009) p. 133.

Ecclislandis Wig (Innernessan) [+ Scots *-landis* ‘strips of land’]; see MacQueen (2008) pp. 134-5, and A.G. James (2009) p. 139.

Egglecliffe Drh (otherwise Eaglescliff) DDrhPN pp. 38-9, PNDrh1 pp. 54-5 [+ OE *-clif* > ‘cliff’]; however, early forms favour a Scandinavian-influenced personal name here, see Eaglesfield Cmb above.

Eggleston, with Great and Little Eggleston Beck, and Eggleshope, with Eggleshope Burn, Drh DDrhPN p. 39 [+ OE *-tūn*, *-hōp* ‘an enclosed valley’]. Watts in DDrhPN sees another OE

personal name in these, but early forms do not compel this; however, *Egesburne* c. 1160x83 suggests that an obscure stream-name might be the origin, later forms being influenced by Egglestone Abbey a few miles down the Tees; see Hough (2009) p. 120 n6, A.G. James (2009) p. 135, and Padel (2013b) p. 28.

Egglestone Abbey YNR (Rokeby) PNYNR p. 301 [+ OE *-tūn*]; again, an OE personal name might be involved, see Hough (2009) p. 120 n6, and A.G. James (2009) p. 135.

Exley YWR (Southowram) PNYWR3 p. 91-2 [+ OE *-lēah* 'a clearing, pasture, meadow']; see A. James (2009) p. 132.

Exley Gate YWR (Penistone) PNYWR1 p. 327 [+ OE *-lēah*]; only recorded from 1771, see above regarding 'minor' names.

Exley Head YWR (Keighley) PNYWR6 p. 3 [+ OE *-lēah*].

Great Eccleston Lanc (St Michaels on Wyre) PNLanc p. 161, JEPNS17 p. 94 [+ OE *-tūn*]; see A.G. James (2009) p. 133.

Little Eccleston Lanc (Kirkham) PNLanc p. 154, JEPNS17 p. 94 [+ OE *-tūn*]; see A.G. James (2009) p. 133.

b2) Possible Brittonic name-phrases with **eglē:s** as generic include:

Ecclefechan Dmf (Hoddum) CPNS p. 168, PNDmf p. 55 ? + *-vechan* (see **bīch**): or else a female saint's name **Bechan*, or a Gaelic formation, **eclais-Féchin*, commemorating one of the Irish saints of that name: see Taylor (1998b at p. 4), and A. James (2009 at p. 136) suggesting that this may have been a 'small' portion of an extensive church landholding, perhaps associated with the (British predecessor of the Anglian) monastery at Hoddum; Eaglesfield to the east might also have been part of such a holding, but the name was probably transferred from Cmb, see above.

Ecclesdo YWR (stream-name in Kirkheaton) PNYWR2 p. 229 ? + **-dūβ**: see R. L. Thomson (1964) at p. 55, A. James (2009) at p. 144 n18, and Padel (2013b) p. 28.

egglesbreth Stg (= Falkirk) Nicolaisen (2011), pp. 60-73, PNFESTg pp. 32-6 ? + **-brijth**, see discussion under that element. The reference here is undoubtedly to a church building.

Taylor (1998, and PNFif5 pp. 361 and 365) considers that formations north of the Forth with (probable) saints' names are likely to be Pictish in origin, though they could be Gaelic; in these examples further south, the identities of all the apparent saints are more or less obscure, but on balance they seem more likely to be Gaelic:

Eaglescairn ELo (Bolton) see Barrow (1973) pp. 10-13 ? + *-*Carnōg*, or G **Cairneich*, cf. *Cairneach* in the Leabhar Breathneach, see Ó Riain (2011) p. 158 s.n. *Caomhlach*, of whom he was a brother.

Ecclesmachan WLo PNWLo pp. 47-8 + *-Machan*, possibly one of the Irish saints named *Manchán*, see Watson (1927), Barrow (1973) p. 9, Ó Riain (2011) pp. 429-30, and Macquarrie (2012) pp. 378 – 9.

Eglismalesoch Lnk (Carluke) CPNS p. 196 + **mō-* (1st singular possessive, see LHEB §188, pp. 641-3), but Gaelic *mo-* is more likely, see discussion under **dō**; ? + *-Lōsōg* (cf. Breton *Loesuc*), or G **Laiseach*, *Mo-Laise* being a very common hypocorism for the Irish saints' name *Laisre*, see Ó Riain (2011) p. 389, mentioning 'forty-three bearers of that name [Molaise]'; see also discussion of Carluke under **lūch**.

c2) A small number of place-names in south-west Scotland may have **eglē:s** or *eaglaise* as specifier; the balance of probability favours a Gaelic origin for most of these:

Bareagle Wig (Old Luce) ? + **barr-**, or else Gaelic **bàrr na h-eaglaise*: MacQueen PNRGLV p. 69, gives this Gaelic form, associating it with Glenluce Abbey, but in *ibid.* at p. 96, and in *St Nynia* (3rd edn, 2005), pp. 28-9 and 135, he implies Brittonic **eglē:s**. See also A.G. James (2009), pp. 139-40 and note 34.

Dalleagles Ayrs (New Cumnock) ? + **dōl-**, Gaelicised, or else Gaelic **dail-eaglaise*: see discussion under **dōl**, and MacQueen (*op. cit.* 2005) p. 169n13.

Dalreagle Wig (Kirkcinner) PNGall p. 103, PNWigMM p. 23 ? + **dōl-** + **-ī[r]**-, may be the same as Dalleagles, but see also discussion under **riŷ**.

Terregles Kcb CPNS p. 359 + **treß-** + **-ī[r]** -: see under those headings for discussion of dating, and see also MacQueen (1953-4) and idem (2005) pp. 28-9 and 57-8, and A.James (2009) p. 146 n37, and idem (2014b) pp. 22, 31-2, and 36; the only member of this group that is surely Brittonic.

*eil (m)

eCelt **al-jo-* > Br **aljo-* > M-MnW *ail, eil*; OIr *aile* > (in compounds) Ir, G *-aile*, Mx *-ayl*.

The Celtic root **al-* is associated with weaving, and with the construction of fences, buildings, etc using woven wattles. So Welsh *eil* is ‘a shelter, a shed’, Old Irish *aile* ‘a fence, a palisade’, Irish/Gaelic *buaille*, Manx *boayl*, ‘a cattle-fold’.

Williams, PT pp. 85-6, saw this element in *Alclüid*, suggesting that it referred to wattle-built defences both here and at the unlocated *Eil Mehyn* BT61(VII), but see also ***al** and **alt**.

a1) Eildon Hills Rox PNRox pp. 7 and 40 [+OE *-dūn* ‘a hill’], but see discussion under ***al**.

b1) The Catrail Slk CPNS p. 181 ? + **cad-** + analogical *-r-* (for ‘erroneous’ **-ī[r]**-, cf. CPNE p. 7 and, for similar cases in Gaelic toponymy, SPN² p. 161). A discontinuous series of earthworks crossing upper Tweed, Yarrow, Ettrick and Teviot dales; both its archaeology and its etymology are obscure.

c2) Potrail or Powtrail Water Lnk (a headwater of the Clyde) CPNS p. 181n2 ? + ***polter-**.

ejthin (f)

IE **h_aek^h-sti-n-* > eCelt **actīnā-* > Br **axtinā-* > OW(LL) *eithin* > M-MnW *eithin*, OCorn singulative *eythinen* > Corn *eithin*, OBret *eithin*; MIr *aittenn* > G, Mx *aiteann* (G also *aitionn*); cf. Lat *acus* ‘a needle’, *ācer* ‘sharp’, Gmc **aχus*, **aχis* > OE *ēar* (Northumbrian *æhher*, *ehher*, see OEG §224 p. 95, ON *ax*) > ‘ear’ (of grain), Gk *akōkē* ‘a point, a sharp edge’, *akúotas* ‘an awn’ (cf. Gmc **aχ-n-* > ON *agn*, late OE *ægn* > ‘awn’), *akhné* ‘chaff’.

See LHEB §60, pp. 407-11, especially 410, and §173, pp. 609-11.

The Indo-European root **h_aek^h-* implies ‘pointed, pricking’, as shown by the various related words. The Celtic word generally means ‘furze, gorse, whin (*Ulex* spp.)’, though in Scottish Gaelic usually ‘juniper (*Juniperus communis*)’.

a1) Ightenhill Lan (Burnley) PNLanc p. 82 [+ OE *-hyll*], but note Jackson’s reservations, LHEB p. 410. If this is **ejthin**, its adoption by English speakers would have to post-date *-aχ-* > *-aj-* and internal i-affection, so later than the mid-7th century (see the discussion of the phonology of ***lejth**). Survival of neoBrittonic, or later reintroduction of Cumbric/ Old Welsh, is not impossible here, see discussion of Alkincoats under **alt** and **ce:d**. However, a lost ancient stream-name **icht* might be involved, as in Islip Oxf and, possibly, Ightfield Shr, see ERN p. 209, PNOxf p. 221, PNShr1 pp. 162-3.

c2) *Carnethyn* in the Inquisition of King David, ? = Carntyne Lnk, + **carn-**: but see also **carneð** and ***carr**.

Lanrechaithin Cmb (Burtholme) PNCmb p. 72, Lan Cart 6 and note + **lanerc-**: see LHEB §60 at p. 410, but also discussion under **lanerc**.

el-

IE **pelh₁-* ('fill') + *-w-* > eCelt **elu-* > OW(LL) *el-*; OIr *il-*; cogn. Gk *polús*, Skt *puru-*.

A de-verbal adjective/ adverb, becoming in the Celtic languages a prefix, meaning 'fully, much, many, various', common in Brittonic personal names (see CIB †38, especially pp. 119 (with n657) and 129 (with n736), and †85, pp. 233-4).

Breeze (2002b) at pp. 165-6, sees this + *-met* (see ***medel**) in the kingdom-name Elmet, see discussion under *Elmed*.

-el

eCelt *-*elo-/ā-* > Br *-*elo-/ā-* > OW *-el* > M-MnW *-ell*.

In Cornish and Breton this suffix is indistinguishable from cognates of ***-jōl**, which see, also CPNE pp. 138-9.

In Modern Welsh, a diminutive suffix, but in earlier usage simply nominal or locative.

It may be in Possil Lnk (Cathcart) CPNS p. 383 + **powę:s-** or ***pōwę:s-**, but here and elsewhere it could be OE *-hyll* > 'hill'.

elβið (m)

?IE **h_aelbh-* > eCelt **alb-* + *-ijo-* > Br, Gaul *albjo-* > OW *elbid* > MW *eluit* > eMnW *elfydd*; cf. O-MnIr, G *Alba*, adopted in Greek and Latin as *Albion*.

Whether this can be derived from IE **h_aelbh-* 'bright, shining, white' (see ***al**), or indeed from any Indo-European root, remains a matter of controversy.

In Welsh (and, presumably, in early Celtic, British and Gaulish) this is 'the world, the Earth', hence 'earth, land, country'. In the Goidelic languages it becomes progressively restricted, firstly to the island of Great Britain, then to the northern (mainly Celtic-speaking) part of Britain, and eventually to the Kingdom of the Scots. While Greek and Latin *Albion*, likewise referring to the island of Britain, was presumably adopted from British speakers, there is no direct evidence in any of the Brittonic languages for any meaning other than 'the world' or 'earth, land' in general. Indeed, the Classical usage may have initiated the Goidelic developments.

Note that Bede, HE I.1, regarded *Albion* as a *quondam* name, no longer current.

Elmed (gender uncertain)

The name of a British kingdom which survives, or is recorded, in the phrase 'in Elmet' appended to several settlement-names in YWR, on or near to the Magnesian Limestone belt and the ancient north-south routeway Leeming Lane (see ***lę:β**) to the east of Leeds. They include Barwick,

Burton (Salmon), Clifford, Micklefield, Saxton, Sherburn, Sutton and Kirkby (Wharfe). Further south, on the R Don, High Melton might be *Alta Methelton in Elmete* 1281 (PNYWR4 pp. 1-3), and the Elmsalls and Elm Leys in the same area may possibly be derived from the name. These presumably reflect the eastern bounds of the kingdom where it bordered on the original Deira. How far it extended westward is unknown. On the strength of Bede's account, HE IV.14, *regio Loidis* 'the territory of Leeds' is generally taken to have been part of Elmet, though his text does not necessarily entail that. The Tribal Hidage allots the *Elmedsāetan* a modest 600 hides, implying in the (much debated) context of that document a small sub-kingdom, but it must reflect the situation after it had been annexed to Northumbria by Edwin around 616 (HB63). See, for speculative reconstructions, Faull (1980) pp. 21-3, and Koch (2007) map 21.3, and for a more critical consideration, Gruffydd (1994).

The etymology of the name has attracted speculation: see **el-**, ***l̥e:β-**, **-ed** and ***medel** for recent theories.

Elfed is recorded as the name of a commote in Carmarthenshire, and an inscription from Caernarvonshire, CIIC381, commemorates one *Aliortus Elmetiaco* (sic). Whether the commote-name has the same origin as Elmet, and whether the inscription associates *Aliortus* with either of these, or with another, lost, place of this name, are questions beyond definite answer. On the perplexing allusions to *Eluet* etc. in mediaeval Welsh literature, see Gruffydd 1994, Haycock 2013, pp. 9-10, 27-8 n38, and 33 n49, and Clancy 2013 pp. 156, 158 and 171 n33).

-en

IE *-h₁en-* > eCelt *-*eno-/ā-* > Br *-*eno-/ā-* > O-MnW *-en*.

An adjectival suffix meaning 'characterised, distinguished by...'. Rivet and Smith, PNRB p. 276 (and cf. p. 286), and Hamp (1989a), p. 110 and idem (1995) at p. 50, all equate it with the early Celtic agentive suffix *-ēn-*, but that does not seem necessary, though the two are likely to have been confused and to have eventually fallen together. It also falls together with the feminine forms of the suffixes *-īn* and *-inn*.

It occurs in *Bremenium* PNRB pp. 276-7, the fort at High Rochester Ntb, + ***breu-**, which see: the form *Bre[gl]uoin* in the 'Vatican Recension' of HB implies **-ēn-* > *-e:n-*, see Jackson (1949) at pp. 48-9, also idem (1970), p. 69, and LHEB §65, p. 41.

It may be present at Haskayne Lanc, see **hesg**, but the suffix there is probably singulative.

*E:s-

Early Celtic **ēs-* or **ais-* > Br **e:s-*; Latinised as *Esus*, *Æsus*, *Hesus*.

See LHEB §27(1), pp. 324-6, and §117, pp. 521-5.

Of uncertain etymology, and possibly non-Celtic, but this may have been in origin an honorative, 'lord, master': see Ross (1960-1). It may be present in the river-names *Æsis* (*Esino*) in Piceno, Italy (→ Adriatic) and *Æsius* in Bithynia, Asia Minor (→ Black Sea): both these are outside, though not far from, areas of Celtic linguistic influence. *Æso* = Avella, in Lérida, Spain, is well within such an area.

Esus is known as a Gaulish deity, chiefly from Lucan's grisly allusion to human sacrifices being made to him in *Pharsalia* I.444-6, but also from monuments found on l'Île de la Cité in Paris and at Trier.

There is no direct evidence for his cult among indigenous Britons. However, forms of *E:s- occur in personal names on coins, and the fort-name *Æsica* or *Esica* PNRB p. 242, on Hadrian's Wall at Great Chesters Ntb, is pretty certainly formed from the Latinised name + the Celtic adjectival suffix *-icā-* (see *-īg*), implying formation by troops bilingual in Latin and (Continental?) Celtic.

The district-name *Ahse* in VCA may well be derived from a metathesised **Æsih*, a Northumbrian Old English adoption of *Æsica*. It refers to some part of the area along the Wall between Hexham and Carlisle.

F

fīn (f)

Latin *fīnis* adopted to > OW(LL) *fin* > W *ffin*, Corn *fyn* Bret *fin*.

‘A limit, a boundary’.

c2) Fintry Stg CPNS p. 364 + **-treß**: Fintray Abd is a Gaelicised form from Pictish **can-treß* (see **can[d]**, and Watson CPNS loc. cit., also Nicolaisen, 1968, and idem 2011 p. 322), and the same may apply here (and to Fintry Abd and Fintry Ang), but the Fintry Hills are part of the Forth/ Clyde watershed, and the settlement lies where the direct route from Glasgow to the Fords of Frew crosses the Endrick Water, so it may possibly have been a ‘boundary-settlement’.

c2) *Patefyn* Cmb (field-name in Farlam) PNCmb p. 87, Lan Cart ? + **pant-** + **-i[r]-**: A. Walker, pers. comm.

Note also Macefen Che (Malpas) PNCh4 pp 37 and xii, just south of our area, + **mayes-**.

föntōn (f)

Latin *fontāna* adopted to > OW *fontaun* > MW *finnaun* > W *ffynnon*, also SWBr **funtōn* > OCorne *funten* > Corn *fenten*, OBret *funton* > Bret *feunteun*.

See LHEB p. 252 n1, §11 p. 295, §204(4) p. 678, and §205 p. 681.

‘A spring, a well’. This may have been adopted into Old English as *funta*, but Gelling, *Signposts* pp. 83-6, sees that as a direct adoption from British Latin **funtā* < *fontis*, at least in the south, where it may refer specifically to wells with artificial structures (see also Hawkins 2015). However, this is unlikely to apply to the Font Burn Ntb, PNNtb p. 38, ERN p. 160: this seems to represent either a unique Brittonic adoption of Latin *fons*, *fontis*, or an Anglicised form of Brittonic **föntōn** influenced by later Old English *font* ‘a baptismal font’; in either case, the extension of the sense to serve as a stream-name seems unlikely to have occurred in Brittonic, it was more probably some English speakers’ interpretation of the name (see Parsons 2022, p. 114, responding to Coe 2000 pp. 13-14).

c2) Mossfennon Pbl (Glenholm) CPNS p. 378 + **mayes-**; cf. *Maesfynnon*, now Maes y Ffynnon, Crm.

Terringzean Ayrs (Cumnock) CPNS p. 360 + **treß-** + **-i[r]-**, with lenition of *f*, but this would be abnormal in Brittonic; the palatalisation indicated by *-ynze-* may have arisen in Gaelic pronunciation, but see also under **treß**.

fos (f)

Latin *fossa* adopted to > OW(LL) *fos* > W *ffos*, Corn *fos*, M-MnBret *foz*.

‘A ditch, a dyke’. In Cornish, only an upstanding dyke ‘an embankment’ (CPNE p. 99), and in Breton ‘a grave’.

English speakers seem to have adopted the word three times:

- (i) from British or British Latin: see ERN p. 163, DEPN(O) pp xxvii and 185, LHEB p. 252n1;
- (ii) from Anglo-Latin, as evidenced only by some lost place-names (mainly stream-names) recorded in charters, see EPNE1 p. 185;
- (iii) from Old/Middle French into Middle English, in the sense of ‘a drainage channel, a leat, an artificial watercourse’.

The only potential cases of **fos** in the North are in river- and stream-names, and in settlement-names doubtless derived from these. These are only to be found in Yorkshire, where there are at least a dozen watercourses and as many settlement-names all of the ‘Foss’ type. This concentration, coupled with the fact that most are in the low-lying parts and several are known to have been artificially channelled, makes an English (in most cases, Middle English) origin likely. For the largest and best documented, the R Foss at York, see PNYNR p. 4.

frūd (f)

Early Celt **sru-tu-* > Br **Σrutu-* > IBr **frutu-* OW(LL) *frut* > MW *ffrwt* > W *ffrwd*, OCorn *frot* > Corn *frôs*, Bret *froud*; O-MnIr, G *sruth*, Mx *stroo*.

The Indo-European root may be either **sper-* associated with ‘strewing, sowing’, or **sperh₁-* ‘kicking’. See ERN pp. 462-3 and LHEB §128 p. 541; on the Cornish forms, see CPNE pp. 100-1, and on those in LL, Coe (2000) pp. 11-12.

‘A swift stream, a torrent, a flood’.

In Gaelic-influenced forms such as Renfrew, the final *-d* is successively devoiced, aspirated and lost: see CPNS pp. 349-50, Whalley (2021) p. 127.

a1) The Fords of Frew Stg CPNS pp. 349-50.

Friar Waingate Bridge Cmb (Gilsland) PNCmb p. 72: Todd (2005) at p. 91 suggests that ‘Friar’ could be < **fröü*, cf. MW *frou*, a by-form of **frūd**.

Fruid Water Pbl, a headwater of the Tweed.

b1) Renfrew CPNS p. 349 + **rīn[n]**-, Gaelicised.

G

***gaβel (f)**

IE **ghabh-* > eCelt **gab-* + *-al-jā-* > Br **gabaljā-* > OW(LL) *gauayl* > M-MnW *gafael*, Corn *gavel*; OIr *gabál* > Ir *gabháil*, G *gabhail*; ? cogn. OE *gafol* ‘a tribute, a tax’.

A verbal noun from an Indo-European root meaning ‘take, hold’. In the Welsh Laws, specifically ‘a pledge, a surety’, and it also came to refer to ‘kindred lands’, disjunct parcels of the *gwely* (Latin *lectus*, see **weli**); however, this usage is not evidenced in Wales before the 14th century (Parsons 2022, p. 223 n7). The relationship, etymological and semantic, with OE *gafol* is complicated: the primary sense of the latter is ‘tribute’, and it underlies the mode of tenure known in Middle English as *gavelkind*. There may have been some mutual influence or confusion between the Welsh and English words, but they were never synonymous.

It is doubtful whether any use of this word can be demonstrated in the North, but it might be in:

c2) Dungavel Hill Lnk (Wiston and Robertson) ? + **dīn-**.

Mossgiel Ayr (Mauchline) CPNS p. 278 + **mayes-**, but see **goβ** for discussion of **göβel* and *gobhail*.

gaβr (f, but also m in British)

IE **kapr-* > eCelt **gabro-* > Br, Gaul **gabro-/ā-* > OW(LL) *gabr* > M-MnW *gafr*, OCorn *gauar* > M-MnCorn *gaver*, OBret *gabr* > Bret *gavr*, *gaor*; OIr *gabor* > Ir *gabhar*, G *gobhar*, *gabhar*, Mx *goayr*; cogn. Lat *caper*, Gmc **χaber-* > OE *hæfer*.

The initial and medial consonant-voicings are abnormal, but alternative derivation from **ghabh-r-* (see ***gaβel**) is semantically unconvincing.

The Indo-European root **kapr-* means ‘a penis’, so **gabro-* was primarily ‘a he-goat’, though in the Brittonic languages the unmarked form came to be feminine. In early compound place-names the sense was presumably masculine. For Continental examples, see ACPN pp. 34 and 79-80.

On goats in Celtic mythology see DCM p. 226 and (on a bronze figurine of a goat with enormous horns) Green et al. (1985).

Roman-British names with this element include:

Gabrantovicum sinus PNRB pp. 363-4 ? + *-nt-* (as a diminutive suffix, so **gabranto-* ‘a kid’), + *-wīco-* in the sense of ‘a bay suitable for a harbour’ (but see **wīg**) in the vicinity of Bridlington or Filey YER. Jackson (1948) at p. 57 took *gabrā-* here to mean ‘a mare’, *-nt-* to be a participial suffix, and *-vicum* to reflect a root **wic* meaning ‘fight, conquer’ (see discussion under **wīg**), yielding an ethnic name, ‘horse-riding warriors’. For objections to this interpretation of **gaβr** see PNRB loc. cit. Nevertheless, a tribal or personal name associated with a totemic goat (or kid) might be involved.

Gabrosentum PNRB pp. 364-5 + **-hīnt**, which see: possibly the fort at Moresby Cmb.

In stream-names in Scotland, i.e. most of those listed below, Gaelic *gobhar* may have replaced this element, but a Gaelic reinterpretation of **woβer** is also a possibility. Less likely, though not to be overlooked, would be a Britt. cognate of OW(LL) *gober* > *gobr* ‘a payment’.

a1) Cover R YWR ERN p. 100, PNYNR p. 2, though the initial devoicing would be exceptional in this region. See also ***cöü**, ***ber**, **bre**[y] and **woßer**.

a2) Altigabert Burn Ayrs ? **alt-** + **ī[r]**- + **-ed**; Gaelic *allt a'* prefixed to an earlier, P-Celtic, stream-name **Gaβr-ed* is more likely. *-βred* > *-bert* reflects Scots phonology.

c1) Yeavingering, with Yeavingering Bell, Ntb PNNtb p. 221 with soft mutation, + **-brīnn**, **-hīnt**, or **-īn**: **brīnn** is most likely if it is primarily a hill-name rather than a lost stream-name (perhaps of the College Burn). Note that Bede's *ad Gefrin*, HE II.14, appears thus in Cambridge, University Library MS Kk V.16, but as *ad Gebrin* in London, British Library MSS Cotton Tiberius Axiv and Cii: both are early enough to be of philological interest. For discussion of this important place-name, see Hope-Taylor (1977), especially p. 15.

c2) Bangour WLo (Ecclesmachan) CPNS pp. 145-6, PNWLo p. 48 + **ban**[n]-, or Gaelic **beann-gobhar* (see under **ban**[n]), or else ***-woßer**.

Craigour MLo (Newton) CPNS p. 137, PNMLo p. 331 ? + **-gaβr**, which see, or **-woßer**; cf. Craigowerhouse Fif (Auchtermuchty), PNFif4 p. 119.

Craigour MLo (Gilmerton) CPNS p. 137 ? + **cre:g-**, but see **woßer**; either way, the name is Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin, **creag-gobhar*, and is in any case probably a modern, transferred name (see Dixon PNMLo loc. cit.).

Craigover Rox (Maxton) CPNS p. 137 likewise Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin, as are the next.

Craigower Kcb (Kells), and Craigower Wig (Inch), both PNGall p. 90.

Glengaber Dmf (x3: Holywood, Kirkconnel and Sanquhar) PNDmf p. 58 (Holywood; the other two lack early forms), and Glengaber, with Slk (Yarrow), with *Glengaber Burn* Slk/Pbl (now Fingland Burn) CPNS p. 138, ? + **glīnn-**, or Gaelic **gleann-gobhar*, or Scots *glen-* prefixed to a Brittonic or Gaelic stream-name, and *-β-* > *-b-* in Scots.

Glengower Dmf (Holywood) PNDmf p.58 ? + **glīnn-**, or Gaelic **gleann-gobhar*, or else ***-woßer**.

Polgauer Cmb (Little Clifton) ERN p. 329, PNCmb p. 360 + **pol-**: a Middle Irish formation is possible here, but perhaps less likely.

***gāl** (?n, later m)

? IE **ǵhal-* or **galh_x-* (a-grade of **gelh_x-* 'gain power over') > Br **gālo-* > W *gâl*; ? cogn. Lat *fel* 'bile, gall', cf. Gmc (W and N) **gallon-* (< **ǵhal-n-*) > OE *gealla*, ON *gall* > 'gall', Gk *kholé* 'bile, choler'.

In the Celtic languages, 'enmity, hatred'. A distinct nominal form meaning 'an enemy' fell together with the root-form in neoBrittonic, so the noun may mean either 'enmity' or 'enemy'. It forms the Middle Welsh legal term *galanas* (occurring in the *Leges inter Brettos et Scottos* as *galnes*, *galnys* and *galnis*, Seebohm 1911 p. 313, see LHEB pp. 9-10), Middle Irish *galannas*, 'a blood-fine, a wergild, paid to blood-relatives of the deceased'.

Jackson (1970), p. 74, sees this root in *Galava*, the Roman fort at Ambleside Wml, but see PNRB p. 365. The suffix *-avā-* suggests a river-name, perhaps that replaced by ON Brathay, and the root might otherwise be ***cal-** or an ancient hydronymic. Association with the ethnic name *Galátai*, the Anatolian Celts (Galatians), is doubtful, as that is probably related to the much-debated *Keltoi* (Celts) and *Galli* (Gauls): see ACPN p. 2n5.

a2) A similar river-name might underlie Gala Water, though forms recorded from 1237 on suggest Scots *galwe* < OE (Angl) *galga* 'gallows' (perhaps a back-formation from **galga-scēlas*, Galashiels Slk, see CPNS p. 148); but see also ***cal-**. Gala Lane Ayrs (→ Loch Doon) may have

the same origin [+ SW Scots *lane*, ‘a slow, boggy stream’ < G *lèana* ‘a swampy plain or meadow’].

c2) Tregallon Kcb (Troqueer) CPNS p. 362, PNGall p. 261 + **treß-** + plural *-on*; the plural would imply ‘enemies’: see GMW §30(b) p. 28 and §31(a) p. 31, and James (2014b) pp. 32 and 36.

*gār (m)

IE **ǵeh₂ r-* (verbal root, ‘call, cry’) > eCelt **gar-jo-* > Br, Gaul *garjo-* > MW *geir* > W *gair*, Corn *ger*, MBret *guer* > Bret *ger*; OIr *gáir* > Ir *gair*, G *gàir*, Mx *gair*; cf. Lat *garriō* ‘I chatter’, Gmc **karō-* > OE (Angl) *caru* > ‘care’, Gk (Doric) *gârus*, (Attic) *gērus* ‘voice, speech’.

See OIPrIE §21.1, pp. 352-4, and DCCPN pp. 127-8 sub nomine *Garumna*.

In the Brittonic languages, the verbal noun means ‘a word’, but if this is an element in ancient river-names, the sense would presumably be adjectival, ‘calling, crying, noisy’ in some way. As in the case of ***cal-** etymology (i) ‘call’, the semantic appropriateness of such a term is questionable, rivers apparently named with this element are not always ‘noisy’ ones: see PNRB p. 366. Some idea of a river-deity having oracular powers might be entertained, but as pure speculation.

In the North, a form ***gār-** + *-awā-* > neoBrittonic **garw* might be postulated for several of the river-names considered under ***garw**, but see discussion there.

a2) Garnock R Ayrs CPNS p. 522 ? + *-n-* + **-ōg**, or else + **carn-**, but Gaelic **gairneach* is likely. Dalgarnock Dmf CPNS p. 522, PNDmf p. 14 ? + **dōl-** + *-n-* + **-ōg**, or else + **-carn-**, but again could well be Gaelic.

gar[r] (f, later also m)

?OW *garr* (see EGOW p. 60 sub verbo *garn*) > MW *garr* > W *gar*, Corn **gar* (possibly in a place-name, CPNE p. 101), MBret *garr* > Bret *gar*; cf. OIr *gairr*.

The etymology is obscure: an early Celtic **gars-* seems to be implied. The Old Irish noun is i-declension feminine, but the Brittonic forms show no i-affection.

‘Lower leg, shank, calf’. Evidence for its use as a topographic term is slender, but Breeze (1999b) at pp. 48-9 and (2002f) at pp. 107-8, suggests it in *Vindogara*, name of a Roman fort of camp near Irvine Bay Ayrs: + **winn-**, compare *Cinan cognomento Carguinn* in V Cadoc, ‘Cynan nicknamed Whiteshank’ (see Williams in PT, pp xxxi-ii). However, Thornhill (2020) argues for an archaic element **gara* meaning ‘rock’, seen in the r-n Garonne and other p-ns in Aquitaine, and proposes that *Vindogara* was Ailsa Craig. See also PNRB pp. 501-2, and further discussion under ***cal-**, **carr** and ***garw**.

garth (m)

IE **ǵhordho-* (o-grade of **ǵherdh-* ‘gird’), variant **ǵhorto-* > eCelt **garto-* > Br **garto-* > OW(LL) *-garth* (also *gard*) > M-MnW *garth* (also *gardd*), Corn **garth* (in place-names, CPNE p. 102), Bret *garz*; O-MnIr, eG *gort*, G *gart*, Mx *gart*; cogn. Lat *hortus*, Gmc **gardaz* > OE

ġeard > ‘yard’, cf. also ‘garden’, AScand **garð* > northern ME (and in Scots poetry and modern place-names) *garth*, cf. (from zero-grade) Skt *gr̥ha-* ‘a house, a home’.

On the Indo-European roots, see OIPrIE §13.1 at p. 221; on *-t-* > *-th-* see LHEB §149, pp. 571-2; on the variation between *-a-* and *-o-*, see CPNE p. 35. See also ***būwarth**.

The primary sense is ‘a girded place, an enclosure’, for livestock or cultivation. Forms and meanings may have been influenced by other words: Welsh *garth* is usually ‘a fold, a pen’ for animals, while *gardd* is generally ‘a garden’, perhaps reflecting Middle English and Norman-French usages, ‘yard/garth’ versus ‘garden’. More confusingly, homophony between lenited *ardd* and **arð** seems to explain senses like ‘a mountain ridge, a promontory’, though we should bear in mind that ridges were generally associated with cultivation and that promontories were often crossed with ditches and/or embankments. From these meanings, there was further extension to ‘a wooded slope, woodland, brushwood, thicket, uncultivated land’, wholly contradicting the earlier senses: see GPC s.v. and DPNW p. xlv.

The Goidelic forms may have been adopted from Brittonic and Pritenic. Watson CPNS p. 198, comments that ‘the number of names in the Glasgow district which begin with Gart- is notable, and may be due to British influence’ (see also CPNS p. 203, and, for a detailed survey of the interpretations of Gaelic *gort/gart*, McNiven 2007). However, few convincingly Brittonic place-names with this element can be identified:

a2) Gogar, with Gogar Burn, Stg (Denny) CPNS p. 210, PNFESTg p. 40, WLoPN p. 17, and Gogar, with Gogar Burn, MLo (Ratho) PNMLo p. pp. 352-3, ? + **wo-**, see ***wogerð**, but also **coch**, ***cog**, and discussion under ***cor**.

b1) Garlies Kcb (Minigaff) PNGall pp. 141-2 + ***li:s[s]**, or else ***garw-**. Cf. perhaps Garlie Bank etc. in Fife, PNFif5 p. 384, but the Scots words *gurly*, **garly*, discussed by Taylor, apparently imply an exposed, northerly aspect and seem unlikely to be appropriate here. Note that Garlieston Wig (formerly *Carswell*, Sorbie) was named by or after Alexander Stewart, Lord Garlies, who developed the village in the third quarter of the 18th century: see PNWigMM p. 156 and Kirkwood (2007).

c2) Crewgarth Cmb (Ousby) PNCmb p. 229 + ***crōw-**, but see under that. *Trogart* Ayrs (lost: in Carrick) CPNS p. 362 + **treβ-**.

*garw

IE **ġhers-* > eCelt **gar-* + *-wo-/ā-* > Br **garwo-/ā-* > MW *garu* > W *garw*, Corn *garow*, MBret *garu* > Bret *garv*; OIr *garb* > Ir, G *garbh*, Mx *garw*; cogn. Lat *horreō* ‘I bristle’, Skt *harṣati*, and cf. (from zero-grade **ġhr̥s-*) OE *gors* > ‘gorse’.

In the Celtic languages, an adjective meaning ‘rough, harsh, rugged, uncultivated’.

In the North, nearly all the possible cases are river-/stream-names, perhaps so named with reference to the character of the bed or channel as well as the flow of water. However it should be noted that a formation ***gār-** + *-awā-* could underlie these. Those in Scotland are in any case all Gaelicised, if they are not Gaelic in origin.

a1) Garf Water, with *Abercarf* (=Wiston), Lnk: see Barrow in *Uses*, p. 56, but see also **carw**.

c1) Garlies Kcb (Minigaff) PNGall pp. 141-2 + ***lis[s]**, but more likely **garth-**, which see.

c1) Several burns in south-west Scotland are apparently ***garw-** + **-*pol**, or Gaelic **garbh-pol*:
 Garpal Burn Dmf (Sanquhar)
 Garpel Burn Ayr (x2, → R Ayr and → Loch Doon)
 Garpel Burn Rnf (Lochwinnoch)
 Garpel Burn Kcb (Balmaclellan) PNGall p. 142, Ó' Maolalaigh 2022b p. 292.
 Garpol Dmf (Kirkpatrick Juxta), presumably a former burn name.

c1) Garrochtrie Wig (Kirkmaiden) PNGall p. 143, PNRGLV p. 10 + **-ūch-** + **-treß**, but see discussion under **treß**.

c1) Several watercourses are of the 'Garvald' type, possibly ***garw-** (or else ***gār-** + **-w-**, see ***gār**) + **-alt**. Gaelic **garbh-allt* is obviously likely (so Nicolaisen 1961, see also idem 1957, repr. 2011 p. 36), but note Watson's observation, CPNS p. 140, that 'it is rather notable to find [*allt*] in the modern sense of "burn" so early as 1210', referring to Garvald ELo. Back-formation from a Brittonic or early Gaelic topographic name 'a rough height or bank' (cf. Garwall Hill Kcb, Minigaff) might be an explanation in some cases, but it would be surprising if so many were of that origin:

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

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

Garvald Burn Lnk/Pbl border.

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

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

c1) Girvan Ayr CPNS p. 32 ? + **-īn** with internal i-affection, so **gerw-īn*, but note *Garvane* among mediaeval forms suggesting + **-an**. Nicolaisen (1970) s.n. 'suspects a river-name of pre-Gaelic origin' here. Any connection with *Vindogara* nearby is hard to reconcile with the early forms, but see discussion under **gar[r]**.

Gorpool Dmf: see above, with Garpel.

Yarrow R Lanc ERN p. 478, PNLanc p. 127, JEPNS17 p. 71: Jackson, LHEB §73(1) at pp. 434-5, appears to accept tentatively Ekwall's derivation of this from ***garw**, adopted as Old English **gærwe* > *gearwe*, but the name is obscure and controversial. See further discussion under ***ar** in river-names, also **aryant**.

Yarrow R Slk CPNS p. 522 n476. Here, early forms do favour ***garw-**, or ***gār-** + **-w-**, but note Watson's comparison with Jarrow Drh (though that is probably a tribal name **gerw* < Germanic **gur-* 'mud', which is hardly appropriate to the Selkirkshire river). For other etymological possibilities, see Patterson (2007).

gēn (m)

IE **gēnu-* > eCelt **geno-* > Br **geno-* > OW(LL) plural *genou* (+ **-öü**) > MW plural *geneu* > W *gên*, plural *genau* 'a mouth', OCorn plural *genau* > Corn *gen*, plural *ganow*, OBret plural *genouou* > M-MnBret plural *genou*; OIr *gin* 'a mouth' > Ir *gion*, G *gion-* (in compounds); cogn. Lat *gena* 'a cheek', Gmc **kenw-*, **kinn* > OE **cinn* > 'chin', Gk *gēnus* (also, from zero-grade, *gnáthos*) 'the lower jaw', plural *gēnues* 'jaws, mouth', Skt *hanu* 'a jaw'.

See DCCPN p. 20.

In the plural, 'jaws', 'a mouth', so topographically, 'the mouth of a valley'. See Horowitz on this word in Gnosall Stf and elsewhere in the English West Midlands in CVEP pp. 184-91, and idem (2005) pp. 277-8. The Lancashire example seems the most northerly.

a2) Gannow Lanc (Whalley) PNLanc p. 83 + **-öü**.

gilβ (m, though f in Gaulish)

Early Celt **gulb-jo-* > Br *gulbjo-*, cf. Gaul *gulbiā-*, > OW *gilb* > M-MnW *gylf*; OMnIr *gulba*, G *guilb*.

The Indo-European status of this Celtic root is doubtful, there are no definite cognates. See LHEB §166(2) at p. 596, and EGOW p. 61.

In Modern Welsh ‘a beak’. It occurs in place-names in Wales (in AMR) only in suffixed forms, including + *-īno-* (see *-īn*). OW *gilbin* > W *gylfin*, OCorn *geluin*, OBret *golbin* > Bret *golvan*; Gaelic *guilbinn*, is likewise generally ‘a beak’ (though the Breton word means ‘a sparrow’ and the Gaelic ‘a whimbrel’). In topographic names, the root-sense ‘a point’ can be assumed, perhaps (if *-īn* is diminutive) ‘a small headland’ (cf. OBret *golban*, + *-an*, ‘a headland’).

a2) *Wlw[er]en* Cmb (Upper Denton) Lan Cart 56 and 112 + *-īn*: see Breeze (2006c) at p. 331, but the absence of any trace of initial *g-* (lenition seems unlikely) and the preservation of the back vowel *-u-* rather than *-ū-* or *-i-* (which would give OE *-y-* whether initially rounded or unrounded) both need explaining. The variant spellings also raise doubts.

gint (m)

Lat *gens*, *gentis* adopted as lBr **gento-* > OW *-gint* (in personal names, see CIB p. 181) > M-MnW *gynt* (cf. the Celtic cognates, e.g. W *geni* ‘be born’).

See LHEB §6(2), pp. 278-9 and CIB #27 at p. 97.

In mediaeval ecclesiastical usage, ‘a heathen, a gentile’ or ‘heathens, gentiles’, the singular and plural being identical; in Modern Welsh, ‘a tribe’.

c2) Pennygant Hill Rox (Castleton) CPNS p. 354 + **pen[n]**- + **-ī[r]**-. Breeze (2007c) interprets **gint** in its Modern Welsh sense as ‘a (foreign) tribe’, ‘an (alien) nation’, stating that it was so used ‘of the English and then the Vikings’, and that this was on the boundary between Strathclyde and Northumbria in the 9th century: both these claims are very questionable. Nevertheless, the definite article does favour a late, Cumbric, formation, see **-ī[r]**- and A. James (2008) at pp. 197-9, but see also **cant**.

Penyghent YWR6 pp. 219-20 and xi-xii + **pen[n]**- + **-ī[r]**-; Breeze (2006b) again sees a reference here to Scandinavian pagans: this is perhaps less problematic, and again the formation is likely to be late, but see also **cant**.

glan

IE(NW) **ghl-* or **ghl-* (from **ghleh*₂ ‘smooth’, or zero-grade of **ghel-* ‘shine’) + *-n-* > eCelt *glanno-/ā-* > Br **glano-/ā-* > OW *glan-* > M-MnW *glân*, M-MnCorn *glân*, O-MnBret *glan*; O-MnIr, G *glan*, Mx *glen*; ?cf. Lat *glaber* ‘smooth’, and numerous derivatives of Gmc **gl-* + various vowel and consonant combinations, > for example English ‘glad’, ‘glade’, ‘glare’, ‘glass’, ‘gleam’, ‘glimmer’, ‘glimpse’, ‘glint’, ‘glitter’, ‘glow’, etc. See also **glās** and ***gless**.

See Schrijver (1995) at p. 173, and DCCPN p. 20.

Primarily ‘bright, shining’, with religious and moral connotations, so ‘pure, holy’ in most Celtic languages, extending to ‘beautiful, fair, white’.

For **Glannoventa* see discussion under **glann**.

Otherwise, this is apparently only found as an element in river-names, probably early:

a2) Glen R Ntb ERN p. 177, PNNtb p. 94 + *-jo-* or *-ī-*; this is probably Bede’s *fluvio Gleni* HE II.14, and possibly the Arthurian battle-site *Glein* HB56. On river-names of the ‘Glen’ type see LHEB §161 at p. 589 and §168 at p. 602.

c1) *Glaugles* Cmb (Denton) Lan Cart: Ekwall ERN p. 173 reads *Glangles* + *-*clę:ss* or *-*glę:ss*: see LHEB §74(1) at p. 438, but see also **glę:ju-**.

glann (f, earlier n)

Br **glannā-* > OW(LL)-MW *glann* > W *glan*, O-MnCorn *glan*, M-MnBret *glann*.

Perhaps a vowel-grade variant of **glenno-*, see **glinn**, but the Indo-European and early Celtic antecedents are unclear for lack of cognates. See DCCPN p. 20.

‘A bank, a shore, waterside’.

In the North, this is found only in place-names from Roman-British sources:

b1) *Camboglanna* PNRB pp. 293-4 + **cam[b]**:- Rivet and Smith identify this as the Wall fort at Castlesteads Cmb. This might be the battle-site **Camlann* AC537: see **cam[b]**, and, on the lenition of *-g-* that this would entail, LHEB §74(1), pp. 436-8.

c1) **Glannoventa* (*Clanoventa* AI.481 etc.) PNRB p. 367: the Roman fort at Muncaster Cmb; + *-went*, or else **glan-*, but this is ‘less satisfactory’ in view of the textual evidence and location, according to Jackson (1971) at p. 70.

glās

IE(NW) **ghl-* or **ġhl-* (see **glan**) + *st-* > eCelt **glasto-/ā-* > late Br **glasso-/ā-* > O-MnW *glas*, M-MnCorn *glas*, Bret *glas*; OIr *glass* > Ir,G *glas* Mx *glass*; ?cogn. OE **glās²* ‘clear, bright, shining’ (in place-names, see EPNE1 p. 201).

For other comparanda, see under **glan**, and Green (1998), at pp. 187-8, on related words in the Germanic languages for ‘amber’, ‘resin’, ‘glass’ etc.

The earliest sense in Celtic, as in the Germanic languages, seems to have been ‘amber-coloured, yellow-brown’ (so equated with Latin *fuscus* in early glosses), but in all the Celtic languages it became generally ‘grey-green, grey-blue’, the colours of Roman glass. In river-names, it is frequently hard to disentangle from the related element **glę:ss*, and may also be indistinguishable from OE **glās²* mentioned above.

In the following, early forms tend to favour **glās**:

a1) Glaisdale YNR PNYNR pp. 132-3 (AScand **dal* > ME *-dale*).

Glazebrook, with Glazebury, Lanc ERN p. 175, PNLanc p. 94, JEPNS17 p. 55 [+ OE *brōc* > 'brook', *-byrig*].

Early records are lacking for Water of Glass, with Glass Rig, Dmf (Closeburn); it could be Gaelic.

a2) Cairnglastenhope Ntb (Simonburn) + **earn-** + **-īn** [+ OE *-hōp* 'an enclosed valley', with ME epenthetic *-t-*]; adoption by English speakers must have predated internal i-affection (7th century, see LHEB §176, pp. 616-18), cf. *W glesin* (with i-affection), cf. Corn **glazen* (in place-names, CPNE p. 104), Bret *glazen*, 'a green, turf', (see Breeze in CVEP, pp. 160-1). Note that MW *glesin* is also 'woad, borage (*Isatis* species)'. For a possible Pictish or Gaelic parallel, cf. Kinglassie Fif, PNFif1 pp. 448 – 9, though that might incorporate a saint's name.

Glasson Cmb (Bowness) PNCmb pp. 125-6 + **-an**; possibly a stream-name in origin, alternative etymologies include MĪr *glassán* (*glas* + adjectival suffix), or OE **glāsen* 'bright, shining' (EPNE1 p. 203 s.v. **glas²*, *recte *glāes²*, see JEPNS 1 p. 21), cf. Gleaston Lanc PNLanc p. 209, and DEPN(C) s.n. Glazenwood Ess), or a derivative of Germanic **calasna* 'a boundary', see DEPN(C) p. 251.

Glasson Lanc (Cockerham) PNLanc p. 171 + **-īn**: early forms marginally favour + **-īn** here, so the observations on Cairnglastenhope above may apply, as well as those on Glasson Cmb. If the origin was MĪr *glassán*, the meanings 'laver', 'female salmon' or 'coalfish' might be relevant here (see Dwelly s.v. *glasag*, with variant *glasan*). OE **glāsen*, or a derivative of **calasna*, are again possible, but see Breeze CVEP, pp. 160-1.

b1) For river-names of the 'Douglas' type, and others where '-glas' is generic, see under ***glę:ss**.

c1) Clesketts, with Cleskett Beck, Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 84 + **cę:d**: *glas-coed* is common in Welsh place-names (in 14 parishes in AMR), but see discussion under ***clas-**, and also ***clę:ss** and ***glę:ss**.

Glascath Cmb (Askerton or Kingwater) Lan Cart 153 + **cę:d**, which see.

Glasdur Burn Stg + **-duβr**: P. Kincaid pers. comm.

Glaser, Water of, or Glazert Burn, Ayrs (Stewarton, Dunlop) + **-duβr**; *Glashdurr* Blaeu, see PNFif4 pp. 47 – 8 (anenet Glassart Burn Fif) and n5, and Clancy (2013b) p. 295; both this and the next could be Gaelc **glais-dobhar*.

Glazert Water Stg (Campsie) + **-duβr**; *Glashdurr* Pont, see PNFif4 loc. cit. n6.

Glasgow Lnk CPNS p. 385 + **-*cöü**.

Glaskeith Cmb (lost: not the same place as *Glascath* above, see Todd 2005, p. 93) Lan Cart + **-cę:d**.

A compound **glās-dīr* may be present in three places in south-west Scotland, but see also ***clas**: Glaisterlands Ayrs (Rowallan, Kilmaurs) [+ Scots *-landis*].

Glaisters Kcb (Kirkpatrick Durham) PNGall p. 146 [+ Scots pl. *-is*].

Rig o'the Glaster Wig (New Luce) PNGall p. 146 [+ Scots *rigg o* 'ridge of' and pl. *-is*].

c2) Barglass Wig (Kirkcinner) PNGall p. 24, PNWigMM p. 96 + **barr-**, if not Gaelic.

Ecclesgrass Head YWR (field-name in Horsforth) ? + **egļę:s-**, with **-glās** replaced by OE *gærs* > *-grass*: suggested by Thomson (1964), pp. 51 and 55, but an English formation is more likely, see **egļę:s**.

Kinglass WLo PNWLo p. 30 + **pen[n]-**, Gaelicised, or else Gaelic in origin.

Knockglass Wig (x4: New Luce, Inch, Old Luce and Portpatrick) PNGall p. 181 + ***cnuc[h]-**, but probably Gaelic.

*gl̥:ss (m)

IE(NW) *ghl̥- or *ǵhl̥- (see **glān**) + *st-* (see **glās**) > eCelt *glast- + *-ijo-* > lBr *glassjo- > OW(LL) *-leis* in compounds > MW *gleis* > early MnW *glais*; O-MlR *glais* > Ir *glaise*, G **glais* (in river-names, CPNS pp. 456-8), Mx *glais*, *glash-* (in river-names).

For the Indo-European roots, cognates and comparanda, see **glān** and **glās**.

A nominal form related to **glās**, meaning ‘a stream, a rivulet, a watercourse’, see Nicolaisen (2011) p. 24. It is often difficult to distinguish from **glās**, and in Anglicised forms from Old English *glæs*² (EPNE1 p. 203), though where it is the generic, this nominal form is more probable (see under (b1) below). Otherwise, early forms are the only, often uncertain, guide.

a1) *Cleslyhead* Rox (Southdean) PNRox p. 35 [+ OE *-lēah-* ‘a clearing, pasture, meadow’ + *-hēafod* > ‘head’], implying that **Gl̥:ss* may be a lost name for a headwater of the R Jed, but see also ***cl̥:ss**.

b1) Compounds with **dūß-** (which see for references) are included here as a nominal form would be expected as the generic, i.e. ‘black stream’, though it may have been a different derivative of **glast-*:

Devil’s Burn or Water Ntb PNNtb p. 62.

Douglas Water Dnb/Rnf, with Douglas Muir Rnf CPNS p. 458.

Douglas R Lanc ERN pp. 129 - 33, PNLanc p. 126, JEPNS17 p. 70.

Douglas R, and town, Lnk CPNS p. 458.

Douglas Ing Wml (Hoff) PNWml2 p. 94 [+OE *-ing* ‘a hill’, EPNE1 p. 282]: maybe a lost stream-name, but could be from *Douglas* as a personal name here.

Dowlache Lanc (Ince Blundell) P. B. Russell (1992) at pp. 34-5 (not in PNLanc): perhaps a ‘Douglas’ type adopted by English-speakers post-lenition, cf. *Dowlais* Glm, with ***[g]l̥:ss** replaced by OE *-læc* > ME *-lache* ‘a stream, a bog’ EPNE2 p. 10, but Russell favours **dūß-** + **-luch**.

Dowlass Moss YWR (Ingleton) PNYWR6 p. 245, again cf. *Dowlais*.

Dunsop R, with Dunsop Bridge, YWR PNYWR6 p. 212, *ibid.* 7 p. 127 [+ OE *-hōp* ‘an enclosed valley’].

b1) *Conglas* Lnk (burn in East Kilbride) CPNS p. 458 + **cū[n]-**; cf. *Cingleis* in LL, Conglass burns in Arg and Bnf, and other examples cited by Watson, CPNS loc. cit., and Taylor PNFif 1 p. 46 (anent *Inverkunglas*); both scholars treat such names as Gaelic, though being a close compound, an early, P-Celtic, formation is likely; however, see also under **cū[n]**.

Glaugles Cmb (Denton) Lan Cart + **gl̥:ju-** (or read *Glan-*, see **glān**), or else ***cl̥:ss**.

c2) Dalgleish Slk (Ettrick) + ***dōl-**, or else Gaelic *-glais* (dative singular).

Dalgliesh, Nether, Ayr (Maybole) + ***dōl-**, or else Gaelic *-glais*.

gl̥:ju

IE(NW) *ghl̥- or *ǵhl̥- (see **glān**) + *-ai-* > eCelt *glai-wo-/ā- > Br *gl̥:wo-/ā- > OW *gloiw* > MW *gloew* > W *gloyw*, OCorn *gluiw* > Corn **glow* (in place-names, CPNE p. 105), OBret *-gloeu*; cf. O-MnIr *glé*, G *glè*; cf. Lat *glūs* > OFr *glu* > E ‘glue’, Gk *glóia* ‘glue’.

For the Indo-European root and further comparanda see **glān**. The relationship between the P- and Q-Celtic forms is problematic, see LHEB §27 at pp. 325-30 and PNRB p. 369 (on *Glevum*, Gloucester).

‘Bright, clear, shining’, especially of liquids. The cognates suggest ‘glutinous, sticky’, but this is not apparent in Celtic usage.

a1) Gloster Hill Ntb PNNtb p. 94, probably a transferred name, but it might be from a Brittonic stream-name **Glē:ju-* + OE *-ċeaster* added subsequently, cf. Gloucester, see PNRB p. 369.

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

*glinn (m)

Early Celtic **glenno-* > Br **glenno-* > OW(LL) *Glin* (in p-n) > M-MnW *glyn*, Corn **glynn* (in place-names, CPNE pp. 104-5), Bret *glenn*; OIr *glenn* > Ir,G *gleann*, Mx *glion*.

Of obscure origin, though IE(NW) **ghl-* or **ǵhl-* (see **glan**) could well be in the background. Seemingly restricted to Insular Celtic. Adopted from Middle Irish/ early Gaelic into Scots and northern Middle English as *glen*, see LPN p. 123.

‘A valley’, typically a substantial but relatively narrow one (see ELL p. 27). As a place-name element it is much more common in Goidelic (especially Gaelic and Manx) than it is in Brittonic (see Whaley in DLDPN p. 400). Moreover, while Scots speakers formed some names of the ‘Rutherglen’ type with Germanic specifier-generic order, they may well have created others with ‘Glen-’ in first position (so-called ‘inversion compounds’) on the analogy of Gaelic formations. That being the case, most (b2) forms with ‘Glen-’ in southern Scotland are probably Gaelic or Scots even where the second element is a Brittonic or ancient river-name. However, note Watson’s observation, CPNS p. 140, that ‘[“glen”] appears over thirty times [in Peebleshire] ... some of the instances may be Welsh’: if so, they would be secondary formations, perhaps influenced by the popularity of the element in Gaelic, and so dating from the late Cumbric period of the 10th-12th centuries.

For for R Glen Ntb and simplex river-names of this type, see **glan**. For The Glen Wml (Nether Staveley) see PNWml1 p. 174 and DLDPN p. 131.

b1) Fingland (x4) and Finglen, all in Pbl CPNS p. 140, presumably Gaelic **fionn-gleann*, but a Brittonic form + *winn-* might underlie these.

Rutherglen Lnk + *rō-* or *rūd-* + *-duβr*: the final element is likely to be Scots *-glen* (see above).

b2) Glenbarton Dmf (Langholm) CPNS p. 184 (misplaced ‘in Annandale’) ? + *-Brithon*; probably early Gaelic **glenn-Bretan*, like Glensaxon nearby, see **Sachs*.

Glencairn Dmf PNDmf p. 47 ? + *-carn*, which see.

Glencorse MLo CPNS pp. 180 and 486, PNMLo p. 227 + *-crojs* ? + *-ōg*, or Gaelic **gleann-croiseach*.

Glencrosh Dmf (Glencairn) PNDmf p. 47, and Glencross or Glencorse Dmf (Closeburn) CPNS pp. 180 and 486, PNDmf p. 15, both + *-crojs*, or else Gaelic **gleann-croise*.

Glenderamackin R Cmb ERN p. 179, PNCmb p. 15, DLDPN p. 132 + *-duβr*, which see [+ Mlr personal name *-Machán* probably added later].

Glenderaterra Beck Cmb ERN p. 179, PNCmb p. 15, DLDPN p. 132 + *-duβr*, which see [+ an obscure personal name added later].

Glendevon, Lnk (Lesmahagow) Taylor (2009), pp. 87-8 + *-duβ[i]n*, which see. (Glendevon WLo (Kirkliston) is probably a transferred name from Glendevon Per: see **dūβ**).

Glen Dhu Cmb (Bewcastle) PNCmb p. 61 + *-dūβ*, which see.

Glendinning Rigg Cmb (Nicholforest) PNCmb p. 105 + *-dīn-* + *-an* or *-īn*: Mlr/eG *glenn-* is possible here.

Glendivan Dmf (Ewes) PNDmf p. 41 + **-duβ[i]n**, which see.

Glendow, with Glendow Sike, Dmf (Ewes) + **-dūβ**.

Glendue, with Glendue Burn and Fell, Ntb (Hartleyburn) PNNtb p. 94) + **-dūβ**.

Glengaber Dmf (x3: Holywood, Kirkconnel and Sanquhar) PNDmf p. 58 (Holywood; the other two lack early forms), Glengower Dmf (Holywood) *ibid.*, and Glengaber Slk (Yarrow), CPNS p. 138 ? + **-gaβr**, but see under that, and below.

Glenlochar Kcb (Balmaghie) PNGall p. 149 + **-lūch** - or ***luch-** + **-ar**: see below, also **lūch** and PNRB pp. 389-90 for discussion of this place-name in relation to **Leucovia*.

Glenridding Wml (Patterdale) PNWml2 pp. 222-3, DLDPN pp. 132-3 + **redin**, which see.

Glensax pbl CPNS p. 356 + ***Sachs**, which see for discussion.

Glensaxon Dmf (Westerkirk) CPNS p. 356 + ***Sachs**, likewise.

Glenturk Wig (Wigtown) PNGall p. 151, PNWigMM p. 112 ? + **-turch**.

Glentemont Dmf (Langholm) CPNS pp. 180 and 399, PNDmf p. 86 ? + **-tā-**, **-tan-** or **-tān-**, ? + **-i[r]-**, + **-mönīð**, but see below and under **tā**, **tan**, **tān** and **mönīð**.

b2) The following are cases where the second element is probably a Brittonic or ancient watercourse-name, so ‘Glen-’ is likely to be a later addition (see above, and under the elements listed as specifiers); the same may well apply to Glengaber, Glenlochar, Glentemont, Glenturk and others listed above:

Glencoyne, with Glencoyne Beck, Cmb (Watermillock)/ Wml (Patterdale) ERN pp. 178-9, PNCmb pp. 15 and 254, PNWml2 p. 222, DLDPN pp. 131-2 + **-can[d]**, **-cant**, **-cēin** or **-cōn**: see discussion under **cant**.

Glencrest Cmb (Kirkoswald) Lan Cart ? + **-*tres**.

Glendowlin Wml PNWml1 p. 206 + **-dūβ-** + **-linn**.

Glenkens Kcb see under **cant** for Water of Ken.

Glenruther Wig (Peninghame) PNGall p. 150, PNWigMM p. 112 + **rö-** or **rūð-**, + **-ar** or **-duβr**: see also **cūl-** and ***cūl** for discussion of *Culruther*.

Glentanner Water Slk SPN² p. 244 + **-*tā-** (which see) + **-n-** + **-ar**.

Glenterf ELo CPNS p. 142 + **-tarw**.

Glentreske Wml (lost field-name in Patterdale) PNWml2 p. 228 + **-*tres-** + **-ōg**.

Glentress Pbl (x2, Innerleithen and Peebles) CPNS p. 444 + **-*tres**.

goβ (m) and göβe:l (f)

Early Celt **gobanno-* > Br, Gaul *goba[n]-* (in personal and deity names, see PNRB p. 369) > OW(LL) *gof* > M-MnW *gof*, O-MnCorn *gof*, OBret *-gof* > M-MnBret *gov*; OIr *gobae* > Ir *gabha*, G *gobha*, *gobha[i]nn*, Mx *gaaue*.

The *-n-* from the nasal-stem root survives in all the Goidelic languages (though in some Scottish and Irish dialects the nominative form *gobha* has been generalised to the genitive singular, see PNFif5 p. 388), and in the plural forms in all the Celtic languages, Welsh *gofaint* etc.

‘A blacksmith’. On smiths in Celtic mythology and literature, see PCB p. 476, PNRB p. 369, DCM pp. 226-8 and DCML p. 106.

c2) Barnego Stg PNFESTg P. 70, and *Brenego* Ayrs (Tarbolton) SPN² p. 213 ? + **brinn-** or **prenn-**, + **-i[r]-**], but see **brinn**.

Minigaff Kcb PNGall p. 211, and Minnygap Dmf (Johnstone) PNDmf p. 65, both + **mönīð-** or **mönju-**, Gaelicised.

Br **goba-ljā-* > OW *gobail* > MW *geueil* > W *gefail*, O-MnCorn *gofail*, OBret *gobail* > Bret *govel*.

‘A smithy, a forge’.

c2) Mossgiel Ayrs (Mauchline) CPNS p. 278 + **mayes-**, or else ***gaβel**, or Gaelic *gobhail* ‘of a fork’: see Guthrie 2004 p. 5, and Clancy 2022 p. 9.

*grif (m)

Gk *grúps*, *grúpos*, adopted as late Latin *gryp[h]us*, *grypes*, thence as late British **grifo-* > M-MnW *griffit*; OIr *gríb* > Ir *gríobh*, G *grìobh*, cf. Mx *griffag*.

On *-p/-ph-* in British Latin and late British, and epenthetic *-t*, see LHEB §51 p. 396.

‘A gryphon/griffin’, the eagle/lion beast of Classical mythology and later mediaeval heraldry. Jerome’s use of *gryphem* (accusative) for a bird proscribed at Leviticus 11.13 (Vulgate) led to the creature being classified as avian in medieval bestiaries; it was used in the Celtic literatures of birds of prey and carrion, and metaphorically of warriors. The curious usage in Modern Welsh for ‘a tadpole’ and ‘frog or toad spawn’ is recorded in GPC only from 1547. In Irish and Gaelic, the meaning extends by synecdoche to ‘a talon, a claw’.

a1) Gryfe R Ayrs/Rnf CPNS p. 470: Breeze (2000b) suggests ***grif** as the origin of this river-name. If so, the reference was more probably to a bird of prey than to tadpoles. Watson suggests Gaelic *grìobh*, but in the sense of ‘a claw, ... from the claw-like shape of the stream’, but again the appearance of, or favoured perch of, a bird of prey seems more appropriate, perhaps the osprey, cf. Dwelly s.v. *grìobh*. Cairngryffe, with Cairn Gryffe Hill, Lnk CPNS *ibid.* + **car**n is all the more likely to involve a large bird; it could be Brittonic or Gaelic.

gronn (f?)

IE(NW) **ghron-* (o-grade of **ghren-* ‘grind’) + *-t-* > eCelt **grontā-* > Br **grontā-* > OW(LL) *gronn*; cf. Gmc **grunduz* > OE *grund* > ‘ground’, ON *grund* ‘a grassy plain’, *grunnr* ‘a shallow’, etc.

On the etymology, see CPNS p. 379, also Ekwall’s discussion of R Granta Camb in ERN, pp. 183-4.

‘A bog’. Apart from the occurrence in LL, this word is attested in British Latin in HB75 and Asser’s Life of Alfred (four times), in some Anglo-Saxon charters, in HR s.a. 1040, and in Irish Latin in at least five sources or contexts. While the word seems to be Brittonic in origin, adopted into the English, Welsh and Irish forms of insular Latin, it seems to have become extinct in Welsh and SW Brittonic, but it was apparently current in Pictish, whence it was adopted into Gaelic as a toponymic element (see Taylor 2011, pp. 102-3, and in PNFif 5 pp. 392 – 4). However, its status as a productive place-name element south of the Forth is doubtful.

a1) Gormyre WLo (Torphichen) CPNS p. 379 (as Gromyre), PNWLo pp. 93-4 [+ ON *mýrr* > ‘mire’], but OE *gor* > Scots *goor-* ‘mud, filth’ is much more likely.

c2) Balgornie WLo (Bathgate) PNWLo p. 85. This is a Gaelic formation, **baile-gronnaich*, incorporating the element adopted from Pictish. It may have been introduced from north of the Forth by Gaelic speakers, but a Pictish term could well have been current here; cf. Pitgorno Fif (Strathmiglo), PNFif3 pp. 702-3.

gweβr

IE *g^wyeh₃- (verbal root, 'live') +-bhr- > eCelt *gwebro-/ā- > Br *gwebro-/ā- > OW *guhebr-* (in a stream-name), (LL) *guefr-* (in a stream-name), *Guebr-* (in personal names) > M-MnW *chwefr-* with various suffixes, Corn **whevr-* (in a stream-name, CPNE pp. 240-1).

The etymology is problematic, as is any relationship with *gwefr* 'a thrill' or *gwefr* 'amber'. See also ***wēβr**.

'Lively'. For its use in stream-names, see Padel's discussion in CPNE, pp. 240-1, and Breeze (2006c) at pp. 328-9.

a2) *Cumheueruin*, *Cumeuerwyn* Cmb (Kingwater; also possibly another in Walton) Lan Cart 151 and 204 ? + **cum[b]**- + **-īn** or **-wīnn**, but see also ***hapar**.

Torweaving MLo (West Calder) PNMLo p. 94, WLoPN p. 19 ? + **torr-** + **-īn**: suggested by Wilkinson, or else + **-*wēβr-**, or G **torr uaimhinn* 'hill of horror, detestation' (*sic*, not 'devastation').

H

hāl (f)

IE **seh_a*- + -(e)l- > eCelt **sālā*- > Br **Σālā*- > OW plural *halou* (+ -**öü**), LL *hal*, OCorn *haal* > Corn *hal*, Bret *hal* ‘saliva’; OIr *sal* ‘dirt’ > Ir, G *sal*, Mx *sall*-; cogn. Lat *saliva*.

The root-sense in the Celtic languages is ‘dirt’, preserved in OW *halou* glossing *stercora* ‘dung’, and compare the Breton, Latin and Goidelic usages noted above. However, in insular Brittonic, senses developed of ‘marsh, moor’, and ultimately ‘rough, uncultivated land’. On these developments in Cornish, see Padel, CPNE p. 125, and Thomas (1961-7). The family of ‘salt’ words is thought to be cognate: see ***halę:n**, but also DCCPN pp. 29-30.

b1) Halltree MLo (Stow) PNMLo p. 365 + -**treß** [any OE or ON first element can be ruled out]. Hallbankgate Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 85, Hullerbank Cmb (Hayton) PNCmb p. 88, and lost *Hulverhirst* ibid. + -**brey**, which see.

b2) Helvellyn Cmb/Wml border JEPNS2 (1969-70), p. 56, JEPNS3 (1970-1), p. 50, JEPNS6 (1973-4) p 52, DLDPN pp. 162-3 + -**melin**, cf. *halmelen* LL72, and see Coates (1988), pp. 30-3.

***halę:n** (m)

IE **seh_a*- + -(e)l- (see **hāl**) > eCelt **sāl*- + -*eino* > Br **Σālę:no*- > M-MnW *halen*, *halwyn*, and cf. M-eMnW *heledd* ‘a salt-pit’, OCorn *haloin* (but ‘no evidence’ for reconstructed *holan*, *holen* in MnCorn, CPNE p. 334), Bret *c’hoalenn*, *holenn*, Vannetais dialect *holén*; O-MnIr, G *salann*, Mx *solann*; cf. Lat *sāl*, Gmc **saltam* > OE(Angl) *salt* > ‘salt’, Skt *halila*.

‘Salt’. In the Celtic languages, the root seems to have remained primarily verbal, cf. O-MnIr, G, Mx verbal root *saill*- ‘to salt, to cure’; the substantive **sālā*- developed a different semantic range, see **hāl**, and for wider etymological considerations, DCCPN pp. 29-30. The noun meaning ‘salt’ was formed from this verbal root + -*eino* > -*ę:n*. The two Welsh forms, *halen* and *halwyn* reflect unstressed and stressed forms respectively of the suffix in neoBrittonic or Old Welsh, the -*wyn* form being the more ‘regular’, and perhaps influenced by association with **winn**. Modern Welsh *hâl* is indeed probably a back-formation from *halwyn*, treating the second syllable as a dispensable adjective < **winn**: see GPC s.v.

a1) Elvan, Water of, with Elvanfoot, Lnk CPNS pp. 468-9; proposed by Breeze (2002f), but see ***al**- and references there.

***hajar** (f/m)

i) IE **sem*- > eCelt **samo*- > Br **Σamo*-, Gaul *sam*- > OW *ham* > M-MnW *haf*, M-MnCorn *haf*, OBret *ham* > MBret *haff[f]* > Bret *hañv*; OIr *sam* > Ir *samh* ‘early summer’; cogn. Skt *samā* ‘season, half-year’.

ii) Early Celtic **sam*- + -*ārā*- > Br **Σamārā*-; cf. OIr *samrad* > Ir, G *samradh*, Mx *sourey*; cogn. Gmc (North and West) **sumaraz* > OE *sumor* > ‘summer’.

The suffix -*āro*-/*ā*- is primarily adjectival, but is the basis of a number of certain or possible Celtic river-names in continental Europe and beyond, see ACPN pp. 32-3 and 106 and DCCPN p.

30. The meaning, ‘summery’, may have implied ‘flowing (even) in summer’. The names below may preserve stream-names of the form **hauar* or suffixed versions of that.

However, a later formation compounding early British **Σam-* with the verbal noun **-arā-* > Modern Welsh *âr* ‘arable land’ (< eCelt **arā-* < IE **h₂erh₃-y-* ‘plough’, see under **arβ*) gave rise to Welsh *hafar*, Cornish **havar* (in place-names, see CPNE p. 127), and cf. Breton *havreg*, *awrec*. GPC and CPNE give the meaning of this as ‘land left fallow in summer’, though ‘land cultivated in summer (and left fallow in winter)’ might make better etymological and agricultural sense. AMR shows around nine examples in Welsh place-names.

a2) *Caraverick* Cmb (Hesket in Forest) PNCmb p. 202 + **caj-* + *-i[r]-*, or *cajr-*, + *-ig-* (which see) or *-ōg-*: either a stream-name **Samārā/īcā-* or ‘summer-arable’ + suffix, but see also *eβur*. *Cumheueurin*, *Cumeuerwyn* Cmb (Kingwater, and possibly another in Walton) Lan Cart 151 and 204 + *cum[b]-* + *-in* or *-winn*. See Todd (2005), especially at p. 99. If the second element is *-heuer-*, it shows double i-affection, possibly reflecting an archaic plural of the ‘summer-arable’ word, though a stream-name **Samārīnā-* might have remodelled by Cumbric speakers. See *cum[b]* and *winn*, but also *gweβr*.

King Harry Cmb (Cumwhitton) PNCmb p. 79 + **cejn-* (see **ceμ*), or Middle Irish *cenn-* replacing *pen[n]-*, + *-ig*. Again, a stream-name **Samārā/īcā-* is possible, but cf. Breton *havreg* ‘arable land’. Early forms again show double i-affection, here attributable to the suffix, *-ig*.

harð

IE **h₂erdu-* (see *arð*) > eCelt **ardu-* > Br, Gaul *Ardu-* > M-MnW *hardd*.

Apparently a by-form of *arð*, developing from metaphoric senses like ‘exalted, noble’ (cf. OIr *ard*) to M-MnW ‘beautiful’.

Harthkyn Cmb (lost field-name in Ponsonby) PNCmb p. 428, and *Hartkin*, *Hardkin* Wml (Bampton) PNWml p. 190 ? + **cejn*, see **ceμ*. *harð* is proposed by Breeze (2002e) at pp 310-11, for *Harthkyn*; Armstrong et al. in PNCmb suggest Gaelic **àrd-choin* ‘height of [the] dog’, comparing Ardkinglass Arg (but that is probably **àrd-* + *-choin-glais* ‘height of [the] dog-burn’). Smith in PNWml says of *Hartkin* ‘the name may well refer to the valley of the Heltondale Beck where it narrows into a deep ravine. The second element is doubtless ME *kyn* “crack, chasm” or ON *kinn* “declivity”’, + OE *heard* > ‘hard’. However, the Middle English personal name *Hardekin* < late OE *Heardcyn* (‘a moneyer of Edward the Confessor, and probably a continental’ Reaney 1967, p. 214) might well be the source of either of these place-names.

heð (m)

IE **sed-* > eCelt **sedo-* > Br **Σedo-* > OW *het* > MW *hed* > W *hedd*, cf. MCorn *hethy* > Corn *hedhy* ‘cease, rest’, Bret *hezaff*; OIr *síd*, *síth* > Ir *síodh*, G *síth*, Mx *shee*; cogn. Lat *sedo* ‘I sit’, Gmc **satjan* > OE *settan*, ON *setja*, > ‘set’, and cf. Gmc (North and West) **sitjan* > OE *sittan* > ‘sit’, Gk *hídzō* ‘I sit’, Skt *sīdati* ‘sits’.

See LHEB §115, pp. 517-21. See also **anheð*, **hēs[s]* and **hōð*.

From the verbal root ‘sit’, in the Celtic languages ‘peace, tranquillity’.

a2) *Haydock* Lanc (Winwick) PNLanc pp. 99-100, JEPNS17 p. 56 + *-j-ōg*, but see also **heið*.

*heið (f)

IE *ses(j)- > eCelt *sasjā-i > Br *Σasjā- > MW *heyd* > W *haidd*, (not recorded in Cornish), Bret singulative *heizen*; cogn. Skt *sasyam* ‘grain, crop, fruit’.

‘Barley’ in Welsh and Breton.

a2) Haydock Lanc (Winwick) PNLanc pp. 99-100, JEPNS17 p. 56 + *-j-ōg*, but Jackson, LHEB §174(3), pp. 612-13, considers this ‘not a very satisfactory etymology’: see also ***heð**.

hely

IE *selǵ- > eCelt *selg- > OW *helgh-*, *helch-* > MW *hely*, *hela* > W *hely*, OCorn *helhi-* > M-Corn *helghy-* > Corn *helghya*, OBret *olguo* > MBret *-[h]olch*; OIr *selg* > G *sealg*.

See EGOW p. 82, DCCPN p. 30, and LHEB §87, pp. 466-8.

Verbal root, ‘hunt’, seen in the ethnic name *Selgovae* PNRB p. 455, + ethnonymic suffix *-ow-*. see Hamp (1991-2) at p. 19.

helig (f)

IE (WC) *sal(i)k- > eCelt *salicā- > Br *Σalicā- > OW (LL) *helic* > MW *helyc* > W *helyg*, OCorn singulative *heligen* > Corn *helyk*, Bret *haleg*; OIr *sailech* > *saileach* (also *sailech*, genitive singular of analogical *sail*), G *seileach*, Mx *sallagh*; cogn. Lat *salix*, Gmc **salχaz* > OE (Anglian) *salh* > ‘sallow’, Scots *sauch*, also ON *selja* > northern English *sell*, *seal*, Gk (Arcadian) *helikē*.

‘Willows’, collective noun.

c2) Taregin Ayrs (Ochiltree) CPPNS p. 360 + *treβ-* ?+ *-i[r]-*, + singulative suffix *-en*: see Breeze (2002f) at p. 110.

hen

IE *sen- > eCelt *seno-/ā- > Br *Σeno-/ā-, Gaul *Seno-* > O-MnW *hen*, M-MnCorn *hen*, O-MnBret *hen*; OIr *sen* Ir, G *sean*, Mx *sheen*; cogn. Lat *senex*, Gr *hénos* ‘last year’s’, Skt *sana-*.

See LHEB §115, pp. 517-21, EGOW p. 82, ACPN pp. 109-10 and 347 (map), PNRB p. 455.

‘Old’, usually a pre-positioned adjective.

c2) Trahenna Hill Pbl (Broughton) CPNS p. 369 ? + **torr-** or **treβ-**, ? + **-*anheð**, which see. This seems closer to the form *Trahennanna* (1st edition Ordnance Survey) than **-henlan* (see **lann**) proposed by Breeze (2006f) at p. 57. However that record may be an error, map-forms from Blaeu onward have *-henna* or *-hannah* (A. Hunt pers. comm.). Otherwise, a personal name might be involved.

*hēs[s] (f)

IE *sed- (see **heð**) > eCelt *sed- + past participial -tā- > eBr *Σestā- > lBr Σessā-; ? cf. lengthened grade *sēd- > eCelt sīdo- > OIr *síd, síth* > Ir *síoth*, G *sìth*, Mx *shee*; cogn. Lat *sessā*, (past participle feminine of *sedeo* ‘I sit’), Skt *sadas-* ‘a seat’, and cf, from the lengthened grade, Lat *sēdo* ‘I settle’, *sēdēs* ‘a seat’, Gk *hídzō* ‘I sit’, Skt *sīdati* ‘sits’.

For eCelt *sīdo- see DCCPN p. 31, and ACPN pp. 111-12. For the Brittonic forms, see LHEB §116, p. 521, and §122(3), pp. 530-4, and see also **heð**, ***anheð** and ***hōð**.

‘A seat, a dwelling-place’. The word has no direct descendants in the Brittonic languages (but see **heð**). Ir *síodh* and G *sìth*, with many variants, occur frequently as generics in the names of hills and mounds in Ireland and Scotland, and is probably from a lengthened form of the same root. The relationship between these and words in those languages for ‘fairy’ is uncertain, though they are commonly interpreted as ‘fairy-hill’, ‘fairy-mound’ etc. (CPNS, DIL, Drummond 2007, etc., but not so in Dwelly).

Camulosessa Praesidium PNRB p. 296 + deity-name *Camulos*, see PCB pp. 234, 457 and 472, DCM p. 66 and DCML p. 141. Note the recurrence of the same root in the Latin *Praesidium*, literally ‘chief seat’. ‘Apparently a Roman fort in southern Scotland’ according to PNRB loc. cit., but see WLoPN p. 3 and discussion under **cam[b]**.

hesg (f)

IE *sek- (reduplicated form from *sek- ‘cut’) > eCelt *sescā- > Br *Σescā- > OW(LL) sgv. *hescenn* > M-MnW *hesg*, OCorn sgv. *heschen*, OBret sgv. *hischent* > Bret *hesk*; OIr *seisc* > Ir *seisc*, G *seasg*, *seisg*, Mx *shiast*; cf. Gmc (West) **sagjaz* > OE *secġ* > ‘sedge’, and cf. Gmc **sagjo-* > OE *secġ* ‘a sword’.

‘Sedge’ (*Cyperaceae* family) and coarse grasses, the semantic developments in Celtic and Germanic reflecting the sharp-edged leaf-blades of such plants. A metonymic extension to ‘bog, marsh’ is seen in the singulative *Hescenn Judie* in LL, as in Breton *hischent* and Old Irish *sescenn* > Irish *seisceann*, Gaelic *seisgeann*

The derivatives of IE *sek- ‘cut’ and *se(n)k- ‘dry up’ often fall together (e.g. in the G and Mx homonyms *seasgach*, *shiast*, both ‘sedge, reedy place’ and ‘dry, barren’ especially of cows), and it is possible that ‘hesk’ or ‘hask’ in place-names reflects a variant of *hesb*, feminine of **hīsb**, which see.. However, the following names appear to be either from the singulative *hesgen* (which also occurs in Welsh place-names as *hesgin*, see ELI p. 47) or from suffixed forms with **-en** or **-in**, or else from the metonymic sense ‘bog, marsh’ referred to above.

a1) Hesk Fell Cmb (Ulpha) DLDPN p. 165 (not in PNCmb).

a2) Barcheskie Kcb (Rerrick) PNGall p. 22, and Barhaskein Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 25, both + **barr-** + **-in** or singulative *-in*, but more probably Gaelic *bàrr-* or *baile-* + *-an t* + *-sheasgaich* or *-sheisgeinn* (see Ó Maolalaigh 2022b p. 298). MacQueen’s *bàrr a’chas-ceuma* ‘height of the footpath or...steep way’, PNRGLV p. 70, is appropriate to the location of Barhaskein, but phonologically questionable.

Haskayne Lanc (Halsall) PNLanc p. 120: on the vowels see LHEB §6(4), pp. 281-2 + **-en** or singulative *-en*.

Heskin Lanc (Eccleston) PNLanc pp. 130-1, JEPNS17 p. 74 + **-in** or singulative *-in* (see above).

hī[ȳ] (m as noun)

IE **seǵh-* > eCelt **sego-* > Br, Gaul *Sego-* (in personal names, > **Σego-*) > OW *-hig* (in a personal name) > M-MnW adjective *hy* (not found in Corn or Bret); MIr *seg* > Ir, G *seagh*; cogn. Gmc **sigjaz* > OE *siġe*, ON *sigr*, ‘victory’, Gk *ékhō* ‘I hold, stand firm, cling on’, Skt *sahas-* ‘victory’.

See OIPrIE §17.5, pp. 277-81 and §17.7 at p. 284, DCCPN p. 30, LHEB §76, pp. 445-8, and §89, pp. 469-70, and CIB †74, pp. 220-3.

The verbal root meaning ‘conquer, subjugate’ is the source of Celtic words for ‘strength’ and, adjectivally, ‘strong’. In Modern Welsh the meaning has moved to ‘bold, impudent’, and in the Goidelic languages, especially Scottish Gaelic, to mental strength, ‘sense’ in both the psychological and semantic ‘senses’.

It is recorded in the North only at *Segedunum* PNRB pp. 452-3 + **-dīm**, the fort at Wallsend Ntb.

hīnt (f, but earlier also m)

IE **sent-* > eCelt **sentu-/o-* > Br **Σentu-/o-* (see below), Gaul *sentu-* > M-MnW *hynt*, OCorne *-hins-* (in compounds, CPNE pp. 131-3) > Corn *-hīnt*, O-MnBret *hent*; OIr *sét* > Ir *séad*, G *sèad*; cogn. Lat *sentio* ‘I feel, experience, realise’, Gmc **senþ-* > OE *sīþ* ‘a way’, and cf. Gmc causative **sanþj-* > OE *sendan* > ‘send’.

See OIPrIE §15.7, p. 250 and §22.12, pp. 395-6, DCCPN p. 30, LHEB §6(2), p. 278 and n2, and §§115-16, pp. 517-21, and CIB †27, pp. 95 and n95, also *ibid.* pp. 251-2, 290 and 293 on the dating of *-en-* > *-īn-*.

‘A way, a path’, from the Indo-European verbal root meaning ‘go’.

Although attested in the English Midlands (see Gelling *Signposts* p. 101), its only certain appearance in the North is in the Roman-British place-name *Gabrosentum* PNRB pp. 364-5 + **gaþr-**, possibly the fort at Moresby Cmb. This is evidence for Br **Σento-* rather than the ‘regular’ **Σintā-* which underlies W *hynt* and Corn *-hīnt*: see LHEB and CIB references above.

The suggestion that a deity-name **Sentanā-* ‘traveller, wanderer’ might underlie the ethnic name *Setantii* and the river-name *Seteia* (PNRB pp. 456-7) requires an improbable grafting of an early Goidelic form **Sēt-* onto Brittonic suffixes (Cúchulainn’s given name *Sétanta* raises similar problems, see CPNS p. 25, DCM p. 102). An ancient river-name unconnected with the root **sent-* seems more likely to underlie these (and any connection between the *Setantii* and Cúchulainn remains doubtful); but see Breeze (2006b). *Seteia* was probably the River Mersey, and *Portus Setantiorum* a site (Meols?) on the Mersey estuary (D. J. Breeze 2017, 5).

b1) Yeavingering, with Yeavingering Bell, Ntb PNNtb p. 221 ? + **gaþr-**, cf. *Gabrosentum* above: J. G. Wilkinson pers. comm. Or else + **-brīnn** or **-īn-**: see discussion under **gaþr-**.

*hīs̥b

IE *sisk- (reduplicated form of *se[n]k- ‘dry up’) > eCelt *sisc- + -wo-/ā- > Br *Σiscwo-/ā- > M-MnW *hysb*, feminine *hesb* (not recorded in Cornish, though Morton Nance (1938) gives *hesk*, see below and under **hesg**), Bret *hesp*; cf. Mlr *sesc* > Ir, G *seasg*, Mx *sh[i]ast*; cogn. Lat *siccus*.

See OIPrIE §20.9, pp. 345-6 (also §11.7 at p. 196 for the o-grade *sok- ‘sick’).

‘Dry, barren, sterile, exhausted’, of land or livestock (only the latter in Goidelic).

Besides the following, see also under **hesg** for the possibility that names listed there involve a variant of feminine **hesb* (cf. Cornish *hesk* above).

a2) Hespın Wig (Whithorn) PNGall p. 156 feminine **hesb*- + -**īn**: perhaps a lost stream-name. Garrahaspın Wig (Stoneykirk) PNGall p. 142 feminine **hesb*- + -**īn** [+ Gaelic *gàradh*-‘a garden, a yard’]: on -*a*- for -*e*- see LHEB §6(4), pp. 281-2. Again, possibly a lost stream-name.

*hō̯δ

MW *hawd* > W *hawdd*, Corn *hueth*.

The etymology is obscure: an IE **sōd*-, lengthened o-grade of IE **sed* (see **heδ**), may be involved.

‘Easy, prosperous, pleasant’. It often occurs as in stream-names, e.g. Hoddnant Crd, Howey Brook Rdn; and see DPNW pp. 197-8 (Honddu) and 281 (Llanthony) for further examples in Wales, CPNE p. 135 for several in Cornwall, and PNShr1 pp. 153-4 on Hodnet Shr, where ***hō̯δ** describes a valley rather than a watercourse.

c1) Hodder R Lanc/YWR border ERN p. 198, PNLanc p. 139, PNYWR7 p. 129 + -**duβr**, though Jackson, LHEB p. 519, followed by Watts DEPN(C), considers this ‘uncertain’.

*hu-

IE *[*h*₁]*su*- (zero-grade of *[*h*₁]*esu*-, formed on *[*h*₁]*es*- ‘be’) > early Celt **su*- > early British *Σ*o*-, Gaul *Su*- > late Br **hō*- > OW *hi*- etc. > M-MnW *hy*-, OBret *ho*-; OIr *so*, *su*-; cogn. Gk *eu*, Skt *su*-.

See OIPrIE §20.6, pp. 336-7, DCCPN p. 31, LHEB §199(c), p. 659, and GOI §365, p. 231.

A (leniting) prefix meaning ‘good, well’, seen in Welsh *hydryf* etc.

Ekwall sees this in:

a2) Humber R ERN pp. 201-4, PNYER p. 8 ? + -[*a*]*mb-r*-, see ***amb**-, and LHEB §112, pp 509-13, but see also ***hū**-.

*hū- and *hul or *hūl

IE * *seuh*₃- > eCelt **seu*- > eBr **Σ**ϕ*-.

The primary meaning is ‘to set in motion’; in referring to liquids it means ‘boil, seethe’, but also ‘soak’, ‘steep’ and ‘rain’.

Ekwall, ERN pp. 355-8, associates this IE root with a group of river-names in England and Wales, and its zero-grade **suh*₃- with Gaulish *Suminā*-, etymon of the Somme and other river-names in France.

a2) Humber R ERN pp. 201-4, PNYER p. 8 ? + *-[o]mb-ŕ-*, see **amb*-, and LHEB §112, pp 509-13; however Ekwall favours **hu*- here.

Seven R YNR ERN p. 358, PNYWR p. 6 + *-inā-*, cf. *Suminā*-, but see LHEB §§98(2) and 99, pp. 488-91, §115, pp. 51-21, and §205, pp. 678-81.

* *seuh*₃- + *-l-* > eCelt **seul*- > eBr **Σ**ϕ**l*-> neoBrittonic **hūl* may underlie river-names of the ‘Hull’ type, cf. R Sill in Germany. Alternatively, IE zero-grade **suh*₃- + *-l-*, meaning ‘curdle, ferment’ (cf. Skt *surā*-, an intoxicating drink of some unknown kind, and see OIPrIE §16.3, pp. 260-2), would have developed as eCelt **sulā*- > early British **Σulā*- > neoBrittonic **hul*. A third possibility is IE **solh*_x- ‘dirt’, which may be related to * *seuh*₃- + *-l-*: cf. Lat *salebra* ‘a rough, uneven stretch of road or verse’, and Gmc **salwa*- > OE *sol* ‘mud’ and *solu* ‘filth, mire’, ON *salaw*-, > ‘sallow’.

a1) Hull R YER ERN p. 201, PNYER p. 6.

**hwaen* (f)

M- early MnW *chwaen*.

Of uncertain etymology.

‘A chance, an occurrence, an exploit’. This occurs in place-names in eight parishes across north Wales from Flintshire to Anglesey (AMR, searching **chwaen**), but its precise meaning in toponymy is unclear. Breeze (2002f) at pp. 111-12, suggests ‘battle-site’ in those listed below, but any notable event, stroke of luck etc. might equally well be invoked.

These are all + *treß*-, or possibly **truch*-, neither of which is found with the Welsh examples; -*ī[r]*- may or may not have been involved. Initial *hw*- is unlikely to have developed to *χw*- before the extinction of Cumbric, and it would not have been preserved in most Old English dialects (see LHEB §pp. 525-7). However, Breeze (2002f) at pp. 111-12 draws attention to the strongly aspirated *hw*- surviving in northern Middle English and Old to Middle Scots (Scots ‘*quh*’, see OED under *wh*-). Early forms for Torquhan and Troughend in particular may favour this, but see also *winn*.

c2) Torquhan MLo (Stow) PNMLo p.370 (not mentioned by Breeze).

Troquhain Ayrs (Kirkmichael) CPNS p. 362.

Troquhain Kcb (Balmaclellan) PNGall p. 262.

Troughend Ntb (Otterburn) PNNtb p. 201.

I

i[r]

For the etymology, see *[h]in, of which the West Brittonic i[r] > Welsh y[r] is taken to be a variant development. see also LHEB §198(2), pp. 656-7, and EGOW pp. 94-6.

The definite article. In the North, this raises several matters for debate:

- i) the apparent existence of another form of the article, *[h]in, which see for discussion;
- ii) The predominance among reasonably certain cases of i[r] of combinations with either **pen[n]**- or **treß**-: see below.
- iii) The findings of Padel (CPNE pp. 6-7), Flanagan (1980) and Toner (1999), that name-phrases of the form ‘noun + definite article + noun’ are relatively late formations in both Cornwall and Ireland, though the earliest examples could be from the tenth century, more certainly the eleventh.
- iv) Padel’s observation (op. cit. p. 6) that ‘[t]he definite article in [the Celtic languages] is used more frequently than in English. It can come and go quite freely, so that for many names it is impossible to say whether they “originally” contained it or not’. This is especially true in environments like **treß- i[r]**-N, compare Nicolaisen’s discussion of comparable Gaelic formations, SPN² pp. 214-16.
- v) The observations of both Padel (op. cit. p. 7) and Nicolaisen (op. cit. p. 161) that the article is used ‘incorrectly’ in some Celtic place-name formations with common generics, suggesting that it had been reduced to a meaningless connective element.

These considerations taken together seem to point to a relatively late, Cumbric-period, origin for place-names in the North containing i[r]. Their distribution, especially in the case of **treß- i[r]**-N formations, may reflect Cumbric-speaking (re-)colonisation of the Southern Uplands and hill country around the Solway basin during this period (see A. James, 2009, at pp 197-9).

Note cases where an initial article i- causing lenition may have been elided, e.g. Giffen Ayrs (Beith), see ***ceμ-** and ***cöfin**, Grougfoot WLo (Bo’ness and Carriden), see **crüg**, and, doubtfully, Dreva Pbl (Stobo), see **treß**, and *Regles Tower* MLo (Penicuik), see **egle:s**. The possible falling together of **ar** and i[r] should also be taken into account, as in the case of *Yr Echwyd*, for which see under ***echwið**.

Formations with **pen[n]**- (see under that and under the specifiers for discussion) include: *Pendraven* Cmb (lost field-name in Upper Denton) PNCmb p. 82 + *-aßon*, see **aß-**, but also discussions under **pen[n]** and **treß**.

Penicuik MLo CPNS p. 355, PNMLo pp. 333-4 + *-*cog*.

Pennersax Dmf (Middlebie) CPNS pp. 180, 396, PNDmf p. 94 + *- Sazs*.

Penniquite Burn Ayrs (Dalmellington) ? + *-cē:d* (M. Ansell, pers. comm.)

Pennygant Hill Rox (Castleton) + *-cant* or *-gint*.

Pennymoor Rox (Oxnam) CPNS p. 354, PNRox p. 31 + *-mür*.

Penyghent YWR PNYWR6 pp. 219-20 + *-*geint*, see **cant**, or plural of ***gint**.

Formations which may have **treß- + i[r]**- include those that follow. Again, see under **treß** and under the specifiers for discussion. Cases where the presence of the article is uncertain are marked ‘?’ before the specifier; cases where the specifier is in doubt have ‘?’ after it:

Tarelgin Ayrs (Ochiltree) CPNS p. 360 ? + **heligen*, see **helig**.

Terregles Kcb CPNS p. 359, PNGall p. 258 + *-egle:s*.

Trabroun ELo (Haddington) CPNS pp. 359-60 ? + **brinn** or **-bronn**.

Trabrown Brw (Lauderdale) CPNS pp 359, 363 ? + **-brinn** or **-bronn**.
 Trailflat Dmf (Tinwald) CPNS p. 359 ? + **-*lad**, see **leid**.
 Trailtrow Dmf (Hoddum) CPNS p. 359 ? + **-*trulliad**.
 Tranent ELo CPNS p. 360 ? + **-nent**, see **nant**.
 Traquair Pbl (Innerleithen) CPNS p. 360 + river-name Quair, see ***wei-** and ***wejr** (note that there is no evidence for the article in recorded forms for Troqueer Kcb and Trowier Ayrs).
 Terringzean Ayrs (Cumnock) CPNS p. 360 + **- föntōn?**
 Travercraig (Durrisdier) Dmf PNDmf p. 34 + **-cre:g**.
Traverlen MLo (= Duddingston) CPNS p. 360 ? + **-linn**.
 Treales Lanc (Kirkham) PNLanc p. 152, JEPNS17 p. 88 + **-li:s[s]**.
 Trearne Ayrs (Beith) CPNS pp. 361-2 + **-onn?** But may be Old English.
Trevercarcou Dmf/Kcb (unlocated) **-cajr-** + **-coll**, or + **-carreg-**, or + **-*carrōg-**, + **-öü**.
Trevergylt (lost, in Inquisition of David I) CPNS p. 361 + **-wel[t]** or ***wilt?**
Treueronum (in Inquisition of David I) CPNS p. 361: see Troney Hill below.
 Triermain Cmb (Waterhead) PNCmb p. 116 + **-mayn**.
 Trochrague Ayrs (Girvan) CPNS p. 360 + **-cre:g**.
 Troney Hill Rox (Ancrum) ? + **-onn**: see Clancy (2008) at pp 104-5.

Other instances may include the following; few are certain, so see discussions under the various elements:

Altivolie Burn Wig (Stoneykirk) PNGall p. 5 ? **alt-** + **-boly**.
 Alkincoats Lanc (Colne) PNLanc p. 51 + **al-** or **alt-** + **-tan-** + **-ce:d**; otherwise may have **alt-** + **-īn-**.
 Altigabert Burn Ayrs ? **alt-** + **-gaßr-** + **-ed**.
Artemawh Cmb (Brampton) Lan Cart ? + **arð-** + ***mōn**.
 Barmulloch Rnf + **bod-** + **-*mönach**.
 Barnego Stg PNFESTg P. 70 ? + **brinn-** or **prenn-** + **-goß**.
 Blanyvaird Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 43 + **blajn-** + **-beirð** (see **barð**).
Brenego Ayrs (Tarbolton) SPN² p 213 ? + **brinn-** or **prenn-** + **-goß**.
Caraverick Cmb (Hesket in Forest) PNCmb p. 202 + ***caj-** + **-eßur-** or **-*hauar-**, + **-īg-** or **-ōg-**: or else + **cajr-**.
 Carnwath Lnk CPNS p. 386 + **carn-** ? + **-wī:ð**; or else ***cajr-** + **-nōwīð**.
 Carrifran Dmf (Moffat) ? + **cajr-** or **carreg-** + **-brān**.
 Carrycoats Ntb (Throckington) PNNtb p. 40 ? + **cajr-** + **-ce:d-**; or else named from the Carry Burn, see ***carr**.
 The Catrail Slk CPNS p. 181 ? + **cad-** + analogical **-r-** (for ‘erroneous’ **-i[r]**-, see above) + **-eil?**
 Culbratten Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 97, PNWigMM p. 23 + ***cūl-** or ***cūl-** + **-Brithon**.
Cumrech Cmb (Irthington) + **cum[b]**- + **-?**; or else **cum[b]**- + **-brijth**.
 Dalreagle Wig (Kirkinner) PNGall p. 103, PNWigMM p. 23 ? + ***dōl-** + **-egle:s**, but see also under **riy**.
 Dunipace Stg PNFESTg 39 – 40 ? + **dīn** - + **-*bas**, which see.
 Enterkine Ayrs (Tarbolton), and Enterkin Burn and Pass Dmf (Durrisdier) PNDmf p. 33, ? ***neint-** (see **nant**) + **-can[d]**, **-cant**, or **cein** as stream-name (perhaps with ‘incorrect’ definite article, see above).
 [*sikam de*] *Gileredh* Wml (lost field-name in Newby) PNWml2 p. 148 ? + **cīl-** + **-*red**.
 Glentenmont Dmf (Langholm) CPNS pp. 180 and 399, PNDmf p. 86 ? + **glinn-** + **-tan-** + **-mōnið**, but see also **tā** and **tān**.
 Knockietore Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 182 + **cnuc[h]**- + **-torr**.
 Knockycoid Ayrs (Colmonell) + ***cnuc[h]**- + **-ce:d**.
Lanrecorinsan Cmb (Brampton?) Lan Cart 28 + **lanerc-** + **-? -īnis-** ? + **-an**.
Lanrekereini Cmb (Dalton) LanCart 49 + **lanerc-** + **- wyni** (see ***oyn**) or **-*rieini** (see ***rijajn**).
 Minnygap Dmf (Johnstone) PNDmf p. 65 ? + **mōnið-** or **mōnju-** + **-*cīb**.
Nenthemou Cmb (Upper Denton) ERN p. 301, LanCart 9 etc. + ***nent-** (see **nant**) + **-*mīn-** + **-öü** [or ME **-howe**]; or else + **-Temon-** (see **dīn**, **tā** and **mayn**).

Patefyn Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 87, Lan Cart ? + **pant-** + **-fin**.

Plendernethy Brw (Ayton) ? + **blajn-** + **-*nejth-** + **-īg**, or else **-treß-**.

Pularyan Wig (Inch) PNGall p. 320, PNRGLV p. 80 + ***pol-** + **-*rijajn**, or a Gaelic formation: see discussion under ***rijajn**.

Redmain Cmb PNCmb p. 267 + **rīd-** + **-mayn**.

Roderbren Ayrs (Tarbolton) ? + **rīd-**, ***rod-** or ***rōd-** + **-brīnn** or **-prenn**.

Tail o’Ling Wml (Bampton) PNWml2 p. 197 + **tāl-** + **-līnn**.

Talahret Rnf (between Pollock and Cathcart) ? + **tāl-** + **-rīd**.

Watermillock Cmb PNCmb p. 254 ? + **wī:ð-** + **-mę:l-** + **-ōg** [or else OE *wēðer* > ‘wether’].

*i[s]-

IE **h_xish₂-* (zero-grade of **h_xei h₂s-* ‘strengthen, drive on’) > eCelt **is-*; cf. Gk *íāomai* ‘I heal’, Skt *iṣ* ‘refreshment’.

See OIPrIE §11.7, pp. 192-5, and §23.2 at p. 415.

A verbal root meaning ‘refresh’, and so ‘heal’, is seen as an element in several ancient river-names, with connotations of ‘vigour, swift movement’; see Nicolaisen (1957) at p. 241, Kitson (1998) at p. 92, and DCCPN pp. 20-1 (noting the quotation from G. Isaac that calls in question the Celtic status of the root).

A form with the nominal/adjectival root-determinative *-h₁r-* (cf. Gk *hieros* ‘holy’, Skt *iṣira* ‘flourishing, vigorous’) is postulated in river-names of the ‘*isVr-*’ type. *Isurium Brigantium* PNRB pp. 379-80, the *civitas* capital of the *Brigantes* at Aldborough YWR (Boroughbridge) was named after the R Ure, Br **iΣurā-*, ERN p. 427, PNYNR p. 7, PNYWR7 pp. 140-1; see Jackson (1971) at p. 75 and in LHEB §41, p. 362, §92, p. 473, and §117, pp. 521-5, Nicolaisen (1957) at pp. 230-40, and Kitson (1998) at p. 92 and n32.

For Urr R. Kcb see **or**.

A parallel form with the suffix *-arā-* was proposed by Ekwall s.n., and supported by Nicolaisen, op.cit. p. 239, for the R Aire, but Smith, PNYWR7, pp. 118-20, favoured Old Norse *eyjar* ‘islands’ (replacing OE **pa eġ* ‘the islands’), see also DEPN(C) s. n., and discussion under ***lōð** of a possible earlier name for this river.

More complicated is the ‘Esk’ class of river-names. These are taken by Nicolaisen (1957 p. 241, and see Kitson 1998 p. 92) to be formed with **h_xis-* + root-determinative *-k-* > early Celtic **iscā-*. Other scholars (see PNRB pp. 376-8 and DCCPN p. 20 for references) derive the Roman-British place-name *Isca* (Exeter and Caerleon, reflecting the river-names now Exe and Usk) from IE **pik₁sk₁-* ‘a fish, primarily trout’ (zero-grade of **peik₁sk₁-* ‘mark, spot’; cf. OIr *ías*, Lat *piscis*, Gmc **fiskaz* > OE *fisc* > ‘fish’; see OIPrIE §9.4 at p. 146, and Hamp 1974). However, the relationship between the northern ‘Esk’ river-names and *Isca* is not straightforward. Rivet and Smith, PNRB pp. 376-8, explain *i-* > *e-* in terms of British Latin pronunciation, but this is less persuasive in the northern examples. The relationship between **iscā-* > **esc* and Old Irish *esc* ‘water’ > Irish *easc*, Gaelic *easg*, both ‘bog, marsh’ (alongside Old Irish *uisce* > Irish *uisce*, Gaelic *uisge*, Manx *ushtey*, all ‘water’), is likewise unclear, though the Goidelic word could have influenced the ‘Esk’ names north of Hadrian’s Wall. The rivers in this group in our region are:

Esk YNR ERN p. 151, PNYNR p. 3.

Black, White and Border Esk Dmf/Cmb ERN pp. 151-2, PNDmf p. 36, PNCmb p. 14.

South Esk Cmb ERN p. 151, PNCmb p. 14, DLDPN p. 110.

North Esk ELo.

South Esk ELo.

īd (m as noun)

IE **pih_x-* (zero-grade of **peih_x-* ‘fatten, be fat’) + *-t-* > eCelt **itu-* > Br **itu-* > OW *it* > M-MnW *ýd*, Corn *eys*, Bret *ed*; O-MnIr, G *ith*, Mx *eeh*; cf. Gmc **faitaz* > OE *fætte* > ‘fat’, cogn. Gk *pidúō* ‘I gush’, *pídax* ‘a spring’ (and possibly *pítus* ‘a pine-tree’), Skt *pī* ‘swell, overflow’.

See OIPrIE §16.1 at p. 257, §16.3 pp. 260-2, also §10.1, pp. 156-9.

In the Celtic languages, ‘grain, corn, wheat’, but the root has a wide range of connotations including senses of ‘welling up, overflowing, gushing out’ appropriate to river-names. For its occurrence in British personal names, see CIB #65 at p. 209 and #84 at p. 233 with n1464.

However, Hamp (1989a) at p. 110 proposes an alternative etymology for this element in river-names, from IE **ped[s]-* ‘a foot’ in its verbal use, ‘to fall’ (as in OE *ġefetan* ‘to fall’ and Sanskrit *padyate* ‘falls’: see OIPrIE §22.14 pp. 400-1, also **is-**).

With a nasal suffix (see Hamp 1995 at p. 50), this element forms river-names of the ‘Eden’ type: Eden R Wml/Cmb ERN pp. 142-3, PNCmb p. 12, PNWml1 p. 6. This is probably Ptolemy’s *Itoúna*, PNRB p. 380: see LHEB §136, p. 554, §154, pp. 576-8 (with Watts’s note on the Old English development, DEPN(C) s.n.), and §204(A2), pp. 672-3; pace Williams PT pp. 37-8, where he reads **rywin idon* for *kywym dom* in ms, this name is unlikely to be present in BT56(II), see Haycock 2013, p. 28 n39 and refs, but also Clancy 2013, p. 168 n6. Another **Ituno-/ā-* in this region is implied by *Itunocelum* PNRB pp. 380-1, + **-ūchel**: it is unlocated, though Rivet and Smith loc. cit. favour a coastal site near Beckermet Cmb. On *Iton* in Cynddelw’s elegy for Owain Gwynedd see Haycock op. cit. pp. 27-8 n38.

Eden Burn, with Castle Eden (which is probably *Iodene australis* in *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* §21) and lost *Yoden*, Drh DDrhPN p. 38.

Eden Water Rox/Brw, with Ednam Rox PNRox p. 18.

A name of the ‘Eden’ type might be the second element in two difficult names:

Carriden WLo CPNS p. 369, PNWLo pp. 25-6, presumably + **cajr-**: see **E:din**.

Duddon R Cmb/Lanc ERN p. 137, PNLanc p. 191, PNCmb p. 11, DLDPNs p. 102 ? + **dūβ-**: R Coates pers. comm., and see now Coates 2013b.

-īg, -eg

Early Celtic adjectival suffix **-ico-/ā-* > **-īg** (masculine), **-eg** (feminine). The sense is similar to that of **-ōg**, which see, and see P. Russell (1990), pp. 80-4.

Where, as in many place-names listed below, i-affection seems to be lacking, the formation may have been from the feminine **-icā-* > **-eg**, or else from **-ōg** (perhaps, in Scotland and Cumbria, via a Gaelicised *-eich* or *-aich*).

The Roman-British form **-icā-* is seen in *Æsica*, see ***E:s-**.

For Bede’s *Aebbercurnig* etc. see discussion of Abercorn WLo under **corn**.

Aberlessic in VK(H) shows internal i-affection; for discussion of this name see ***lūs**.

Aberlady ELo CPNS p. 460 + **aber-** + ***lę:b-** or ***loβ-**, + **-ed-**; **-īg** would have been a secondary suffix here.

Annick Water Ayrs ? + **Anaw-**.

- Bulgie Ford Kcb (Minigaff)) PNGall p. 51 ? + ***bulch**, which see.
- Candie Stg (Muiravonside), also *Candy Stg* (Grangemouth), PNFESTg pp. 41-2 ? + **cant-**, but note lack of i-affection.
- Caraverick Cmb (Hesket in the Forest) PNCmb p. 202 + ***caj-** + **-i[r]**-, or + **cajr-**, + **eþur-** or ***hajar-**: see discussions under both **eþur** and ***hajar**. In either case the suffix could have been **-ōg**.
- Carnick Castle Wml (Waitby) PNWml2 p. 26 + **carn-**, but i-affection absent.
- Castlecary EDnb CPNS p. 370.
- Catlowdy Cmb (= Lairdstown, Nicholforest) PNCmb p. 105 ?+ ***cach-**, + ***loþ-**, + **-ed-**: see discussions under ***cach** and ***loþ-**.
- Corsick Rox (Smailholm) PNRox p. 35 + **cors-** or **crojs-**, but i-affection absent, so may have been + **-ōg** or OE *-wic*: see Macdonald, PNRox loc. cit.
- Endrick Water Stg/Dnb: see ***anderig**.
- Enrick Kcb (Girthon) : see ***anderig**.
- Errick Burn WLo (Linlithgow) ? + **ar-** in river-names, but see under that.
- Ettrick R Slk ? + ***ador-**.
- King Harry Cmb (Cumwhitton) PNCmb p. 79 + ***cejn-** (see ***ceju**), or Middle Irish *cenn-* replacing **pen[n]**-, + ***hajar-**, which see: early forms show double i-affection.
- Loskie, Big and Little Kcb (Carspahirn) PNGall p. 204 + **losg-**
- Logie Braes and Water WLo (Torphichen) PNWLo p. 96 ? + **lūy-**, but cf. Luggie Burn.
- Luggie Burn WLo (Torphichen) in S Lewis (1846) vol. II p. 552 s.n. Torphichen ? + **lūy-**, or cf. Luggie Water below, or else Gaelic **logaigh* < *log* ‘a hollow, pit or ditch’.
- Luggie Water Lnk-EDnb CPNS pp. 242-3 ? + **lūy-**, but see under that.
- Luskie Burn Kcb (Twynholm) + **losg-**
- Luskie Dam and Plantation Kcb (Dalry) + **losg-**
- Luskie Hill Kcb (Twynholm) PNGall p. 205 + **losg-**
- Mailzie Burn, with Corsemalzie and Culmalzie, Wig PNGall pp 78 and 207 + **mayl-**, which see (+ **cors-**).
- Mendick Pbl (West Linton) CPNS p. 400 + **mönīð-**, which see.
- Moscolly ELo (Haddington) CPNS p. 378 + **mayes-** + **-coll-**, but i-affection absent, so maybe **-ōg** Gaelicised as *-aich*.
- Panlaurig* Bwk (Duns) CPNS p. 374 + **pant-** + **-laþar-**: see **pant**.
- Partick Rnf CPNS p. 386 + **pert[h]**-, which see.
- Pendourick* MLo (Newtongrange) CPNS p. 355 + **pen[n]**- + **-duþr-** in a lost stream-name **Duþrīg*.
- Pirnie Rox (Maxton) CPNS p. 351, PNMLo pp. 367-8 ? **brīnn-** or **prenn-** or else **-ōg** Gaelicised as *-aich*, or **-īn** or plural **-ōü**.
- Pirnie Braes ELo CPNS p. 351 likewise.
- Pirniehall Dnb (Kilmarnock) likewise [+ Scots *-heuch* ‘a steep bank, ravine’].
- Polthledick* Cmb (lost field-name in Burtholme) PNCmb p. 73 + ***pol-** + **-leīd-**, see both of these.

*[h]in

Early Celtic **sindo-/ā-* > Br **Σindo-/ā-* > OW *inn, ir* > M-MnW *hyn, y[r]*, O-MnCorn *hen, an*, O-MnBret *hen[n], an*; OIr *sin, in[t]*, > Ir, G *sin, an*, Mx *shen, yn*.

See LHEB §198(2), pp. 656-7, EGOW pp. 85, 92 and 94-6.

The Celtic definite articles are generally taken to be reduced forms of the demonstrative, as shown above (the second item in each pair from Old Welsh onward being the reduced form). The demonstrative **sindo-/ā-* is itself ultimately derived from an emphatic development of the Indo-European demonstrative pronoun **so*. Old Welsh *ir* > Middle to Modern Welsh *y[r]* is seen as a

modified form of *[h]in, the expected outcome of *Σindo-/ā-. However, many issues of controversy surround these etymologies.

Jackson's tentative observation that 'Tallentire appears to contain the Brittonic definite article in the form *en*' LHEB p. 10 (but note the footnote) has sometimes been raised to a general proposition that *[h]in was the definite article in the Brittonic of the North. However:

- i) i[r] is well-attested in the North, being considerably more common than *[h]in even allowing the most conservative reckoning for i[r] and the most generous for *[h]in;
- ii) possible cases with *[h]in are all in areas where Goidelic influence is likely;
- iii) and several of these have the presumed article before a dental stop, where -n- > -r- could have been inhibited or reversed.

These points, along with the general considerations regarding the definite article presented under i[r], suggest that - if the syllable in question is to be regarded as a form of the definite article at all rather than as a meaningless connective intrusion – it is at least as likely to be a Cumbric variant influenced by the Goidelic article *an* and/or by a following dental stop, as a survival of the presumed neo-Brittonic *[h]in.

Possible cases include:

Badintree Hill Pbl (Tweedsmuir) ? + **bod-** + **-treß**, but see **bod**.

Carnenuat (lost) ? + **carn-** + **-wī:ð**, but see under those elements.

Craigantyre Wig (Stoneykirk) PNGall p. 81 ? + **cre:g-** + **-tīr**, or Gaelic **creag-an-tīr*.

Craigentye Wig (Glasserton) PNGall p. 85 ? **cre:g-** + **-tīy**, or Gaelic *creag-an-tighe*.

Laggangarn Wig Brooke (1991) at p. 311 ? + ***lech-** + **-*woreü** or **-wo-** + **-rīw**, but see under each of these.

Manhincon Wig (Craighlaw) Brooke (1991) at p. 320 ? + **mayn-** + **-cū[n]**.

Pittendreich MLo PNMLo pp. 280-1 ? + **peth-** + **-*drīχ**.

Polintarf Water, with Polintarf, Pbl CPNS p. 453 + ***pol-** + **-tarw**, Gaelic-influenced if not Gaelic in origin.

Tallentire Cmb PNCmb pp. 324-5 + **tal-** + **-tīr**; see above.

Treesmax Ayrs (Ochiltree) CPNS p. 362 + **treß-** + **-qch** [+ Scots plural -s].

-īn, -en and -inn

Early Celtic **-īno-/ā-* > Br **-īno/ā-* > O-MnW masculine *-in*, feminine *-en*; O-MnIr, G *-in*; cogn. Lat *-inus*, Gk *-inos*.

An adjectival and, in place-names, toponymic suffix, added to nouns or adjectives. In Anglicised forms it is generally indistinguishable from the diminutive: early Celtic **-inno-/ā-* > Br **-inno/ā-* > OW *-inn/-en* > M-MnW *-yn, -en*, Corn *-yn, -en*, Ir, G *-ín, -éin*; but without clear reason, a diminutive sense should not be assumed. Feminine forms fall together with **-en**, and confusion with **-an** is also frequent.

See also ***celepūn**, ***ce:rðōn**, **jās** (for **jesīn*), ***mīy[n]**, and ***merin** (in which the suffix is apparently diminutive).

An interesting ethnonymic use is found in *Votādini*, see **wotōd**.

For all the examples listed below, the element proposed as preceding the suffix should be consulted (many are doubtful). Absence of internal i-affection is frequent: lost stream-names with feminine **-īnā-* may be involved in several cases even where **-en* has reverted to *-in* under the influence of the *-n*. In many cases, it is impossible to be sure whether the name is a Brittonic or Gaelic formation (and if Gaelic, whether the suffix is toponymic or diminutive), or even a Brittonic name to which Gaelic speakers added the suffix. Loss of *-n* from this suffix (whether

Brittonic, Pictish or Gaelic) is very frequent in Scots usage, whereas radical *-n* in other elements is generally preserved. Taylor (PNFif5 pp. 407 – 11) reviews scholarly discussion of this suffix in place-names, and concludes, 'there is clearly still much more to say about this small particle, which eagerly awaits a Scotland-wide study'; this list may contribute examples in southern Scotland and northern England for such a study:

Alkincoats Lanc (Colne) ***al** or **alt**
 Barcheskie Kcb (Rerwick) **hesg**
 Barhaskin Wig (Old Luce) **hesg**
 Cairnglastenhope Ntb (Simonburn) **glās**
 Cantin Wiel Wig (Minigaff) **can[d]** or **cant**
 Carlowrie WLo (Dalmeny) **laβar, lōr** or **lowern**
 Carnetly Cmb (Farlam) **jūδ**
 Carntyne Lnk ***carneδ**
 Carrington MLo **cajr**
 Cocken R Drh (Chester-le-Street) **coch**
 Cockin Wml (Kendal) **coch**
 Cockrossen Kcb (Tongland) **rōs**
Cumheueruin Cmb (Kingwater; also possibly another in Walton) ***gweβr**
 Dalmeny WLo **mayn**
 Dinnins, or Dinnings, Hill Kcb ***dīn**
 Garrahaspin Wig (Stoneykirk) ***hīsb**
 Girvan Ayrs **garw**
 Glasson Lanc (Cockerham) **glās**
 Glendinning Rigg Cmb (Nicholforest) **dīn**
 Heskin Lanc **hesg**
 Hespun Wig (Whithorn) ***hīsb**
 Irthing R Cmb/Ntb **arth** or **-ed**
 Knocking Tofts Wml (Brough) ***cnuc[h]**
 Leeming Bar, Beck and Lane YNR **lɛ:β**
 Lessens Kcb ***lī:s[s]**
 Lavern Water Rnf **laβar**
 Mossminning Lnk (Lesmahagow) ***mīyn**
 Ouse Burn Ntb ***jās**
 Pirnie Rox (Maxton), Pirnie Braes ELo (Pencaitland), Pirniehall Dnb (Kilmarnock), all **brīnn** or **prenn**
 Rossendale Lanc **rōs**
 Rossington YWR **rōs**
 Tarnmonath Fell Cmb (Geltsdale) **torr**
 Torweaving MLo (West Calder) ***gweβr** or ***weβr**
Wlw[er]en Cmb (Upper Denton) **gīlβ**
 Yeavinger Ntb **gaβr**.

īnis (f)

ECelt **inistī-* > Br **inissī-* > M-MnW *ynys*, Corn *enys*, OBret *inis*, *enes* > Bret *enez*; O-MnIr *inis*, G *innis*, Mx *inish*; adopted from G as Scots *inch*; ?cf. Lat *insula*, but the etymology is unclear.

‘An island’. In place-names, frequently a relatively dry piece of land in a marshy or flood-prone location, cf. Old English *ēg*, LPN pp. 36–44.

It is difficult to distinguish the Brittonic and Goidelic forms in Scotland, where either is likely to be Anglicised as *inch*. In Gaelic toponymy *oileán* > *eilean* is more generally used for islands, but *innis* is used quite frequently for 'a haugh', see Murray 2014, p. 134.

In Broninis VW36 appears to be a close compound + **bronn-** (which see), though it could conceivably be a Latin dative plural based on a British **bronn-īnoi* (see **-īn**), an improbable ethnic name. See Breeze in CVEP pp. 147-9 for discussion and speculative location at Durham.

a1) Ince Blundell Lanc (Sefton) PNLanc p. 118, JEPNS17 p. 65.

Ince in Makerfield Lanc (Wigan) PNLanc p. 103, JEPNS17 p. 58.

Incer field Lanc (field-name in Melling) P. B. Russell (1992) at p. 33 and Edmonds (2010) at p. 52.

Inch Wig PNGall p. 159, PNRGLV pp. 11-12: named from a former island in the Loch of the Inch, so probably Gaelic.

Inch WLo (Bathgate) PNWLo p. 84, probably Gaelic.

b2) Inchinnan Rnf CPNS p. 193 + saint's name *Winnian*, Gaelicised *-Fhinnéin*, probably a Gaelic formation.

Inchkeith Bwk (Lauder) CPNS p. 382 + **-cę:d**, which see.

Inskip Lanc (St. Michael-on-Wyre) PNLanc p. 161, JEPNS17 p. 94 ? + **-*cib**, but see discussion under that element.

c2) *Lanrecorinsan* Cmb (Brampton?) Lan Cart 28 + **lanerc-**, ? + **-i[r]**-, ? + **-an**: see discussion under **lanerc**.

*īr

IE **puh_x-* (zero-grade of **peuh_x-* 'clean') + *-r-* > eCelt *-ūro-/ā-* > Br *-ūro-/ā-* > M-MnW *ir*, Corn *ēr*; O-MnIr *úr*, G *ùr*, Mx *oor*; cogn. Lat *pūrus*.

'Fresh, clean, pure'.

This may be present in the following, but an ancient variant of ***ar** in river-names might be involved, and OE *irre* > 'ire' has been suggested.

a1) Irwell R Lanc ERN p. 213, PNLanc p. 27 [+ OE (Anglian) *-wella*].

a2) Irk R Lanc ERN p. 211, PNLanc p. 28 ? + **-ōg**; see also ***iurch**.

Irt R Cmb ERN p. 211, PNCmb p. 17 ? + **-ed**.

Irthing R Cmb/Ntb ERN p. 212, PNNtb p. 213, PNCmb p. 18 ? + **-ed-** + *-inn* (see **-īn**), but see also ***ar** in river-names, and **arth**.

īs-

IE **peds-* 'a foot' + *-*s-h₄upo-* 'beneath' > eCelt **ed-su-* > Br **issu-* > M-MnW *is-*, Corn **is-* (in place-names, CPNE pp. 136-7), Bret *is-*; OIr *ís-*.

See EGOW p. 97, GMW §226, pp. 202-3. The etymology is speculative.

‘Below, under, at the foot of’. In Middle Welsh, *is* also serves as the comparative adjective, ‘lower’ (GMW§42 at p. 41), and in Welsh place-names it is often used in contrast with *uwch-* to refer to the ‘lower’ part of a territory in relation to its chief place: see Richards (1964-5).

Ekwall PNLanc p. 264 (supported by Coates CVEP pp. 319 and 344) adduces a form **is-ceun* (see **ceμ-*) to account for the following:

The Chevin YWR (Otley) PNYWR4 p. 204.

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

J

jās (f), *jesīn

IE *yes- > eCelt *jesā- > Br *jesā- > M-MnW *ias*; cf. OIr *es[s]* (< *jes-to-) > Ir, G, Mx *eas* ‘a waterfall’; cogn. Gk *dzéō* ‘I boil’, Skt *yasi[y]ati* ‘boils’, and cf. OE(Anglian) **ġest* (late West Saxon *ġist*) > ‘yeast’.

From a verbal root meaning ‘boil, simmer, foam’, the Modern Welsh noun means ‘a boiling, a stew’, but also figuratively, ‘a shiver, a thrill’.

The adjective **jesīn* > Modern Welsh *iesin* ‘sparkling, radiant’, and so ‘handsome’, is presumably from **jes-īno-/ā-* (see **īn**). This adjective may well be an element in the personal name *Taliesin*, but note that *Iestyn*, cited s.v. *iesin* in GPC, is probably from *Justīnus*: see CIB p. 228 n1428 and references.

a2) Ouse Burn Ntb ERN p. 318, PNNtb p. 153. Breeze (1998, reprinted in CVEP, pp. 72-3), invokes the adjectival form **jesīn* for this stream-name, but an early stream-name derived from the same root + diminutive **-inno/ā-* (see **īn**) would perhaps be more likely. Either way, loss of *-n* would be common in late Northumbrian Old English (OEG §472, p. 189). Otherwise, it might be from an OE **ġēose*, cognate with ON *gjósa* > ‘gush’; the history of derivatives in English of IE **gheus-* > Germanic **geu-s-* is complicated and full of problems. The modern form Ouse Burn has been influenced by that of the R Ouse YNR, but early forms show that it is not a member of the ‘Ouse’ family of river-names, for which see ERN pp. 313-17.

*-jōl

Br and Gaul **-jalo-/ā-* or **-jālo-/ā-* > MW *-[y]awl* > W *-[i]ol*, Corn **-[y]el* (in place-names, CPNE pp. 138-9), OBret *-[i]ol*.

An adjectival suffix. The morphology and phonology, especially the vowel-quantity in the early stages, are uncertain. The semantic force of the suffix is also obscure.

Discussion of place-names that appear to contain this element is complicated by the possible existence of a noun **-jōl* (< **jāl-* ? < IE **jeh₁l-*), perhaps meaning ‘late-bearing or unfruitful land’: for a review of the evidence and arguments see Sims-Williams (2005), also Coates's discussion of the island-name Yell (2007b).

Petteril R (Cmb) PNCmb p. 23, ERN p. 323 **pedwar-**, which see; Breeze (2001d) proposes *-wal* as a variant of ***-jōl**, but this name may need to be considered alongside the difficult group of river-names in the south-west, including Buckrell and Chackrell Dev, Chickerell Dor, Cheverell Wlt, Deveral, Keveral and Tregatherall Cwl, see DEP(N)(C) s.n. Chickerell.

Tindale Fell, with Tindale Tarn etc, Cmb (Midgeholme) ERN p. 426, DEP(N)(O) s.n., PNCmb p. 36 + river-name Tyne (see ***ti-**). A beck flows from the tarn into the South Tyne, and perhaps **tīn-jōl* was its name, or (if the noun **jāl* is involved) it may have been a district-name, but it remains obscure. The modern form is obviously influenced by Tyndale nearby.

jūð (m)

IE **yeudh-* > eCelt **jeudo-* > eBr **joudo-* > IBr **jūdo-* > OW *iud-* (in personal names, see LHEB pp. 346 and 562 n1) > M-MnW *udd*, OCorne *iud-* (in personal names, see LHEB p. 347, CPNE p. 140, and CIB p. 113 n615), OBret *iud-* (in personal names, see LHEB and CPNE locs. cites.) > MBret *iez-* (in personal names); cogn. Skt *yudhuati* ‘fights’, and cf. Lat *iubeō* ‘I command’, Gk *husmínē* ‘a battle’.

The root senses are both ‘stir up, arouse’ and ‘fight’, the verbal noun being ‘a military leader, a warlord’.

This is presumably present in *Iudeu* HB65, *Giudi urbs* HE I.12; *merin iodeo* CA B25 (XCIXB) apparently includes the same name, perhaps in a Pritenic form (see Koch, YGod(K) p. 27). The suffix is obscure, but for the phonology see LHEB §38(B) at p. 357. For an alternative etymology, proposed by Alexander Falileyev, involving the root **iw-* ‘yew’, see Clancy (2013a) p170 n29. For discussions of the location, offering (contentious) alternatives to the traditional identification with Stirling, see Fraser (2008) and Clancy loc. cit.

c2) Carnetly Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 84 + **car-** or **cajr-** + **-in-** [+ OE *-hlāw* ‘a mound’]: see Breeze (2006c) at p. 328. Otherwise **-dō-** + a saint’s name, see **dō**.

Lanrequeitheil Cmb (Burtholme) PNCmb p. 72, Lan Cart 149 + **lanerc-**: this might be formed with the personal (saint’s?) name *Jūðhael*, on which see CIB †41 at p. 133, and pp. 277-8, but see also **cę:d**.

jurch (m)

IE(WC) **york[s]* > eCelt **yorco-* > Br **yorco-* (Gaul *Iurca* feminine personal name) > OW feminine diminutive *iurgchell* > MW *yurc* > W *iwrch*, O-MnCorn *yorch*, OBret *iorch* > M-MnBret *yourc’h*, Vannetais dialect *iorh*; cogn. Gk *dzórks*, *d[z]orkás*.

See OIPrIE §9.2 at p. 142, EGOW pp. 98-9, and LHEB §202(2) pp. 667-70.

‘A roe-deer, roebuck’.

Cloch Minuirc, AU and AT s.a. 717, might be [+ ***clog-**] + **mayn-**: see CPNS p. 387.

There are two watercourses named *Afon Iwrch* in Denbighshire, and this has been suggested as the origin of the River Irk Lanc, but see ***ir**.

L

laβar (m or f)

IE(NW) **plab-* ‘lick’ > eCelt **lab-* + *-ero-/ā-* > Br, Gaul *labaro-/ā-* > MW *llawar* > W *llafar* ‘loud, noisy’, OCorn *lauar* glossing *sermo*, Bret *lavar* ‘a word’; OIr *labar* > Ir, G *labhar*; cogn. Lat *lambo* ‘lick’, Gmc **lap-* > OE *lappian* > ‘to lap’ as in ‘lap up’, Gk *láptein* ‘to lap up’.

See DCCPN p. 21 and LHEB §3, pp. 271-2, and §138, p. 558.

The verbal root is probably related to IE(NW) **leb-* ‘lip’, and possibly derives from a form of **[s]lei-b-*, see ***le:β**; whether or not it is ultimately related, remodelling of ancient watercourse-names from that root cannot be ruled out.

In the Celtic languages, the verbal root **labr-* means ‘talk’, so the adjectival form is ‘talkative, boastful’, the nominal ‘a chatterbox’ or ‘a boaster’.

a1) Laver R YWR ERN p. 238, PNYWR7 p. 130. For Afon Llafar Mer see DPNW p. 215, and others in AMR; for Continental parallels ERN loc. cit.

a2) In stream-names, **laβar** combines with the suffixes *-onā-* (see *-ān*), *-ācā-* (see *-ōg*), *-īcā-* (see *-īg*) and *-īnā-* (see *-īn*, also DCCPN p. 140 s.n. **Labr[oc]inum*). These are common to Brittonic and Goidelic, so distinguishing between them can be difficult.

Caerlaverock Dmf, *Carlaverock* ELo (Tranent), and possibly *Carlaverick* (Rox or Slk), but the latter may be an error for Caerlanrig (Rox), see **lanerc**; CPNS pp. 367-8, PNDmf p. 6 + **cajr-** + *-ōg* or *-īg*. Perhaps based on a lost stream-name **laβarōg/īg* (in the case of Caerlaverock, the famously noisy tidal bore in the Nith estuary?), or else + personal name *-Lijarch* (> Modern Welsh *Llywarch*), see under **cajr**. Influenced by Old English *lāferce* > Middle English and Scots *laverock* ‘a skylark’ (Laverick Stone Cmb (Kirkhampton) and Laverock Law ELo probably contain this word).

Carlowrie WLo (Dalmeny) PNWLo p. 5 + **cajr-** + *-īn*. Again, possibly a lost stream-name **laβarīn*, but see also **lōr** and **lowern**.

Lavery Burn Ayrs CPNS p. 433 *-īg*.

Panlaurig Bwk (Duns) CPNS p. 374 + **pant-** + *-īg*: probably a lost stream-name **laβarīg*. See also the note under **lanerc**.

On the ‘Lavern’ group of stream-names, see SPN² p. 228, and De Bernardo Stempel (2007) at p. 151n45:

Lauren Water (Luss) Dnb CPNS p. 431 + **-an**.

Lavern Burn Dmf (Durrisdeer) + **-an**.

Lavern Water Rnf + **-an** or *-īn*.

Louran Burn Kcb (Minigaff) CPNS p. 431 + **-an**; misplaced by Watson in Wig.

Lowran or Lowring Burn Kcb (Kells) PNGall p. 204 + **-an**; otherwise Gaelic **leamhraidhean* ‘of elms’ (see ***lem**). In either case, a remodelled ***le:β** stream-name may be in the background.

*layn (f)

Early Celtic **lag-īnā-* (see *-īn*) > Br **lagīnā-* > M-eMnW *llain*; OIr *láigen* > Ir, G *laighean*.

See O’Rahilly (1942).

In Irish and Scottish Gaelic, usually ‘a spear’, but the root **lag-* is associated with sharp-edged weapons and tools generally, and M-eMnW *llain* (which may be an adoption from Middle Irish) is ‘a blade’, most often of a sword.

The British form may be present + *-tjo-* in *Lagentium* PNRB p. 383, the fort at Castleford YWR, see Jackson (1971) at p. 75. Breeze (2002j) revived the proposal that this was based on an earlier name for the R. Aire, but see **i[s]-* and **lōd*; an ethnic name is possibly in the background, cf. the *Laginoi* in north-western Asia Minor (ACPN p. 273).

lanerc or **lanrec* (f)

Br **landā-* (see **lann**) + *-arcā-* > OW(LL) *lannerch* > M-MnW *llannerch*.

The suffix *-arcā-* may be diminutive, cf. early Modern Welsh glosses *llan* = Latin *area*, *llannerch* = *areola* (see GPC, and Williams 1952). If so, and assuming a secular sense for **lann** (which see), the meaning would be ‘a small (cleared, and possibly enclosed) area of (former) scrub, waste, fallow or wooded land’, perhaps comparable in Cumbric place-names to ON *þveit*. The common interpretation, ‘a glade’ may over-emphasise the woodland connotations.

The examples from the North mostly show single *-n-* and non-spirant *-rc*. Jackson, (1955a) at p. 164, regarded the latter as a Pritenic feature, but it was probably also present in northernmost Brittonic.

The cluster of names with this element in and around the middle Irthing valley, recorded mainly in the Lanercost Cartulary (Todd 1997), is of particular interest. Jackson argued, in LHEB §149, pp. 571-2, that the absence of spirant lenition from these names may indicate that [-rk] > [-rχ], which he dated to the late 6th century in West Brittonic, occurred later or not at all in northern Brittonic/ Cumbric (assuming as he did that these names were adopted by Northumbrian English speakers on their arrival, again in the late 6th century). However, this begs several questions, and his later opinion on the similar feature in Pritenic (1955a loc. cit.) suggests an alternative view that these names may reflect much later colonisation of the district by settlers from further north (though not necessarily from Pictland): see A. James (2008) at p. 200.

Several forms also show metathesised *-rec*, which may be compared with Landrick Per (x2) and Lendrick Ang and Knr. R. A. V. Cox (1997) shows that such metathesis was characteristic of Gaelicised forms of this word. This may be relevant to the names north of the Forth, and even to the local pronunciation of Lanark recorded as *Lainrick*. However, it is doubtful whether the names in the Lanercost Cartulary are Gaelic or Goidelic-influenced. See also Nicolaisen (2007) at p. 120 and A. James (2009a) at pp. 151-2.

a1) Lanark CPNS p. 356: see above.
Lanerton Cmb PNCmb p. 115 [+ OE *-tūn* ‘a farm’].

b2) Lanercost Cmb PNCmb p. 71 + personal name **Q̄st*: though unrecorded, such a name could be a neo-Brittonic form for the Latin *Augustus*, via Vernacular Latin **Agust-* > late British **Ayust* or **Awust*, cf. Welsh *Awst*, the month of August. See I Williams (1952) at pp. 67-9, and cf. Coates in CVEP, pp. 54-5, on *Aust Glo*, but note Watts’s reservations, DEPNC(C), p. 27. Such a personal name need not necessarily date the place-name formation to the post-Roman period, it could have been current much later. The Augustinian priory was established here around 1166: Williams loc. cit. thought this ‘a happy coincidence’, but it is not wholly impossible even at that

date that a (dialectally northern) Cumbric-speaking community existed here, or was introduced in association with the foundation, and that **Awest* here is a late Cumbric hypocorism for Augustine. If so, the other **lanerc** names, and other late Cumbric names in this area, could have been associated with the same foundation. See A. James (2008) loc. cit. and (2009a) loc. cit.

Lanrechaithin Cmb (Burtholme) PNCmb p. 72, Lan Cart 6 and note + **-ejthin**: note the exceptional (but very early) *-ch-* in this record of c1170, replaced by *-c-* or *-k-* in subsequent records.

Lanrecorinsan Cmb (Brampton?) Lan Cart 28 ? + **i[r]**- ? + **-inīs-** + **-an-**: see Breeze (2006c) at p. 326.

Lanrekereini Cmb (Nether Denton) Lan Cart 49 ? + **i[r]**- ? + **-iīwn** (see ***oyn** and Breeze (2006c) at p. 326), or + **-rieini**, plural of ***rijajn** (which see; A. Walker, pers. comm.)

Note that this is not a variant of *Lanrechaithin* as stated in PNCmb at p. 72: see Todd (2005) at p. 93 and p. 102 n37.

Lanrequeitheil Cmb (Burtholme) PNCmb p. 72, LanCart 149 ? + **-cē:d-** [+ OE *-hyll* > ‘hill’] A. Walker, pers. comm., or + personal (saint’s?) name *-Judhael*, see ***jūð** and Breeze (2006c) loc. cit.

c1) Barlanark Lnk (Shettleston) CPNS p. 356 + ***bayeð-**, which see.

c2) Caerlanrig Rox (Teviothead) CPNS p. 368, PNRox p. 6 + **cajr-**, which see. Macdonald in PNRox prefers OE **lang-hrycġ*, as ‘long ridge’ is appropriate here; if this is correct, **cajr-** must be attributed to post-Northumbrian Cumbric-speaking (re-) colonisation. However, [-ŋ(h)r-] > [-nr-] is not a regular development between Northumbrian Old English and early Scots.

Drumlanrig Dmf (Durrisdeer) + ***drum-**, which see.

Records for *Panlaurig* Bwk confirm that this was not **-lanerc**, see under **laβar**.

lann (f)

IE(NW) **londh-* (o-grade of **lendh-* ‘open land, waste’, cf. **linn**) > eCelt **landā-* > OW *lann* > M-MnW *llan*, Corn **lann* (in place-names, CPNE pp. 142-5, and see also Padel 1976-7), OBret **lan* > Bret **lann* (in place-names); OIr *lann* (possibly from Britt, see Padel 2022, pp. 136 – 7) > Ir, G, Mx *lann*; probably adopted from Celtic as Mediaeval Latin *landa* and OFr *lande*, > ME *launde* > ‘land’.

See LHEB §111, p. 508, and §12, pp. 509-13, and EGOW p. 100.

Etymologically, ‘open land’, scrubby waste or open woodland, but in the prehistory of the Insular Celtic languages coming to refer to such land when enclosed and brought under management of a systematic kind.

In proto-Welsh, Cornish, and Breton, a range of specifically ecclesiastical senses evolved, probably in the order:

- i) the home of a religious community;
- ii) the main church and Christian site in a fair-sized district;
- iii) a church building;
- iv) a chapel.

(for the possible sense ‘an enclosed cemetery without a church’ see T. James in *Uses* at p. 111, and Petts 2009 pp. 122-6, but also Padel 2022, pp. 142-7, and 2023, pp. 286-94). Such uses are ubiquitous in Wales and Cornwall (though in both its precise significance in individual names is rarely apparent; see Padel 1976-7, CPNE pp. 142-4, and Petts 2009 p. 124). It is less frequent in Brittany (Padel 2023 loc. cit). It occurs (presumably as a Gaelic adoption of Pritenic usage) in Pictland (CPNS p. 286, 2023, Taylor, 1998, pp. 8-10 and 16-20, and PNFif5, pp. 419-20), in

some cases with specifics implying an ecclesiastical usage; however, evidence for any such church-related senses in the Old North is thin. None of the names below (except very doubtfully *Llan Llee[n]awc*) are formed with saints' names, the nearest such formation to the south of our region is on the Wirral at Landican Che (Thingwall) PNChe4 pp. 266-7, and in no case (except, again very doubtfully, Lincluden) is there any reason to suppose the generic referred to a cemetery, monastery or church building.

Whether secular or ecclesiastical in sense, **lann** is not common in the North (contra Smith's assertion at EPNE2 p. 16, supported by Jackson, 1969a, at p. 48). Several of those listed below are more or less doubtful.

The Roman-British form is seen in *Vindolanda* PNRB p. 502, the Roman fort at Chesterholme Ntb, + **wīnn-**.

Camlann AC537, is interpreted by Bromwich and Evans in *Culhwch ac Olwen* (English edition, 1992), p. 85, as **cam[b]-** + **-lann**, but see discussion under **cam[b]**, also **glann** and **cōlē:n**.

Llan Llee[n]awc in BT29 (XL) might be named after *Laenauc*, father of *Guallauc*, in a genealogy in BL ms Harley 3859. Alternatively, it is conceivable that this is a saint's name, perhaps a Cumbric-adopted form of MĪr **Lennóc*, which could be from *Leannán*, said to be St. Patrick's bell-ringer (Ó'Riain 2011 p. 395). Rowland (1990), p. 101 n102, pointed out that *Staynlenok* Cmb (Millom), PNCmb p. 417, may contain the same personal name, though an 'Irish-Norse' formation with **Lennóc* is quite possible here, see PNCmb p. 417 (where the personal name is derived from MĪr *Lend*). *Staynlenok* need not, of course, be the same place as *Llan Llee[n]awc*, or anywhere near it; see also Clancy (2013) p. 171 n34, and **lē:n**.

a1) Landis Kcb (New Abbey) PNGall p. 192, site of the Abbot's Tower by Sweetheart Abbey. Maxwell thought this 'probably the Welsh *llan*', but a Scots origin is more likely.

b1) These compounds – which appear to be dependent determinatives (*tatpuruṣa*), possibly in early use as appellatives – form a distinctive class on their own:

Echline WLo (Dalmeny) CPNS p. 147, PNWLo p. 7, WLoPN p. 24 ? + **eb-**: the recorded forms are from Gaelic *eachlainn* (dative singular) 'at (a) horse-paddock', but a Brittonic/Pritenic **epo-landā-* > **ablann* may well underlie this.

Ketland Wml (Warcop) PNWml2 p. 85 ? + **ce:d-**, but see under that heading.

Pencaitland ELo CPNS p. 355 + **pen[n]-** + **ce:d-**: see discussion under the latter, and note that the earliest record, *Pencatlet* c1150, raises some doubt as to the final element.

Old Pentland MLo, with the Pentland Hills, PNMLo p. 280 + **pant-** or **pen[n]-**: Drummond

(2005) suggests that Blaeu's *Penthland* may show a trace of late Cumbric devoiced [ʃ], Anglicised as [θ], but as it is not reflected in other records or in modern pronunciation, it may well be a (Dutch-influenced?) engraver's error.

Trahenna Hill Pbl (Broughton) CPNS p. 363 + **torr-** or **treβ-**, ? + **-hen-**: see Breeze (2006d) at p. 57, but see discussion under **hen** and ***anheð**.

c2) *Lambordoswolde* Cmb (Waterhead) PNCmb p. 115, dated 1529, is a tantalising hint of a possible **lann** in the vicinity of Lanercost, see **lanerc**, and for Birdoswald, **ban[n]** and ***būwarth**. Lamplugh Cmb PNCmb pp. 405-6 + ***bluch**: in view of the absence of lenition, **nant-** may have been replaced here (see Quentel 1955, pp. 81-3, Padel 1980-2, in CPNE, pp 143-4 and 170, and 2023, p. 288, for similar substitution of **lann** by **nant** in Breton and Cornish place-names). Lincluden Kcb (Terregles) + river-name Cluden, see **clūd** and **-an**; the Benedictine nunnery here was probably endowed by Earl Uhtred in the 1160s, but its location in the parish of Terregles might hint at an earlier ecclesiastical site or landholding, see under **eglē:s**; however, lack of lenition favours **līnn-**.

c2) The ‘Lambert’ group of place-names might be from **lann-** + **-pert[h]**. Few early forms are available, and those that are favour *-p-* without lenition (which would be expected whether the formation is a compound or a name-phrase). ‘An enclosure from former scrubland containing wood’ might be a plausible interpretation. However, I am grateful to W. Patterson for the alternative suggestion that these names might involve the (Scand-origin) *G longphort* ‘a protected settlement’, in the sense of either ‘a shieling’ or ‘a hunting lodge’; indeed, such a place in the hills could have served both purposes in different seasons of the year. The Norman-French or Flemish personal name Lambert (from **Land-berxt*, a cognate of Old English *Landbeorht*) has doubtless influenced them, and may, in some cases, be the origin (as in Lamberton Bwk, in an area with evidence of Frankish settlement):

Lambert Ladd Wml (Barton) PNWml2 p. 213 [+ E dialect *ladd* ‘a standing stone’, see PNWml1 p xviii]: a standing stone on a boundary in Askham (A. Walker pers. comm.).

Lampart Ntb (Haltwhistle): this is close to the Lamperthills, below.

Lamperthills, with *Lambertgarth*, Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 85.

Pouterlampert Rox (Castleton) + ***polter-** (J. G. Wilkinson, pers. comm.)

-le (m, but probably earlier f)

IE **legh-* ‘lie down’ > eCelt **legā-* > Br **legā-* > OW(LL) *-le* > M-MnW *lle*, MCorn *le*, MBret *le*; cf. OIr *laigid* ‘lies down’ > Ir *lui*, G *laigh*, Mx *lhie*; cf. Lat *lectus* ‘a bed’, Gmc **ligjan* > OE *licgan* > ‘lie (down)’, Gk *lékhos* ‘a bed, a bier’.

‘A location, a place’. In place-names, it may be in origin a generic in compound formations, but is effectively a suffix that probably remained productive well after 500. It is always likely to be confused with Old English *lēah* ‘a (settlement in a) clearing, pasture or meadow’, and even with *hyll* > ‘hill’.

Dinley, with Dinlaybyre, Rox (Castleton) CPNS p. 372, PNRox p. 13 ? + **dīn-**, which see, under Din Fell; cf. Dinas Dinlle Crn, DPNW p. 124.

Penhill or Penny Hill YNR (West Witton) PNYNR p. 256 + **pen[n]**:- *Penle* 1202, but *-hyll* is still much more likely here.

Pumplaburn Dmf (Wamphray) CPNS p. 180, and Pumpland Burn Dmf (Tinwald), ? + **pīmp-**, which see for discussion.

Trously MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 350, PNMLo p. 371 + ***trōs-**: **trōs-le* could well have been an appellative.

*le:β, *le:μ, *līn

A very difficult group of roots is adduced in consideration of a number of river-names, especially those of the ‘Leven’ type, along with (possibly) a group of territorial or district names.

A possible starting-point may be the IE root **[s]lei-*, with its zero-grade **[s]li-*, ‘polish, smooth, make level’. Derivatives used in place-naming have connotations of ‘flat, low-lying land’, through which a watercourse might be seen to ‘glide smoothly’ (and it is striking that most of the rivers under consideration do answer to this description). See A. James (2010), and also under ***lejth**, ***le:μ** and ***līm**.

a2) River-names of the ‘Leven’ family may derive from **lēb-* or **lēm-* with a suffix *-no/ā-*, or participial *-[a]mno/ā-* (see LHEB §§98-9, pp 486-91 and §204(A) p. 672, and, on *-[a]mno/ā-*, De Bernardo Stempel 1994). Cf. Welsh *llwyfan* ‘a floor, a platform, a stage’, from **(s)leib/m-anā-* > **lēb/m-anā-* (see LHEB §28(1), pp. 330-1) and Middle Irish *léiben*, Modern Irish and Scottish

Gaelic *leibheann*, which refers to a wide range of level surfaces, natural or artificial, though it may be a loanword from Brittonic. Perhaps related, and common in place-names, are Middle Welsh *llyvyn* > Modern Welsh *llyfn*, along with Cornish *leven* (DPNW p. 1v, CPNE p. 148), and Old Irish *slemon*, becoming Modern Irish *sleamhain*, Scottish Gaelic *sleamhuinn*: all these mean ‘polished, slippery, smooth’. If *slemon* and *llyvyn* are from the zero-grade form **(s)li-b/m-nā*, the survival of initial *s-* in these supports the derivation of the whole family of Celtic ‘smooth, level’ words from **[s]lei-/ *[s]li-*.

The most ancient recorded name of this type is Ptolemy’s *Lemannónios kólpos*, CPNS p. 19, PNRB p. 387. It was presumably somewhere in the vicinity of the Firth of Clyde. It may be associated with the R Leven Dnb (see below), but *kólpos* is ‘a gulf, a bay, an arm of the sea’ and there is no such feature directly associated with the river-mouth. It may refer to Gare Loch or Loch Long, though these are separated from the Lennox lowland by fair-sized hills and by the Rosneath peninsula between the two lochs; it might have been a name for the Firth of Clyde. Moreover, Ptolemy’s *-ε-* suggests a short vowel in the first syllable, so it cannot be assumed that *Lemannónios kólpos* incorporates the element **lēman-*: we may have to reckon with an ancient hydronymic element **leman-*, with a short first syllable, whose meaning and relationship (if any) to **[s]lei-* must remain obscure. Sims-Williams in ACPN, p. 83, lists *Lemannónios kólpos* under the heading LĒMO- ‘elm’ (see **l̥e:μ*, though his footnote acknowledges the etymological uncertainty surrounding this word); Isaac, (2005) at pp. 196-7, acknowledges also the ecological improbability of ‘elm-water’, but neither addresses directly the possibility of a short *-e-* form **lem-*.

a2) Two river-names of this type in the Old North appear to be from a form with *-b-*:

Leven R YER ERN p. 251, PNYER p. 72.

Leven R YNR ERN p. 251, PNYNR p. 4.

Both were in areas of primary Anglian settlement, so it is likely that the proto-English speakers encountered them as **leⁱβan* < **lēb-(a)n-* with a non-nasal medial consonant which Old English speakers would have treated as [v], having no intervocalic [b] (if the suffix were **-mn-*, see above, the *-b-* would have arisen from simplification of the cluster *-bmn-*). In the 5th century, **leⁱμan* with a nasal would still have been audibly different. See A. James (2010) pp. 68-9.

Most of the other examples are usually assumed to have had a nasal determinative [-m-]. This is suggested by the possible connection between these ‘Leven’ names and the Roman-British names containing the element *Lemanā-*, as well as the apparent association of some of the northern examples with the Welsh or Gaelic forms of words for ‘elm’: however, both these lines of thinking raise problems, see below and under **l̥e:μ*. If the early Celtic form was **lēbnā*, nasalisation of [-b-] in the cluster [-bn-] would have been normal, i.e. **lēbnā* would become **lēmnā*, and the Yorkshire Levens would have to be explained by the intrusion of a svarabhakti vowel inhibiting nasalisation, **lēbVnā*. If, on the other hand, the suffix was *-anā*, we need to consider a parallel stem **lē-m-*. Indo-European **(s)lei-m-* gives (West and North) Germanic **slīmaz*, English ‘slime’, Latin *līmus* ‘mud’, and Greek *leimōn* ‘a wet place’ and *leimáks* ‘a slug’, so an early Celtic **lēmanā-* may well have existed alongside **lēbanā-* as a river-naming term, and its meaning would have still been to do with slippery surfaces and slithery movement: see A. G. James (2010) pp. 71-3, and Taylor’s discussion of R. Leven Fif, PNFif2 pp. 45-7.

a2) Leven R Lanc ERN pp. 250-2, PNLanc p. 191, DLDPN p. 209.

Leven Seat Lnk/WLo border WLoPN p. 19: a hill-name, not associated with any river. Possibly **l̥e:βn*, the Cumbric equivalent of Welsh *llwyfan* (see above) in the sense of ‘a hill with a gently-sloping top’, cf. Leeming below.

Lyne R, with Black Lyne and White Lyne, and settlement-names *Dollerline*, Kirklington and Westlinton, Cmb ERN p. 251, PNCmb pp. 21, 55, 101-2 and 117: *gweith argoet llwyfein* BT60(VI) is identified with this river by Williams PT pp. xlv- xlv and p. 77n., + **ar-** + **-ce:d**: see also under **l̥e:μ*.

Leven R Dnb CPNS p. 119: modern Gaelic *Abhainn Leamhain*, and *Leamhain* is the modern Gaelic name of the loch too, while the suffixed form *Leamhnaich* names the surrounding district, Lennox (for Lomond, and earlier Gaelic *Laoiminn*, *Laomuinn*, see ***lumon**). Note again that *Leamhain* is identical to the genitive singular or nominative plural of the modern Gaelic word for ‘elm tree’, *leamhan*, see ***le:μ**, and see above for Ptolemy’s *Lemannónios kólpos*.

a2) Other names that may be from suffixed forms of these roots include:

Aberlady ELo CPNS pp. 460-1 ? + **-ed-** + **-īg-**: **leiβedīg* or **leiμedīg* would have become **levedig* by 700 (LHEB §100, pp. 491-3), falling together with late Northumbrian Old English/ proto-Scots *levedi* < *hlæfdīge* ‘loaf-distributor’, > ‘lady’. See A.G. James (2010) pp. 74-5, King (2014), also ***loβ**, and, for the West Peffer Burn, **peβīr**.

Lyvennet R Wml PNWml1 p. 10 (and see also pp xxx-xxxii) ? + **-an-** + **-ijo-**: the location or district-name *Luyuenid* in BT58(IV), 61(VII), 62(VIII), 65(IX) and 67(X) is associated with this river by Hogg (1946), pp. 210-11, followed by Williams, PT pp xliiv-xlv and pp. 57n and 109n; see A. James 2010 pp. 75-6 and Clancy 2013 p. 157: see also under ***le:μ**.

Leeming Bar, Leeming Beck and Leeming Lane, YNR ERN p. 247, PNYNR p. 227 ? + **-īn**. Leeming Beck is a very modest stream running down the east side of the ridge, though Ekwall ERN loc.cit. sees the stream-name as primary and tentatively derives it from OE *lēoma* ‘light’. But Leeming Lane is a route of great historic importance, and the name, if it is from **lēm-*, may refer to the fairly broad, level area on the ridge-top around Leeming Bar. However early forms like *Liemwic* c1200 leave it in doubt. Leaming House Cmb (Watermillock) PNCmb p. 257, DLDPN p. 209 ? + **-īn**, but probably English dialectal *Leaming* ‘an ancient road or a place on such a road’ (see EDD s.v.), which is probably from Leeming Lane YNR. See A. G. James (2010) pp. 76-7, also ***le:μ**.

Early Celtic roots showing the sequence **li-n-* could derive either from the zero-grade *(*s*)*li-* and carry a sense of ‘gliding smoothly’, see A.G. James (2010), pp. 83-5, or from **līn** (which see). Those in the North include:

a1) Lyne R Ntb ERN p. 275-6, PNNtb p. 138: the vowel could have been lengthened in a neoBrittonic monosyllable **līn* or ME inflected **līne*. Like others of the ‘Leen’ type (see ERN p. 247, PNHrf pp. 6-9, PNNtt p. 5), this runs across in low-lying country.

a2) Laringham Hill, with *Lyneringham*, ELo (field-name and lost name respectively, in East Linton) + **-ar-** [+ OE name-forming suffix *-ing²-* + *-hām* ‘a farm, an estate’] (W. Patterson pers. comm., and see references in A. James 2010 at pp. 84-5 and n83). Apparently a stream-name of the ‘Lynher’ type, maybe an earlier name for the Hedderwick Burn. See ERN pp. 275-6 and Padel DCornPN p. 112.

A form **li-m-* may likewise derive from zero-grade *(*s*)*li-*, or else from **plh₁* (zero-grade of **pelh₁*, ‘pour, fill up’) > eCelt **limo-* > Welsh *llif*, ‘a flood, deluge, stream, current’ (see A. G. James 2010 at pp. 80-1), and either way could be present in:

a1) Limerig Stg (Slamannan) PNFESTg pp. 42-3, the reference being to the Black Loch nearby [+ ON *hryggr* > Scots *rigg*, ‘a ridge’], but see also ***līm**.

lech (f) ‘slab’

?IE(WC) **leh_{1w-}* > eCelt **liaccā-* > Br **liaccā-* > OW(LL)-MnW *llech*, MCorn *lech-* > Corn *leg^h*, Bret *lec^c*; OIr *liacc* (genitive singular of *lía*) > MÍr *lecc* > Ir, G *leac*, also Ir, G *leachd*, Mx *lhiaght* ‘a grave’; cogn. Homeric Gk *láas*, and cf. Gk *léusein* ‘to stone’; adopted as Scots *leck*.

The etymology is uncertain. An alternative IE(NW) **plk-*, zero-grade of **plek-*, is proposed by GPC, but there are no cognates for **plk-*, and **plek-* is evidenced only in West Germanic, in a

lengthened, ā-grade, form **plāk-* (e.g. Middle Dutch *plak* > French *plaque* > ‘plaque’). See further DCCPN p. 22 s.v. *lic[c]co-*.

‘A slab, a slate, a flat stone’, in place-names also ‘a shelf of rock’. It is generally difficult to distinguish Brittonic from Goidelic forms in place-names. With a personal name, it may indicate a grave (actual or legendary), and in Wales some such names are used for standing stones (Parsons 2022, p. 71); in Goidelic, the reference is also likely to be to a grave, but Dwelly lists several other senses including ‘declivity’ and ‘summit of a hill’.

Lech wên in BT56(VII) is probably a place-name, see PT p. 41, note to line 29, and see **melin** and **win[n]**.

b2) Laggangarn Wig Brooke (1991) at p. 311 ? + **[-h]in-**, + **-wo-** + **-riw**, or + **-woreü**, but see discussion under **riw** and **woreü**.

Lakewolf Cmb (Dalston) PNCmb p. 134 + personal name *-Ulph*: for the suggestion of a legendary memory of Ulpius Marcellus, who governed Britannia in the later 2nd century, see PT p. 83, note to BT61(VII) line 11; may well be a grave-name, see above.

Lechbernard MLo (Leadburn)/ Pbl (Newlands) boundary PNCmb plxxix, note to p. 134 + Norman-French personal name *-Bernard* (from a Frankish cognate of OE *Beornheard*). Apparently a boundary-stone, probably another late Cumbric or Gaelic ‘grave-name’.

Legbranock Lnk is of interest as it may be **leac-Breatnach*, a Gaelic name for a feature or monument, ‘of the Britons’: see **Brithon**, and Breeze (2000a) at p. 72.

*lech (f) ‘lair’

Welsh *llech* is a verbal noun from *llechu* ‘lurk, shelter, hide’, and cf. *lloc* ‘a fold, a pen’.

‘A hiding-place, a lair, a lodge, etc.’.

Proposed by Coates (2001-2) for the generic in:

b1) Beverley YER PNYER p. 192 + ***beβr-**, or a river-name of the ‘*Bibra*’ type, or else Old English *beofor*, see discussion under ***beβr**. Coates explains ***lech** becoming Old English *-lic* in this name either by identification with the OE suffix *-lic* ‘like’ (or even with *-līc* ‘a corpse’), or else a Brittonic **lecc-jon* or similar. However, OE **leč[č]* ‘a stream, a bog’ (EPNE2 p. 10 s.v. **læč[č]*, and see ***lejth**) might equally have been influenced by *-lic*, or have been subject to raising of [e] before the palatal [č]. For OE **lič[č]* as a variant of **leč[č]*, see PNYER loc. cit., also Blair (2001). Although such pre-palatal raising is not evidenced in the canonical texts for Northumbrian Old English, Beverley is quite likely to have been influenced by south-Humbrian developments, and in any case **leč[č]* and its variants is a problematic word evidenced only in (mainly southern) charters.

*led (m as a noun)

IE **pl̥th₂-* (zero-grade of **pleth₂-* ‘spread’) > eCelt **leto-* > Br **leto-* > MW *llet* > W *lled*, Corn *lês*, OBret *let-* > Bret *led*; OIr *leth* > Ir *leath*, G *leth*, *leath-*, Mx *lhieh*, *lhiatt-*; cogn. late and mediaeval Latin *plat[t]us*, *plata* > ‘plate’ etc., Gk *platús* ‘broad’ (Gmc **flataz* > ON *flatr* > ‘flat’ is problematic, as IE *-t-* normally becomes Gmc *-d-*). See also ***lethir** and **lidan**.

The root-sense is ‘spread out, broad’ and this is preserved in the Brittonic languages in both nominal and adjectival forms (the comparative form, early Celtic **letis* ‘wider’ fell together with MW *llet*, see GMW §42 at p. 41). However, via semantic extensions like ‘lying to one side’, ‘folded over’, Middle to Modern Welsh *lled-* as a prefix comes to mean ‘half, semi-’, see DPNW pp. 292-3 s.n. Lledrod (interpreted as ‘a semicircular defensive enclosure’); Taylor considers a possible Pictish use of **let-* in this sense in Lindifferon Fif (Monimail) PNFif4 pp. 592-4, and cf. Watson’s interpretation of Larbert below. In the Goidelic languages, a similar divergence of meanings developed, ‘side’ and ‘half’. Confusion with **lɛ:d** is possible.

a2) Leader Water Brw CPNS p. 471 + *-er* < **-ārjā-*, cf. Afon Lledr Crn; see **-ar**, but also **lɔwadr**.

b1) Larbert Stg CPNS p. 357, PNFESTg pp. 31-2 + **-pert[h]**, or else **lɛ:d-**; Watson interprets this as ‘half-wood’.

b2) Paisley Rnf CPNS p. 194 + ***pasgel-**, or else **-*lethir**, but see also **bassaleg** and discussion there.

lɛ:d (adjective)

IE **p[h_x]-* (zero-grade of **pel[h_x]-* ‘be grey’) + *-t-* > eCelt **leito-/ā-* > Br **lɛ:to-/ā-* > OW(LL) *luit* > MW *lluid* > W *llwyd*, OCorn *-luit, lot-*, MCorn *loys* > Corn *los, lûdzh*, OBret *loit* > Bret *louet*; M-MnIr *líath*, G *liath*, Mx *lheeah*; cogn. Lat *pallidus* > OFr *pale* > ‘pale’, Gk *peltiós*, Skt *pālita-*, and cf. Gmc (N & W) **falwaz* > OE(Anglian) *falū* > ‘fallow’.

See LHEB §28, pp. 330-5.

Primarily ‘pale, faintly-coloured’, typically of animals. ‘Grey’ is often appropriate, but other light tints can also be indicated by this adjective. It is common in Welsh place-names, though *llwydd* ‘success’ and *llwyth* ‘tribe, family’ do occur in place-names and can be confused with *llwyd*. Confusion could also arise with ***led**.

b1) Larbert Stg CPNS p. 357, PNFESTg pp. 31-2 + **-pert[h]**, or else ***led-**.
Linlithgow WLo PNWLo pp. 53-4 + **-cöü**, with + **linn-** as a secondary formation. Or else **-*lejth-**, which see. Apparently interpreted by Gaelic speakers as **liath cu* ‘grey dog’ (PNWLo p. 54).

c2) Carluith Kcb (Kirkmabreck) PNGall p. 62 + **cors-**: see Brooke (1991) at p. 349; but could be G **cars-Luaithe*, ‘carse of (the) Luath’, a stream-name meaning ‘swift’, probably the Carluith Burn.

lɛid or *lad (m)

IE(NW) **leh_at-* (possibly < **h_a-el-* ‘flow’, see ***al-**, + *-Vt-*) > eCelt **lat-jo-* > Br, Gaul *latjo-* > M-MnW *llaid*, MCorn *lÿs*, Bret *leiz*; OIr *laith*, and cf. MlIr *lathach* > Ir *laitheach*, G *làthach*, Mx *laagh*.

See DCCPN p. 22. See also ***lud**.

The root sense is ‘wet, moist’ (OIPrIE §20.9 at p. 347), the meaning in the Celtic languages is ‘mud, mire’.

It is very curious that both the names below seem to carry some Anglicised trace of the late Cumbric devoiced [t]: see LHEB §93, pp. 473-80.

a2) *Polthledick* Cmb (lost field-name, Burtholme) ERN pp. 329-30, PNCmb p. 73 + **pol-** + **-īg**, or + *-jōg* (see **-ōg**) if the formation was **lad-jōg*.

c2) Trailflat Dmf (Tinwald) CPNS p. 359 + **treβ-** + **-ī[r]-**: see Breeze (2000c) pp. 56-7.

*lejth

?IE(NW) *leg- + past participial -t- > eCelt *legto-/ā- > Br *lexto-/ā- > MW lleith > W llaith, MCorne negative *av-lethis* ‘dried, hardened’, M-MnBret *leizh*; OIr *legaid* ‘melts, dissolves’; possibly cf. OE *læc[ċ], *leċ[ċ], etc. in place-names (see EPNE2 p. 10) > northern English and Scots *lache*, *leche* etc. ‘a marsh, a boggy stream’, and OE *læccan ‘moisten, irrigate’ > ‘leach’ (see OED under vb²), but see also **luch**.

The etymology is controversial. For IE(NW) *leg- see OIPrIE §22.11 at p. 394. Alternatively a vowel-grade variant of IE *loku- (see **luch**), or of IE *[s]lei- (see ***le:β**) could be involved. For -χt- > -jθ- see LHEB §60 pp. 407-11.

Whatever the etymology, the semantic range of the verbal root is around ‘dissolve, drip, melt, ooze’, so this participial adjective means ‘damp, moist’.

Probably only found as a river-name (or other watercourse-name), presumably of early origin. None record any trace of the velar in -gt- > -χt-: on the significance of this see Sims-Williams (1990) at p. 242 (he may underestimate the quantity of names adopted into Old English with this phonology: besides all the ‘Leith’ hydronyms, there are those from **ejthīn** and **nejth**, which see).

a1) Leet Water Bwk SPN² p. 29, or else OE *læte* > ‘leat’ EPNE2 pp. 11-12: this has at least influenced the name.

Leith, Water of, W-MLo, with Leith and Inverleith, MLo, CPNS p. 471, PNMLo pp. 77, 129-30 and 131-2.

Leith R Wml, unless this is a back-formation from OE *hliþ*, ON *hlíð*, ‘a slope, a hillside’.

a2) Leithen Water, with Innerleithen, Pbl + **-an**.

Leyden MLo (Kirknewton) PNMLo p. 144, WLoPN p. 27 + **-an** [or + OE *-dūn* ‘a hill’]: but not (as Dixon says) on the Water of Leith; see also **lidan**.

c1) Linlithgow WLo CPNS p. 384, PNWLo pp. 53-4 + **-*cöü**, + **līnn-** in secondary formation, or else **-le:d-**, which see.

c2) Carleith Dnb (Duntocher) ? + **cajr-**, a lost stream-name?

le:μ (f)

IE(NW) *h₁elem*, or **lei-m-* (perhaps cf. *[e-]lei- ‘bend’) > eCelt **lemā-* or **lēmā-* > Br **lēmā-* > MW singulative *lluiuen* > W *llwyf*, OBret singulative *limn*; OIr place-name *Líamain*, and cf. MÍr *lem* > Ir *leamh[án]*, G *leamh[an]*, Mx *lhieuan*; cogn. Lat *ulmus* (adopted as OE *ulm[trēow]* > ‘elm’).

See OIPrIE §10.1 at p. 160 and DCCPN p. 22. The etymology is controversial. Cognates like Latin *ulmus* and Russian *ilem* favour a short vowel, but Welsh *llwyf* (and the Irish place-name *Líamain*) imply a long vowel. Hamp (1982b) at pp. 43-4 proposes derivation from *[s]lei-m- (see ***le:β**) > eCelt **leimā-*, which is more satisfactory for Celtic but raises problems for the Latin and Slavonic forms. His assumption that elms are characteristically ‘slippery’ is more true of the American Slippery Elm (*Ulmus rubra*), with its viscous cambium, than it is of European species. Admittedly, Irish *leamhán* can mean ‘cambium’ (of any tree), but this is probably due to the

influence of *sleamhán* which can also mean ‘cambium’ (again, see ***l̥e:β**). For further references and discussion, see PNRB p. 387, ACPN p. 83, and A. James (2010), pp. 77-80.

In Brittonic, a collective noun, ‘elm-trees’. Like other tree-names, it is sometimes used of other genera, so Old Breton *limn collou* glosses *tiliae* ‘limes’ (and English ‘lime’ may have arisen from metathesised **lem* replacing Old English *lind*). However, confusion between elm and lime is unlikely in the North, where lime was probably not native anywhere. A group of Cornish and Breton words with a root (or a pair of separate but confusable roots) **elμ*/**eμl* are used for both elms and aspens or poplars (CPNE p. 92): this might be a variant of **l̥e:μ**.

The only native elm in the North is the Wych Elm, *Ulmus glabra* (and the proto-Indo-European word probably referred to the eastern subspecies, *U. glabra ssp. montana*). Unlike the suckering species found in the south and east of Britain, Wych Elm did not typically form single-species stands or elm-woods, but (before Dutch elm disease) occurred as scattered trees or groups of trees in mixed broadleaf woodland, especially with ash (Rackham, 2006, pp. 356 and 360-2, but note Leuchold WLo is Gaelic **leamh-choille* ‘elm-wood’ PNWLo p. 8, and cf. PNFif1 pp. 272-3 on Leuchat). Elm would have flourished on rich alluvial soils alongside other trees, but it dislikes flood-prone conditions and is unlikely to have been a common riverside tree. Ash-elm woods occurred on more elevated, well-drained, base-rich or alkaline soils, again not typically by rivers. Exposed hilltops and moorland, especially acid, would certainly not have favoured elm.

The absence of elms, in contrast to oak, ash, beech, holly, yew, etc, from Celtic myth and legend is striking. See Turner (1966-8) at pp. 116-19.

Place-names which might contain this element are also considered under ***l̥e:β**, which see for details.

Ptolemy’s *Lemannónios Kólpos* belongs with a group of names (mostly hydronyms) recorded in Classical sources that contain the string ‘leman[n]’. These are most usually ascribed to the Celtic ‘elm’ word, but see PNRB p. 387, ACPN p. 83 and references. There may be a connection with the R Leven, see below and under ***l̥e:β**.

Most of the rivers of the ‘Leven’ type flow through territory where elms would have been common in mixed woodland, though not dominant nor typical of the riversides. The R Lyne, with Black Lyne and White Lyne, and settlement-names *Dollerline*, *Kirklington* and *Westlinton*, Cmb (ERN p. 251, PNCmb pp. 21, 55, 101-2 and 117), may be identified with *Llwyfein* BT60 (VI). This implies British **le:mānī-*, but it could be a reinterpretation of an ancient river-name by association with the ‘elm’ word, which would have become **luiv* by c700 (LHEB §28(3) pp. 333-5). The same could apply to the Gaelic *Leamhain* for the R Leven Dnb and Loch Lomond (see above for Ptolemy’s *Lemannónios Kólpos*). Likewise, R Lyvennet Wml (with *Luyuenid* in BT58(IV), 61(VII), 62(VIII), 65(IX) and 67(X)) may preserve a Cumbric reinterpretation of a river-name **lēbeneto-* or **lēmeneto-*. The process of reinterpretation suggested here should be compared with Kitson’s proposal regarding the ‘Derwent’ river-names, see ***derw**, and see also the discussion of these ‘Leven’ names under ***l̥e:β**.

Leeming Bar, etc, YNR and Leaming House Cmb are both on limestone ridges: ash-elm woods could have been present at least on the slopes below, but see ***l̥e:β**.

The ‘Lyme’ names are mostly on (or explicitly ‘under’) the acid millstone grit uplands of the Dark Peak, where elms would certainly not have been common. For these, see ***l̥im**.

*leμrajth (m)

IE *ǵ[l]akt- > eCelt *-lacto-, + *lemo- ‘weak, lukewarm’ > Br *lemo-laχto- > M-Mn north W *llefrith*, OCorn *leuerid* (see CPNE p. 148), Bret *livrizh*; OIr *lemlacht* > Ir, G *leamhnacht*; cf. Lat *lac*, Gk *gála*.

See LHEB §60, pp. 407-11.

The etymology of *lemo- is uncertain, the Indo-European root proposed in GPC lacks cognates. The development of syncopated –m’l- to –μr- in neoBrittonic, and to –μn- in Goidelic, is phonologically intelligible, though unusual.

The root-sense is ‘lukewarm milk’, i.e. milk fresh from the cow.

Insula Leverith, recorded 1182 (1208), is apparently Cramond Island in the Firth of Forth: see Breeze (1999b) at pp. 43-4. *Insula* presumably represents *inīs*.

le:n or lujn (m)

? Lat *lignum* > Br Lat *lejnum (see LHEB §85, pp. 462-3) adopted as Br *lejno- > lBr *le:no- > OW plural *loinou*, OW(LL) *luhyn* > MW *llven* > W *llwyn*, Corn *lon (in place-names, CPNE p. 153), OBret *loin*.

A Celtic etymology, IE *leuk- (see **lūch**) –n- > eCelt *lugno-, was proposed by D. M. Jones (1953), and, with preferable eCelt *lucno-, by P. Russell (1985). Either would have become neoBrittonic *lujn > *luin, the same outcome as **le:n** < *lignum*. However, if the place-names below preserve Anglicised forms with –e- (and, in the cases of Lenzie and Catterlen, palatalised –n-), they support the derivation from Latin.

In Modern Welsh, ‘a thicket of small trees and bushes, an area of low woody and shrubby growth’.

a1) Lenzie, with Lindsay Beg, EDnb: see above, but if this really is an Anglicisation of a pre-700 neoBrittonic form (LHEB §28, pp. 330-5), the implications for historical geography are striking!

a2) *Staynlenock* Cmb (Millom) PNCmb p. 417 + -ōg [+ AScand *steinn*-], but this may be a personal name *Lēnōg, cf. *Llan Lleenawc* in BT29(XI, see PT pp lvii-lviii) and MlR *Lennóc* PNCmb p. 417. See Rowland (1990), p. 101 n102, Clancy (2013) p. 171 n34, and discussion under **lann**.

c2) Catterlen Cmb PNCmb p. 182 + **cadeir**:- early forms (1158 etc.) with –leng, like Lenzie above, may preserve a palatalised –n, i.e. *[l̪eɲ].

*lethir (f)

IE *pl̪th₂- (zero-grade of *pleth₂- ‘spread’, see **led**) + -t- > ? IE *tēr-s- (see **tīr**) > eCelt *lētā-tīrsā- > lBr *let’tīrjā- > MW *lethir* > W *lethr*, also *lledr* in place-names, Corn *lether (in place-names, CPNE pp. 147-8); OIr *leittir* > Ir, G *leitir*.

‘A steep slope’. Both the meaning and the form *lledr* may suggest Irish influence, but see Padel, CPNE pp. 147-8. In any case, the element is much more common in Irish and Gaelic place-names, see IrPN p. 110, DUPN pp. 94-5, CPNS pp. 487 and 510, and I. A. Fraser (2008).

In northern England, ON *látr* ‘a lair, a shelter’, is often a possibility alongside *leitir*. See discussion of Latrigg Cmb, PNCmb pp. 321-2 and DLDPN p. 207, also Latrigg Wml and other names with ‘Latter-’ DLDPN pp. 207-8. Similar considerations apply to Latterhaw Crag Wml (Patterdale) PNWml2 p. 226 and Ledderhowe Wml (Stainmore) PNWml2 p. 77. In none of these is Brittonic **lethir* likely.

b1) Paisley Rnf ? + **pasgel-*: see Ross (2001) p. 172, but see also **led*, and discussion under **bassaleg**.

līdan

IE **pl̥th₂-* (zero-grade of **pleth₂-* ‘spread’, see **led*) + *-n-* > eCelt **lit-ano-/ā-* (see *-an*) > Br **litano-/ā-* > OW(LL) *litan* > M-MnW *llydan*, also M-eMnW *lledan*, M-MnCorn *ledan*, OBret *litan* > M-MnBret *ledan*, O-MIr *lethan* > Ir *leathan*, G *leathann*, Mx *lhean*; cogn. Gk *platanós*.

‘Broad, wide, flat’, in place-names nominalised as ‘a level place’ or ‘a broad slope’. See ERN pp. 241-2 for examples in England, and DCCPN p. 23, and ACPN pp. 84-5 for examples throughout Europe and Asia Minor.

This element occurs in *Lit[a]nomagus* PNRB p. 394 (see also p. 245), on or to the north of the Antonine Wall, + *-µa*.

a1) Leyden MLo (Kirknewton) PNMLo p. 144, WLoPN p. 27: suggested by Wilkinson, WLoPN loc. cit.; Gaelic *leathann* is typically Anglicised as Letham, Lethan etc. (see PNFif5 p. 423), but cf. Leden Urquhart Fif (Strathmiglo) PNFif4 p. 696 for a possible Pictish parallel. Wilkinson (pers. comm.) would now withdraw his alternative suggestions, **Lugudunon* (see **lūy**) or OE *lēah-denn*. See also **lejth**.

*līm (gender unknown)

Latin *līmen* ‘a threshold, a lintel’, or *līmes* ‘a boundary, a limit’, adopted into British > neoBrittonic **līm*.

This putative adoption was proposed by Coates (2003-4) as the etymon for the district-name Lyme. Although there is no evidence for such a loanword, this seems a more satisfactory explanation than those invoking forms of **lē:β*, *lē:µ* or **lum[m]* (see each of these).

‘Lyme’ names in the North include:

Ashton under Lyne, with Lyne Wood, Limehurst and Lyne Park, Lanc PNLanc pp. 23 and 29, JEPNS17 p. 30.

Lyme Lanc (Salford) Mills (1976) p. 109.

These reflect a linear territory which extends south into north-east Cheshire:

Lima Clough, with Lime Farm, Che PNChel p. 144

Lyme Handley, with Lyme Park, Che PNChel p. 198

Lymford Bridge Che PNChel p. 56

Lyne Edge Che (Dukinfield) PNChel p. 278

Lyne Edge Che (Mottram) PNChel p. 317.

A second group, which may be a continuation of these, lies beneath the SW scarp of the Peak around the head of the R Trent, and extends west along the watershed between the R Tern and R Weaver: see discussion in PNChe1, pp. 2-6.

While Coates excluded Limb Hill Drb (Dore) from this class of names, the short vowel can (as he acknowledged, *op. cit.* p. 49 n4) be explained as a back-formation from the adjacent Limb Brook, PNDrb p. 11, PNYWR7 p. 131, which is on the Drb/YWR boundary (formerly that between Mercia and Northumbria). The vowel would have been shortened before the consonant cluster *-mbr-*.

Limerig Stg (Slamannan) PNFESStg pp. 42-3 is close to the southern boundary of Stirlingshire, which runs through the Black Loch, so might possibly be **līm-* [+ ON *hryggr* > Scots *rigg*, ‘a ridge’], but see also **l̥e:β*.

l̥in

?IE **plh₁-* (zero-grade of **pelh₁-* ‘fill’) + *-n-* > eCelt **lino-* > Br **lino-* > eMnW plural *llion* (also eMnW *llinor* ‘a pustule’, and cf. Welsh *llif* ‘a flood, deluge, stream, current’), not found in Cornish, Bret *lin* ‘pus’; OIr *línaid* ‘fills’ (and cf. Old Irish [*do-*] *línim* ‘I flow’) > Ir *líon*, G *lìon* (cf. from vowel-grade variants of the same root, OIr *lán* ‘full’, *li* ‘much’, *lía* ‘flood’); cogn. Lat *pleō* ‘I fill’, and from vowel-grade variants, Gmc **fulnaz* > OE *full* > ‘full’, Gk *polús* ‘many’, Skt *pūrnas* ‘full’.

See OIPriE §19.2, pp. 317-19. The Celtic words could alternatively be derived from **[s]li-*, zero-grade of **[s]lei-*, see **l̥e:β*.

Early Modern Welsh *llion* is a plural form, meaning ‘floods’. Indo-European **pelh₁-* is associated with ‘filling’ and ‘pouring’, while derivatives of **[s]lei-* suggest ‘flatness, smoothness’ (also ‘slipperiness, being polished’). Either could be appropriate for hydronyms. For fuller discussion, including consideration of the following names, see under **l̥e:β*, and see also **l̥inn**.

a1) Lyne R Ntb ERN p. 275, PNNtb p. 138.

a2) Laringham Hill, with *Lyneringham*, ELo (field-name and lost name respectively, in East Linton) Bain (1887) + *-ar-* [+ OE name-forming suffix *-ing²-* + *-hām* ‘a farm, an estate’]: see A. James (2010) at pp. 84-5 and n83.

l̥inn (n, later m)

IE **l̥ndh-* (zero-grade of **lendh-* ‘open land, waste’, see **lann**) > eCelt **lindon* > Br, Gaul *lindon* > OW *lin[n]-* > MW *lynn* > W *llyn*, OCorn *-lin* in a compound > Corn *lyn*, OBret *lin* > M-MnBret *lenn*; OIr *lind*, *lend* > M-MnIr *lind*, G *linne*, Mx *lhing*.

For doubts regarding this etymology, see DCCPN p. 22 (any apparent Germanic cognates could well be adoptions from Celtic).

Jackson, LHEB §112(2), pp. 511-13, dates the assimilation of *-nd-* to *-nn-* to the late 5th ct, but Sims-Williams, CIB pp. 74-83, 283 and 290-5, shows this could have been as late as the early 7th ct.

In Welsh place-names the meaning is generally ‘a pool’, including ‘a river-pool’, but in the other Celtic languages the meaning is wider, in place-names referring to streams, marshland and sea-pools (see ACPN p. 84 for the full range of early examples), and as a common noun, to various liquids (blood, oil, etc.), and in the Goidelic languages coming to mean primarily ‘drink’.

A particular use in Gaelic place-names is for ‘a pool beneath a waterfall’, and this is adopted in Scots generally. However, a different and unrelated word, Northumbrian OE *hlynn* (recorded as a feminine noun only as a gloss on *torrens* in the Rushworth Gospels, John 18.1, but cf. OE *hlynn* masculine ‘noise, din, tumult’, and verb *hlynnan* ‘be noisy’) underlies the dialectal usage of *linn* in Northumberland and in S and SW Scots for ‘a waterfall, a cataract’. In much of southern Scotland, these two senses of *linn* are indistinguishable: see OED s.v. *linn*, DSL s.v. *lin* (DOST) and *linn*¹ (SND).

Lindon PNRB p. 393, according to Ptolemy ‘a *pólis* of the *Damnonioi*’, was probably at the southern end of Loch Lomond – Balloch according to Watson, CPNS p. 33, or Drumqhassle near Drymen according to Rivet and Smith, PNRB loc. cit.

Note that the battle-site *Dùnnichen* or *Nechtansmere* is referred to in HB57 as *lin garan* ‘lake of cranes’, presumably preserving the Pictish (and/or proto-Welsh) name.

a1) Linn Rock Kcb (Balmaclellan) overlooks a small burn flowing into a pool now dammed as a reservoir.

Lyne Water, with Lyne Kirk and West Linton, Pbl Ross (2001), p. 149, gives *Lyn* c1190, which favours **linn** as a river-name here: there are no marked cascades or waterfalls to support *hlynn* or *linn*, and the terrain is very different from that associated with river-names involving ***l̥e:β** or ***lin**.

Linhouse Water MLo is first recorded as Line/Lyne Water (J. G. Wilkinson pers. comm.)

Names formed with Old English or Scots elements are likely to have OE *hlynn* or Scots *linn* in one of its senses (see above), but some could preserve a Brittonic single-element name of a pool or stream, e.g:

Linburn MLo (Kirknewton) WLoPN p. 27.

Linstock Cmb (Stanwix) PNCmb p110, or else OE *līn* ‘flax’: see Gelling and Probert 2010, 81 and 85n2, citing R. Coates.

East Linton ELo, but W. Patterson (pers. comm.) writes ‘I’m pretty sure...[East] Linton must have been named from the *hlynn* or *linn*, which is still a picturesque feature.’

Linton Rox PNRox p. 25: ‘a great part of Linton Parish was formerly under water; cf. The Lake, which is now drained’ Macdonald PNRox loc. cit.

a2) Lindisfarne Ntb PNNtb p. 135, and see CVEP pp. 247-8 + suffix *-is* < Br *-*asti-*, see **-as**. Traditionally + OE *-fearena*, genitive plural of *fara* ‘traveller’, the first element being taken as *Lindissi*, Lindsey Linc, itself based on *Lindum*, Lincoln. However, B. Cox (1975-6) at p. 24 makes a case for late British **lind-* with unassimilated *-nd-* (see references to Jackson and Sims-Williams above), plus an unknown second element identical to Farne (Islands). Coates, CVEP pp. 241-59, argues that the whole name is early Old Irish, **lind-is-* (< Goidelic suffix *-istu-* or *-astu-*, corresponding to Brittonic *-asti-*) plus *-fearann* ‘land, domain, territory’, though such an Irish formation could have been based on a pre-existing Brittonic **lind-es* < **lind-asti-*. There is a freshwater pool on the island, drained by a stream into the sea.

b1) Where *-lin* is recorded as second element, it is rarely possible to rule out *-hlynn* if the first element could be English, *-linn* if it could be Scots, or *-linne* if it could be Gaelic. The following could be Brittonic:

Bazil Point Lanc (Lancaster) PNLanc p. 175 ? + **bas-**, see Coates, CVEP p. 318, but evidence for **-linn** here is lacking. An OE personal name **Basa* (cf. Basingstoke Hmp) + *-hyll* > ‘hill’ is

formally possible, and favoured by the earliest from *Basul* 1199x1206, though it would have applied to a feature other than the low-lying point.

Buckland Burn Kcb (Kirkcudbright) PNGall p. 50 + **buch-**: but probably a Scots formation.

Camelon Stg ? + **cam[b]**-, but see **cōlē:n**.

Camelon Lane Kcb (Balmaghie) PNGall p. 57 + **cam[b]**-, which see [+ SW Scots *lane* 'a slow, boggy stream' < G *lèana* 'a swampy plain or meadow'].

Camling Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 57 + **cam[b]**-: could be Gaelic, see Ó' Maolalaigh (2022b) p. 290.

Darling How, also *Darlinhou* and *Darelin*, Cmb (Wythop) PNCmb p. 457 + *derw-*, see discussion under **dār**.

Gilsaughlin Wml (Cliburn) PNWml2 p. 136 ? + **-sich-**, which see [+ ON *gil-* 'a ravine'].

Glendowlin Wml (Yanwath) PNWml1 p. 206 + **glinn-**, which see, + **-duß-**: A. Walker pers comm.

Lowlynn Mill Ntb (Lowick) + river-name Low, see **luch**.

Stirling ? + **-*īstriw-**, see ***īster**.

b2) Lincluden Kcb (Terregles) PNGall p. 196 + river-name Cluden, see **clūd** and **-an**, but also **lann**.

Lincom Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 196 + **-cam[b]**, which see.

Linlithgow WLo PNWLo pp. 53-4, CPNS p. 384: probably a secondary formation on a pre-existing **-*lejth-** or **-luit-** + **-*cöü**.

c2) Bedlay EDnb (Cadder), with Bothlin Burn, + **bod-**, Gaelicised to ***bod-** 'a clump' + **-leathann** 'broad' (see **līdan**), but could be a compound (b1).

Croglin Cmb PNCmb p. 183 ? + **crūg-**, but the location favours ON *krókr-* > 'crook', 'a bend' + OE *-hlynn* 'a torrent'.

Traverlen MLo (= Duddingstone) CPNS p. 360, and see Barrow (1980), p. 40 + **treß-** + **-ī[r]**-, but see also **wūr** for ***wūr-len**.

Tail o'Ling Wml (Bampton) PNWml2 p. 197 ? + **tāl-** (which see) + **-ī[r]**.

*lī:s[s] (m or f)

Early Celtic ***līssō-/ā-** > Br ***līssō-/ā-** > M-MnW *llys*, Corn ***lys** (in place-names, CPNS pp. 150-1), Bret *lez*; OIr *les* > MIr *lis* > Ir, G *lios*.

On the vowel-length, see LHEB §35(2) at p. 343, and the note on Leece Lanc below. On the gender, see GMW §34, p. 34.

Judging by Old Irish, the reference was originally to a pallisaded enclosure (in contrast to an embanked *ráth*, see **rōd**), and thence to the open space around a house within such an enclosure, so, roughly speaking, 'a courtyard' (see Toner 1998-2000. pp. 21-2). In the Brittonic languages, ***lī:s[s]** developed to 'a court, a palace, an administrative centre', though the implication of high status may not always be present in Brittonic place-names: see Padel, CPNE pp. 150-1, and *dem* 2023 pp. 280-6 for the significance of ***lys** sites in Cornwall and *lez* in Brittany.

In Ulster and Leinster *lios* apparently superseded *ráth* as the preferred term for a chieftain's dwelling (typically a ring-fort) by the tenth century (Toner op. cit. p. 30, see also Flanagan, IrPN pp. 111-15, and McKay, DUPN p. 154 and examples indexed there), though even in those regions it is not associated with major centres of power, and eventually in both Irish and Scottish Gaelic it declined to the yard or enclosed garden of any house. On the other hand, A. MacDonald, (1987, pp. 50-1) argues that in Scotland, where Gaelic *lios* is much less common than in Ireland, its meaning probably came under the influence of Pictish usage, and so is associated with places of administrative importance. Taylor (2009 pp. 71-4, also PNFif5 pp. 426-8) argues further that

they may have had special ecclesiastical significance; of those listed below, Kirkliston, Lasswade, Lesmahagow and Leswalt all became mediaeval parishes, and Lesmahagow and possibly Lessnessock are formed with (Irish) saints' names. All examples south of the Forth are listed below, although Lesmahagow and Lessudden are likely to be Gaelic formations, and others may be.

a1) Leece Lanc (Urswick) PNLanc p. 209: Ekwall favoured OE *lēas*, plural of *lēah*, 'clearings'. Jackson, LHEB §35(2) at p. 343, disagreed, and scholarly opinion remains divided (compare Mills 1976 p. 104, with Watts in DEPN(C) s.n.); a reasonably sure parallel for simplex **Li:s[s]* is Liss Hmp. If this name is Brittonic, it was adopted by English speakers after the new quantity system, i.e. probably after 600 (see LHEB §§34-5, pp. 338-44, and Sims-Williams 1990 at p. 240). See also Edmonds (2013) at p. 22.

Kirkliston WLo and MLo PNWLo pp. 39-40, PNMLo pp. 159-60 [+ OE *-tūn* 'a farm', later + Scots *kirk-* in an 'inversion' formation]. The Catstane and associated burials on the eastern edge of this parish imply a high-status centre of power in the early Christian period: see I. Smith (1996) at p. 23; on the Barony of Liston, see PNMLo and PNWLo loc. cit.

Listonshiels MLo (Currie) PNMLo p. 203 [+ OE *-tūn*, + Scots *-shiels* 'huts, bothies']: associated with the Barony of Liston?

a2) *Lessens* Kcb (Minigaff) MacDonald (1987) p. 42 ? + *-in* [+ Scots plural *-is*].

Lissens Ayr (Dalry) MacDonald (1987) p. 42 likewise; poorly documented, possibly transferred from *Lessens* Kcb.

b1) *Garlies* Kcb (Minigaff) PNGall pp. 141-2 + **garth-** or ***garw-**. This was a power-base and stronghold by the 13th ct, see Brooke (1992) at p. 319; could be Gaelic **gart-* or *garbh-lios*. For *Garlieston* Wig, see under **garth**.

b2) *Lasswade* MLo PNMLo p. 275 ? + *-wī:ð*; Dixon gives OE *lāswē* 'pasture' (genitive) + *-[ǣ]wæd* 'ford'.

Lesmahagow Lnk CPNS pp. 196-7, Taylor (2009) p. 93 + saint's name *-Mo Fhégu*, hypocorism of Féichin (see Ó Riain 2011 pp. 309-11 s.n. Féichin); a Gaelic formation, for discussion of the name, and of the subsequent association with the British saint Machutus, see Taylor *ibid.*, pp. 71-4, and Macquarrie (2012) pp. 381-2.

Lessnessock Ayr (Ochiltree) MacDonald (1987) p.42 ?-**ness-** + *-ōg*, perhaps a lost stream-name; otherwise this might be a Gaelic hypocorism **Nessóg* for a saint's name such as Neas (a female saint associated with N.E. Ulster, see Ó Riain 2011 p. 514).

Lessudden Rox (St. Boswells) PNRox p. 34 ? + **-ed-** + **-winn** but see under that element; J. Macdonald gives OE *lās-* 'meadow' + *-sīde-* 'side' + *-*winn* 'pasture'.

Leswalt Wig CPNS p. 180, PNGall p. 195 ? + **-wel[t]**, which see for discussion.

Restalrig MLo (Edinburgh, South Leith) PNMLo pp. 135-7 + *-?*; Dixon gives northern English *lestal-* 'a heap of rubbish, a dunghill' + Scots *-rigg* 'ridge'.

c2) *Treales* Lanc (Kirkham) PNLanc p. 152, JEPNS17 p. 88 + **treβ-** + **-i[r]**-: see discussion under both these elements regarding the likelihood that **treβ-** + **-i[r]**- is a late, Cumbric toponymic formation, probably from the short period of Scandinavian rule over the Fylde in the early 10th ct. See CPNE p. 151 for comparable place-names in Cornwall, Wales and Brittany.

*loβ

IE **lop-* (o-grade of **lep-* 'peel') > eCelt **lop-* > O-MIr *lobur* > Ir, G *lobhar*, Mx *lour-*, also OIr *loboid* > Ir, G *lobhaid*, Mx *loaid*; cf. Gk *lepís* 'a scale, a peel', *léprā* 'peeling skin, leprosy', adopted as Lat *lepra* > OFr *lepre*, adopted as M-MnE 'leper'.

A verbal root associated with ‘peeling away, decomposition, decay’, especially of diseased, leprous skin. In Old Irish, *lobur-* means ‘weak, diseased (especially with leprosy)’, and the verb *lobaid* ‘decays’.

The status of any derivative from this root in Brittonic is very doubtful. The Juvenius gloss *lobur: infirmus* is surely Middle Irish, not Old Welsh: see LHEB pp. 50-1 and §33, pp. 337-8.

a2) Aberlady ELo CPNS pp. 460-1 ? + **-ed** + **-īg**, + secondarily **aber-**. Watson, CPNS loc. cit., following the hint in the Aberdeen Breviary, identifies this as the *ostium fetoris* of VK(H), making *Aberlessic* (ibid.) the mouth of the nearby Gosford Burn. However, see Jackson’s objections (1958), pp. 290-1, also King (2014), and discussions under ***l̥e:β** and ***lūs**. Catlowdy Cmb (= Lairdstown, Nicholforest) PNCmb p. 105 perhaps a lost stream-name + **-ed-**, + secondarily **-īg**, + subsequently ***cach-**, which see [or OE *cacc-*]; Watson, CPNS p.101 associates this with Lothian, but see discussion under **lūch**; see also Breeze (2018)..

*lōd (m?)

Early Celtic **lāto-* > Br **lāto-* > M-MnW *llawd*; O-MnIr *láth*, early G *lath*.

The early etymology is doubtful. A relationship with Gmc **flōðuz* > OE *flōd* > ‘flood’ is possible, but the Indo-European **plo-* adduced for this is questionable. Greek *plúein* ‘flow’, *plōtós* ‘flowing’, a likely cognate of **flōðuz*, may be from IE **g^wels-*, cf. Skt *galati* ‘flows’.

‘Rut, heat’ in animals ready to mate. In Irish, and possibly also in Welsh, poetry, it can mean the ‘ardour’ of a warrior, and, by metonymy, ‘a warrior’.

c1) Leeds YWR PNYWR4 pp. 124-5 ? + *-is*. Jackson (1946 and 1947) proposed an ethnic name (probably based on an early river name, presumably that of the Aire), **Lātissi-* or similar, Latinised as **Lātenses*, British Latin **L̥t̥eses*, adopted as OE **Lōdis* > *Loidis*, as in HE II.14, with OE i-mutation: see Breeze (2019b).

Ledsham YWR PNYWR4 p. 49 [+ OE *-hām* ‘a farm, an estate’] and Ledston YWR PNYWR4 p. 50 [+ OE *-tūn* ‘a farm’] are probably both from the same ethnic and *regio* name as Leeds. Lothianburn MLo (Lasswade) CPNS p. 101, PNMLo p. 284 ? + **-an**, but see discussion under **lūch**, and also ***lud**.

Tralodden Ayr (Old Dailly) perhaps a stream-name + **-an**, + secondarily **treβ-**, but see also ***lud**.

log (m?)

Lat *locus* ‘a place’ adopted as Br **loco-* > OW *loc* > MW *lloc*, MCorne **lok* (in a place-name, CPNE pp. 151-2), MBret *lok* (mainly in place-names); OIr *loc* > Ir *log*, G *lag*, Mx *lagg*.

See EGOW p. 106.

In the Brittonic languages the meanings follow fairly closely those that developed in insular Latin: firstly, probably (as in Gaul), ‘the burial-place of a holy person’, then ‘consecrated ground’, then ‘a religious house’, and eventually ‘a chapel’. Secular senses proved more dominant in the Goidelic languages, and the word fell together in Scottish Gaelic with *lag* ‘a hollow’.

Lok is common as a place-name element (though not otherwise) in Brittany, where it is associated with minor chapels rather than ancient parishes, and is probably not early (Padel 2023, pp. 288-9); in Cornwall it occurs only once (Luxulyan CPNE pp. 151-2, and 2023, p. 299; Padel sees 'an outlier of the Breton distribution', and (while it is hard to distinguish **llog* in recorded forms from *lloc* 'pen', *llwch* 'pool', or *llech* 'slab'), there seem to be few if any convincing examples in; Wales.

Latin *locus* occurs on two or three inscribed stones in southern Scotland:

CIIC515 Yarrowkirk Slk: early-mid 6th ct. IN LOCO..., the burial-place of two PRINCIPES, lay Christian aristocrats.

CIIC519 Whithorn Wig: late 6th – early 7th ct. It probably stood by the old road from Whithorn to the Isle of Whithorn, possibly marking a burial-ground and/or the entrance to the monastic precinct. IN LOGI (or LOCI) ... PETRI APVSTOLI may indicate the dedication of the monastery. See Craig (1997) at pp. 616-17.

CIIC2024 Peebles: lost and undated. LOCVS SANCTI...EPISCOPI, presumably marking the burial-place and/or religious house of a saintly bishop. The transcription of the third word as NICOLAI is almost certainly anachronistic, the amendment of this to NINIAMI is exceedingly speculative.

See LHEB §9, p. 291, and CIB †17 at p. 49 and n174 for discussion of phonological issues arising from these, and CIB p. 363 for the dates. See also C. Thomas (1998) for discussion of *locus* in these inscriptions. On Bede's use of *locus* (for Lichfield Stf), see J. Campbell (1979) at p. 35.

For discussion of *Locus Maponi* PNRB pp. 395-6, see ***luch**, but note Padel CPNE p. 151 favours **log** here.

In eastern Scotland north of the Forth, 'Logie', **log-īn*, appears to be an important element in parish- and other names, see Clancy (2016), pp. 25 - 88.

b1) Clancy (2016), in appendix 2, pp. 71 – 80, considers possible evidence for **log** as a place-name element in southern Scotland in these four place-names:

Lochkindeloch Kcb (= New Abbey) + ? pers. n.

Lochmaben Dmf + pers. n. *Mabon*, see **mab**.

Lochwinnoch Rnf + saint's name *Winnoch* (= *Winnian*).

Loquhariot MLo (Borthwick) ? + **-worę:d**, but see discussion under that heading.

c2) *Barloke* Kcb (Borgue): see ***luch**.

logōd (f)

Lat *locāta*, British Lat **logāda*, adopted as Br **logādā* -> M-eMnW *llogawd*.

In insular Latin, probably 'a piece of land set aside' in some sense: cf. Ælfric's Glossary 115.21 *locatus: behyring* 'a lease, a letting', and in Modern Welsh *llogawd* 'something partitioned off'. In Middle to early Modern Welsh, one sense of the adopted word is 'a monastery', but when this usage developed, and whether it was contemporary with or later than the use of **log** in that sense, is unknown.

a2) *Arlecdon* Cmb PNCmb p. 335 + **ar-** [+ OE *-denu* 'a valley']. Perhaps this was associated with the monastery of St Bees, which probably originated as an Irish foundation in the 10th ct, named after the Irish St Bega (possibly 7th ct), and which held land in this parish in the later middle ages. See Coates, CVEP p. 285. Ekwall, DEPN(O) s.n., followed by PNCmb loc. cit., proposed OE **earn-lacu* 'eagle-stream', but note Watts's doubts, DEPN(C). Otherwise ***ar-loch**, see **luch**.

c2) Barlocco, with Barlocco Isle, Kcb (Borgue), not in PNGall ? + **barr-**; the proximity of Barlocco (Borgue) to the early Christian site on Ardwall Isle, probably monastic at least in the later phases (see C. Thomas 1967), may be significant, but Gaelic *bàrr-* or *baile-* + *-locha* 'small loch', is also appropriate here; see the next entry, and A.G. James (2011b). Barlocco Kcb (Rerrick), with Barlocco Bay and Barlocco Heugh, PNGall p. 26 ? + **barr-**; there is no loch here (being on porous limestone), but nor is there any known early monastic site nearby, though one on Hestan Isle is a possibility, see James op. cit., and for Barloke and Barluka see **luch**.

*lōn

IE **pl-* (zero-grade of **pel-* 'fill') + *-n-* > eCelt **lāno-/ā-* > Br **lāno-/ā-* > MW *laun* W *llawn*, Corn *lun*; O-MnIr *lán*, G *làn*; cogn. Gmc **fuln-* > OE *full* > 'full', Skt *purṇā*, and cf. (from lengthened grade **pēl-n-*) Lat *plēnus*.

On the etymology, see GOI §215(1), p. 131.

'Full, abundant'. A possible but unrecorded homonym, a Brittonic cognate of Old to Modern Irish *slán* 'healthy', might be relevant to the river-names below: cf. the R Slaney (*Sléine*) in south-east Ireland.

a1) Lune R, with Lancaster and Lonsdale, ERN pp. 270-1, PNLanc pp. 167-8 and 174, JEPNS17 p. 97. Wilkinson (2004) suggests that **Lānum* was the name of the Roman fort at Lancaster (cf. PNRB pp. 383-4 for an unlocated place of this name probably north of the Antonine Wall). This would reflect a river-name **Lānā-*. The variations between *a* and *o* in recorded forms for Lancaster and Lonsdale reflect both the late Old to early Middle English shortening of the vowel and the location near the dialectal isophone boundaries between [an] and [on], and [aŋ] and [oŋ]: see Trudgill (1990), pp. 32-5 and 40-1. However, forms with *Lane-* may imply adoption by Germanic speakers as early as the fifth century.

The vowel in the river-name retained its length and was subject to northern ME raising, [ō] > [ü]. Lune R, with Lonton, YNR ERN pp. 270-1, PNYNR p. 4.

*long (f)

Early Celtic **longā-* > Br **longā-* > M-MnW *llong*; O-MnIr, G *long*, Mx *lhong*.

On the phonology, see LHEB §4, pp. 272-3.

'A ship'. Originally probably any boat, its association with larger sailing vessels being influenced by Latin *navis longa*. The Latin adjective is, nevertheless, unrelated to the Celtic noun.

Rivet and Smith see a tribal name, **Longovices*, behind *Longovicium* PNRB pp. 398-9, the Roman fort at Lanchester Drh, + **-wīg**, though the formative *-o-* is unexplained. The English town-name probably preserves the first syllable, its development having been influenced by identification with OE *lang* 'long', which survives as *lang* in northern English: see DDRhPN p. 70.

l̄or (m)

?IE(NW) **plh_a-* (zero-grade of **pelh_a-* ‘set in motion’) + *-r-* > eCelt **lāro-* > Br **lāro-* > OW *laur* > MW *laur* > W *llawr*, OCorn *lor* > Corn *lur*, OBret *lor*; O-MnIr *lár*, G *làr*, Mx *laare*; cogn. Gmc **flōruz* > OE *flor* > ‘floor’.

See EGOW p. 101.

‘A floor, a flat place, earth’.

c2) Carlowrie WLo (Dalmeny) PNWLo p. 5 + **cajr-** + **-īn**, but see also **laβar** and **lowern**.

losg (m)

IE **leuk-* (see **lūch**) > eCelt **leuc-* + *-sco-* > Br **l̄oxsco-* > OW *losc-* > MW *losg* > W *llog*, O-MnCorn *losc*, Bret *losk*; cf. OIr verb *loiscid* > Ir *loisc*, G *loisg*, Mx *losht*, Ir noun *loisc* ‘a burn, a scald’.

See EGOW p. 106, LHEB §§125-6, pp. 535-40.

‘A fire, a conflagration’, from verbal root **leuk-*. By metonymy, in place-names, ‘a burnt place, a place cleared by burning’.

a1) Luce, Water of, Wig PNGall pp. 204-5; but see under ***lūs**.

a2) Newton Arlosh Cmb (Holme E Waver) PNCmb p. 291 + **ar-**, which see; otherwise ***lūs-** + **-ōg**, see under ***lūs**.

c2) Aberlosk Dmf (Eskdalemuir) CPNS p. 460, PNDmf p. 35 + **aber-**, which see; again, otherwise ***lūs-** + **-ōg**, see under ***lūs**.

A number of topographic names in Kirkcudbrightshire might involve this element: these are hill-names, where Gaelic *loisgte* is otherwise possible (see (Ó’ Maolalaigh 2022b p. 288)); Craiglosk Kcb (Balmaclellan) PNGall p. 88, (+ **cr̄g:** or Gaelic *creag*), Loskie, Big and Little (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 204, and Luskie Hill (Twynholm) PNGall p. 205, these + **-īg**; three more names refer to watercourses or adjacent marshy areas, so ***lūs-** or Gaelic *lus* possible: Corselusk Strand (Kells, ? + **cors-**), Luskie Burn (Twynholm), and Luskie Dam and Plantation (Dalry), these + **-īg**.

lost (f)

IE(NW) **luh_x-* (zero-grade of **leuh_x-* ‘hunt’) + *-st-* > eCelt **lustā-* > Br **lustā-* > OW(LL) *lost* > M-eMnW *llost*, M-MnCorn *lost*, Bret *lost*; M-MnIr, eG *los*; cf. ON *lustr* ‘a cudgel’, and/or *ljóstr* > eMnE *lister*, northern English and Scots *leister* ‘a two-pronged fishing-spear’.

The etymology is uncertain. For the proposed Indo-European root, see OIPrIE §22.15 at pp. 402-3.

If the etymology above is correct, the original reference was to some kind of hunting weapon. However, it is chiefly used in the Celtic languages (metaphorically?) for ‘a tail’, although other senses such as ‘butt, back end’ and ‘penis’ should be taken into account.

a2) Lostock R, with Lostock Hall (Walton-le-Dale) and Lostock Bridge (Ulnes Walton, Croston), PNLanc p. 127+ -**ōg**. Ekwall in PNLanc sees this as primarily a settlement-name, cf. Lostock Hall (Eccles) and Lostock (Bolton-le-Moors) elsewhere in Lancashire (PNLanc pp. 39 and 42, and see JEPNS17 p. 37). He derives all these from OE *hlōse-* ‘a pig-sty’ + *-stoc* ‘place, a secondary settlement’ (see also Ekwall, 1936, at p. 41). However, in DEPN(O), s.n. Lostock Gramam Che, he suggests that **lostōg* might be a Brittonic word for ‘a beaver’, though note that Middle Cornish *lostek* glosses *vulpes* ‘a fox’. Dodgson, PNCh2 p. 189 follows Ekwall’s earlier interpretation, *hlōse-stoc*, for Lostock Gramam.

c2) Troloss Lnk (Elvanfoot) CPNS p. 362 + **treß-**; Watson compares G *gasg* ‘a tail’, ‘often applied to “a tail” of land, i.e. a place where a plateau ends in an acute angle and narrows down to vanishing point’, though this seems doubtfully appropriate here.

lōwadr (m? earlier n?)

IE(WC) **leuh-* ‘wash, bathe’ > eCelt **lō:w-* + *-atro-* > Br **lāwatro-*, Gaul *lautro-* > (not found in Welsh or Cornish) MBret *louazr* > Bret *laouer*; OIr *lóthar* > Ir, G *lothar*; cf. Lat *lavo* ‘I wash’, Gmc **lauprom* > OE *lēaðor*, ON *lauðr*, > ‘lather’, Gk *loutrón* ‘a bath’.

‘A washing or bathing place’, so, in the Goidelic languages, ‘a trough, basin or channel’, either natural (a firm, shallow river-bed) or artificial. See discussion by Jackson (1970) at p. 75, and Rivet and Smith in PNRB, p. 384.

Both the above refer to *Lavatris* PNRB loc. cit., identified as the Roman fort at Bowes YNR. The name may have been formed from a Brittonic name for the river now Greta (< ON *grjót-á* ‘boulder- river’).

River-names are likely to underlie the following:

a1) Lauder Bwk CPNS p. 471: the relationship between this name and the river-name Leader is extremely perplexing, see ***led**. Breeze (2000a) offers an alternative etymology from **lawedr*, cf. MW *llawedrawr* ‘a heap of ruins’.

Lowther, with R Lowther, Wml ERN pp. 266-7, PNWml1 p. 9 and 2 p. 182: early forms are similar or identical to those for Lauder, the development of intervocalic [d] to [ð] being sporadic but not unusual in Middle English. Ekwall, ERN p. 267, alternatively suggests ON **lauðr-á* ‘lather, foam river’, but see Watts’s phonological objections, DEPN(C) s.n.

lowern, **lewirn*, (both m)

IE **wlop-* > eCelt **lop-* + *-erno-* > Br, Gaul *lowerno-* > OW(LL) *laguern*, *leuyrn*, *louern* (in place-names, LL pp. 207, 142, 175) > M-eMnW *llywern*, *llewyrn* (see below), OCorn *louuern* > Corn *lowarn*, OBret *Louuern-*, *Loern* (in place- and personal names) > Bret *louarn*, Vannetais dialect *luhern*; OIr *loarn* (in personal and ethnic names); cf. Lat *vulpēs*, Gk *alōpós*, Skt *lopāṣa* ‘a jackal, a fox’.

See LHEB §6(3), pp. 279-81, §48(2), p. 384, and §208(B5), pp. 677-8, and CIB #19 at p. 72, #27 at pp. 98-9, #80 at p. 226 n1418, and #84 at p. 231. On forms with *lewī-* see Schrijver (1995), pp. 61-2, and idem (1998). For discussion of a Continental example, see *Louerion* in DCCPN p. 151.

‘A fox’, though note that Schrijver in the works cited above argues that forms with *lewī-* are not plurals < **lowerni-*, but derived from **lowernjo-* and mean ‘a fox-like thing, a will o’ the wisp’.

In West Brittonic, as in Goidelic, this seems to have survived mainly or exclusively in place- and personal names. See Breeze in CVEP pp. 67-9 on this element in river-names, and Padel (1978) at p. 24 n10 for personal names.

In CA LXXXVIII, *Pais Dinogad*, the phrase *llewyn a llwyvein* is apparently a formula referring to a pair of hunters’ quarries, either or both being, perhaps, garbled forms of words related to **lowern**: see Williams’s note to CA line 324, Jackson’s to YGod (KJ) p. 151, and Jarman’s to YGod (AJ), line 1012.

a2) Balernock Dnb (Garelochhead) Ross (2001) p. 23 + **bod-** + **-ōg**: possibly *-*lewirn-*, see above, in a lost stream-name, or a personal (saint’s?) name, **Lewirnōg*.

Balornock Lnk CPNS p. 202 + **bod-** + **-ōg**: again, a lost stream-name, or a personal (saint’s?) name, here **Lowernōg*.

Carlowrie WLo (Dalmeny) PNWLo p. 5 + **cajr-**: possibly translated as Foxhall (PNWLo P. 41), see Wilkinson in WLoPN p. 22. Or else + **-laβar-** or **-lōr-**, + **-īn**.

luch (m), **loch*

IE(NW) **lokus* > eCelt ? **louco-*, also **loco-*, > Br **lō:co-*, Gaul *-luco-*, also *-loco-*, > OW *luch-* > M-eMnW *llwch*, Corn **loch* (in coastal place-names, CPNE p. 152), OBret *loh-* > MBret *loch* > Bret *loc’h*; O-MnIr, G *loch*, Mx *logh*; cogn. Lat *lacus* > OFr *lac*, adopted as ME *lac* > ‘lake’, OE *lagu* ‘water, flood, sea’, Gk *lákkos* ‘a pond, a tank’; adopted from Gaelic as Scots *loch*.

The etymology of this group of words is problematic. For the early developments see OIPriE §8.3 at p. 128, GOI §80(a) note, DCCPN p. 23 s.v. *locu-* and EGOW p. 103, but cf. Hamp (1994) at p. 12, proposing a non-Indo-European root **lak-*.

Jackson, following Förster, sees the Old to early Modern Welsh forms as adopted from Old Irish (LHEB §146 at p. 568), but cf. Sims-Williams (1996) at pp. 39-40. Hamp, loc. cit., sees them as having been influenced by early Celtic **leucco-/ā-* > Br **lō:cco-/ā-* > neoBritt **lūch* > M-MnW *lluch* ‘bright, shining’, also ‘lightning’. See under **lūch** for discussion of this and also of early Celtic **luco-/ā-*, another possible influence.

The meaning in Brittonic is generally ‘marshy or brackish water’, whether in a pool, a lake or (as often in Welsh, Cornish and Breton place-names), a dune slack, tidal creek or marshy estuary.

The Brittonic word was adopted into Northumbrian Old English (10th ct. gloss in the Lindisfarne Gospels) as *luh*, becoming northern English and Border Scots *lowe*, *lough*, pronounced /lʌ/, as in The Loch of the Lowes Kcb (Minigaff) and Slk (Yarrow), Lowes Lochs Kcb (Balmaclellan), Lough Cmb (x2: St Cuthbert Without and Plumpton Wall; also *Ortonlogh* with Lough House in Orton, and *the Loughe*, a meadow in Waverton: PNCmb pp. 149, 234-5, 145 and 160) and *The Forest of Lowes* (1329) Ntb – this was the district lying west of the North Tyne, with Broomley, Crag, Greenlee, Grindon and Littlow Loughs within its bounds. However, where a final fricative consonant, /ɣ/ or /χ/ is evidenced, Goidelic origin or influence may be involved, see DOST s.n. *loch*.

Rivet and Smith, PNRB pp. 394-6, see **l̥o:co-* or **loco-* in two Roman-British place-names: *Locatrebe* + **-treβ**: unlocated, probably associated with a crannog (or crannog-dwelling folk) in southern Scotland, or a Roman fort-name derived from such a name, such as the one at Glenlochar Kcb (see Lochar Water Kcb below, but also **lūch**).

Locus Maponi + deity name *Maponus*, see **mab**: they identify this as Lochmaben Dmf, with Gaelicised *loch-*, but Padel, CPNE p. 151, favours **log**, which see.

They reject an early British **louco-* in Ptolemy's *Loukopibia*, though Hill (1997) p. 27 argues for its appropriateness at Whithorn: see **lūch**.

a1) North or Goswick Low, R, Ntb PNNtb p. 137.

South Low, R, with Lowlynn Mill and Lowick, Ntb ERN pp. 264–5, PNNtb p. 137.

Black Low, R Ntb PNNtb p. 137.

All these may be from a form of this element with short *-o-*, though Coates, CVEP pp. 242-3 and 255, argues for a Goidelic origin. Lowlynn may be + **-linn** or OE(Ntb) *hlynn* > northern English *linn* (see **linn**). The North Low is a short, tidal river; the South Low a more substantial watercourse with a marshy estuary, in which the Black Low is a tidal creek. Note that *Aber Lleu*, the reputed site of the assassination of Urien, can only be identified with any of these if the name had been re-modelled in Welsh legend as *lleu* < *lūy*, see **lūch**.

a2) Arlecdon Cmb PNCmb p. 335 + **ar-** [+OE *-denu* 'a valley']: a **loch* form? But this is an inland location, and see **logōd**.

Lochar Water, with Lochar Moss, Dmf PNDmf p. 110 ? + **ar-**; both this and the next entry may have a river-name of the 'Loughor' type, but **luch-** 'marshy or brackish water' is very suitable for either; Gaelic *luachair* 'rushes' (*Juncus* spp.) is also plausible, and see also under **lūch**.

Lochar Water Kcb, with Glenlochar (Balmaghie), PNGall p. 149 + **glinn-** (or Gaelic *gleann-* or Scots *glen-*) + **ar-**; or else **lūch**, which see regarding the possible identification with *Loukopibia*.

b1) Barloke Kcb (Borgue) PNGall p. 26 + **barr-**: Barloke Moss being a small eutrophic bog overlooked by hills, this, or Gaelic **bàrr-locha*, seems likely. Maxwell, PNGall loc. cit., compares Barlocco (Borgue) and Barluka (Twynholm) PNGall p. 26; there is a small loch near Barlocco (Borgue) and a very small one below Barluka Hill, but no loch in the vicinity of Barlocco (Rerrick, not in PNGall): see **logōd**.

Dowlache Lanc (Ince Blundell) (not in PNLanc): P. B. Russell (1992) proposes + **duβr-**, but see also **dūβ** and **glę:ss**.

Barlue Hill Kcb (Balmaghie) PNGall p. 26 (listed as Barlue, presumably once a farm-name) ? + **barr-**, or Gaelic *baile-* 'a farm': either way, it could be based on a lost stream-name from **luch**. Note its proximity to Lochar Water, above.

b2) Leuchold WLo (Dalmeny) PNWLo p. 8 ? + **-wel[t]**, which see: Wilkinson, WLoPN p. 27, proposes *lluch* 'bright, shining' here, see above and under **lūch**.

Loch Ryan Wig + **rīy-on-*, see ***rīy** for this and *luch reon* in BT34: Gaelicised to *loch-*.

c2) Carluke Lnk + **cajr-**: well inland, but note Boghall to the south, with several pools. Otherwise + **-lūch**, which see.

lūch, lūy

IE **leuk-* > eCelt **leuco-/ā-* > Br **l̥o:co-/ā-*, cf. OW *lou-* > M-MnW *lleu* 'light', OBret *luc-*, *luh-* > MBret *lu-*; OIr *lóch* > Ir, G *luach*; cogn. Lat *lucēo* 'I shine', *lux* 'light', *lūcus* 'a sacred grove', Gmc **lauχ-* > OE *lēah* '(a settlement in) open or cleared ground in woodland', later 'pasture, meadow' (see LPN pp. 237-42, Hooke 2008), and cf. WGmc **leuχ-tam* > OE *lēoht* > 'light', Gk *leukós* 'white', Skt *rucati* 'shines'; see also **lę:n**, **losg** and ***lumon**.

See OIPrIE §20.3 p. 328, also §20.2 at pp. 325-6, DCCPN p. 22 s.v. *leuco-*, LHEB §18(3) p. 307 and §75(3) pp. 441-2, and CIB #80 pp. 225-7.

‘Bright, shining’, as a colour term, ‘white’, but note the zero-grade **luk-* > eCelt **luco-/ā-* > eMnW *llug* and O-MIr *lóch* > Ir *loch*, G *lòch*, all meaning ‘(shining, reflective) black’. The latter might be present in, or have influenced, some hydronyms: see King (2005), also Taylor’s discussion of Lochty Burn Fif, PNFif1 pp. 46-7. Another related word that might possibly occur in place-names is early Celtic **leucco-/ā-* > Br **l̥o:cco-/ā-* > neoBritt **lūch* > M-MnW *lluch* ‘bright, shining’, also ‘lightning’, see under **luch** for discussion of both of these.

On the cult of the deity *Lugus* (MW *Lleu*, Ir and G *Lugh*) see PCB pp. 319-24, DCML pp. 135-6, DCM pp. 270-2 and 274-5. However, the supposed connection between the deity-name and the root **leuk-* is problematic: see DCCPN p. 23, and LHEB §75(3) at p. 441. The form *Lugos* reflects middle Roman-British (and late Gaulish) phonology, with Br **l̥o:cos* < **loucos* < **leucos*; for subsequent developments see LHEB §75(3) p. 441.

Ancient instances include:

Leucaro: Watson CPNS, p. 433, and Jackson (1948), p. 57, associated this with the Lugar Water Ayr (see below), proposing + **-ar**. However, Rivet and Smith, PNRB pp. 388-9, accepted Jackson’s revised opinion (LHEB p. 688 n2) that this was on the R Loughor Gln, deriving the latter from a ‘by-form’ **Luccarā-*: see also Pierce (2002), pp. 33-4 and DPNW p. 302.

Loukopibía, *Loukopiábia* PNRB pp. 389-90. Rivet and Smith, following LHEB §18(3) n1, p. 307, read this as **Leuc-owjā*, Latinised **Leucovia*, cf. R Luggie below. A *pólis* of the *Novantae*, so unlikely to be associated with the Luggie. Rivet and Smith propose the Roman fort at Glenloch Kcb (see below, but also **luch** for *Locatrebe*), but see Hill (1997), p. 27, on the possibility that it might have been Whithorn. *Lugundunum* PNRB pp. 401-2: Rivet and Smith read as **Lugudunum*, + **-dīn**. The location is unknown, though probably in the North: see Leven Seat, Londesborough, Lothian, Loudon and *Lugdo[u]re* below.

Aber Lleu, the site of Urien’s assassination according to *Canu Llywarch Hên* (Williams ed., 1935, p. 15, see also Rowlands (1990) pp. 91, 99n62 and 561), though presumably close to *Metcaud* (Lindisfarne), is unlikely to be any of the Rivers Low Ntb, unless a Middle Welsh poet reinterpreted the Anglicised name (Sims-Williams (1996) p. 38 n44 and 40-2): see **luch**, and Coates in CVEP pp. 242-3 and 255.

A personal name **Luguwalos*, + **-wal**, ‘Lug-mighty’, underlies Carlisle Cmb PNCmb pp. 40-1 + **cajr-** (which see). The formation is **Lugu-wal-j-on-* > *Luguvalium*, *Caer Liguallid*: see PNRB p. 402, Jackson LHEB §172 at p. 607 and §175 at p. 616, and idem (1963) at pp. 80-1, Haycock 2013 p. 24 n30 (and on *Lliwelydd* as a girl’s name, possibly played upon in apparent references to Carlisle in mediaeval Welsh poetry, *ibid.* pp. 11 and 33 n54).

On early river-names of the ‘Lugg (Hrf)’ type, see ERN p. 268

a1) Ligate, with Ligate Water, Mlo (Stow) PNMLo p. 366 [+ ME/Scots *-gate* road], implies a former stream-name, either **lūch** or Ntbn OE *luh*, see **luch**.

a2) Lochar Water, with Lochar Moss, Dmf PNDmf p. 110 ? + **-ar**, but see **luch**.

Lochar Water Kcb, with Glenloch (Balmaghie), PNGall p. 149 ? + **-ar**, see above regarding *Loukopibía*, but also under **luch**.

Logie Braes WLo (Torphichen) PNWLo p. 96 ? + **-īg**, but cf. Luggie Burn below.

Lugar Water, with Lugar, Ayr CPNS p. 433 + **-ar** or **-dußr**, which see. If not the source of the fort-name *Leucaro* (see above), it could still be from **Leucarā-*.

Luggie Brae WLo (Livingston) WLoPN p. 19 ? + **-īg**: cf. Logie Braes and Luggie Burn.

Luggie Burn WLo (Torphichen) in Lewis (1846) vol. II p. 552 s.n. Torphichen ? + **-īg**, or cf. Luggie Water below, or else this and Logie Braes and Luggie Brae could be **logaich* < early Gaelic *log* ‘a pit or ditch’.

Luggie Water Lnk-EDnb CPNS pp. 443-4 ? + **-īg**, or **lūy-wöi* < *Leucovia* see above: even if this is not connected with Ptolemy’s *Loukopibia* (see above), *Leucovia* could still be the origin, cf. the Welsh river-name Llugwy (x3, in Crn, Mer and Ang).

c1) Leuchold WLo (Dalmeny) PNWLo p. 8 ? + **-wel[t]**, but see **luch**.

Londesborough YER PNYER p. 231 ? + **-dīn-** [+ OE *burh* ‘enclosure, stronghold’]: Wilkinson (2004) at pp. 88-9 equates this with **Lugudunum* (see above), but the Old English genitive singular *-es* implies that the specifier was at least perceived as a personal name **Loden*, cf. the ON personal name *Loðinn*, AS cand *Lothen*: see Fellows-Jensen (1972), p. 148.

Lothian CPNS pp. 101-3 ? + **-dīn-** + suffix *-*jānā-* > *-jōn* > *-iawn*: this etymology, yielding neoBrittonic **lōw’ðinjōn* > Middle Welsh *Lleud[d]iniawn* (as recorded circa 1170) was first proposed anonymously in Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (1924) at p xviii (see Wilkinson, 2004, at pp. 83-4 n46), and subsequently by Koch in YGod(K) at p. 131. It would imply an unlocated **Lugudūnum* somewhere in the region, possibly the *Lugundunum* recorded in the Ravenna Cosmography (see above). However, the suffix ‘would seem to rule out’ such a formation, Haycock 2013, p. 31 n45, which see with *ibid.* pp. 10, 11, 32 n46, and 34 n59, on the occurrence of this name in the 12th cent. ‘Gwalchmai’s Boast’.

Lothianburn MLo (lasswade) CPNS p. 101, PNMLo p. 284 ? + **-dīn-** + suffix *-*jānā-*; this has been identified by Barrow (1985) as a stream-name of the ‘Loddon’ type (see also ***lōd** and **lud**), and as the origin of the regional name, but it seems unlikely that this relatively insignificant stream was ever so toponymically influential. If the burn was not named from the region, it has been influenced by the regional name. Mount Lothian and Lothian Bridge, both MLo, are again probably derivative names, perhaps reflecting their particular significance in the geography of the region: the former, possibly + **mōniō-**, could have been ‘hill pasture of Lothian’, but it is an unlikely candidate for **Lugudunum*.

Lothiangill Cmb (Hesket in Forest) PNCmb p. 206 is probably a transferred name.

Loudon Hill, with Loudon House, Ayrs CPNS p. 433 + **-dīn-**: known as Lothian Hill in the 17th ct. This is another, relatively good, candidate for **Lugudunum*, see Kennedy (1976), pp. 286-7 on the Roman fort-site here.

Lugton Water Ayrs/Rnf, with Lugton Ayrs *Lugdun* Pont + **-duβr**; see Nicolaisen (1958) pp. 189-205, Clancy (2013b) pp. 294-5.

c2) Catlow Fell YWR PNYWR6 p. 201 ? + **-cad-**, but see discussion under that element of this and similar names, as well as in *Catlaevum* VW17.

Carluke Lnk Nicolaisen et al. (1970) p. 62 + **-cajr-**. Breeze (2000-6), pp. 1-2, proposes **-lūch** as the deity-name or a stream-name, but does not explain the final *-k*. Alternatively it may involve a corrupted form of the (hypothetical) saint’s name **Lōsōg*, a **lūch** derivative, misidentified with Luke: see *Eglismalesoch* under **egle:s**, and Barrow (1983) at p. 7. But see also **luch**.

***lud** (f?)

IE (NW) **lhat-* (zero-grade of **leh_at-*, see **leid**), or else **lu-* + *-t-*, ‘excrement’, > eCelt **lutā-* > Br **lutā-*, cf. Bret *loudour* ‘swamp’; O-MnIr, G (Sutherland dialect) *loth*; cogn. Lat *lutum*.

Judging by the cognates, the meaning is ‘mud, mire, mucky water’.

An early place-naming element in Continental Celtic (see DCCPN p. 23, and PNRB pp. 403-4 s.n. *Lutudarum*, but for an alternative view see Breeze, 2002g). British river-names of the ‘Loddon (Brk)’ type are generally taken to be from **lut-nā-*, or else **lut-an-* (see **-an**): see ERN p. 258.

a2) Lothianburn MLo (Lasswade) CPNS p. 101, PNMLo p. 284 has been identified by Barrow (1985) as a stream-name of the ‘Loddon’ type, but see also ***lōd** and **lūy**.

Tralodden Ayr (Old Dailly): the burn here may have had a name of the ‘Loddon’ type, but see also ***lōd**; + **treβ**- in a secondary formation.

*lum[m]

IE ? **plu-sm-* > eCelt **lusmo-/ā-* > Br **lummo-/ā-* > MW *llum* > W *llwm*, Corn **lom* (in place-names, CPNE pp. 152-3); OIr *lomm* > Ir *lom-* (in compounds), G *lom*, Mx *lomm*; cf. Lat *plūma* ‘down, soft feather’.

See GOI §152 p. 94.

‘Naked, bare’. If the Celtic word is from IE **plu-*, the underlying sense is ‘plucked’.

Turner (1966-8) proposed **lumm-jo-*, ‘bare, exposed land’, for place-names of the ‘Lyme’ type, but see discussion of these under ***līm**.

*lumon (m)

Early Celtic **loimono-* > Br **lumono-* > eMnW *llumon*; cf. OIr *láem* > Ir, G *laom*, probably adopted as Scots *lum* and early Modern English (northern) *lumbe* ‘hearth, chimney’ (though OFr *lume* ‘domestic fire, cooking fire’ may have influenced usage); cogn. Lat *lūmen* ‘light’, and cf. ON *ljómi* ‘a beam, ray of light, radiance’.

The etymology is very difficult. A relationship with IE **leuk-* (see **lūch**) and/or Latin *lūmen* seems probable, but the Goidelic (and implied early Celtic) forms are perplexing.

In (early) modern usage in the Celtic languages, ‘a chimney’, earlier perhaps ‘a beacon’. See Hamp (1974b) at pp. 256-8, and West (2007), pp. 265-70, on rituals associated with fire and sacred hearths throughout the Indo-European world, and DCM p. 208 and DCML pp. 99-100 on fire in Celtic traditions.

For Gaelic *laom* in hill-names, note Kenlum Hill (Anwoth) and Kendlum (Rerrick), both Kcb: **ceann-laoim* ‘beacon-head’.

Watson’s suggestion, CPNS p. 212 n1, that ‘Standard’ in northern English and southern Scottish hill-names arose from a confusion between this element and Welsh *lluman* ‘a standard’ is maybe too ingenious.

a1) Ben Lomond Dnb/Stg border, with Loch Lomond Dnb CPNS p. 212: the Anglo-Scots name for the loch is probably from that of the mountain, likewise the Old Welsh *stagnum Lumonoy*, *lacus Lummonu* (HB 67, and see Haycock 2013 p.26 n36 for references in mediaeval Welsh literature), but unlike the modern Gaelic *Leamhain*, which is derived from the river-name, see ***lē:β**. However, the earlier forms *Laoiminn*, *Laomuinn* are cognate with, but not adopted from, ***lumon** and imply that the name was known to Goidelic speakers from an early date. Hamp loc. cit. points out that, like the Lomond Hills Fif (PNFif2, pp. 47-8) and *Pumlumon* (Plynlimon) Crd/Mtg (DPNW p. 401), Ben Lomond is likely to have been perceived as a central point, probably the meeting-point of several territorial boundaries, where a signal beacon and/or ritual fire may well have been frequently lit.

*lury (m)

IE ?*lorgeh_a- > eCelt *lorga- > Br *lorga- > M-MnW *llwry*, *llwrw*, MCorn *lergh*, *lyrch* > Corn *lorgh*, Bret *lerc'h*; O-MnIr *lorg*, G *lorg*, *lurg*, Mx *lorg*; ? cogn. or adopted as ON *lurkr* 'a cudgel, a club'.

See OIPrIE §15.4 at p. 246 and LHEB §87 pp. 466-8.

'A path, a track'. It is hard to disentangle this sense in the Celtic languages from those relating to 'a cudgel, a staff', along with 'a shank' etc., nor is it clear whether these all have a shared origin or have become homonyms. In Irish and Scottish Gaelic place-names, *lorga[n]*, *lurgann*, refer to long, low ridges, presumably perceived as 'shanks, shins': CPNS pp. 412 and 522 n485, IrPN p. 117, DUPN pp. 44, 71 and 102.

c2) Tralorg Ayrs (Old Dailly) CPNS p. 361 + **treß-**: Tralorg Hill is a possible 'shank', but it is crossed by a routeway first recorded in 1774; the final *-g* reflects Gaelic influence.

*lūs (f)

IE *h₁leudh- + past participial *-t-* > eCelt *ludtā- > Br *lussā- > M-MnW *llus*, Corn *lus (in a place-name, CPNE p. 155, and see *ibid.* p. 147 s.v. *les*), Bret *lus*; O-MnIr, G, Mx *lus*.

The verbal root-sense is 'grow, spring up', cf. OE *lēodan* 'grow, spring up', Skt *rudh*, *rodhati* 'sprout, shoot up'). In the Celtic languages it is specifically associated with plants, in the Brittonic ones mainly as a collective noun for 'bilberries, blaeberreries (*Vaccinium myrtillus*)' and other heathland berries, though the secondary plural, Welsh *llys[i]au*, Cornish *losow* (singulative *les*), Breton *louzou*, serves for 'plants' in general and especially 'herbs' (see CPNE p. 147). In the Goidelic languages, *lus* is 'a plant', again especially 'a herb, a green leafy vegetable'.

Aberlessic in VK(H) is seen by Watson, CPNS p. 460, as incorporating a lost river-name *luss-*īco* (with internal *i*-affection, see *-īg*, and cf. Cornish **lese*k in a place-name, as proposed by Padel CPNE p. 147) + **aber-** in a secondary formation. On the identification of this place, see under ***loß**.

a1) Luce, Water of, Wig CPNS p. 522 n439, PNGall pp. 204-5: a Brittonic sense may be preferable to a Goidelic one as this is 'mainly a moorland river', Maxwell PNGall loc. cit., but a more ancient sense of 'springing up' may be appropriate. Otherwise, some other derivative of **leuk-* may be involved, or this may belong to the 'Lox' family of 'ancient' river-names, whose meaning may be 'twisted', < IE **lok-seh*₂, cf. MlIr *losc* 'crippled', 'lame', Gk *loksós* 'crooked', Lat *luscus* 'one-eyed', see Isaac 2005, p. 196, but also LHEB §126, p. 536 especially n. 2, and see also **losg**.

a2) Newton Arlosh Cmb (Holme E Waver) PNCmb p. 291 + **ar-**, which see; this etymology would imply a lost stream-name to which the comments above on Luce would apply; but see also **losg**.

a2) Aberlosk Dmf (Eskdalemuir) CPNS p. 460, PNDmf p. 35: this too implies a lost stream-name, perhaps **luss-āco-* (see *-ōg*) or similar, + **aber-** in secondary formation. Again, presumably a moorland burn.

Corselusik Strand Kcb (Kells) ? + **cors-** + **-ōg**.

M

-μα, *may* (n, later f)

IE **māǵ[h₂]-* (zero-grade of **meǵ[h₂]-* ‘great’) > eCelt **mago-* > Br **magā-* (see PNRB p. 406 s.n. *Magis*, but cf. Gaul *magos*, *magēs-*, *-magus*, ‘a dwelling’, see DCCPN pp. 23-4)

OW *-ma*, *-ua* > M-MnW *-fa*, also *ma-* in place-names, O-MnCorn **-va* (in place-names, see CPNE pp. 155-6), OBret *-ua*, Bret **-va* (in place-names); OIr *mag* > Ir *magh* (also *má* in p-n, see IrPN pp. 118-19), G *magh*, cf. Mx adverb *magh* ‘outwards, forth’, < OIr < *i-mmach*, GOI §130, p. 83. See also **mayes**.

Anglicised *-ma* or *-va*, the former at a time when the [μ] was still audibly nasal (see LHEB §99, pp. 489-91), and CPNE pp. 155-6.

‘A piece of open land, a plain’, developing to ‘cultivated land, an arable field’, and ultimately just ‘a place’, though in the form of a lenited suffix it generally implies a specialised place in some sense. On the semantic development see Mac Giolla Espáig (1981), also PNRB p. 287 and Williams (1945) p. 32, and for Gaelic *magh* in place-names, CPNS pp. 550-3.

The word occurs as a simplex Roman British place-name at *Magis* PNRB pp. 406-7, possibly the fort at Burrow Walls Cmb (Workington), and as generic in a compound at *Lit[a]nomagus* PNRB p. 394 + **līdan-** (which see for discussion of the location).

Mathreu BT61 (VII) is a compound with *ma-* as specifier, + **-treβ** (with spirant mutation, see LHEB §183, pp. 634-5), compare the Welsh p-n Mathafarn Mtg (Llanwrin). It could, however, be a miscopying of *machreu* ‘a shed, a pigsty’ (see **moch** and ***crōw**), which is recorded as a Welsh p-n in the Black Book of Carmarthen (the only possible example in AMR is Mochre Angl). The context implies a coastal location, with *gwylein* ‘seagulls’, somewhere in the Old North. See PT p. 81. Note also the diminutive form with **-īn** in *eil mehyn* BT61 (VII), ‘an enclosure with wattle hurdles’? See PT pp. 85-6.

The line *o berth maw ac eidin* CT29(XI) might be amended to include a place-name with this element + **pert[h]-**, but see under that.

a1) Maghull Lancs (Halsall) PNLanc p. 119, JEPNS17 p. 66 [+ OE *hale*, dative of *halh*, here ‘at dry ground in marsh’, Gelling 1984 p. 107, but cf. LPN p. 129]; **may-* adopted by OE speakers as **mæg-*; or else OE pers. n. **Maga-*, or OE *mægðe-* ‘mayweed’.

b1) Dreva Pbl (Broughton) CPNS p. 363 ?+ **treβ-**: Watson points out ‘what seem to be traces of an old settlement’ here, and there is indeed a major hillfort, with a number of settlement sites around it, on Dreva Hill. Breeze (2006d) associates this place-name with the Arthurian battle-site *Tribruit* HB56, invoking initial voicing, consonant dissimilation and apocope. The forms from 1577 on *Draway*, *Dravay*, *Drevay*, suggest OE **dræg-weg* ‘draw-way, a haulage-route’: this place is on the short but steep alternative to the ancient route between Clydesdale and Tweeddale over Dreva Hill, see A. James (2009d).

Posso Pbl (Manor Valley) + **powę:s-**, which see for discussion.

Trusmadoor Cmb (Ireby) DLDPN pp. 348-9 + **drus-** or **trōs-**, see these for discussion [+ OE *-dor* > ‘door’].

mab (m) and *Mabon*

eCelt **mak^wo-* > Br *map-* > OW *map* > M-MnW *mab*, OCorn *mab* > Corn *mâp*, OBret *map*, *mab*; PrIr (Ogham) *maqqi-* > OIr *macc* > Ir, G, Mx *mac*.

A connection with IE **magh-* ‘young’ (which in turn may be related to **məġ[h_a]*- ‘great’ via the verbal root *magh* ‘be able’, also ‘increase, grow’, see **-*ma*** and ***mayl***) is likely but not certain: see OIPrIE §12.1, pp. 204-5 and EGOW p. 109.

‘A son, a young man’.

In *Maporitum* PNRB p. 412 + **-rīd**, paired with *Tadoritum* (see **td**), there is the suggestion of some local legend or religious cult, the ‘son’ and ‘father’ being legendary or divine figures. The location of either place is unknown, but was probably in southern Scotland. See also DCML, p. 176, on the Gaulish ford-goddess, [P]ritona.

Elsewhere, it is seen in the divine or personal name form:

eCelt **mak^wōno-* > Br, Gaul (pers. n.) *Maponos* > OW(LL) (pers. n.) *Mabon*

‘Great (divine) son or youth’: on the deity so named, see PCB pp. 463-6, DCML p. 140, DCM p. 286. *Maponus* appears on dedications on several Roman altars in the north (RIB 583 Ribchester, 1120, 1121 and 1122 Corbridge, 2063 near Brampton), also on a silver pendant (RIB 2431 Chesterholme/ Vindolanda); see *Locus Maponi* below. He becomes a figure of Welsh folklore and literary legend, and a common personal name: Anglicised *Maban* is the name of the chanter brought from Kent to Hexham by Abba, HE V₂ (see LHEB §11 at p. 295 n1).

Note that eCelt **mak^wagno-* > W *maban*, OIr *maccán*, ‘baby boy, little son’, is related but not identical (see **-an**). The Pictish name *Maphan* AU725 (for 726) is probably a patronymic formation, **map-han*, again not identical (see Jackson , 1955a, p. 145 and ESSH p. 222n7).

Maban i Gian CA A9 (IX A) and B11 (XXII B) probably represents an eCelt form with the suffix *-ōno-*, i.e. ‘great son’, rather than the diminutive; this, and his association with *Maen Gwyngwn*, probably *mayn* + **Gwān* ‘gūn < *Venicones*, a people of Strathmore or Fife, supports an early origin for such an honorative usage.

Williams (PT p. 125) treats *Mabon* in BT29 (XI) as a personal name, but see Koch and Carey (2000) pp. 356-8 and West (2007) p. 483 for a possible mythical allusion.

Locus Maponi PNRB pp. 395-6, and see *Maponus* above ? + **log-** (see Clancy 2016, pp. 75 – 7) or + **luch-** (see Rivet and Smith, PNRB loc. cit.): if this is correct, this is probably Lochmaben Dmf, with Gaelicised *loch-*.

a1) Mabbin Hall Wml (Levens), with Mabbin Crag Wml (Whinfell), PNWml 1 pp. 92 and 143: [+ ON *-haugr* > ME *-howe*]: probably a Scandinavian or English formation, referring to Mabon as a figure in local folklore, or else to a person of that name

c2) Carmaben Lnk (Dolphinton) CPNS p. 367 + **cajr-**: if this is a Cumbric (9th – 12th ct.) formation, **Mabon** here is again likely to be the legendary figure, or otherwise a personal name, and *maban* ‘little son’ is not impossible - it is not necessarily a ‘pagan’ site.

Drumaben MLo (West Calder) PNMLo p. 399 + ***drum-**.

Lochmaben Dmf: ? + **luch-**: see *Locus Maponi* above.

Lochmabenstone Dmf (Gretna) CPNS pp. 180-1 + ***clog-**, Gaelicised [+ OE *stān* > 'stone', Scots *stane*]; see Clancy (2016), pp. 75-7.

Munmaban Pbl (Kirkurd) CPNS pp. 399-400 + **mönīð-** or **mönju-**, see **mönīð-** and **mönju** for reference and discussion: again, probably a personal name or legendary figure, or *maban* 'little son'.

Mabonlaw Rox (Roberton) is an OE (+ *-hlāw*) or Scots (+ *-law*) formation, preserving the name Mabon either from a pre-existing Cumbric name, or from local legend, or as the name of some locally significant individual.

*mage:r

Lat *māceria* > BrLat **macēria*, adopted as Br **macērijā-* > OW(LL) pl *macyrou* > M–MnW *magwyr*, Corn **magoer* (in p-ns, CPNE p. 156), OBret *macoer* > MBret pl *magoarou* > Bret *moger*.

See Coates (2005) at p. 49.

'A wall'. The root sense has to do with moistening (cf. Gk *másso* "knead"), so 'a mortared wall' may be implied. Ekwall's interpretation, 'a ruin' (PNLanc p. 94), is given as a sense for MnW *magwyr* in GPC, and as a possible meaning for *Magwyr* Mnm in DPNW, p. 309. On the other hand, Classical and mediaeval usage of *māceria*, and Middle Welsh *magwyr*, is for boundary walls, and ones enclosing or dividing fields, gardens and suchlike plots of land, not for defensive walls or the walls of buildings. As Owen and Morgan, DPNW loc. cit., note, there are important walls at *Magwyr*.

a1) *Makerfield* Lanc PNLanc pp. 94-5: a territory including what became the Newton and Warrington hundreds. See Kenyon 1988-9 p. 25, also under **coch** for discussion of *Cocboy* and *Maserfelth*.

mayes (m)

IE **māǵ[h_a]*- (cf. **-ma**) *-st-* > eCelt **magestu-* > Br **magestu-* > OW pl *maessid*, (LL) *mais*, > M–MnW *maes*, M–Mn Corn *mês*, OBret *maes* > Bret *maez*.

See EGOW p. 108, and for numerous Continental examples, ACPN pp 87-9, also PNCIk 74 for instances north of the Forth.

Primarily, 'open land', an expanse relatively level and free of trees, developing to 'a (large) field' in a general sense, though see below regarding 'Moss-' formations.

b1) *Ogilface* WLo PNWLo p. 97, CPNS p. 378 + **ogel-** or **ūchel-**; lenition is regular in a close compound or after a pre-positioned adjective (GMW §20, pp. 15-16), devoiced /f/ may here reflect confusion with early Gaelic *fas* 'an abode' (see ***was**), or Gaelic *fàs* 'empty', or dissimilation in Scots, but see Taylor's discussion of *Duniface* Fif (Markinch), PNFif2, pp. 425-6.

c2) *Polmaise* Stg (St. Ninians) PNCIk p. 74 + ***pol-**.

Watson, CPNS p. 378, suggests that a number of places in south Scotland with 'Moss-' are Brittonic name-phrases with **mayes-**; if so, the term may have acquired some specific sense in Cumbric usage such as 'a common, shared field' (cf. Parsons 2022, p. 129, for such a sense in a Welsh border area). However, a few may be 'inversion compounds' with Scots *moss-* 'marshland': see MacQueen (1956) at p. 140, and Clancy (2020) argues for this having been adopted into Gaelic in Galloway. Possible Brittonic formations are:

Mossbrock Gairy (also Mossbrook) Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 213 + *-*brīch*, see **brijth** and discussion there.

Mosscolly ELo (Haddington) + **-coll-** ?+ **-īg** or **-ōg**, Gaelicised as *-aich*.

Moscow Rnf (Kilmarnock) + **-coll**.

Moss Derry Kcb (Girthon) ? + *-deru*, see **dār**.

Mossfennon Pbl (Glenholm) CPNS p. 378 + **-fōntōn**.

Mossgiel Ayrs (Mauchline) CPNS p. 378 + *-*gaβel* or *-*göβel* (see **goß**).

Mossmaul Kcb (Twynholm) PNGall p. 213 ? + **-mayl**, but see also **mę:l**.

Mossminning Lnk (Lesmahagow) + **-miyn-** + **-īn**.

Mosspaul Rox (Teviothead) PNRox p. 37 ?+ *-*pol*, but see discussion under that element.

Mosspebble Dmf (Ewes) + **-pebil**.

See also **fin** for Macefen Che.

mayl (m)

IE **māǵ[h_a]*- (zero-grade of **meǵ[h_a]*- 'great', cf. *-μα*) *-l-* > eCelt **magalo-* > Br, Gaul *mag[a]lo-* > MW *mail* > M-eMnW *mael*, OBret *ma[e]l* (in pers. ns.); O-MnIr *mál*, G *màl*, (also *màel* in pers. ns.); cf. Lat *magnus*, Skt *mahā-*, and from e-grade, OE *mīcel* > 'much', ON *mikill*, Gk *megálos*,

See LHEB§86, pp. 463-6.

'A chief, a prince, a great man'. The root is associated with 'growth, increase', cf. W *magu*, Bret *maga*, 'to feed, nourish, make to grow' and cf. **mab**. In place- and personal names, it may be adjectival, literally or metaphorically 'high', see Williams (1945) p. 20. See also **mę:l**, which may be confused with this element.

It occurs frequently in Brittonic personal names, notably on the inscribed stone CIIC498 at Chesterholme Ntb: *Brigomaglos* (+ **brey-**), see Jackson (1982b) and CIB #38 p. 127, #48 p. 171, #65 p. 207, #74 p. 221.

It occurs in the fort-name *Maglona* PNRB p. 407 + *-onā-*, perhaps a personal or deity-name (used as a river-name?), though the formative *-j-* might be expected. It was probably the name of the fort at Old Carlisle Cmb.

It may be the first element of *Maelmin* HE II₁₀, Milfield Ntb, if *-ae-* represents neoBrittonic *-ay-* (cf. LHEB §86 at p. 463); if so, it presumably has an adjectival relationship to the second element of the compound, **-mōnīð** or **-mīn**? But see also ***mal** and **mę:l**.

It is perhaps present in:

a2) Malzie Burn, with Corsemalzie and Culmalzie, Wig (Mochrum) PNGall pp 78 and 207 + **-īg** (+ **cors-**): as a stream-name, this may preserve the root sense of 'growing' or 'nourishing'. Plenneller Ntb (Haltwhistle) PNNtb p. 158 + **blajn-** + pl. suffix *-ōr*: the term *mailor* occurs in the Welsh Laws as a territorial unit, see **mayn**, but also **mę:l** (for *mę:lbre[y]*).

c2) Barmeal Wig (Glasserton) PNGall p. 27 + **barr-**, or else **mę:l**.
 Mossmaul Kcb (Twyndholm) PNGall p. 213 ? + **mayes-** [or Anglian OE *mos* > Scots *moss-* in ‘inversion compound’ with G *màel*, perhaps as a personal name, or else with OIr *mail* > G *maol*, see **mę:l**].

mayn (m, earlier n?)

Br **magno-* > OW(LL) *main* > M-MnW *maen*, M-MnCorn *men*, MBret *me(y)n* > Bret *maen*.

On the gender, see Hamp (1974-6b).

Plural forms vary in Middle Welsh, with *mein* alongside *meini* (the normal MnW form), and, as *-ai-* and *-ei-* vary indiscriminately in MW spellings, it is not always possible to distinguish singular from plural in early forms of place-names: see CPNE p. 161, and discussion of Mynybrig, Manor, Menzion and Penveny below.

‘A stone’, generally one having some special significance or use.

This, in the Latinised form *Magnis* (PNRB pp 407-8, and see Jackson (1970) at p. 76), was the name of the Roman Wall fort at Carvoran Ntb. The Latinised form is doubtless on the analogy of the dative plural of *magnus* ‘great’, but it implies that the British form was probably plural.

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

Koch sees a place-name in *kat ymynuer* BT61(VII): he identifies *mynuer* with *Manor* Pbl, see below.

‘Man’ occurs frequently in the names given to standing stones, especially in Cumbria, e.g. Knock Old Man Wml (Long Marton) PNWml2 p. 116, Old Man of Coniston Lanc (Coniston) PNLanc p. 195 n2, DLDPN p. 255, and see Dickinson (2005) p. 53: it is hard to say whether Cumbric **main* had any influence on these.

a1) Mynybrig Wig (Leswalt) PNRGLV pp. 94-5 plural *meyni-* [+ Scots *-brig* ‘a bridge’]: MacQueen, PNRGLV loc. cit., gives G *muine* ‘a thicket’ (see **mönju**), but the earliest form is *Menybrig* 1426.

Two important place-names appear to be formed with **mayn** + plural suffix *-ōr* (> MW *-awr*, an archaic form ‘mostly in early poetry’ GMW §30(b), p. 28). However, the term *maenol*, in south Wales spelt *maenor* under the influence of English ‘manor’, occurs in the Welsh Laws as a territorial unit (see GPC s.v. *maenor*, and LHD p. 363 – whether it is related to **mayn** is uncertain, but it is possible that such a term is implicated in these names:

a2) *Manor*, with Manor Water, Pbl CPNS p. 383: Manor was apparently a district-name, from which the river was named, cf. Castlehill of Manor; if it is **mayn—ōr*, the eponymous ‘stones’ may well have included the early Christian inscribed stone CIIC 511 and a cross nearby of which the base still remains.

a2) Plenmeller Ntb (Haltwhistle) PNNtb p. 158 + **blajn-** + **-mayn-** + *-ōr*, in view of the earliest form *Plenmeneure* (alongside *Playsmaleuere*) 1256, but see **mayl** (noting that *mailor* also occurs as a territorial unit in the Welsh Laws), and also **mę:l** (for *mę:lβre[y]*).

Other suffixed forms may include:

a2) Dalmeny WLo CPNS pp. 103-4 and 515 n104, PNWLo pp. 3-4 + **dīn-**, plural *meini*, or + **-īn** (cf. MnW *meinin* ‘made of stone’), but see also ***man-**.

Menzion Pbl (Tweedsmuir) ? + plural suffix *-jōn*; there is a small stone circle here.

b1) Penveny Pbl CPNS p. 354 + *-μeyni*, lenited plural of **mayn**: the lenition implies an early compound formation here, perhaps with an appellative usage, ‘end-stones’, marking the extremity of a boundary (see M. Higham (1999) at pp. 90-1, and under **pen[n]**) or cf. MnW *penfaen* ‘headstone of a grave’.

b2) *Manhincon* Wig (Craighlaw) Brooke (1991) at p. 320 ? + **-īn-** + **-cū[n]**.

b2) Menning Bridge Wml (Patterdale) PNWml2 p. 226 + **-ed** [? + ON *þing* ‘a meeting-place’: there is a standing stone here, A. Walker pers. comm.]

c1) Toathmain Wml (Shap Rural) PNWml2 p. 172, also Tothman Wml (field-name in Soulby) PNWml2 p. 24 ? **tōd-**, which see, + **-mayn-**: A. Walker, pers. comm.

Redmain Cmb PNCmb p. 267 + **rīd-** + **-ī[r]**- + **-mayn-**, perhaps with plural or fossilised genitive singular *-mein*.

c2) Dalemmain Cmb (Dacre) PNCmb pp. 186-7, DLDPN p. 92 + ***dōl-** [or else AScand *dal-* + ON pers. n. *Máni* or G pers. n. *Maine*].

Knockmain Kcb (Girthon) ? + **cnuc[h]**-.

Patervan Pbl (Drumelzier) + ***polter-**, or else **-ban[n]**, but either way the lenition would be irregular, so **pol-** + **-terpūn** seems preferable.

Penmanscore Slk (lost) CPNS p. 354 + **pen[n]**- + **-mayn-** [+ OE *-scoru* ‘a score, a scratch, a carved mark’ (EPNE2 p. 113)]; perhaps, as Watson suggests, an inscribed stone, but note that ‘score’ can mean a boundary-line (see OED s.v. ‘score’ sb. §2OE), so maybe a boundary-stone? However, the absence of evidence for lenition in the recorded form leaves the possibility of an early compound here in doubt (cf. Penveny above).

Penmanshiel Bwk (Cockburnspath) CPNS p. 354 + **pen[n]**- + **-mayn-** [+ Scots *-shiel* ‘a shieling’]: again, the absence of lenition makes an early compound unlikely.

Temon, with *Nenthemonou*, Cmb (Upper Denton) ERN p. 301, PNCmb p. 81 ? + **dīn-** or ***tā-**: possibly primarily a stream-name, now the Temon Beck, see **nant**, **dīn-** and ***tā-**. *Nenthemonou* + **-ōü** [or ME *-howe*].

Triermain Cmb (Waterhead) PNCmb p. 116 + **treß** - + **-ī[r]**-.

Note: Manuel Stg, PNFESg p. 98, was Emmanuel Nunnery, a 12th ct Cistercian foundation: it does not contain **mayn**.

*mal

IE **m̥l(h₁)* (zero-grade of **mel(h₁)*) > MW *mal*; cf. (IE **m̥l(h₁)-k-* or *-kʷ-* >) OIr *malc-* > G *malc* ‘rot, putrefy’; cf. (IE **m̥l(h₁)-d->*) Lat *mollis* ‘soft’, Gmc **maltjan* > OE *meltan* > ‘melt’ (also wk. vb. *meltan* ‘to malt (grain)’), Gk *bradús* ‘slack’, Skt *mṛdu-* ‘soft, tender’.

The root-sense has to do with ‘softening’, but the MW adjective *mal* means ‘rotten, corrupt’, compare the Goidelic verbal root *malc-* (there is also a MW masculine noun *mal* or *mall*, ‘malt’).

Breeze (2001c) proposes this element + ***mīn** in *Maelmin* HE II.10, = Milfield Ntb, but see also **mayl** and **mę:l**.

a1) Milk, Water of, Dmf, CPNS p. 460, PNDmf p. 112; Watson suggests this root + *-k-jā-*, cf. Goidelic *malc-*, but a different formation is involved if the Goidelic had *-k^v-*; Johnson-Ferguson mentions OE *meolc* used of rich pasture, Smith EPNE2 p. 38 s.v. *meoluc* notes that it occurs in stream-names and may refer to the colour of the water; a Northumbrian OE name is not impossible here, if the secondary name *Abermilk* were a later Cumbric formation.

*mamm (f)

IE **m-h₄-m-* (probably reduplicated form of **m-h_a-*) > Br **mammā-* > W *mam*, Corn *mam*, Bret *mamm*; ?OIr *mám*, *mam* > Ir *mám*, *mama*, G *màm*, Mx *mam*, *mamm* (but see below) ; cogn. Lat *mamma* ‘breast, mummy, granny’, Gk *mámmē* ‘mummy, granny’.

See Jackson (1969a) at p. 49 and Broderick (2009) at pp. 41-2.

While this formal etymology can be supplied, [mamma] is obviously such a primal articulation that the normal philological principles are hardly applicable.

Apparently both ‘breast’ and ‘mother, mummy’ in the Brittonic languages, though in Modern Welsh and Cornish only ‘mummy’, and it is not used of hills in recorded Welsh, Cornish or Breton. Nevertheless, in place-names, the reference is presumably to breast-shaped hills, cf. *bronn*.

In the Goidelic languages, the situation is still more complicated, with OIr *mám* and its descendants having senses of ‘a yoke’ and ‘a handful, a fist-full’ – these may be from a different origin from **mamm* – while OIr *mam*, Middle to Modern Irish *mama*, ‘a breast’, which are probably from Latin *mamma*, also appear as *mám*; *mám*/*màm* can also mean ‘a rounded hill’ in Irish and Scottish Gaelic (and also, along with Manx *mamm*, ‘a blain, an inflamed swelling’), while the sense ‘a breast’ is absent from later Scottish Gaelic and from Manx.

a2) Manchester Lanc PNLanc pp. 33-4, PNRB pp 409-10 + *-*ucjo-* [the suffix in *Mamucio* replaced by OE *ceaster* ‘Roman fort’, see Padel 2013b pp. 16-18]: see LHEB §98 p. 487n4.

b1) Mumrills Stg (Polmont) PNFESTg p. 35 ? + *-mūr* + locational suffix *-el* [+ Scots plural *-is*] : Reid considers this etymology appropriate to the twin hills here, but recorded forms show *Mun-Mum-*, *Mom*, so see **mönīð**, **mönju**, **mōr**, and under **mūr**.

*man-

IE **mṇ-* (zero-grade of **men-* ‘jut, project’,

see **mönīð**, ***mönju** and ***mönōg**)

> eCelt **mon-* > Br **Mon-*, *Man-* (in p-ns), cf. (< IE participial **mṇ-t-*) W *mant* ‘mouth, lip’; OIr *Man-* (in p-ns); cf. (< IE o-grade **mon-*) O-MnIr, G *moniu* ‘upper back’; cf. (IE **men-*) Latin *mentum* ‘chin’, *prōmineō* ‘I project’.

The Indo-European status of this root is supported by Hittite and Avestan forms, see OIPrIE §18.5 at p. 298, but cf. Sims-Williams (2000) at pp 3-4.

See also **mönīð**.

The root implies ‘projecting’, especially of facial and other bodily features: in place-names, the sense is presumably ‘outstanding, prominent, high’.

With the suffix *-awā-*, it is seen in the North in the territorial name *Manaw* HB14.62, CT59(V) (and probably CT29(XI)), and in OIr forms at AU[582]583, AT[579]583, AU[710]711, AT[710]711, but see LHEB §47(1), pp. 375-6, YGod(KJ) pp. 69–75, and discussion of Clackmannan under ***clog**. Elsewhere, a similar form underlies the Isle of Man, *Ellan Vannin* (see PNRB pp. 410-11 and DMxPN p xi) and *Ynys Môn*, Anglesey (see PNRB pp. 419-20, DPNW p. 17). There are as many as fourteen related place-names in Ireland (Anglicised Mannin etc.: D Mac Giolla Easpaig at SNSBI Conference, Douglas IoM, 7.4.2001). *Manaw*, like *Ynys Môn* and some of the Irish places, is not outstandingly mountainous, and some other sense seems needed. A deity-name, perhaps associated with water, might be indicated – cf. the legendary personal name *Manawydán/Manannán* (see PCB pp. 412 ets, DCML pp. 139-40, DCM pp. 285-6) – or else an ethnic name: see Muhr (2002) at p. 41.

The line *o berth maw ac eidin* CT29(XI) might be amended to include a place-name with **pert[h]** + *-Manaw* (but see **pert[h]**). In mediaeval Welsh literature generally, especially in the poetry, *Manaw* is used of a more-or-less legendary location in the North that could equally well be the Isle of Man or *Manaw Gododdin*, but is best not equated with either; see Haycock (2013) pp.10 and 30-1 n44, and Clancy (2013), pp 160-1; this applies, for example, to *mynaw* in BT 59 (V), pace Williams at PT p. 63. For a full review and discussion of this name, see Taylor (2020), pp. 54-60.

The name *Manaw* may be preserved in:

c2) Dalmeny WLo CPNS pp. 103-4 and 515 n104, PNWLo pp. 3-4 + **dīn-**: early forms may favour ***man-** with analogical Gaelic genitive sg. *-an*, but see also **mayn** and **-īn**. The specifier may be a saint's, or other personal, name, see A. Macdonald, PNWLo loc. cit., also Taylor's discussion of Kilmany Fif, 2010 p. 457. However, the territory-name *Manau* is possible here in a Gaelic formation with genitive *-an*: contra Watson, CPNS p. 104, Dalmeny could have been close to the eastern end of that territory; but see Taylor (2020), pp. 54-5.

Slamannan WLo CPNS p. 103, WLoPN p. 4, with *sliabh* ‘hill-pasture’, again with a Gaelic genitive form *-Mannan*.

Clackmannan, across the Forth from our area, is probably + **clog-**, Gaelicised *clach-*, again with analogical gen. sg. *-an*.

Pace Watson and Macdonald (CPNS and PNWLo loc.cits.), there is no overriding reason why all three of these should not have been included in, or affiliated to, the territory of *Manaw*. The specifier *-manyn* occurs in the earliest forms for Dalmeny and Slamannan; it does occur also in the earliest form for Kilmany Fif (PNFif4 pp. 456-7), which is most unlikely to have been associated with *Manaw*, but the origin need not have been the same in all cases.

*mann (m or f)

IE **m̥ndo/eh_a* (zero-grade of **mendo/eh_a*) > eCelt **mando/ā-* > Br **manno/ā-* > W *man*, Corn ?*nam*; cf. OIr *mennar* (from the IE e-grade **mende/oh_a*? But see DIL s.v.); cogn. Lat *menda*, *mendum*, Skt *mindā*.

‘A spot, a blemish, a bodily defect’.

A remote possibility in:

c2) Carmunnock Lnk CPNS pp. 196 and 367 + **cajr-**, **cor-** or ***cōr-** + **-ōg**; however, Jackson (1935) at pp. 31 and 59, reads MW *mannog* as a variant of *bannōg*, see **bann**; see also ***mönach**.

march (m, also f)

IE(NW) **marko-* > eCelt **marco-/ā-* > Br **marco-/ā-* > OW *march-* (+ suffix) > M-MnW *march*, OCorn *march* > Corn *margh*, OBret *marh* > Bret *marc'h*; OIr *marc* > Ir, G *marc*, Mx *mark-* (in compounds and as verbal root); cogn. Gmc (N and W) **marǵjōn* > OE *mearh*, **mēre* > ‘mare’.

See OIPrIE §9.2 at p. 141, and EGOW p. 110.

‘A horse’. It is unclear how the meaning differed from that of **eb-*, *cefel*, and other words.

The Welsh homophone, or metaphoric use of the same word, *march-* can mean ‘great, large’ in some place-names and other compounds: see Richards (1967). However, in Marchmont below, and in several of Richards’s examples, ‘horse’ is a reasonable interpretation.

c1) Marchmont Rox CPNS p. 399 + **-mōnīð**: the pronunciation of *-ch-* and the form *-mont* show Norman-French influence. A name for Roxburgh Castle, presumably deriving from the site on which it was built. It may have been ‘horse hill-pasture’, but an assembly-place for warhorses is conceivable here. From the castle name are derived the titles of the Earldom of Marchmont (held by a branch of the Hume family), and of one of the Heralds in Ordinary of Scotland (not in use at the time of writing). Marchmont Brw (Polwarth) and MLo (Edinburgh) are transferred names, associated with the earldom.

**med-*

IE **[s]me-th_a-y-* > eCelt **medjo-/ā-* > Br, Gaul **medjo-/ā-* > M-MnW *meidd*, *mei-* in compounds, Crn **med-* (in place-names, see CPNE pp. 158-9), OBret *-med*, *-met*; cf. OIr *mid* > MIr *mide* > Ir *midhe*, and OIr *med* ‘a balance’ > Ir, G *meadh*; cogn. Lat *medius*, Gmc **meðja-* (and cf. Gmc *miðja-* > OE *midd-* > ‘mid-’, A-Sc *mið-*), cf. Gk *mésos*, Skt *madhya-*.

See DCCPN p. 25, and LHEB§69, p. 426.

In early Brittonic, a suffix ‘mid-’, in place-names either ‘at the middle of...’ or ‘the central...’. For Continental examples, see ACPN pp. 91-2.

It is seen in the Roman-British place-names:

Mediobogdum PNRB p. 415 (not listed in ACPN) + **-būyð**, which see.

Medionemetum PNRB pp. 416-17 + **-nīmed**, which see.

For *Medgoet* in *Lebor Bretnach*, see ***meðgōd**.

**medel* (f)

IE **h₂meh₁-* (zero-grade of **h₂em-* ‘mow’) *-t-* > eCelt **met-* + *-elā-* > Br **metelā-* > [OW *-metetic* ‘pruned’] > M-MnW *medel*, OCorn *midil*; OIr *meithel* > Ir *meitheal*, eG *meithle*; cf. (<IE **h₂meh₁-t-*) Lat *metō*, Gmc **mædwo-* > OE *mædwe* > ‘meadow’.

‘Reaping or mowing’ as an abstract noun, also ‘a reaping or mowing party’. Used figuratively of warriors as ‘reapers of enemies’, e.g. of Owain ap Urien in BT67(X), cf. the Latin cognomen *Metellus*.

Breeze (2002b) at pp 165-6, sees this root *-*med*, in the sense of ‘warriors’, + **el-*, in Elmet, but see under **Elmed**: the lack of any territorial- or ethnic-naming suffix makes this doubtful.

c2) Drumelzier Pbl CPNS p. 421 + **dīn-** + **-medel-** + *-wīr*, plural of **wūr**, cf. MnW *medelwyr* ‘reapers’: again, ‘warriors’ may be implied. Note also Drumalzier, with Drumalzier Greens, Stg (Dunipace) PNFEStg pp. 357 and 227, perhaps a transferred name.

*meδgōd (f)

Lat *medicāta*, adopted as Br **medicātā-*.

‘Healed, treated with medicine’, cf. Modern Welsh *meddyg* ‘a doctor’.

Proposed by Coates, CVEP p. 241, for *Metcaud*, *Medcaut* HB §§63, 65, i.e. Lindisfarne; in *Lebor Bretnach* this is *Medgoet*, which looks like **meδ-** + **-cę:d**, but ‘mid-woodland’ is obviously inappropriate. Coates suggests that ***meδgōd** ‘might be regarded here as a conceptual parallel, though not a precise one, to “holy” (in Holy Island); the sense would presumably be similar to the transferred sense in Lewis and Short s.v. *medicatus* ‘2. Useful or good for healing, medicinal’. See Breeze (2005d) for possible parallels.

*mēg-

IE **h₃meigh-* > eCelt **mēg-* > Br **mēg-* > OW **muig-* (cf. W *mwygl* ‘soft, tender’); cogn. Skt *megha-* ‘cloud’, and [IE zero-grade **h₃migh-*] Gmc **miχ-staz* > OE *mist* > ‘mist’, Gk *omikhlē* ‘cloud’, Skt *mih* ‘mist’, or else: IE **h₃meiĝh-* > eCelt **mēg-* etc. as above; cogn. Lat *meiō*, *mict-*, Gk *omeikhā*, Skt *mehati*, all ‘urinate(s)’.

IE **h₃meigh-* means ‘mist, drizzle’, IE **h₃meiĝh* means ‘urinate’.

An ancient stream-name, **mēg-eto-* (see **-ed**), may be represented by:

a2) Meggat Water Dmf, with Megdale (Westerkirk) CPNS p. 375, PNDmf p. 134.

Megget Water Slk (to St Mary’s Loch) CPNS p. 375.

Meggetland MLo (Edinburgh)

But see also ***mīy[n]** for all of these.

Mite R Cmb ERN pp. 294-5, PNCmb p. 22, DLDPN p. 240: this is Ekwall’s proposal in ERN (though not in DEPN(O) s.n.); Watts in DEPN(C) s.n. compares the river-names Migandi in Iceland and Migande in Norway; see Whaley’s full discussion in DLDPN, and Breeze’s alternative proposal under **müchid**.

mę:l (as noun, m or f)

?IE **mai-* > eCelt **mai-lo/ā-* > Br **mę:lo/ā-* > OW *moil* > M-MnW *moel*, Corn **moyl* (in p-ns, CPNE pp. 167-8), M-MnBret *moal*, Vannetais dial *moel*; OIr *mail* > Ir, G *maol*, Mx *meayl*.

See LHEB §27(1a) pp. 326-7 and §27(3) pp. 328-30.

The meaning of IE **mai-* is unclear: cognates (including E ‘mole, a discoloured spot on the skin’) suggest ‘pollution, soiling’, or perhaps ‘eruption, fermentation’, so the relationship with the Celtic words is uncertain.

‘Bare, bald’: as a noun, used in place-names for a conical hill with a smooth, rounded summit, or one bare of trees.

In southern Scotland, it is in many cases difficult to determine whether the element is Brittonic or Gaelic. On the meanings and distribution of Gaelic *maol*, see Murray 2014, pp. 51 and 60–2. It can be difficult to distinguish from G *meall* in the sense of ‘hill, eminence, great shapeless hill, mound’ (Dwelly s.v.) < OIr *mell* ‘a ball, sphere, round mass’; see Ansell 2022 pp. 189–90, Ó Maolalaigh 2022b pp. 326–7. Confusion can also arise with **mayl**, which see.

It is commonly taken to be the first element in *Maelmin* HE II.10 (Milfield Ntb), see B. Cox (1975–6) at p. 24 and Hope-Taylor (1977) pp. 15–16 and n8; Breeze (2001c) questions whether *-ae-* would have been used by Bede for neo-Brittonic [ẽ], though Jackson observes (LHEB §27(2A), p. 326) that OE [æ] was substituted for [ẽ:] ‘exceptionally in the Anglian area’ (cf. Mallerstang and Mellor below), and in any case the spelling may well reflect Irish influence, cf. Melrose below. For alternative proposals for *Maelmin*, see **mayl** and ***mal**.

a1) In the following cases, OE *mæl* ‘a cross’ *mæle* ‘a meeting, a battle’, or *mæle* ‘stained, multicoloured’ (perhaps a lost stream-name), or an OE personal name **Melli* (cf. *Molli*), are all possible alternatives (see JEPNS17 p. 101):

Mell Fell, Great and Little Cmb (Hutton) PNCmb p. 212,

Mellfell Wml (Murton) PNWml2 p. 103,

Both + ON *fjall* > northern English ‘fell’.

Meldon Ntb PNNtb p. 140,

Meldon Hall and Hill Wml PNWml2 p. 109,

Both + OE *dūn* ‘a hill’.

Melling Lanc (Halsall) PNLanc p. 119, JEPNS17 p. 66.

Melling Lanc PNLanc p. 180, JEPNS17 p. 101.

Both + OE *-ing*².

a2) Watermillock Cmb PNCmb p. 254 + **-ōg** [+ OE *weðer* or ON *veðr*, ‘wether’, perhaps replacing ***wi:ð-** + **-i[r]-**]: there may well be a connection with Little Mell Fell (above).

b1) Falgunzeon Kcb (Kirkgunzeon) PNGall p. 135 + st’s n *-Winnjan* (Cumbric *Gwinnian*): the form *Boelwynnyn* 1175x85 could be for lenited **moel-* with Irish orthographic *b-* for [v], rather than Maxwell’s G *fâl-* ‘a garth, pen, fold’: see Brooke (1991), at p. 319, but see also ***pol**. On the saint’s name *Winnjan*, see Clancy (2001) for discussion of place-names commemorating *Winnian* and *Finnian*, and his controversial identification of these with *Nynian*.

b2) Dunmallard Hill Cmb (Dacre) PNCmb p. 187 + **din-** + **mę:l** + **-arð**, or MĪr **dūn-* + *-ard*, but early forms favour Jackson’s suggestion, PNCmb loc. cit., MĪr **dūn-mallacht* ‘fort of curses’.

c1) Melrose Rox CPNS pp. 179, 496, PNRox p. 26 + **-rōs**: *Mailros* in VCuthA and HE III.26 shows Goidelic influence, and, although Melrose is often cited as a classic example of a Brittonic name (e.g. Nicolaisen SPN² pp. 7–8) an Irish origin is not impossible, cf. Coates’s views on Lindisfarne, CVEP pp. 241–59.

Mellros Barrs Wml (f.n. in Soulby) PNWml2 pp. xi and 24 + **-rōs**: but probably from surname Melrose.

A formulaic appellative + **-bre[y]** is common, cf. Moelfre (x 7) DPNW p. 324, Mulvra etc. in Cwl, CPNE p. 167 (see also Padel 2013b p. 13):

Mallerstang Wml PNWml2 p. 13 [+ON *-stong* ‘a pole’, either a wooden stake or a unit of measurement]: the *-a-* implies that [ɛ:] was adopted as OE [æ], see LHEB §27 (2A), p. 326. Mellor Lanc PNLanc pp. 73-4: the earliest form, *Malver* c1130, again implies OE [æ] for [ɛ:]. Mellor Drb, close to our southern boundary and later transferred to Che, PNDrb p. 144; also Mellor Knoll Che, PNChe1 p. 169, near Mellor Drb. Mellor Knoll YWR (Bowland Forest Higher) PNYWR6 p. 214: Smith associates this with the surname Mellor, from Mellor Lanc above. Plenneller Ntb (Haltwhistle) PNNtb p. 158 + **blajn-**, but see **mayl** and **mayn**.

c2) Barmeal Wig (Glasserton) PNGall p. 27, PNWigMM p. 98 + **bar[r]-**, or else Gaelic *-maol*, or **mayl**.

Carnesmoel Wig (= Kirkinner) PNGall p. 171, CPNS p. 182, Brooke (1991) p. 320 ? + **-carn** or **-carneð**, or else Gaelic **carnas maol*.

Carmyle Lnk (Old Monkland) CPNS p. 367 + **cajr-** or **carn-**, Gaelicised as *An Càrn Maol*: if this is *Caruil* in the Inquisition of King David (see Durkan (1986) at pp 279 and 290), it would show the lenition expected with either of these, but see also ***mīl**.

Mossmaul Kcb (Twynholm) PNGall p. 213 + **mayes-**, Gaelicised *-maol*, or else **-mayl**.

Timble YWR PNYWR5 p. 128 ? + **dīn-**, but see under that.

melin

IE **meli-n-* (see *mēl*) > eCelt > **melino/ā-* > Br **melino/ā-* > OW(LL) *melen* > M-MnW *melyn*, Corn *melyn*, OBret *melin* > M-MnBret *melen*.

Probably originally ‘honey-coloured’, so ‘yellow, golden’.

Yn lech wen/ galystem in BT56(II) is read by Williams (PTp. 41) as *Yn lech [vel]en/ Galyste[n]*, identifying the place as Galston Ayr, ? <OE **gēolu-stān*: however, *gēolu-* > *gal[i]-* is unlikely, unless influenced by (the ultimately cognate) ON *gall* > ‘gall’.

c2) Helvellyn Cmb/Wml JEPNS2 (1969-70), p. 56, JEPNS3(1970) p. 50, and JEPNS6(1973-4) p. 52, DLDPN pp. 162-3 + **hāl-**, which see, and see Coates (1988) pp 30-3. For discussion of Stirling, see ***īster**.

*merin (m?)

IE **mori-* + *-n-* (see **mōr** and **-īn**) > eCelt **morīno-* > Br, Gaul **morīno-* > M-eMnW *merin*; cf. Lat *marīna*.

The Br word may have been adopted from the Latin, but note the Gaulish ethnic group *Morini*, on the Channel coast opposite Kent, and the personal name *Morinus* in VSamson, see CIB p. 286. See also under **cajr** for Carvoran Ntb.

If this is a Celtic formation, rather than an adoption of Latin *marinā*, it is presumably a diminutive of **mōr**, so ‘a body of water, an arm of the sea’; however, in MW poetry it is a poetic term for ‘the sea’.

It occurs three or four times in the B-series *awdlau* in CA (some readings being doubtful), but only at CA B25(XCIX B) is it perhaps part of a proper name, *Merin Iodeo*. Since Jackson,

YGod(KJ) p. 6, this has been identified as the Firth of Forth, see PNFif1 p. 41 and ibid.3 p. 593, and PNC1k pp. 97-8. For *merin* in other mediaeval Welsh poetry, see Haycock 2013, p.25 n32.

*mīy[n] (f), *meg

IE *(s)meug/k- ‘slip, slippery’) > eCelt *meuc-+ -īnā- (see -īn) > eBr *mō:cīnā > IBr *mūcīnā- > W *mīg[n]*, also ?zero-grade *(s)mug/k- > eCelt *muc-+ -jo- > neoBritt *mīg, Prit *meg (see below); cf. Lat *ēmungō* ‘blow one’s nose’, *mūcus*, Gmc *smeugan > OE *smugan* ‘slip away from’, Gk *apomūssō* ‘blow one’s nose’, Skt *muñcāti* ‘lets slip (a horse, etc)’.

The etymology is problematic: if the Welsh word is derived as shown above, an exceptional stress-shift seems necessary to explain *mūgen > *mīyn rather than **mōgen > **mī:gen, while Brittonic *mīg and Pritenic *meg may reflect a zero-grade *muc-jo-, the form *meg implying Pritenic *u* (without i-affection) > *e* (Jackson 1955, p. 161). See also *mūged.

While the IE root implies various forms of ‘slime, slippery substance or movement’, the Welsh word means ‘a bog, a marsh’. Pritenic *meg seems to have remained in use as a Pictish place-naming element (see CPNS pp. 374-6, PNFif5 pp. 441-2), but south of the Forth it occurs (if at all) only in stream-names:

a1) Meggs Myre Stg (Slamannan) PNFEStg p. 41 [+ ON *mýrr* > ‘mire’].
Migdale Rnf (Kilmacolm) [+ ME/Scots – *dale*].

a2) Meggats Wheel Stg (Falkirk) PNFEStg pp. 40-1 + -ed, + Gaelic *phuil* ‘pool’, see **pol**.
Meggat, Water of, Dmf, with Megdale (Westerkirk) CPNS p. 375, PNDmf p. 134 + -ed.
Megget Water Slk (to St Mary’s Loch) CPNS p. 375 + -ed.
Meggatland MLo (Edinburgh) PNMLo p. 145.

Megmillar MLo (a rock on the shore at Cramond) PNMLo p. 183 [? + G *maol-ard* ‘bare height’]: reference to bogginess of the tidal shore is possible here, but dubious.

Megotland ‘a royal hunting-ground in the Borders’, Dixon, PNMLo p. 145 ? + -ed.

Mennock Water Dmf (Sanquhar) PNDmf p. 116 + -ōg (possibly -jōg); given the earliest record is *Minnock* 1660, Johnson-Ferguson’s suggestion, ‘Gaelic *mèineach*, abounding in ore or mines’ is ingeniously appropriate.

But see also *mēg-.

Forms that might possibly contain *mīy[n] are difficult to distinguish from Gaelic *mìn*, which in place-names generally refers to ‘a level plain, a field’ but may also mean ‘soft, boggy’; see also *mīn:

a2) Mossminning Lnk (Lesmahagow) CPNS p. 378 + -īn (a second occurrence of this suffix in the etymological history of the word, this time as a diminutive?), + **mayes-**, or else Scots *moss-*, as a secondary formation?

c2) Barmeen, with Barmeen Hill, Wig (Kirkcowan) PNGall p. 27, PNWigMM p. 96 + **bar[r]-**, or else a Gaelic formation, *bàrr-mìn.

*mīl (f)

Lat *mīlia* ‘thousands’, adopted as Br *mīliā- > MW *myl* > W *mil*, M-MnCorn *mýl*, M-MnBret *mil*; O-MnIr *mile*, G *mile*, Mx *milley*.

Nowadays, ‘a thousand’, but in earlier usage probably ‘thousands, a great number, a host’. It falls together in Welsh with *mil* ‘a soldier’ (< Latin *miles*).

Proposed by Breeze (2000b) in:

c2) Carmyle Lnk (Old Monkland) + **cajr-** or **carn-**: if this is *Caruil* in the Inquisition of David (see Durkan (1986) at pp 279 and 290), that shows lenition, absent from the present-day form. But see also **mę:l**.

*mīued (m or f?)

IE **meh₁(i)-met-* > eCelt **mimet-* > Br **mimeto-* or *-jā-*; cogn. Skt *mimāti* ‘bleats’, and cf. Gk *mimikhmós* ‘a neigh’.

The cognates (see OIPrIE §21.3, pp 359-63) suggest a wide range of sounds made by humans or animals; in a stream-name, figuratively perhaps ‘speaking, murmuring or mumbling’.

Ekwall, ERN pp. 293-4, proposed this as an ancient river-name in:

a1) Mint, R Wml PNWml 1 p. 11: the preservation of the internal nasal [-m-] (> [-n-] before [-t-]) implies early adoption by English speakers, when the nasality was still apparent: see LHEB §§98-100, pp 486-95.

*mīn (m, also f?)

?IE **m̥nd-* (zero-grade of **mend-* ‘suckle’) > eCelt **mandu-* > Br, Gaul *mand-*, *mann-* > M-eMnW *myn*, Corn *myn*; OIr *menn*.

See ACPN pp. 89-90, DCCPN p. 24, and PNRB pp. 411-12 s.n. *Manduessedum*.

‘A kid’

Breeze (2006c) suggests a plural form, + - **öü** cf. MW *mynneu*, in:

Nenthemenu Cmb (Midgeholme) Lan Cart 9 etc + *neint-* (see **nant**) + **-i[r]-**.

Some names with ‘min’ listed under **mönīð** could conceivably have this element.

*mīn (m)

? IE **smek-* ‘chin’ > eCelt **mik-no- /ā-* > Br **mino-/ā-*, cf. Gaul *-minjo-*, > W *min*, Corn *myn*, MBret *min*; ?cf. OIr *mín* ‘smooth, level’, and/or MIr (poetic) *mén* ‘a mouth’.

‘A lip’ or ‘a sharp edge’, in place-names ‘edge, brink’, perhaps ‘tip’ (see CPNE p. 167).

This is favoured by Coates (in preference to **mönīð**, which see) in *Maelmin* HE II.10 (Milfield Ntb), + **mayl-**, ***mal-**, or **mę:l-**; see also Breeze (2001c).

It is possible in:

Mindork Wig PNGall p. 211 + **-turch**, or else **mönīð** or **mönju**, or Gaelic **muine-dTorc* (with eclipsis - dental mutation – which would be notable here, see Ó'Maolalaigh (1998) at pp. 25-30).

See also ***mīy[n]** for Barmeen and Mossminning.

moch (m, also f)

eCelt **mocco-* > Br, Gaul *mocco-* > OW(LL)-MnW *moch*, M-Corn *mogh* > Corn *moh*, OBret *moch* > Bret *moc'h*; OIr *muc(c)* > Ir, G, Mx *muc*, Mx also *muck*.

‘Pigs, swine’: in the Brittonic languages, collective.

If *Mathreu* BT61(VII) should be read **Mochreu* (see PT p. 81), it is a compound + ***crōw**, which see, but also **-ua**.

c1) Mochrum Wig PNGall p. 212, also Mochrum Kcb (Parton) *ibid.*, and Mochrum Hill Ayr (Kirkoswald) ? + **-drum**, which see, and see also Brooke (1991a) at p. 320. Muckra Slk CPNS p. 138, and Muckraw WLo CPNS p. 147, PNWLo pp. 96-7, are probably Gaelic, but possibly replacing a Brittonic formation + ***crōw** or **-rōd**: see under both of these.

c2) Powmuck Burn Dmf (Eskdalemuir) PNDmf p. 38 + **pol-**, again probably Gaelic.

mōi

IE (**mōgh_{a-}*, lengthened o-grade form of **megh_{a-}* ‘great’, + comparative suffix >) **mō-jōs* > eCelt **mājōs* > eBr **mājūs* > IBr **mōis* (or eBr **mājos* > IBr **maijās*) > OW *moi* > MW *moe*, *mui* > W *mwy*, Corn *moy*, OBret *mui*; OIr *mó*, *máo* > Ir *-mó*, G *-mò*, Mx *-moo*; cf. Lat *maior*, Skt *mahīyas*.

See LHEB§38(B), pp. 356-8, and §47(2D), p. 380.

‘More’, comparative of *maur* ‘great’: in early place- and ethnic names, the sense may be ‘very great’ or (especially if a deity-name is involved) be associated with growth and increase.

Maia PNRB pp. 408-9, the fort at Bowness-on-Solway Cmb, is either feminine singular, perhaps a deity-name (cf. the cult of *Maia* in Rome, see OCD s.n.), or else neuter plural: see PNRB loc cit.

Maeatae PNRB p. 404, with the ethnonymic suffix *-atai*, were a people, or confederation of peoples, in the central Forth valley. They were presumably the *Miathi* referred to by Adomnán, VC I.18, and their name may well be preserved in:

a1) Myothill Stg (Denny) CPNS p. 59, PNFESTg pp. 309-10, as well as in Dumyat across the Forth; see PNCIk pp. 52-4.

mölin (f)

LLat *molīna* adopted as IBr **molīnā-* > OW (or OBret?) pl *melinou* > M-MnW *melin*, O-M-Corn *melin* > Corn *belin* (CPNE p. 160), OBret *molin* > MBret *melin*, *millinn-* > Bret *milin*, Vannetais dialect *melin*; adopted from Britt as OIr *muilend* > Ir,G *muileann*, Mx *mwyllin*.

See LHEB§157 pp. 581-3, §166(2) pp. 595-6, §171, p. 605, EGOW p. 112.

‘A (water-powered) mill’.

This may be present in:

b2) Molendinar Burn Lnk (Glasgow) CPNS p. 386: the second element is obscure. *Mellingdenor* in VK(J) is a *locus*, not a stream-name, but it might refer to the mill after which the burn was named. A Goidelic origin, or at least influence on the form, cannot be ruled out.

*molt (m)

eCelt **molto-* > Br **molto-* > M-MnW *mollt*, O-MnCorn *mols*, MBret *mout* > Bret *maout*; OIr *molt* ‘a ram’ > Ir *molt*, G *mult*.

‘A wether, a castrated ram’ – in the North, ‘a wedder’ - though in earlier usage it was perhaps, as in OIr, ‘a ram, a tup’. In place-names, the reference might be to an annual ‘noutgeld’, a levy in kind.

c2) Caermote Cmb (Torpenhow) PNCmb p. 326 + **cajr-**; but recorded too late for any certainty. *Carmalt* Cmb (Workington) PNCmb p. 455 + **cajr-**; again, only a late record. Knockmult Kcb (Rerwick) PNGall p. 184 + ***cnuc[h]-**, Gaelicised, if not Gaelic in origin. Dinmont Lair Rox CPNS p. 372 + ?-: may be from Scots (and northern English) *dinmont* ‘a wether between first and second shearing’; this word appears as *dinmult* in a St. Andrews document of 1202, indicating that Gaelic *mult* is the second element, though the first element is obscure, and a P-Celtic formation may underlie it; see PNFif5 p. 662 with n15, and cf. *Drumdynmond* Fif (Wemyss) *ibid.*1 p. 580, but see also **dīn** and **mōnīð**.

*mōn (m)

Br **māno-* > M-MnW *mawn*; cf. OIr *móin* > Ir *móin*, G *mòine*, Mx *moanee*.

‘Peat, moss, turf’

c2) *Artemawh* Cmb (Brampton) Lan Cart ? + **arð-** + **-i[r]-**: A. Walker, pers comm., suggests reading *-mawn*.

*mönach (m), *manach*

Gk *monachós*, adopted as Latin *monachus*, adopted as lBr **monacho-* > M-MnW *mynach*, also OW(LL) pl *meneich* > W *manach*, Corn *manah*, Bret *monac’h*, *manac’h*; O-MnIr, G *manach*, Mx *managh*.

***Mönach** was probably a more ‘correct’ form than vowel-harmonised *manach* and comparable forms in Cornish, Breton and the Goidelic languages, though the preservation of [-χ] even in the latter reflects ‘learned’ influence: see LHEB§62, p. 412.

‘A monk’: ‘in place-names, the singular seems to stand for the plural’ Padel, CPNE p. 156.

c2) Barmulloch Rnf + **bod-** + **-i[r]-**, Gaelicised, but perhaps not Gaelic *mullach* ‘top, summit’ in origin, in view of *-monoc* in 12th ct forms, recording a grant of Malcom IV 1153x65.

Romanno, with Romanno Bridge and *Romanno Grange*, Pbl (Newlands) CPNS pp. 153-4 ? + **rōd-** (see discussion under **rōd**), but Gaelicised and possibly Gaelic in origin. This was a grange of Holyrood Abbey from the mid-12th century, and Newbattle Abbey held land here at the Reformation, but a ‘Celtic’ monastic property may have preceded it. See CPNS loc. cit., Durkan (1986), and D. Hall (2006) p. 157.

Carmunnock Lnk CPNS pp. 196 and 367 + **cajr-**, **cor-** or ***cōr-** + **-ōg**, but see also **bann** and **mann**.

mōnið (m), *minið*

IE **mon-* (o-grade of **men-* ‘jut, project’, see **man-**, ***mōnju** and ***mōnōg**) > eCelt **mon-* + *-ījo-* > Br **moniðo-* > IBr *monedo-* (in pers. n., CIIC413) > OW(LL) *minid* > M-MnW *mynydd*, M-MnCorn *meneth* (see CPNE pp. 163-4), OBret *mened* > M-MnBret *menez*; adopted from Pict or Cmbc into eG as *monid*, *moned* > G *monadh*; cogn. Lat *mons*, *montis*.

See LHEB §, pp. 272-3, §38(A), pp. 348-56, and §§201-5, pp. 664-81, and CIB †13, p. 23 and n8, †15 at pp. 35-6, †26 at pp. 88-90, †84 at p. 231. Note that Jackson (1968-9) at p. 49 favoured *minið* as the headword, but in accordance with the general policy for the present work, and reflecting the majority of early forms for likely examples in the North, neoBritt **mōnið** is used here: *minið* may be regarded as the Cumbric form (late 9th – 12th cts).

Firstly, ‘a prominent hill or ridge’, extending to ‘an extensive tract of upland, hill-ground, heath-moor’, typically, though not necessarily, used for rough grazing; later it came to mean ‘common unenclosed pasture’, typically, but not necessarily, upland pasture. For discussion of the tension between the topographic and pastoral senses, see Taylor in Uses at p. 3 and Barrow in *ibid.* at pp. 62-7, and compare the range of senses listed in GPC s.v. *mynydd*. Watson, CPNS p. 390, suggested that its adoption and survival in Gaelic as *monadh* showed ‘lack of a handy synonym’, but Taylor’s discussion of Gaelic *sliabh* (2007a) pp. 99-136 calls this in question.

Latin *mont-* was adopted into OE by the late 9th ct (in the OE *Orosius* and the Alfredian *Cura Pastoralis*) as *munt*, later reinforced by Old French *mont* > English ‘mount’. The meaning in the Brittonic languages was probably further modified in later mediaeval and modern times by the influence of Latin *mons* and these derivatives. English/ Scots ‘mount’ is of course associated with ‘mountain’, but **mōnið** certainly needs not imply any great height.

It is rarely possible to be sure that a place-name in the North has **mōnið** rather than Gaelic *monadh* or one of the Old French or English/ Scots forms referred to above, though mediaeval and modern forms with ‘mon’, ‘mont’ or ‘mount’ may disguise original Brittonic simplex names (for example in the group of ‘Mount’ names in the south-east Pentlands, near Mendick). Forms with ‘min’ or ‘mon’ may also be from ***mīn**, ***mīn** or **mōnju**, which see.

A number of place-names with this element are found in literary and historic sources associated with the Old North:

Arvynyð BT60(VI) + **ar-**: it is paired with *Argoet* (see **çę:d**) to name the extremes of the territory from which Owein summoned his forces, but the location of either place is pure guesswork.

Calchuynid, + ***calch**, in the Middle Welsh form of a personal name in the genealogy of the *Gwŷr y Gogledd*, and in MW verse in BT: Watson, (CPNS p. 343) endorsed Skene’s identification of this with Kelso, but Jackson (1955b) at p. 83, was very doubtful.

Maelmin, HE II.10, Milfield Ntb, ?+ **mayl-**, **mal-** or **mę:l-**, but see discussion under these, and also **mīn**.

Minit Eidynd CPNS p. 341: associated with, but not necessarily an alternative name for, *Din Eidynd*, Edinburgh, see **Ēdīn**.

Mynydd Bannawg in *Culhwch ac Olwen* line 597 (English ed Bromwich and Evans, 1997, see pp. 123-4 for notes): see **ban[n]**, and note that *mynydd* is a poetic appellative here, not necessarily an actual place-name.

Mynyddawc Minuaur in CA X,XI (10,11) etc. + **-ōg**: Koch, YGod(K), pp xlv-xlvi, argues that this is not a personal name but a place-name or a poetic appellative, perhaps for *Din Eidyn*, but see Padel (1998) at p. 50, along with references in Haycock (2013) p. 38 n94.

a1) Minto Rox PNRox pp. 28-9 [+ OE *-hōh* ‘a heel, a heel-shaped hill-spur’, see LPN pp. 186-8].

Moniefoot Hill WLo (Linlithgow) PNWLo p. 69.

Mons Hill WLo (South Queensferry) PNWLo p. 10: otherwise Gaelic *monadh*.

a2) Mendick Pbl (W Linton) CPNSp. 400 + **-ig**, with epenthetic *-t-* in early forms.

b1) Dechmont Lnk (Cambuslang) CPNS P. 400, and Dechmont WLo (Livingston) PNWLo pp. 77-8 + **day-** or **teg-**, either Gaelicised *deach-*, + **mönjō**: see discussion under **day**.

Dinmont Lair Rox CPNS p. 372 + **dīn-** [+ Scots *lair* ‘a fold’], but see also **molt** for Scots *dinmont*.

Glentenmont Dmf (Langholm) CPNS pp. 180, 399, PNDmf p. 86 + **glinn-**, or Gaelic *gleann-*, Scots *glen-*, + **-tan-**, or **-tān-** ? + **-i[r]**-.

Marchmont Rox + **march-**: see discussion under that element.

b2) *Menybrig* Wig (Leswalt) PNRGLV pp. 94-5 ? + **-brey** replaced by Scots *-brig* ‘a bridge’.

Mindork (Kirkcowan) Wig PNGall p. 211 + **-turch** (with [-nt-] > [-nd-] in homorganic consonant group), or else ***mīn-** or **mönju**, or Gaelic **muine-dTorc*, see ***mīn**.

Mindrum Ntb PNNtb p. 143 + **-drum**: see LHEB p. 355.

Minigaff Kcb PNGall p. 211 + **-goß**: see Brooke (1991) at p. 319; or else **mönju-**, see Breeze (2004), pp. 121-3.

Minygap Dmf (Johnstone) PNDmf p. 65 + **-i[r]**- + ***cib**, which see; or else **mönju-**, see Breeze (2004), pp. 121-3.

Mumrills Stg (Polmont) PNFESTg p. 35 ? + **-mōr-** + locational suffix *-el* [+ Scots plural *-is*], but see ***mamm**, **mönju**, and **mūr**.

The following may preserve a Cumbric form with a still-rounded vowel, though the influence of Gaelic, OE or OFr > ME/Scots forms (see above) is more likely, and in any case such forms are indistinguishable from those from **mönju**:

Lnk/WLo WLoPN p. 19, ? + **-*lē:βn**, see ***lē:β**, or **-*lūyðīn**, see **lūch**, **dīn**.

Monreith Wig PNGall p. 213 ? + **-treß**: PNWigMM pp. 12-13, but see also **mōr**.

Monynut ELo (Oldhamstocks) CPNS p. 399 ? + **-*neð** or **-*nejth**: or else **mönju-**, see Breeze (2004), pp. 121-3; but early forms given by Watson loc. cit. seem consistent with late OE *manig-* (*hnite*, ‘many nut (trees)’).

Mount Lothian MLo CPNS p. 101 presumably + the regional name Lothian, see **lūch**.

Munmaban Pbl (Kirkurd) + **Mabon** as personal name, perhaps of deity or legendary figure (see under that heading), or + *-maban* ‘little son’.

c2) Carmondean WLo PNWLo p. 77 + **cajr-** [+ OE *denu* ‘a long, narrow valley’ > Scots *-den*].

Carmonlaws WLo (Linlithgow) PNWLo p. 114, WLoPN p. 22 ? + **cajr-**, but see under that.

Cross Dormant Wml (Barton) PNWml 2 p. 210 ? + **traws-** + **-treß-** or **-torr-**: A. Walker pers. comm. [Smith, PNWml loc cit, citing Ekwall, proposes ON *tros-* ‘rubbish, twigs for fuel’ + personal name *Pormóðr*].

All the following could be + **pen[n]**- (Gaelicised *cenn-*), or else ***cejn-** (see **ceμ**), but see Parsons 2011, p. 128 n35:

Great Kinmond Wml (Orton) PNWml 2 p. 47.

Kinmont Cmb (Corney) PNCmb pp. 364-5.

Kinmount Dmf (Cummertrees) CPNS p. 400, PNDmf p. 19.

Kinmount Tower Dmf (Canonbie), but this may be a transferred name.

Kilmond YNR is recorded as *Kinemund* PNYNR p. 305, but is less likely to have a Brittonic origin: it might be a transferred name.

Pethmont Ayr (Hawkhill) CPNS p. 400 + ***pett-**, see ***pett** : probably a Gaelic formation.

Polmont, with Polmont Hill, Stg CPNS p. 400, PNFESTg p. 39 + **pol-**, if not Gaelic; it probably preserves an earlier name of the Gilston Burn.

Pressmennan ELo (Stenton) CPNS p. 399 + **prēs-**.

Tarnmonath Fell Cmb PNCmb p. 87 ? + **torr-** + **-īn-** as diminutive, but see under **torr**.

mönju (f)

IE **mon-* (o-grade of **men-* ‘jut, project’, see **man-** and ***mönōg**) > eCelt **mon* + *-owiā-* > Br **monowiā-* > OW (LL) *Minuensis ecclesia*, *Menevia* (p-n, = St Davids/ *Tyddewi* Pmb) > W *Mynyw*; OIr *cell Muini* (p-n) > M-MnIr, G *muine*, (in p-ns), Mx *muinney*.

See LHEB §47.2(A), at p. 378. For Goidelic p-ns, see CPNS pp. 200 and 498, IPN p. 124, DUPN pp. 108-10 DMxPN p. 213.

The root implies a hill-word, but in Celtic languages today, ‘brushwood, bush, scrub, thicket’.

Forms with ‘Mon-’ may preserve a Cumbric form with a still-rounded vowel, though the influence of Gaelic *monadh* is more likely, and in any case such forms are indistinguishable from those from **mönīð**.

However, Breeze (2004), pp. 121-3, favours this element in several place-names listed under **mönīð** (b2), viz. Minigaff Kcb, Minnygap Dmf, Monymut ELo and *Munmaban* Pbl; others under that heading where this may be relevant include Mumrills Stg.

*mönōg (m)

IE **mon-* (o-grade of **men-* ‘jut, project’, see **man-**, **mönīð** and ***mönju**) > eCelt **mon-* + *-āco-* (see **-ōg**) > Br **monāco-* > MW *mynauc* > eMnW *mynawg*, OCorn *-monoc* (in pers. n.), OBret *-monoc* (in pers. ns.).

See LHEB §4(1) pp. 272-3 and CIB †26 at pp. 88-9.

Literally, ‘an outstanding man’, so ‘a nobleman, a prince’; also used adjectivally, ‘noble, princely’.

Possibly in:

c2) Carmunnock Lnk CPNS pp. 196 and 367 + **cajr-**, but see discussion under ***mann**.

mōr (m)

IE **mori-* > eCelt **mori-* > Br, Gaul *mori-* > OW *mor-* in a compound, and (LL) *mor* > M-MnW *mōr*, Pictish *mūr* (see PNFif1 p. 41 and *ibid.* 3 p. 593), O-MCorn *mor*, OBret *mor-* in compounds

> M-Mn Bret *mor*; O-MnIr, G *muir*, Mx *moor*; cogn. Lat *mare*, Gmc **mari-* > OE *mere* > ‘a mere’.

See also **merin*, and see OIPrIE §8.3 pp. 125-7, and ACPN pp. 92-3.

In the Celtic languages, ‘the sea’, though in early usage it might possibly have referred to large bodies of water inland. For northern examples in mediaeval Welsh literature, see Haycock 2013, pp.25-6, nn32, 34 and 35.

Morikambé eíschysis PNRB pp. 40-1 + **-cam[b]**, which see: probably Morecambe Bay Lanc, though the modern name is an antiquarian revival, see PNLanc p. 176 n1.

Vindomora PNRB pp. 502-3 + **winn-**: Ebchester Drh. Rivet and Smith favour ‘a broadening of the river water, or a small lake’, and Watts, DDrhPN p. 37 gives ‘bright waters’, but Jackson’s doubts, (1970) at p. 81, are justified: there is no trace of any substantial body of water here. See also ACPN p. 92 n44.

c1) Monreith Wig PNGall p. 213 ? + **-treß**; PNWigMM pp. 12-13: early forms favour **mōr**, but see also **mōnīð**, and A. James (2014b) p. 24 n22; the name is sometimes seen as identical in origin to Moray, but early forms consistently show *-th* while those for Moray have *-b*.

mōr

IE(WC) **meh₁-* ‘grow’ + *-ro-* > eCelt **māro-/ā-* > Br, Gaul *māro-/ā-* > O-MW *maur* > MnW *mawr*, OCorn *muer* > Corn *meur*, OBret *mor* > Bret *meur*; OIr *már* > Ir *mór*, G *mòr*, Mx *mooar*; cf, from IE o-grade, ON *mærr* ‘famous, great’ (of persons).

See OIPrIE §19.2 at p. 320, EGOW p. 110, and LHEB §11, pp. 293-6, and §13 pp. 299-301.

‘Large, great’.

Not common in place-names in the North, and hard to distinguish Brittonic from Goidelic.

c2) Cairnmore Wig (x2: Kirkmaiden and Mochrum) PNGall p. 55 + **car-**, but probably Gaelic **càrn-mòr*.

Cairnsmore Kcb (x3: of Carsphairn, Dee and Fleet) PNGall p. 55 + **carneð-**, which see, but probably Gaelic **carnas-mòr*.

Clockmore Slk (Yarrow) + **clog-**, but Gaelic **cloch-mòr* is likely.

Mumrills Stg (Polmont) PNFESTg p. 35 ? + **mōnīð-** or ***mōnju-** + locational suffix *-el*, or else Gaelic *monadh-mòr* [+ in either case a locational suffix *-el* [+ Scots plural *-is*, or else *-hyllis* ‘hills’], but see ***mamm** and **mūr**; recorded forms allow little confidence.

Pillmour Burn ELo + **pol-**, which see.

*morβ

IE **mer-* ‘die’ + *-b-* > eCelt **merbo-/ā-* > Br **merbo-/ā-* > M-MnW *merf*; OIr *meirb* > Ir,G *meirbh*; cf. (from IE o-grade **mor-*) Gmc **marw-* > OE *mearu* ‘tender, soft, delicate’.

W *merf* means ‘insipid, lifeless’.

Breeze (2001a), pp. 21-5, suggests that this is represented at *Morbio* (PNRB p. 420), possibly either Piercebridge Drh or Greta Bridge YNR. If so, it is an o-grade variant of Brittonic **merβ*, comparable to Gmc **marw-* (see above): such a variant is conceivable as an early stream-name, the meaning would presumably be something like ‘weakly flowing’. Breeze further proposes that the stream in question is the Dyance Beck at Piercebridge, which is < ODan *dyande* ‘marshes’ (DDrhPN p. 36).

müchid or müchid (m)

?OW *muhit* > MW *muchyd*, also MW *muchud* > W *muchudd*.

The etymology is obscure: see EGOW p. 115. *muhit* may be OBret rather than OW, see LHEB p. 64, but cf. EGOW loc. cit. The inconsistency in forms of the final syllable is, in any case, baffling.

‘Jet’, and, metaphorically, ‘jet-black’.

Breeze, CVEP pp. 70-1, proposes this for:

a1) Mite, R Cmb ERN pp. 294-5, PNCmb p. 22, DLDPN p. 240, but note Whaley’s objections in DLPN, and see **mę:g*.

*müged (f)

? IE(NW) **(s)muk(h)-* (zero-grade of *(s)meug(h)/k(h)-* ‘smoke’) > eCelt **mūc* + *-etā-* (see *-ed*) > Br *mūcetā-* > M-MnW *myged* (cf. MnW *mwg*, Corn *mōk*, ‘smoke’); cf. OIr *much* > Ir *múch*, eG *much*, ‘smoke’, also Ir *múig*, G *mùig* ‘mist, drizzle’; cogn. Gmc **smeuk-* > OE *smoca* (weak noun), cf. *smeocan*, *smocian* (verbs), > ‘smoke’, cf. also E dialect and Scots *mug*, ‘mist, drizzle’, and ‘muggy’, ‘oppressively damp and warm, humid’, (though OED, ODEE and SND all refer these to ON > Norw dialect *mugga* ‘mist, drizzle’), Gk *smú:khō* ‘smoulder away’, *smûgenai* ‘be consumed with heat’.

The Celtic verbal root **mūc-* seems to mean primarily ‘smother, asphyxiate’, and as a verbal noun, ‘smoke, steam, fog’. Its semantic range may reflect the falling-together in early Celtic of IE(NW) **(s)muk(h)-* above with the zero-grade of another IE(NW) root, **meug-*, with the sense ‘conceal’, so ‘smother’; **(s)meug-* (see **mūyn*) may also have been involved (compare OIPrIE §8.2 at p. 125, §20.8 at p. 340, §20.9 at p. 348 and §22.14 at pp. 400-1). The relationship between this Celtic root and Scots *mug*, English ‘muggy’ and Scandinavian *mugga* is likewise unclear, but there is surely some connection.

To complicate matters further, the suffixed form falls together in MW with *myged* ‘honour, respect, glory’, < Br **miceto-* < eCelt **mic-* + *-eto-* (? < IE **meig/k-* ‘blink’, cf. Lat *micāre* ‘flash, flicker’). The M-MnW use of *myged* for ‘incense’ seems to combine the senses of both etymons.

While ‘glory’ may be a more desirable meaning, ‘mist’, or possible ‘concealment’, is likely to be entailed by the form *Mocetauc* AC (only in BL Harley ms3859). Since Skene, this battle-site has been identified as:

a2) Mugdock Stg (Strathblane) + *-ōg*: see Macquarrie (1993).

mūr (m)

Lat *mūrus*, adopted as Br **mūro-* > O-MW *mur* > MnW *mûr*, not recorded in Cornish, MBret *mur*; O-MnIr *múr*, G *mùr*.

‘A wall’, typically a substantial masonry wall. Readily confused with Scots *muir* ‘moor’.

c2) Carmuir Stg (Larbert) CPNS p. 370 + **cajr-** [+ Scots plural *-is*, referring to Easter and Wester Carmuir]: the site of a Roman fort immediately north of the Antonine Wall.

Mumrills Stg (Polmont) PNFESTg p. 35 ? + ***mamm-**, which see, + locational suffix *-el* [+ Scots plural *-is*] : an Antonine Wall fort. Recorded forms give little support for this proposal, see also **mōr**.

Pennymuir Rox (Oxnam) CPNS p. 354, PNRox p. 31 + **pen[n]-** + **-i[r]-**: close to the watershed now forming the Anglo-Scottish border, so perhaps a boundary name, see under **pen[n]**: there are major Roman and other earthworks here, though the only stone structures appear to be dry-stone walls of unknown antiquity; see under **-i[r]-** for discussion of date of the name-formation.

N

nant (m or f)

IE **n̥m-t-* (zero-grade of **nem-*, see ***n̥iued**) > eCelt **nantu-* > Br, Gaul *nanto-* > OW *-nant* > M-MnW *nant*, O-MnCorn *nans*, Bret *ant*; cogn. Skt *namati* ‘bends, bows’.

See LHEB §107, pp. 502-5, DCCPN p. 26 (also p. 168 s.n. *Nemausus*), EGOW p. 129 (s.v. *pennant*), Coe (2000) pp. 9-11, and ACPN pp 93-4.

The Indo-European root-sense is ‘bend, bow, sink down’, so in the Brittonic languages, ‘a valley’. A feminine form **nantā-* underlies Modern Welsh *nant* (f) ‘a brook’, and this may well be present in stream-names in the North. However, the difficult case of Nanny Burn (see below), and the several forms with *nent*, raise the possibility of a northern Brittonic hydronym **nantjo-* or **nantjōn-*. Alternatively, *nent* might in some cases preserve a genitive singular or nominative plural form (Watson, CPNS p. 390 discussing Tranent ELo, gives *neint* as a plural form, though this is not among those listed in GPC), or be due to reduction in unstressed positions in Anglicised forms: see ERN pp. 319-20 s.n. Pant for Ekwall’s discussion.

a1) Nent R Cmb (also settlement name in Alston) PNCmb pp. 22, 175, ERN p. 300: as a simplex, presumably a hydronym **nantjo-* or **nantjōn* as above.

a2) Nanny Burn Ntb (near Bamburgh) PNNtb s.n., ERN p. 298: if this is from **nantjōn-*, adoption from Brittonic into Old English must have been later than OE i-mutation (and assimilation of Brittonic nt > nh, LHEB §§107-8, pp. 502-8), but earlier than West Brittonic internal i-affection (LHEB §174(2), p. 612), so presumably in the earliest phase of Northumbrian settlement during the 6th century. However, note that Coates, CVEP p. 366, lists it as ‘ancient’, not Celtic. Cf. the two rivers Nanny in Ireland (Co Galway and Co Meath)?

b1) *Sechenent* Cmb (lost field-name in Midgeholme) PNCmb p. 73, ERN p. 355, LanCart 189-90 etc. + **sich-**, which see for discussion: *-nent* may be reduced in low-stress here.

b2) Enterkine Ayrs (Tarbolton), and Enterkin Burn and Pass Dmf (Durrisdeer) PNDmf p. 33, ? **neint-* + **-i[r]**- + **-can[d]** ‘white’, **-cant** ‘boundary’, or a stream-name of the **cein** type (perhaps with ‘incorrect’ definite article, see under **i[r]**).

Lamplugh Cmb PNCmb pp. 404-5 + **bluch-**: on *Lan/m-* for *Nan[t]*-, see Quentel (1955), pp. 81-3, and Padel (1980-2), pp. 523-6, and in CPNE, pp 143-4 and 170.

Nenthemenu Cmb (upper Denton) ERN p. 301, LanCart 9 etc. + **-Temon-** (PNCmb p. 81, presumably this was originally a stream-name: see **d̥in**, **tā** and **mayn**), or + **-i[r]**- + **-*m̥in-** (Breeze (2006c) at p. 330, not mentioning Temon), + plural suffix **-öü** [or ME *-howe*]: *nent-* is again difficult to explain.

c2) Tranent ELo CPNS p. 360, SPN² p. 214 + **torr-** (which see) or **treß-** + **-i[r]**-: Watson sees *-nent* as plural (see above), but here it could be an archaic genitive singular, or a lost stream-name.

Polternan Cmb (now Castle Beck, Naworth) PNCmb p. 8 + **polter-**, which see: presumably a phrasal formation, with **-nant** in genitival relationship to **polter-**; but see also **terp̥in**.

*neð (f)

IE **knid-* (zero-grade of **konid-* ‘dust’) > eCelt **snedā-* > Br **nedā-* > M-MnW *nedd*, Corn *nedh*, MBret *sgv nezhen*; OIr *sned* > Ir *sniodh*, G *sneadh*; cogn. Gmc **χnitō-* > OE *hnitu* > ‘nit’, cf. Grk *kónis* ‘dust’.

‘Nits, louse-eggs’.

Proposed by Breeze (2004), pp. 121-3, in:
c2) Monynut ELo (Oldhamstocks) CPNS p. 399 + **mönju-**, or **mönjö-**, or else + **-nejth..**

*nejth

IE **neig^w-t-* > eCelt **nicto-/ā-* > Br **neχto-/ā-*; OIr *necht* > Ir, G *nighte*, Mx *nieet*; cogn. Gk (*a*)*niptos* ‘(un)washed’, Skt *nikta-* ‘washed, purified’.

See OIPrIE §22.9, pp 389-90, and, for developments in Brittonic, LHEB §60, pp 407-11. See also ***nīð**.

The etymology is problematic, as IE **g^w* normally gives eCelt *b*: *g^wt* may have become *gt* and been generalised through verbal forms (e.g. OIr *nigid* ‘washes’).

The root is verbal, ‘to wash, to cleanse’, the form with *-t-* being the past participle, ‘washed, purified’.

The personal name **Nechtano-* > Pictish *Nehhton*, Cumbric or Pictish *Neitano* > *Neithon* (Irish-influenced *Nec(h)tan*), Middle Welsh *Nwyth(y)on*, was popular among Christian rulers and churchmen in the North, especially among the Picts. For discussion see CPNS p. 211, LHEB loc. cit. and p. 708 (note to p. 410), also Jackson (1955a) at pp 145, 164-5, 173-4 and 176, and in YGod(KJ) p. 48n1, C. Thomas (1994) pp. 178 and 182 n31, CVEP pp 97-9, and CIB †51 p. 179, declaring ‘NEITANO is likely to be a Pictish form’. Forms of this name are probable or possible in Cambusnethan Lnk, + **cambas-* (see **cam[b]**), and Carntyne Lnk+ ***carr-** + **-an** or **-in** (but see below).

In river-names:

a1) Nith R CPNS pp. 27, 55 and 514 (note to p. 55), which see for discussion, also PNDmf pp. 25-6; but see **nöwið**.

a2) Carntyne Lnk ? + ***carr-** + **-an**, or else **carn-** (which see) + **-eithin-** but see above, also ***carden** and **carneð**.

Nethan R Lnk CPNS pp. 210-11, SPN² p. 228 + **-an**.

Plendernethy Brw (Ayton) ? + **blajn-** + **-i[r]-** or **-treß-** + **-ig-**: a lost stream-name Gaelicised **neitheach*, cf. CPNS pp. 210-11? J. G. Wilkinson pers. comm.

c2) Monynut ELo (Oldhamstocks) CPNS p. 399 + **mönju-**, or **mönjö-**, or else + **-neð**.

Note: *Poltrerneth Burn* Ntb (Falstone) PNNtb p. 160 is probably an error for *Poutreuet*, arising from confusion with *Polterheued* and Powterneth Beck, both nearby in Cmb: see under **pol** and **polter**.

*ness (f)

IE **ned-* + *-st-* > eCelt **nestā-*. Br **nestā-*; cf, from a-grade **nad-*, German *nass* ‘wet’, Greek *nótiōs* ‘wet’, Skt *nadī* ‘flowing water, a river’.

An ancient or early Celtic hydronymic word, falling together with ON *nes* ‘a headland’, but perhaps present in:

a2) Lessnessock Ayr (Ochiltree) MacDonald (1987) p.42 ? + **li:s[s]-** + - **ōg**, but see under **li:s[s]**.

b1) Deerness R Drh ERN p. 119, DDRhPN p. 34 + **duβr-**: see LEHB §204 (B2), p. 675, Watts (1979), p.122, and Kitson (1998), at p. 91 n28.

Denis Burn Ntb (near Hexham) ERNp. 120 + **dūβ-** or **duβ[i]n**, but see LHEB §67(7-8), pp 421-4, and §204(B1), pp 6.

*nīδ

IE ? **nid-* (zero-grade of **neid-*) > eCelt **nido-/ā-* > Br **nido-/ā-*.

The etymology of the family of river-names that includes Nidd YWR and Neath Glm, as well as at least six in northern Continental Europe, is very uncertain. Supporters of the ‘Old European’ hypothesis favour an IE root as above, meaning either ‘flow’ or ‘shine’ (in the latter case, a relationship with ***nejth** might be possible). However, there is a lack of convincing non-hydronymic cognates to support this. For discussion of British examples, see PNRB p. 425 (on *Nidum*, Neath Glm) and Kitson (1996) at p. 94; Taylor's discussion of the ethnonym *Niduari*, PNFif2 pp. 494-6 anent Newburn Fif, should also be consulted.

a1) Nidd R. YWR PNYWR7 pp. 132-3, ERN pp 302-3; on the date of adoption into English, see LHEB §35(2) at p. 343. For an alternative etymology, see Breeze (2000d), pp 27-33.

Some river-names under ***nejth** might involve this element.

nījed (neuter, later f)

IE **nem-* (see **nant**) > eCelt **nem-* + *-ēto-/ā-* (see **ed**) > Br, Gaul *nemēto-/ā-* > OW(LL) *nimet* > MW *niued* > eMnW *nyfed* ‘strength’, OCorn **neved* (in p-ns, CPNE p. 172), MBret *nemet* ‘a wood’; O-MIr *ne[i]med* > Ir, G *neimheadh*, *neimhidh*; cognates Lat *nemus*, Gk *némos*, Skt *namati* ‘bows, worships’.

See EPNE2 p. 50, JEPNS1 (1968-9) p. 50, PNRB pp. 254-5 (s.n. *Aquæ Arnetiæ*), GOI §285 p. 180, OIPrIE §10.1 at p. 160, §22.5, pp 382-5, and §23.2, pp 411-14, and ACPN pp. 94-5, but note alternative etymologies referenced by DCCPN p. 26.

If the above etymology is correct, the root-sense is ‘to bow’, with connotations of ‘submit oneself to, worship’. However, in West and Central Indo-European, this and related forms refer to ‘a sacred grove’; for such groves in pagan Celtic cultures, see DCML p. 108 and PCB pp 59-65. In Brittonic toponymy, the pagan connotations seem to have remained (see CPNE p. 172 for Cornish examples, and PNFif5 p. 454 for possible Welsh ones), but the word seems to have been adopted from P-Celtic by Middle Irish/ early Gaelic speakers and used by them (especially in

Pictland) to refer to Christian sites, and subsequently to Church landholdings and consecrated ground (see CPNS pp 247-50, Barrow 1998b, and in *Uses*, pp 56-9, Taylor PNFif3 pp. 499-500 and *ibid.* 5 pp. 452-5, the last questioning Barrow's view that places so named were necessarily pagan sites appropriated to Christian use).

Ancient examples in the North include:

Medionemeton PNRB pp 416-17 + ***með-**: a fort somewhere in central Scotland, perhaps mid-way along the Antonine Wall (maybe the one at Castlecary EDnb), but a place perceived as 'central' by pre-Roman Celtic speakers is at least as likely.

Nemthur, *Nemptor*, in Fiacc's hymn to St Patrick (late 8th ct?): scholia on this hymn in the *Vita Tripartita* identify this place with *Ail Cluaid* (Dumbarton), while the *Vita Quarta* places it 'in the plain of *Campus Taburniæ*', and interpret its meaning as 'heavenly tower' (CPNS pp. 246-7, DIL s.v. *nemed*). However, it is probably from **nemēto-dūron*: there may well have been a connection with the territory called *Neveth*, see Rosneath below.

While Taylor (PNFif5 p. 454) takes the view that 'it is quite possible that our place-names in Scotland, in the light of their distribution, are of British and Pictish rather than Gaelic origin', the two examples in our region leave the question open:

a1) Newholmhope Pbl (Manor), earlier *Neuway*, *Newey* [+ OE *-hop*, here 'enclosed valley' of Newholmhope Burn]; Gaelicised or Gaelic in origin, but this is the location of the 6th cent. (1st half) CONINIE stone CIIC 511, so the place-name may well refer to a site or landholding with pre-Gaelic Christian origins; see Barrow 1998b, and in *Uses* loc. cit. (though the question is complicated by the fact that the inscribed name appears to be a Latinised form of Old Irish *Conind*, see CIB #48 n922, and for the dating, *ibid.* p. 363).

c2) Rosneath Dnb CPNS pp 55 and 246 + **ros-**, but, again, could well be Gaelic: this was apparently part of a territory called *Neveth* c1199, *Neved* 1225, which included the Rosneath peninsula, and probably extended west of Gare Loch, and south towards Cardross (Watson CPNS loc. cit., and see *Nemthur* above); around 1200, the territory was in the King's gift, it is impossible to say whether it was an earlier Church landholding, or had any pre-Christian significance.

nöwið

IE**new-* > eCelt **now-jo-/ā-* > Br, Gaul *novio-*, *novijo-* > IBr **nowiðo-/ā-* > OW *nouid*, *neguid* > MW *newydd* > W *newydd*, M-MnCorn *noweth*, *newyth*, OBret *nouuid*, *neuuid* > Bret *nevez*; OIr *núae* > Ir *nua*, G *nuadh*, Mx *noa*; cogn. Lat *nōvus*, Gmc **neujaz* > OE *nēowe* > 'new', Gk *néos*, Skt *nāvas*.

See LHEB §38(A1) pp 348-51, §48(2) p 384, and §171(2) pp 605-6, and EGOW p 122, and ACPN pp. 95-6.

'New'. In ethnic and river names, perhaps 'fresh, lively, vigorous': see CPNS p. 27.

This is the basis of the ethnic name *Novantae*, + participial suffix *-ant-* (see **-and**): see PNRB pp 133-4 and 425. *Wyr e nouant* CA LXVII (A40) is taken by Koch, YGod(JK) pp lxxxii-iii, to refer to these people, although Williams reads *nofant* 'blood-stained', see Clancy (2013) pp. 159 and 173 n43. On the possibility that the eponym of *Kaer Nefenhir* in a poem to Llywelyn the Great by Prydydd y Moch (c. 1215) is **Novantorix*, 'ruler of the *Novantae*', see Haycock 2013 p.14.

a1) Nith R Dmf/ Kcb PNRB pp 133-4 and 428, CPNS pp. 27, 55 and 514 (note to p. 55), PNGall p. 217, PNDmf pp. 25-6: if the Classical forms, Ptolemy's *Nouuifou* (*potamoū ekbolai*) and

Ravennas' [*Pa*]novius, are correctly identified with this river, the alternatives ***nejth** and ***nīð** must be ruled out. See also Wilkinson (2002) at pp 143-5.

c1) The compound **nōwīð-** + *-dreβ* (lenited **treβ**) may not necessarily be a very early formation, as common adjectives may have been optionally pre-positioned well after the general shift to post-position. Moreover, even if it was of early origin, such a formation could well have remained in use as a common appellative as late as the Old Welsh/ Cumbric period, when any names of the 'Niddry' type could have originated:

Longniddry ELo CPNS p. 363 [+ OE *lang* > 'long'].

Newtryhill Stg (Denny) PNFESTg p. 32 [+ OE *hyll* > 'hill'].

Niddrie MLo (Liberton) CPNS p. 363, PNMLo pp. 294-5.

Niddry, with West Niddry, WLo (Kirkliston) CPNS p. 363, PNWLo pp 43-4.

c2) [*Chef*] *Carnenuat* lost, Rnf? in the *Inquisition of King David* + ***cajr-**, or else + **carn-** ? + **-ī[r]**- + **-wī:ð**, which see. This is not the same place as Carnwath Lnk.

Carnwath Lnk CPNS p. 386 ?+**cajr-** or **carn-**, with syncope in Gaelic or Scots, or else **-wī:ð**, which see [early forms *-wid* c1165, 1179 etc, *-withe* 1315 etc., rule out ON *-vað* 'a ford', though that may have influenced the modern spelling].

Tranew Ayr (Kirkmichael) CPNS p. 361 + **treβ-**, the specifier replaced by Gaelic *-nuadh*: cf. the 'Niddry' type names above.

Tranewath Lanc (Ashton, Lancaster) PNLanc p. 253 ? + **treβ-** [influenced by ON *-vað* 'a ford'].

O

ōch (m)

IE **h_xok-* (o-grade of **h_xek-* ‘be sharp’) > IE(WC) **ok-* > eCelt **āc-co-* > Br **ācco-* > OW *och* > M-MnW *awch*; cogn. lLat *occa* ‘a harrow’, Gmc (W and N) **azjō-* > OE *eċġ* > ‘edge’; and cf. OW *ocolouin* ‘a whetstone’, *ocet* ‘a harrow’, *acrorion* ‘cruelty’, OBret *ocolo-*, *occro-*, *acer-* (all in compounds); OIr *acher* ‘bitter’, MÍr *ochair* ‘edge’; cf. Lat *acies* ‘sharp edge, point’, *medi-ocris* ‘middling, between extremes’, Gk *oksús* ‘sharp’ and *ókris* ‘a jagged point’. See also **ogel*.

See Jackson (1975-6) at p. 44, and, for related words in the Celtic languages, OIPrIE §10.4 at p. 167 and §15.3 at pp 242-3, DCCPN p. 27, and EGOW p. 124.

‘An edge, a point, sharpness’. It is not otherwise evidenced as a place-name element, but might possibly be in:

c2) Treesmax Ayrs (Ochiltree) CPNS p. 362 ? + **treß-** + **-[h]in-** [+Scots plural -s].

-ōg

IE **-āk-* > eCelt **-āco-/ā-* > Br *-āco-/ā-* > OW *-auc* > MW *-awg* > W *-og*, OCorn *-oc* > Corn *-ek*, OBret *-oc* > Bret *-ec*, *-uc*; ? adopted as MÍr *-óc* > Ir *-ág*, G *-ag*, Mx *-agh*; cogn. Lat *-ācus*, ?OE *-oc* (but see GOE §351 and n3, and §574(4) and n2), Gk *-achos*.

See P. Russell (1988), idem (1990), pp. 23-8, 32 - 60, 80-4, 86 – 103, and 108-16, and idem (1993), replying to Zimmer (1992). See also *-ig*.

Adjectival and nominal suffix, indicating ‘being of the kind of’, ‘association with’, ‘abounding in’, the stem-word. It occurs very widely in river-names, hill-names and other topographic names, see CPNS 447-50. In Wales, Cwl and Brittany, it is often suffixed to plant-names, sometimes to those of other natural resources, but this does not seem to be a characteristic pattern in the North, see Padel 2013b, pp. 14-16.

Jackson (1970), at pp 74-5, and also in LHEB at p. 39, suggested that, when combined with (what appear to be) Roman-British personal names, it may have borne the sense ‘estate of ...’, e.g. *Eburacum*, *Epiacum*; however, like P. Russell (1988), he found little clear evidence for this.

-āco-/ā- occurs frequently in Roman British and Continental Celtic personal names (see P. Russell 1988), and came to be used as a hypocoristic or diminutive suffix: this is common with saints’ names (being adopted into Irish / Gaelic), and is reflected in some place-names, e.g. Lochwinnoch Rnf (+**Winnōg* < **Winn[iau]*, Winnian). In later usage with personal names, it sometimes acquired a pejorative sense, but it is doubtful whether this can be traced in any place-names.

Replacement with Gaelic *-(e)ach* (itself < eCelt **-āco-/ā-*) is, of course, likely in southern Scotland, and either suffix is normally anglicised as *-ock* (Barrow in *Uses* at pp. 38-9). Even in earlier records it is often uncertain whether the form is Brittonic or Gaelic as *ch* may represent /k/ or /χ/ (PNFif5 pp. 277 and 460, Ansell 2022 p. 179), and where the anglicised form is *-ick* or *-ie*

it is often impossible to judge whether the underlying form was Brittonic $-\bar{ō}g$ or $-\bar{ī}g$, or Gaelic *-aich* or *-eich*.

British $-\bar{ā}co-$ is seen in:

Bernicia, if that was based on or derived from **Bernāco-* or **Birnāco-* (+ **bern-*, see LHEB pp 701-5), or **Brenāco-* (see **brīnn**).

Bravoniacum (fort at Burwens, Kirkby Thore Wml) PNRB pp. 275-6 + **bröüan* - + formative $-i-$.

Bremetanacum (fort at Ribchester Lanc) PNRB p. 277 + ?river-name **Bremetā-*, see ***breu**.

Calacum* (? fort at Overborough Lanc) PNRB p. 288 + ?river-name **Calāgā-*, see *cal-**.

Eburacum (York) PNRB pp. 355-7, PNYER p. 275 + **eþur-**: see above, and under **eþur**).

Epiacum (? fort at Whitley Castle Ntb) PNRB p. 360 + ?personal name **Epios* or ethnic name **Epiācoi*, see ***eb-**.

Mocetauc AC s.a. 750 (only in ms Harley 3859), site of a battle at which the Britons defeated the Picts, maybe Mugdoch Dnb (Strathblane), ? + ***müged**.

Koch in YGod(JK), pp xlv-vii, argues that *Mynydauc* [*Mwinuaur*] is not a personal name but a place-name or poetic appellative, perhaps for *Din Eidyn*: see **mönīð-**.

Bannauc (VCadoc), *Mynydd Bannawg* (*Culhwch ac Olwen*), is used in mediaeval Welsh literature to define the boundary between the Britons of the North and the Picts: see **ban[n]**.

Kernach in VK(J), is likely to be either Carnock or Cairnoch, both of which are in St Ninians parish Stg: see **carn-**.

Names in the North that certainly or probably have this suffix include the following: in each case, refer to the headword(s) indicated:

Aberlosk Dmf ? lost river-name **Lusōg*, see **-*lūs-**, but also **losg**

Balernock Dnb **lowern**

Balornock Lnk **lowern**

Bannockburn Stg **bann**, see above re- *Bannauc*

Bardnoch Kcb **tān**, but see also ***dantōg**

Barrock, with Barrock Fell, Cmb **barr**

Barrock, High and Low Cmb **barr**

Bladnoch R Wig **blōd**, **-an**

Brackach **brijth**

Cadottrell Wml see **üch**

Caerlaverock Dmf **laþar**

Cairnoch Stg **carn-**: see above, re- *Kernach*

Cam Beck Cmb **cam[b]**

Cammo MLo **cam[b]**

Cammock YWR **cam[b]**

Cammock Beck and House Cmb **cam[b]**

Caraverick Cmb **eþur**, **hapar** (otherwise $-\bar{ī}g$)

Cardurnock Cmb **durn**

Carmunnock Lnk **bann** or ***mann**

Carnock Stg **carn-**: see above, re- *Kernach*

Carrock Fell Cmb ***carr**

Castle Carrock Cmb ***carr**

Charnock Richard, etc., Lanc ? lost stream-name **Cern-*, see **carn**

Corra, with Corhouse, Corra Linn and *Fincorra*, Lnk ***cor**

Corsick Rox **cors**, **crojs** (otherwise $-\bar{ī}g$)

Corselusk Strand Kcb ? + **cors-** + **-*lūs-**

Corsock Kcb (x2) **cors**

Crachotre Brw ***crach** or **crę:g** (otherwise **üch**)

Craddock YWR ? lost river-name **Caradōg*, see **carad**
 Craigdilly Slk **creig, tāl**
 Crec[*c*]hoc Cmb **creig, crīch**
 Crechok Cmb **crīch**
 Crummack YWR ***crum[b]**, which see for discussion of other similar names in YWR
 Crummock Beck Cmb ***crum[b]**
 Crummock Water Cmb ***crum[b]**
 Cumdivock Cmb **dūβ**
 Dalgarnock Dmf **carn** or ***gār**
 Devoke Water Cmb **dūβ**
 Dornock Dmf **durn**
 Duncarnock Rnf **carn**
 Ebroch Burn Stg **eβur**
 Glencrest Cmb ***tres**
 Glencorse MLo **crojs**
 Glentreske Wml ***tres**
 Haydock Lanc **heð, *heið**
 Hullockhowe Wml **coll**
 Kevock Mills MLo **ce:d**
 King Water Cmb **cant, cein, *ceμ, cū[n]**
 Kirkintilloch Dnb **tal**
 Lavery, R Ayrs **laβar**
 Lessnessock Ayrs **ness**
 Lostock Lanc **lost**
 Lostock, R Lanc **lost**
 Mennock Dmf ***mīy[n]**
 Moor Divock Wml **dūβ**
 Moscolly ELo **coll** (otherwise –īg)
 Mugdock Stg * **müged**, see above re- *Mocetauc*
 Partick Rnf **pert[h]**
 Penhurrock Wml ***carr**
 Penruddock Cmb ***red, rīd**
 Pirnie Rox, Pirnie Braes ELo Pirniehall Dnb, Pirnie Lodge Stg, all **prenn**
 Plent[r]jidoc MLo ***red** or **tri-**
 Polthledick Cmb **leid** (otherwise –īg)
 Tercrosset Cmb ***cras, crojs**
 Tradunnoch Ayrs see ***dantōg** and **redin**
 Trevercarcou Kcb see ***carrōg**
 Watermillock Cmb **mēl, mę:l**.

*ogel (n?)

?**h_xok-* (see **ōch**) > IE(WC) **ok-elo-/ā-* > eCelt **ocelo-/ā-* > Br *ocelo-*, Gaul *ocel[l]o*; cf. W *og* ‘a harrow’.

The Indo-European root **h_xok-* ‘be sharp’ seems to be implied by this P-Celtic word for ‘a point, promontory’. It is quite well-attested in Classical sources for place-names in Britain and on the Continent, although no words directly derived from it are recorded in any Celtic languages; See PNRB p. 246, ACPN pp 10, 31-2 and 96-7, DCCPN p. 27, and, especially, Rhys (2019-21), who argues for the currency of **ogel* in the sense of ‘ridge, spur’ between the Lammermuirs and the Mounth; and see also **üchel**.

Examples that may have been in the Old North include:

Alaunocelum* PNRB p. 246 + *alauno-* (see *al-**): ‘apparently in SE Scotland’, but Coates (1980-1) at p. 70, finds this reconstructed form ‘incredible’.

Cintocelum* PNRB p. 308 + **cīnt-: ‘unknown, but apparently in Scotland’.

Itunocelum* PNRB pp. 380-1 + **idun-* (see *id-**): probably in north-west *Britannia*, the Solway region.

Ocelum PNRB pp. 138 and 429: either Flamborough Head or Spurn Head.

a1) Ogle Burn ELo (Oldhamstocks/ Innerwick) Taylor 2011, pp. 91-2 and 95, Rhys 2016-21, pp. 40-1.

Ogle Linn Dmf (Johnstone) PNDmf p. 65, Taylor 2011, pp. 91-2 and 95; or Britt **ogell* ‘lively stream’, or Gaelic *ògail* ‘youthful’, see Rhys 2015, p. 312, and idem. 2016-21, pp. 47-8.

c1) Ogilface WLo CPNS p. 378, PNWLo p. 97 + **-mayes** with lenition; or, less likely, **ūchel-**; see Taylor 2011, pp. 89 and 92-3, and Rhys 2016-21, p. 43.

See also Rhys 2015, pp. 319-21, and idem. 2019-21, pp. 50-5 and 58-61, on the possibility of this element in The Ochils; also ibid. pp. 55-63 on the wider possibility of a Goidelic reflex of **okelon* in Scottish and Irish place-names.

*oyn (m)

IE(NW) **h₃eg^whno-* > eCelt **ogno-* > Br **ogno-* > M-MnW *oen*, OCorn *oin* > MCorn *oan* > Corn *ôn*, Bret *oan*; OIr *úan* > Ir, G *uan*, Mx *eayn*; cogn. Lat *agnus*, OE verb *ēanian* > E (dialects) *yea* ‘to lamb’, Gk *amnós*.

Plural: eCelt **ognī-* > IBr **üynī-* > W *wyn*, (dialectal) *wyni*, Corn *eyn*, Bret *ein*.

‘A lamb’. A plural form ancestral to *wyni* is suggested by Breeze (2006c) at p. 329, in:

c2) *Lanrekereini* Cmb (Nether Dalton) PNCmb p. 72, Lan Cart 49 + **lanerc-** + **-i[r]**-, but see also **rijajn**.

onn (f)

IE **h₃es-n-* > eCelt **osni-* > Br **onni-* > OW(LL) sg *onnen* > M-MnW *onn*, O-Mn Corn sg *onnen*, MBret *ounn* > Bret *onn*; OIr *uinnius* > Ir *uinneas*, G sg *uinnsean*, Mx *unjin*; cf. (IE **h₃es-k-*) Gmc(W & N) **askiz* > OE *æsc* > ‘ash’, cogn. Lat *ornus* ‘elm’, Gk *oksúē* ‘beech’, also ‘a spear-shaft’.

‘Ash-trees’, collectively.

It may occur in *Treueronum*, + **treß-** + **i[r]**-, in the *Inquisition of King David*. This may well be Troney Hill Rox (Ancrum), see Durkan (1986) at pp 293-4 and Clancy (2008) at pp. 103-5, and the elusive *Tryorne* Rox (CPNS p. 361) may be a form of the same name.

Trearne Ayrs (Beith), CPNS pp. 361-2, may be a similar formation (or else OE *trēow-ærn* ‘a timber house’): see Clancy (2008) pp. 99-114 for full discussion of this name.

OR

IE **h₄erh₂os* > eCelt **orā-* > Br **orā-* > O-MnW *or*, Corn *or*, OBret pl. *orion, erion*; OIr *or* > M-MnIr *or*, G *oir*; cogn. Lat *ōra*, OE *ōra*.

See OIPrIE §18.1 p. 288, EGOW p. 125, EPNE2 p. 55.

'A border, boundary, limit'.

a1) Urr R. Kcb PNGall p. 263, Ross 2001 p. 219.

-öü

eCelt *u*-stem plural *-ow-es* > Br *-owes* > MW *-eu* > MnW *-au*, Corn *-ow*.

Plural morpheme, increasingly generalised to other noun-stems. See GMW §30(b) n1, p. 29.

It may occur in a number of place-names in the North, see under the suffixed element:

Broughna (Mochrum) Wig **bronn**
 Cadzow (= Hamilton, Lnk) **ce:d**
 Carcow Dmf (Sanqhar) **carreg**
 Carcove Wml (Barton) **carreg**
 Cardrona Pbl (Innerleithen) ***trōn**
 Cargo Cmb **carreg**
 Carnethy Hill MLo ***carneō**
 Carraw Ntb (Newbrough) PNNtb pp. 39-40 **carr**
 Castle Cary Stg **cajr**
 Gannow Lanc (Burnley) **gēn**
 Nenthemenu Cmb (Midgeholme) ***mīn**
 Penratho ELo (lost) **rōd**
 Penvalla Hill Pbl (Stobo) **wal**
 Pirnie Rox (Maxton) **prenn**
 Pirnie Braes ELo **prenn**
 Pirniehall Dnb (Kilmarnock) **prenn**
 Pirnie Lodge Stg (Slamannan) **prenn**
 Powcady Cmb (Walton) **cad**
 Ratho MLo **rōd**
 Torpenhow Cmb **pen[n]**
 Treuerarcou Dmf or Kcb (unlocated) **carreg**
 Wallow Crag Wml (Shap Rural) **wal**.

P

***paladr (m)**

IE **k^wal* (zero-grade of **k^wel* ‘turn’) > eCelt **k^wal-atro-* > Br **palatro-* > MW *paladyr* > W *paladr* (cf. MW *pal*, Corn *pal*, Bret *pal*, all ‘a spade’); OIr *celtair* ‘a spear’.

The IE etymology is uncertain, as the semantic relationship is far from obvious, but the root **k^wel* yields a wide diversity of meanings in various languages, such as Latin *colō* ‘I till (turn the earth over?)’, Greek *pélō* ‘I move’, Sanskrit *carati* ‘moves, wanders, drives’: see OIPrIE §22.3 at pp 377-8. The early Celtic word may have originally referred to some sharp tool, a goad or a hoe.

In the Brittonic languages, it means ‘a shaft, a beam’ (originally, perhaps, one of the relatively slender roof-timbers in an iron-age roundhouse): in Welsh poetry, it is especially ‘a spear-shaft’. The plural **peleidir* (MnW *peleidr*) in fort-names may indicate *chevaux de frise*, arrays of spiked stakes to impede attackers.

c2) *Dunpender* ELo (Prestonkirk, = Traprain Law) CPNS p. 345 + **dīn**, Gaelicised *dùn*.
Drumpellier Lnk (Old Monklands) CPNS p. 345, PNMonk pp 3 and 11: perhaps a transferred name from *Dunpender*, or vice versa.

pant (m)

Br **panto-* > OW(LL) *pant* > M-MnW *pant*, Corn **pans* (in p-ns, CPNE pp 174-5), Bret **pans* (in p-ns).

The etymology is quite obscure: Lloyd-Jones’s proposal, of adoption from Latin *panctum* ‘formed, shaped’, has been generally rejected: see LHEB §59 pp 406-7.

‘Hollow, valley bottom’; possibly ‘a valley’ (see Coe 2000 pp. 20-1, Parsons 2022, p. 131), also (presumably by metonymy), a stream-name.

It occurs in southern Pictland as far north as Angus, but infrequently (S. Taylor pers comm), and in Cornwall and Brittany it survives only in place-names. It is most common in the West Brittonic regions, Wales and the North: a river-name like Pont Ntb is undoubtedly early, but other examples like the field-names in YWR and Wml, may reflect Cumbric-period resettlement, even adoption into local OE dialects.

a1) Pant Ayrs (Stair) CPNS pp. 191 and 373.
Pant Wml (field-name in Longsleddale) PNWml1 p. 164.
Pant YWR (field-name in Austwick) PNYWR6 p. 231.
Pant Foot YWR (field-name in Ingleton) PNYWR6 p. 248.
Pantend Wml (Lupton) PNWml1 p. 47 [+ -‘end’].
Crossgill Pants Cmb (Alston) [A-Sc *cros-* + *-gil*].
Pantath Dmf (Mouswald) PNDmf p. 104 [+ A-Sc *-pveit* > ME *-thwaite* ‘a clearing’].
Pont R, + Ponteland, Ntb PNNtb p. 159 [+ OE *-ēa-*, + *-lond* > ME *-land* added later, in Ponteland].
Pont Burn Drh DDrhPN p. 96.

Pontheugh Brw (Cockburnspath) CPNS p. 348 **pant-** is more appropriate here than **pont** [+ Scots *-heuch* ‘a steep bank or steep-sided valley’]. However, *Pontheugh* 1698 (Retours, Brw no.474) appears to be a transcription or editorial error for *Peilheuch* 1624 (RMS viii no. 625) (Aitchison 2019, p. 21 fn 8).

b2) Old Pentland, with Pentland Hills, MLo PNMLo p. 280 + **-lann**, but see **penn**.
 Panbryde Ayr (Colmonell) CPNS pp. 373-4 + saint’s name *Brīd* < MĪr *Brigde*.
Panlaurig Brw (Duns) CPNS p. 374 + **-laβar-** + **-īg-**, a lost stream-name? Recorded forms do not support **-lanerc**.
Patefyn Cmb (field-name in Farlam) PNCmb p. 87, Lan Cart ? + **-īr-** + **-fin** (A. Walker pers comm).
 Pinkie MLo (Inveresk) PNMLo pp. 249-50 ? + ***-cī:n**.

c1) *Panbarthill* ELo (Dunbar) CPNS p. 374 ? + **-pert[h]** with loss of *-t* and soft mutation: as **pant** is masculine, lenition implies a proper compound, ‘valley-thicket’.
 Papert (or Pappert) Hill and Sike Dmf (Tundergarth) PNDmf 122, Pappert, with Pappert Hill and Papperthill Well, Dnb (Bonhill), Pappert Hill, with Papperthill Crag, Lnk (Shotts), Pappert Law Silk (Ettrick), all CPNS p. 357, might all likewise be + **-pert[h]**: they show no trace of lenition, so may be phrasal formations (b2), but are in any case very doubtful, see discussion under **pert[h]**, and Taylor’s discussion of ‘pepper’, PNFif5 pp. 466-8.

part[h] (m), *pōr* (m)

Lat *part-* (oblique forms of *pars*, or possibly a cognate early Celtic root) adopted as Br **parto-* > OW *pard*, *part*, *parth* > M-MnW *parth*, OCorn *-bard*, *-barh* (in compounds), OBret *parth* > MBret *parz* (but also MBret *perz* > Bret *perzh*); OIr *-cert* (in *descert* ‘southern part’, see DIL s.n.), also adopted from Britt as MĪr *pairt* > Ir *páirt*, G *pàirt*, Mx *paart*.

See LHEB §148 pp. 570-1, §150 pp. 572-3, EGOW p. 127, and PNFif4 pp. 256-7 on Parbroath (Creich) FIF (misplaced by Watson CPNS p. 373, in Forfarshire = Ang).

‘A portion of land’.

In the absence of early records, it is difficult to distinguish **part[h]** in place-names from *pōr* (Brit **pāro-* > OW(LL) *-paur* (verb), *pory* (verb) > M-MnW *pawr* (also *parlas*, *porfa* (see **-µa**), *pori[o]* (verb), etc.), Corn **peur* (possibly in p-ns, CPNE p. 184), Bret *peur*). This was adopted from Brittonic or Pritenic into Gaelic as *pòr*, *pùir* (see CPNS pp. 376-7, Jackson 1955a p. 161, idem 1972 pp. 44 and 68-9, and Taylor 2011 p. 105). In the Brittonic languages, words derived from *pōr* refer to ‘pasture, grazing land’, but Gaelic *pòr* means ‘seeds, grain, crops’, so Jackson (1970 pp. 44 and 68-9, supported by Taylor PNFif5 p. 473) considers that the Pictish word meant ‘cropland’.

a2) *Pirihou* Cmb (Upper Denton) Lan Cart (not in PNCmb) ? + pl *-jöü*: A. Walker pers. comm., but the long vowel should not have been affected by *-j-*, and the MnW pl is *porion*; Old English **pearre-* ‘an enclosure’, or (less likely in the North) *peru-* ‘a pear-[tree]’, + AS cand *-haug* > ME *-howe* ‘a hill, a mound’ is preferable, see Jackson 1955a p. 161.

b2) Five place-names across Lothian and Rnf are apparently of identical origin, though the first element is not certain and the meaning of the name-phrase is obscure (see Wilkinson (2002) at p. 140 n7, and discussion under **duβ[i]n**):
 Pardivan ELo (Whitecraig) CPNS pp. 372-3.
 Pardivan MLo (Cranston) PNMLo p.190.
 Pardovan WLo (Linlithgow) CPNS pp. 372-3, PNWLo p. 62, WLoPN p. 29.

Parduvine MLo (Carrington) CPNS pp. 372-3, PNMLo p.112
Perdovingishill Rnf (lost) CPNS p. 372, WLoPN p. 29 [+ OE *-hyll* > ‘hill’].

*pasgel (f)

Lat *pasuum* or *pascua*, ‘pasture’, adopted as Br **pasc-* > M-MnW *pasg-* in compounds, Corn *pask*, Bret *pask*: + instrumental suffix *-ēlā-* > MW *pasgell*.

This word is only first attested by Edward Lhuyd (1707, see GPC).

‘Pastureland’.

c1) Paisley Rnf ? + **lethir* or **led*: Ross (2001) p 172, but see **bassaleg**.

*pebil (f)

Lat *pāpiliō* ‘a butterfly’ > VLat *papiliō*, adopted as Br **papil-* > MW *pebyll* > W pl *pebyll*, sgv. *pebell*; OIr *pupall* > Ir *puball*, G *pubull*.

The intervocalic [-b-] would have been adopted as a fricative in Northumbrian OE, it is unlikely that it would have been treated as a stop before the 9th ct. This implies that the place-names containing this element are formations of the Cumbric period, 10th – 11th cts, subsequently adopted into early Scots. See LHEB §135, pp. 553-4, OEG chapter X, especially §530, p. 210, §545-6, pp. 214-16, §565, pp. 219-20, and Smith C. 1983, p. 939.

The Vernacular Latin word, perhaps soldiers’ slang, is recorded from early 3rd ct on (GLL, MLWL). It was used for ‘a tent’, and the wide range of temporary buildings used in Classical and mediaeval times. In place-names in the North, it would presumably refer to temporary bothies used in connection with summer grazing (or, rather, to the sites where these were regularly erected) in the large-scale transhumance practised in the Cumbric period – either shielings in the hills, or assembly places where livestock was gathered together (and traded) in spring and autumn. In Welsh place-names AMR shows around ten examples, see DPNW p. 87 for Cilybebyll Glm (additionally, AMR lists six examples of Babell - and one Babel! - as a Modern Welsh chapel-name referring to the biblical Tabernacle, see DPNW p. 20); it seems to be unknown in Cornish or Breton.

The MW plural was *pebylleu* < **pebilōu* (+ *-öü*, see GMW §30c, pp. 29 – 30), but *pebyll* was apparently used collectively, ‘a camp’, becoming plural in Modern Welsh, with *pebell* as singulative.

Internal i-affection, according to Jackson (LHEB §§170-6, 604-18, cf. CIB #57, 184-90), was a separate development occurring in proto-Welsh (and so in West neoBrittonic) in the seventh century. Jackson (1955a) does not mention absence of this as a Pictish feature. **pebil* is likely to underlie Peebles, Pibble, Dalfibble and Mosspeeble. However, in Papple, Foulpapple and possibly Pauples Hill, the *-a-* is unlikely to reflect a singulative form, and suggests absence of internal i-affection in at least some parts of the north (or, in Pauples Hill, Gaelic influence).

a1) Papple ELo (Garvald): not a hill-top site, so perhaps a gathering place.

Pauples Hill Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 222 [the *-s* implies the name was heard as a plural by English/Scots speakers]. Probably ‘shielings’ here, see PNWigMM p. 17.

Peebles CPNS p. 383: [again + English/Scots plural *-s*]: presumably this was ‘a camp’ (see above) or a place where a large number of bothies were erected. Given the location and the later importance of the fair here, a very early, seasonal, livestock market might well be implied. (Nicolaisen’s inclusion of this among place-names ‘which were originally names of natural features’, SPN² p. 226, is baffling).

Pibble, with Pibble Hill, Kcb (Kirkmabreck) PNGall p. 223. This could be Gaelic: Maxwell suggests ‘a place of assembly’, associating it (and Welsh *pabell*) with OIr *popull* < Latin *populus* (see DUPN pp. 55 and 112). Whether it was ***pebil** or Gaelic *pobull*, it could still have been a place of (livestock) assembly, but the location would favour a shieling.

c2) Cairnpapple Hill WLo PNWLo p.3, WLoPN 17-18 + *-*carn*; or + OIr *popull*, cf. Pibble above, or else an ‘inversion compound’ formation + OE *papol* ‘a pebble’.

Dalfibble Dmf (Kirkmichael) PNDmf p. 76 + **dōl-*.

Mosspebble Dmf (Ewes) PNDmf p. 42 + *mayes-*: a shieling is likely.

peβīr

Br **pebro-/ā-* > OW *pefir* (in pers. n., CIB p. 227 n1424) > MW *pevyr* > W *pefr*, Corn **pever* (in a p-n, CPNE p. 184).

The etymology is entirely obscure.

‘Bright, radiant’, occurring as a river-name (or in place-names derived from river-names) and in northern Britain only in Pictland and Lothian, with the important exception of R Peover Che (ERN pp. 322-3 and PNChel p. 33).

a1) East Peffer Burn ELo (North Berwick) CPNS p. 452.

West Peffer Burn ELo (Aberlady) CPNS p. 452.

Peffer Mill, with Innerpaffray, MLo (Liberton) CPNS p. 452, PNMLo pp. 83, 295: both locations are on the Braid Burn, which was probably formerly another *Peffer Burn; a headwater of the Braid Burn, and a house near Peffer Mill, were named Clearburn: that could be a translation (or coincidental equivalent) of *Peffer Burn, but see **clījar**.

pedwar

IE **k^wetwor-* > eCelt **k^wetworo-/ā-* > Br **petwaro-/ā-*, G *petor-* > OW *petguar* > M-MnW *pedwar*, M-MnCorn *peswar*, OBret *petr-* (in compound) > MBret *petguar* > Bret *pevar*; OIr *cethair* > Ir, G *ceathair*, Mx *kiare*; cogn. Lat *quattuor*, *quadru-*, Gmc **petwor-* > OE *fēower* > ‘four’, Skt *catvāras*, *catūr*, and from IE feminine **k^wetesor-*, Gk *téssares*.

See OIPrIE §19.1 at pp. 308–314, DCCPN p. 28, and EGOW p. 130.

‘Four’.

a2) Petteril R (Cmb) PNCmb p. 23, ERN p. 323 ? + adjvl. suffix *-wal* (variant of **-jōl*, which see): Breeze (2001d), compares MW *petruel* > W *petryal*, *petryell* ‘a rectangle’, referring either to some Roman military structure or to Roman ‘centuriation’, rectangular allotments of land; for Breeze’s case for such a landscape feature here, see also idem (2002c); however, evidence for centuriation anywhere in Britain is elusive, see Fowler (2002) p. 317.

Br **petwarjo-/jā-* > MW *pedweryd*, f. *pedwarded* (also *-wyr-*, see GMW §52, p. 47) > W *pedwerydd*, f. *pedwaredd*, Corn *peswera*, Bret *pevera*; OIr *cethramad* (with different suffix, see GOI §398, p. 250) > MÍr *ceathramha* > Ir *ceathrú*, G *ceathramh*, Mx *kerroo*; cf. (< IE **k^wetwor-t-*) Lat *quārtus*, Gmc *fī(ð)worþon* > OE *fēo(we)rþa* > ‘fourth’, Gk *tétartos*, Skt *caturthās*, and cf. (IE **k^wetur-j-*) Skt *turīya*.

See OIPrIE §19.1 at pp. 309–312, Hamp (1974–6c), LHEB §49(1c), p. 387, and §172 p. 607, and GMW §52, p. 47.

The ordinal, ‘fourth’. The Gaelic noun G *ceathramh* became an important place-name element in the central Middle Ages, ‘a quarterland’ (see CPNS p. 236, and Oram 2000, pp. 236–40). However, in Brittonic, it occurs only in *Petuaría*, the name of the main town (presumably *civitas* capital) of the *Parisi*, at, or in the vicinity of, Brough on Humber YER. The name perhaps referred to a division (*pāgus*) of their territory: PNRB pp. 437–8.

*peir (m)

IE **k^wer-* > eCelt **k^war-* > Br **par-jo-* > MW *peir* > MnW *pair*, OCorn *per*, Bret *per*; O-MnIr, G *coire*; cogn. Gmc **χwer* > OE *hwer*, ON *hverr*, Skt *caru-*.

See OIPrIE §15.1, pp. 239–40, LHEB §92, p472.

‘A cauldron’, in place-names ‘a hollow’. Occurs in about a dozen place-names in Wales according to AMR, but not apparently in Cornwall.

c2) Cathpair MLo (Stow) PNMLo p. 362 + **cę:d-**.

pejth (m)

eCelt **pecto-* > Br **peχto-* > OW(LL) *peith-* (in compound) > W *paith*.

The etymology is obscure. The association of this word with the ethnic name ‘Picts’ in MW *Peithwyr* is probably, like Latin *Picti* ‘painted people’, a fanciful etymology (see Broderick 2014, pp. 20–1).

While used in Middle Welsh literature of ‘desert, wilderness, ravaged and abandoned land’, the basic sense is probably more neutral, ‘a plain, open pastureland, moorland’.

Breeze (2001a), pp. 21–5, suggests that *Dixio* etc., PNRB p. 339 s.n. **Dictum*, an unlocated fort near Wearmouth, should be read as **Pictum* and derived from this root, but the phonology involved is questionable (see above), and the proposed landscape history seems very speculative.

pen[n] (m)

eCelt **k^wenno-* > Br, Gaul *penno-* > OW *penn* > M-MnW *pen*, OCorn *pen* > Corn *pedn*, O-MnBret *pen(n)*; OIr *cenn* > Ir, G *ceann*, Mx *kione*.

‘No exact parallel’ in other IE languages, see EGOW p. 129 and DCCPN p. 28. For Continental examples, see ACPN pp. 97–8.

‘A head’: but in place-names it may be ‘top, summit’ or ‘end’, perhaps especially the higher end of a long hill or ridge, or the elevated end of a hill-spur, as if it were perceived as a lion couchant. ‘Hill’ is an inadequate, maybe misleading, interpretation: see Padel in CPNE pp. 177-8, and Gelling’s rejoinder in LPN pp. 210-13 (where she suggests ‘high, promontory-type ridge’), also Padel 2013b pp. 32-4, and DPNW p. lxii. In coastal names, ‘headland’ is probably appropriate (LPN p. 210).

Alternative or additional meanings that have been suggested are more controversial, including: ‘Chief’: proposed by Smith EPNE2 pp. 61-2 (but not taken up by Jackson, 1969a, p. 50), and supported by Gelling loc. cit.; Padel at CPNE loc. cit. does not consider this adjectival usage, but at pp xv-xvi he points out that formations with **pen[n]**- in first position may be specific-first compounds (and not necessarily ‘early’, pre-500; see note to (b2) below); ‘Boundary-point’, especially of a projecting angle in a boundary-line, suggested by Higham (1999), at pp 90-1, but such ‘points’ are anyway likely to be topographic summits or river-sources (senses listed in DPNW loc. cit.).

Fieldwork, documentary research, and distribution analysis which allows for regional and diachronic variation, are all needed to clarify the semantics of this element.

Pen[n] is common throughout most of Britain south of the Antonine Wall, common enough in England for Smith (loc. cit., and cf. LPN p. 143) to suggest that it was adopted into OE. Indeed, OED s.v. *pen* sb⁴ says ‘in some localities, esp. in the south of Scotland, used as a separate word in names of hills...rarely as a common noun’, and CSD gives ‘a pointed conical hill’ s.v. *pen*², ‘ch[iefly] S[outh], ch[iefly] in place-names’ (I cannot find a comparable sense in DSL). It is quite possible that simplex (a1) forms like Penchrise Pen were named analogically by Northumbrian English or later Scots/ northern English speakers, but it is doubtful whether it was ever a meaningful or productive English or Scots toponymic element (and, as Smith observes, it is often indistinguishable from OE *penn* > ‘a pen, an enclosure’).

In the North, its apparent absence from Northumberland is notable. It seems to be uncommon in Ayrshire, Galloway and the Solway region, but, as Watson pointed out (CPNS p. 354, pace Nicolaisen SPN² pp. 211-12), replacement by Goidelic *cenn* is possible here: names in *Kin*- might well conceal earlier **pen[n]**- formations (see examples below, cf. also Kingarth Bute, PNBute pp. 221-4 and 566, but see also ***ceμ**-).

It is rare in the Pictish regions (SPN² loc. cit., and PNFif5 pp. 156 and 465): again, replacement by *cenn* or, in these parts, *benn* (unrelated, see **ban[n]**), is possible. On the possibility that **pen[n]** might have influenced the sense and usage of *benn* > Gaelic *beann*, *beinn*, see **ban[n]**.

For examples on the Continent, see ACPN pp. 97-8.

In early Welsh poetry, the phrasal name *Pen Coet* occurs twice in BT, 29(XI) and 61(VII): compare Pencaitland and Penketh below, and see discussion under **ce:d**.

Penprys CT63(XII), + **-prēs**, is seen by T. O. Clancy (cited by Gruffydd (1994) at p. 71) as an earlier name for Dumfries, see discussion under **prēs**. *Pen Ryonyd yn y Gogled* TYP. 1, later modified to *Penryn Rioned* TYP. 85 (see also TYP p. 229), may have been a place associated with *Rerigonium*, see **rīy**. *O Bentir* in the *awdl* on the death of Domnall Brecc, CA LXXIXAB may refer to a location near Falkirk Stg (Jackson, YGod (KJ) p. 98), or it might be a Brittonic form for Kintyre, as proposed by Williams (CA p. xli). On these and other, hard to locate, place-names with *Pen*- in mediaeval Welsh literature, see Haycock 2013 pp. 9, 21-2 nn21-2, and 36 n86.

a1) Names listed by OED as (implicitly) English/ Scots formations (see above) include Eskdalemuir or Ettrick Pen, Lee Pen, Penchrise Pen (a particularly striking case, see ***crīs**), Skelfhill Pen. ‘Pen[n]-’ is very commonly followed by OE *hyll* > ‘hill’. Again, some of these

may be English/ Scots in origin, for example the Pen Hills or Penhills in Rox, YNR (but see (a2) below), YWR, and Wig, and the possibility of OE *penn* > 'pen, an enclosure for animals' should not be overlooked. There are several minor names with 'pen-' on the North Yorkshire Moors, which Smith excluded from PNYNR for lack of early forms and their indistinguishability from OE *penn*.

Examples where an original **pen[n]** is reasonably likely include several where OE *hyll* > 'hill' has probably been added, though it impossible to say whether these were originally Brittonic simplex names, compounds simplified by English speakers, or English formations using an element adopted in toponymy (see Padel 2013b p. 32):

Pendle Hill and Forest Lanc, with Pendleton, Lanc (Whalley) PNLanc pp. 68 and 77, JEPNS17 p. 48 [+ OE *-tūn* 'a farm'].

Pendlebury, with another Pendleton, Lanc (Eccles) PNLanc pp 41-2, JEPNS17 p. 35.

Peneilly Cairn Kcb (Balmaclellan) PNGall p. 222.

Penhill or Penny Hill YNR (West Witton) PNYNR p. 256 ? *-le*, which see, but *hyll* is much more likely here.

Penielheugh Rox (Crailing) CPNS p. 354, PNRox p. 17: Watson suggests + *-wal*, but Macdonald sees 'absolutely no evidence for this'; maybe *-hyll*, 'hill', has been added twice (cf. Pendle Hill in current usage, and Pinnel Hill Fif (Aberdour) PNFif1 p. 81); the third element is Scots *-heuch* 'a precipice, crag, steep bank'. The spelling has very probably been influenced by biblical Peniel, Gen. 32 vv 24 and 30. See also Pines Burn, below.

Penny Hill occurs five times in YWR, including:

Penny Hill YWR (Clayton) PNYWR3 p. 256.

Penny Hill YWR (Gisburn Forest) PNYWR6 p. 169.

early forms for both of these suggest that they were 'Pen Hill'; the others may be from OE *penig* 'penny', likewise Penny Hill Wml (Colby) PNWml2 p. 97, and see above for Penhill YNR.

Pines Burn Rox (Southdean) PNRox p. 17: Macdonald writes (discussing Blaeu's spelling *Painchelhill* for Penielheugh, above) 'the diphthongisation of the vowel in "pen" is a dialectal feature found in other names in the county, cf. Pines Burn'.

In several cases, 'Pen[n]-' was presumably treated by English /Scots/Scandinavian speakers as a naming specifier, as in 'Pen Hill'. Examples where 'pen[n]-' is followed by an English element other than *-hyll* include the following:

Painshawfield Ntb (Prudhoe) ? + OE *-sceaġa-* 'a wood' + *-feld* 'open country', but cf. Penshaw Drh under (b2) below.

Peniston, with *Peningeherst* and *Pensyke*, YWR PNYWR1 pp. 336-7 + OE *-ing²-* + *-tūn* 'a farm'; various OE personal names have been proposed, none very convincing, see Smith's discussion, PNYWR loc. cit.; cf. Peniestone Knowes under (b2) below.

Peningeshal' YWR (Langsett) PNYWR1 p. 332 + OE *-ing²-* + *-halh* 'an isolated or detached portion of land'; this is close to Penistone above, and presumably formed with the same first element.

Penninghame Wig SPN² pp xx and 93: Nicolaisen declares this 'a genuine *-ingahām* name', i.e. an early Northumbrian OE formation with the genitive plural of the patronymic suffix *-ing⁴-* + *hām*, so 'landholding of the **Penningas*, the clan of **Penna*. However, cf. note on Peniston YWR above, and there is serious doubt as to whether there are any OE *-ingahām* names north of the Tees or west of the Pennines, let alone in Galloway (see DDrhPN pp xiii-xiv, and discussion of Coldingham under **colud*). Hough's (2001a) proposed derivation from OE *penig-* + *-hām* would have to date from the 8th ct, when Northumbrian *peningas* were in circulation and *hām* was productive: if a name implying monetary assessment of a landholding were given in this period, it would have been very exceptional. A more satisfactory etymology would be **pen[n]**- + OE *-ing²-* + *-hām*, which would mean 'landholding (or, possibly, religious house) named (after) **Penn*', referring to the high ridge-end of Bar Hill overlooking the church site (see A. James 2010, pp. 117-20).

Penwortham Lanc PNLanc p. 135 [+ OE *-worþ-hām*, ‘a (probably high-status) landholding’; but note that Ekwall (loc. cit.) noted that the first two elements (or even the whole name) ‘may be British’, Bradley (*EHR*, 26, 822) on ‘some early forms recall[ing] Welsh *pen-y-werddon* “head of the green”’].

And, with a Scandinavian second element, Penkeld Wml (Warcop) PNWml2 p. 85 [+ ON *-kelda* ‘a spring, a marshy place, perhaps replacing OE *celand*]. This could be a Cumbric-period ‘inversion compound’ if, as is quite possible, both **pen[n]** and *keld* were common toponymic currency among Cumbric, Scandinavian and English speakers.

It must be noted that ‘penny-stone’ is recorded in OED from 1375 as a northern English name for a flat circular stone used in a game like quoits. This might well be present in:

Penistone Knowes Slk (Yarrow/ Etrick watershed) CPNS p. 354, but see (b2) below.

Penistone, with Penistone Green, Wml (Stainmore) PNWml2 p. 78.

Penningstein Howe Wml (Kirkby Lonsdale) PNWml1 p. 46.

The Pennystone Wig (Kirkmabreck) CPNS p. 354 and n1, not in PNGall.

Robin Hood's Penny Stone YWR (x2, Warley and Midgley) PNYWR3 pp. 129, 135.

a2) Penhill or Penny Hill YNR (West Witton) PNYNR p. 256 ? **-le:**, which see, but *hyll* is more likely, see above.

Pind Hill Wml/YNR (Stainmore, on county boundary) **+ed**, or another ‘Pen Hill’ (A. Walker pers. comm.)? The pronunciation [paid] raises doubts, but cf. Pines Burn above.

b1) Cockpen MLo PNMLo p. 149 ? + **coch-**, or else a Scots formation, ‘game-bird hill’, but Dixon draws attention to the farm on the hill named Redheugh.

Torpenhow Cmb PNCmb pp. 325-6 **+torr-** + **-öü**, or else OE *hōh* ‘a heel, a spur’.

b2) In many cases where ‘pen[n]-’ is the first element, it is hard to judge whether it is the specifying element in a proper compound, (c1), or the generic in a name-phrase, (b2). Some may be compounds where **pen[n]**- has an adjectival sense (see above). Those where the second element is a (lost) river-name, and those with the definite article **-i[r]**- (which see for discussion), are likely to be phrasal formations. Many others among the following could be interpreted either way, but all are listed under (b2) for convenience:

Pemberton Lanc (Wigan) PNLanc p. 104 ? + **-bīrr** [+ OE *-tūn* ‘a farm’, so Coates, CVEP p. 319, or else + OE *-bere-tūn* > ‘barton’, ‘an outlying grange, desmesne farm’, see Ekwall’s discussion, loc. cit.]

Pencaitland, with Penkaet Castle (Fountainhall) nearby, ELo CPNS p. 355 + **-cē:d-** ? + **-lann:** see Penketh below, and discussion under **cē:d**:

Penchrise Burn, with Penchrise Pen, Rox (Hawick) CPNS p. 354 ? + **-*cris**, which see for discussion.

Penraig ELo (East Linton) CPNS pp. 354-5 (incorrectly 345 in CPNS index) + **-cre:g**.

Pendourick MLo (Newtongrange) CPNS p. 355 + lost stream-name **Duβrīg* (see **duβr** and **-īg**).

Pendrachin ELo (Athelstaneford) ? + **-*drayīn**.

Pendragon Castle Wml PNWml2 p. 131 + **-dragon**, which see for discussion; ; otherwise ? + **-*drayīn**.

Pendraven Cmb (lost field-name in Upper Denton) PNCmb p. 82 + **-i[r]**- + *-aβon*, see **aβ-**: with epenthetic *-d-*. See Todd (2005) at p. 94, and Breeze (2006c) at p. 330 – note Todd’s doubts, but **pen[n]** is unlikely to mean ‘source’, and ‘headland’ is appropriate here; on Breeze’s proposal + **-treβ-** + **-an**, see under **treβ**, and cf. *le Contref* below; otherwise ? + **-*drayīn**.

Pengennett Wml (Kentmere) not in PNWml + river-name Kent, see ***cōne:d**; Pengennett in Ulpha, near the R. Duddon, is hard to explain.

Penhurrock Wml PNWml2 p. 161, also 1 p xxxi ? + **-*carr-** + **-ōg**, see discussion under ***carr**.

Penicuik MLo CPNS p. 355, PNMLo pp. 33-4 + **-i[r]**- + **-*cog**, which see for discussion.

Penistone Knowes Slk (Yarrow/ Ettrick watershed) CPNS p. 354 ? + **-istūm**, which see for discussion, but 'penny-stone' might be involved, see above..

Penketh Lanc (Prescot) PNLanc p. 106, JEPNS17 p. 59 + **-cę:d**, which see for discussion.

Penmanscore Slk (lost) CPNS p. 354 + **-mayn-**, which see for discussion, and compare Penveny under (c1) below.

Penmanshiel Bwk (Cockburnspath) CPNS p. 354 + **-mayn-** [+ Scots *-shiel* 'a shieling'], cf. *Penmanscore*.

Pennango Rox (Castleton) CPNSp. 354, PNRox p. 5 ? + ***angaw** or ***angwas**: see both for discussion.

Pennel, with *Barpennald* (= Foulton), Rnf (Kilbarchan) CPNS p. 356 + **-alt**, which see, ? + **barr-** in *Barpennald*, but Gaelic *bàrr-* or *baile-* is more likely.

Pennersax Dmf (Middlebie) CPNS pp. 180, 396, PNDmf p. 94 (as Pennersaugh) + **-i[r]-** + **-Says**, which see for discussion.

Penniquite Burn Ayr (Dalmellington) ? + **-i[r]-** + **cę:d**, which see (M. Ansell, pers. comm.).

Pennygant Hill Rox (Castleton) CPNS p. 354 + **-i[r]-** + **-cant** or **-gint**: a possible boundary name, see under both **-cant** and **-gint**, and under **-i[r]-** for discussion of dating.

Pennymoor Rox (Oxnam) CPNS p. 354, PNRox p. 31 + **-i[r]-** + **-mūr**: again, a possible boundary name, being now on the Anglo-Scottish border; see under **-i[r]-** for discussion of dating, and under **mūr** for the archaeology.

Penpont Dmf CPNS p. 356, PNDmf p. 107 + **-pont**, which see for discussion, and cf.

Kilpuntbelow, , and Aitchison 2019, p. 20.

Penratho ELo (lost) CPNS p. 355 + **-rōd-** + **-ōü**: Gaelic-influenced, see **rōd**. discussion.

Penruddock Cmb (Hutton Soil) PNCmb p. 213 ? + **-red-** or **-rīd-** + **-ōg-**, perhaps a lost stream-name: see discussion under **rīd**, and in PNCmb loc. cit. Early forms show and epenthetic dental, cf. Pendle and Old Pentland.

Penshaw (or Painshaw) Drh (Houghton) DDrhPN p. 94 + **-*cerr**, plural of ***carr**, which see for discussion.

Penteiacob Pbl (=Eddleston) CPNS pp. 135 and 354 + **-tīyöü-**, pl of **tī[y]**, + pers. n. *Iacob*: see under **tīy** for *pen-tīy* as a common noun.

Old Pentland, with Pentland Hills, MLo ? + epenthetic **-t-** (cf. Pendle above), + **-lann**.

Penty Lnk (Shotts) CPNS p. 356 + **-tī[y]**, which see for discussion.

Penvalla Hill Pbl (Stobo) CPNS p. 354 ? + **wal-** + **-öü**: see **wal** for discussion, and cf. Kinneil below.

Penwhail Kcb (Girthon) PNGall p. 223 ? + **-wal**, see discussion under that.

Penyghent YWR PNYWR6 pp. 219-20 and xi-xii + **i[r]-** + ***geint**, irregularly lenited plural of **cant**, or plural of ***gint**: see discussion of the date of formation under **i[r]**, and of the possibility that this is a boundary name under **cant**.

Plenploth MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 355, PNMLo p. 369 + **-plę:β**, which see for discussion:

Watson, for no obvious reason, gives **pen[n]-** here, but early forms favour **blajn-**.

c1) Penrith Cmb PNCmb pp. 229-30: + **-*red** or **-rīd**, see both of these. Note Ekwall's view, DEPN(O) s.n., supported at PNCmb loc. cit., that **pen[n]-** here means 'chief, principal', implying a compound formation; alternatively, given the distance between the bluff on which the castle stood and the ford (see **rīd**), the sense may have been effectively prepositional, 'above'.

Penveny Pbl CPNS p. 354 + **-meyni**, lenited plural of **mayn**: the lenition implies an early compound formation here: perhaps a boundary-name, see discussion under **mayn**.

Place-names where Middle Irish /early Gaelic *cenn-* may have replaced **pen[n]** (or ***cejn-**, see ***ceju-**), in view of early forms and/ or apparently Brittonic second elements, include:

le Contref Kcb (lost) Brooke (1991), p. 302 + **-treβ**, i.e. ***Pen-treβ**, probably an appellative, as in Welsh: see discussion under **-treβ**.

Kilmond YNR PNYNR p. 305 ? + **-mönīð**, but doubtful: see under **mönīð**, and cf. Kinmont etc. below.

Kilpunt WLo (Kirkliston) CPNS p. 348, PNWLo p. 43 + **-pont**, cf. Penpont above: Gaelic *cenn-*, Anglicised as *kil-* here; see Aitchison 2019, pp. 20-3.

Kincaid Stg (a territorial name) + **-cē:d**.

King Harry Cmb (Cumwhitton) PNCmb p. 79 + **-*hauar-** (which see) + **-īg**.

Kinglass WLo (Bo'ness and Carriden) PNWLo p. 30 + **-glās**.

Great Kinmond Wml (Orton) PNWml2 p. 47 + **-mōnīð**.

Kinmont Cmb (Corney) PNCmb pp. 364-5 + **-mōnīð**.

Kinmount Dmf (Cummertrees) CPNS p. 400, PNDmf p. 19 + **-mōnīð**.

Kinmount Tower Dmf (Canonbie) + **-mōnīð**, but maybe transferred.

Kinneil WLo (Bo'ness and Carriden) CPNS pp. 346-8, PNWLo p. 31 + **-*wal**: Bede's *Penfahel*, HE I₁₂, see discussion under ***wal**.

Kirkintilloch Dnb CPNS p. 348 + **cajr-** + **-tāl-** + **-ōg**, *Caerpentaloch* in gloss to HB, see discussion under **tāl**.

*pēriṃ (m)

IE **k^wer-* 'do, make, build' ? > eCelt **par-ī-mo-* > Br **parīmo-* > M-eMnW *peryf*, cf. M-MnW *peri* 'cause', and Br **parī-* > OW *-per* > MW *peir* > W *pair* 'chief, lord'; cf. OIr *cruth* > Ir, G *cruth*, Mx *croo*, 'form, shape', and OIr *cuiridh* > Ir *cuir(idh)*, G *cuir*, Mx *cur*, 'causes, gets ... done'; cf. Skt *kr-* 'do, make'.

See OIPrIE §22.1, pp 368-71, EGOW p. 129.

Primarily, 'a doer, a maker'; in Middle to early Modern Welsh, 'a chieftain, a lord'. In early Indo-European times, the word may have had magical, shamanic associations, and might have evolved as a tribal deity-name. The ethnic name *Parīsi* (possibly formed on the verbal noun **parī* + *-s-joi-*) could have, in origin, borne any or all of these connotations: see PNRB pp 437-8.

Koch, in YGod(JK) p 142, sees in *a pherym rac ystre* CA B31 (A66 has *aber rac ystre*) evidence of the survival of this ethnonym into the sixth century, presumably in north-east Yorkshire. However, it could be read simply as 'chieftains', and the text is very obscure.

pert[h] (f)

IE **k^wer-* (zero-grade of **k^wer-* 'cut', a specialised sense of 'do, make, build'? cf. **pēriṃ**) > eCelt **k^wer-s-tā-* > Br, Gaul *pertā-* > OW(LL) *perth* > M-MnW *perth*, Corn **perth* (in p-ns, CPNE p. 183); OIr *ceirt* 'an apple-tree'; cogn. Lat *quercus* 'an oak-tree', and cf. Gmc **furχō-* > OE *furh-* > 'fir', Skt *parkatī* 'a peepul-tree'.

On the etymology, which is controversial, see OIPrIE §22.2 at pp 371-4, and Hamp (1980-2) at p. 85, and see also **prenn** and **pris**.

Whatever its precise origin, **pert[h]** clearly belongs in the family of Indo-European **k^wer-* words associated with wood and trees, with more distant connections with words to do with cutting, and perhaps remotely with **k^wer* in the sense of 'do, make, build'. In Welsh, it is generally used to mean 'bush' (singular or collective), so 'thicket' and, with human management, 'coppice' or 'hedge'.

Jackson (1955a) p. 164, regarded the non-lenition of *-rt* as a Pritenic feature. The evidence below suggests this was also a feature of northernmost Brittonic, albeit with some variation (e.g. in early forms for Partick and Larbert). The cases in Cumberland might indicate that lenition of *-rt*

occurred later in Cumbric, or not at all, as Jackson argued in LHEB, §149, pp 571-2: however, they may reflect the influence of later immigration from farther north.

Nevertheless, those under (a2) below, formed with suffixes (perhaps originally as stream-names) are likely to be early, and most of the dithematic names may be proper compounds or phrasal formations: the distinguishing mark of a proper compound should be initial lenition of the second element (GMW §19 p. 15), but even where early forms are available, this is rarely recorded consistently. Moreover, even if **lann-berth[h]* or **pant-berth[h]* were compounds, they may have remained current, at least in place-naming vocabulary, as appellatives.

The line *o berth maw ac eidin* CT29(XI) might be amended to include a place-name with this element **o Berth-**ua*** (see **ua-**) or **o Berth **uanaw*** (see ***man-**).

a2) Partick Rnf CPNS p. 386 with early Middle Scots [ɛr] > [ar], + **-īg** or **-ōg**, Gaelicised *-eich*: possibly an earlier stream-name.

Parton Cmb (Thursby) PNCmb p. 156 + **-an**: again, maybe a stream-name.

Parton Kcb PNGall p. 221, but G *portán* 'little landing-place' is probably appropriate as there was a ferry across the Dee here.

Note that Parton in Allerdale, *ibid* p. 426, is probably a transferred name.

Perter Burn Dmf (Canonbie) CPNS p. 357, PNDmf p. 11, SPN² p. 211 + **-ar**.

b1) Larbert Stg CPNS p. 357, PNFESTg p. 31 + ***led-** or **lę:d-**.

Kilbert Howe Wml (Martindale) PNWml2 p. 219 ? + **cīl** (A. Walker pers. comm.), but ON personal name *Ketilbert* is likely.

Solport Cmb PNCmb p. 107 ? + ***sulu-**: early forms vary between *-b-* and *-p-*, so either compound, 'wood with a view', or phrasal 'wood-view'?

c2) *Dumpert* Stg (Muiravonside) PNFESTg p. 32 + **dīn-**.

For discussion of the following, names, see under **lann**:

Lambert Ladd Wml, Lampart Ntb (Haltwhistle), Lamperthills, with *Lambertgarth*, Cmb (Farlam), *Pouterlampert* Rox (Castleton).

The following hill-names might be + **pant-**. but again, in the absence of early forms, they are all very doubtful. Taylor in PNFif5, pp. 466-8 suggests they may be Scots or Scottish English names involving 'pepper', perhaps alluding either to a 'peppercorn rent', the perceived colour of the hill, or an abundance of Wall-Pepper (*Sedum acre*):

Panbart Hill ELo (Dunbar) CPNS p. 374 + **pant-**, with loss of *-t*: as **pant** is masculine, lenition may imply a proper compound, 'valley-thicket'.

c2) *Papert* (or *Pappert*) Hill and *Sike* Dmf (Tundergarth) PNDmf 122

Pappert, with *Pappert Hill* and *Papperthill Well*, Dnb (Bonhill)

Pappert Hill, with *Papperthill Crags*, Lnk (Shotts), but note *Pauperwarthills* 1539

Pappert Law Slk (Ettrick).

For all of these see CPNS p. 357 and PNFif loc. cit.: if these are + **pant-**, the absence of lenition would imply phrasal formations 'valley of (the) thicket'.

peth (m)

IE **k^wesd-* > eCelt **k^wetti-* > Br, Gaul *petti-* > OW *-ped-* (LL) *peth* > M-MnW *peth*, Corn *pyth*, *pe[y]th*, MBret *pez* > Bret *pezh*, Vannetais dialect *péh*; OIr *cuid* > Ir, G *cuid*, Mx *cooid*; also Prit *pett* adopted as G *peit*, Anglicised *pit[t]*-.

See EGOW p. 128, CPNS p. 408, Jackson (1955a) pp. 148 and 164, SPN² pp. 195-204.

The Indo-European etymology is very doubtful, for lack of convincing cognates.

The basic sense is 'a piece, a portion', in place-names, of land. The P-Celtic word was adopted into Gaulish Vernacular Latin as *petia*, *pecia*, 'a portion of land', which > Fr *pièce* adopted as M-MnE 'piece'; in 12th ct Anglo-Latin, it was *peta* 'an allotment of turbary', which may have entered Middle English as *pete* > Modern English 'peat'. Adopted, probably from Middle Welsh into Middle Irish, it was *pit* 'a ration, an allocation of food or drink', perhaps influenced by the unrelated Vernacular Latin **pietantia*, 'a pittance', in monastic diet, 'a light breakfast'.

This element might possibly be present, + **cors-**, in *Corstopitum* PNRB pp. 322-4: see Richmond (1958), p. 140n, but but also **corð** and **rīd**.

Most important for our purposes was its adoption from Pictish *pett* into early Gaelic *peit* with the sense of 'a portion of land', in particular a division of a former 'multiple estate': see Taylor (1997), pp 5-22, PNFif5, pp. 217-25, and PNClk pp. 78-9. Jackson (1955a) p. 164, saw the non-lenition of *-tt* as a Pritenic feature, and its use as a place-name element as diagnostic of Pictish presence (see also Wainwright 1955, Nicolaisen in SPN² pp. 195-204 and map 17, idem 1975 pp. 3-4 and map 3b, idem 1996 pp. 6-17, and Barrow in *Uses* pp. 55-6). However, examples south of the Forth are all name-phrases formed with specifiers that are definitely or probably Gaelic, and, in view of Taylor's findings, they should be ascribed to the period of maximum Gaelic influence in the region, the 11th – 12th centuries: they cannot be regarded as evidence of Pictish-speaking inhabitants or settlers at any earlier date, nor as evidence that this word was used as a place-name element (or even necessarily existed) in northern Brittonic. The only case where the specifier could theoretically be Brittonic is:

b2) Pittendreich MLo PNMLo pp. 280-1 ? + **-[h]in-** + **-*driχ**, but probably Gaelic *-na driche* or *-an dreacha*, see CPNS p. 413, and cf. PNFif2 pp. 99-100 and PNFif3 p. 252, PNFif5 pp. 356-7, where Taylor refers to 'at least thirteen instances' of this name-formation.

pimp

IE **penk^we-* > eCelt **k^wenk^we-* > Br, Gaul *pempe-* (also Gaul *pinpe-*) > OW *pimp* > M- MnW *pump*, M-MnCorn *pymp*, O-MnBret *pemp*; OIr *cóig* > Ir *cúig*, G *còig*, Mx *queig*; cogn. Lat *quīnque*, Gmc **fimfi-* > OE *fif* > 'five', Gk *pente*, *pempéi*, Skt *pañca*, and 'in all IE groups' OIPrIE §7.1 p. 108.

See LHEB §103, pp 496-7.

'Five' Found in the North only at:

a2) Pumplaburn Dmf (Wamphray) CPNS p. 180 + **-le** [+ Scots *-burn*]: Watson compares G *coigeach*: perhaps **pimp-le* was similarly an appellative with legal significance? Pumpland Burn Dmf (Tinwald) may well have the same origin.

plę:β (m)

Lat *plēbem*, adopted as Br **plēbo-* > MW *plwyv* > MnW *plwyf*, OCorn *plui* > MCorn *plu* > Corn *plêw*, OBret *pluiu* > MBret *plœ* > Bret *ploue*.

The oblique form of Latin *plebs* 'the common people', *plēb-*, was adopted as British **plēbo-* to become Middle Welsh *plwyv*, Modern Welsh *plwyf*. *Plebs* came to be used in Christian terminology for a congregation; in Continental usage it was a unit within a *pāgus* (see **pōwę:s** and Quentel 1973). *Plwyf* is used for 'a parish and its inhabitants' in Middle to Modern Welsh; however, in Wales, Cornwall (CPNE p. 187 s.n. *plu*), and the North, it is a relatively rare place-name element, and has no known ecclesiastical, legal or administrative sense in early usage. In Breton, *ploue* occurs very frequently in place-names, and is an important term for a settlement or land of a local community, so often (probably anachronistically) translated as 'parish', though, again, whether it had an ecclesiastical connotation in early usage is not certain (Padel 2023, pp. 294-8). In Brittany, and in its occasional occurrence in Great Britain, it may refer to uncultivated land belonging to a community, perhaps 'a common'.

c2) Plenploth MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 355, PNMLo p. 369 + **blajn-**, which see; *-ploif* 1593 implies that this was adopted into Scots from a 9th – 12th ct Cumbric form **plūiv*. Cf Blaen-Plwyf Crd, though that seems to be a modern formation, DPNW p. 36.

*pol (m)

NeoBritt **pol*, **pul* > M-MnW *pwell*, Corn *pol*, Bret *poull*; ?adopted as M-MnIr, G *poll*, Mx *poyll*; adopted from Cmhc or G as northern E/ SW and Border Scots *poll*, *pow*; probably cogn. WGmc **pōl* > OE *pōl* > 'pool', Scots *puil* (note also OE *pull*, *pyll*).

The etymology and historical inter-relationships among the various forms in the several languages remain uncertain: see EPNE2 pp. 68-9 and 75, and LPN p. 28.

The range of meanings includes:

1. A hollow, usually holding standing water, bog or mud: this seems to be the basic meaning in all the languages, extending to:
 - ia) a small pit, pothole, puddle,
 - ib) a small to fair-sized pond;
 - ii) an underwater hollow in a stream-bed, a fish-pool in a river;
 2. An upland stream: judging from the discussions by Ekwall, in ERN pp. 329-30, and Barrow, in *Uses* pp. 59-61, this seems to be a semantic development characteristic of northern Brittonic > Cumbric, so that 'in south-west Scotland, between the Clyde and the Ayrshire coast, the term **pol* ... was the standard word for a small or medium-sized stream' (Barrow op. cit. p. 59); and it occurs frequently in names of similar burns throughout central southern Scotland and northern England (ibid. maps 2.3 and 2.4, pp. 60 – 1). Moreover, this usage influenced that of Gaelic *poll* and northern English/ SW and Border Scots *poll*, *pow*, so stream-names with Gaelic specifiers, and 'inversion compounds' with English specifiers, are found alongside Brittonic examples;
 3. A lowland stream, especially a 'slow-moving, ditch-like stream flowing through carse land' (CSD s.v. *pow*): this seems characteristic of northern English and Scots usage, particularly in the Solway region, but not of northern Brittonic > Cumbric, although similar application is found in Welsh toponymy and is probably of Celtic origin (see CPNS p. 204);
- a cove, creek, sheltered inlet: again a usage characteristic of south-western Scots rather than Cumbric, but found in Welsh and Cornish coastal place-names (see CPNE pp. 187-9).

Distinguishing Brittonic from Goidelic examples is generally difficult, especially as most are strongly Anglicised.

a1) Several Pow Burns (e.g. two in Ntb), Pow Becks (e.g. three in Cmb) and Pow Waters (e.g. one in Dmf) are probably English/ Scots formations, as are cases like Polton MLo (PNMLo p. 281, + OE *-tūn* 'a farm'); Pooley Bridge Wml (PNWml2 p. 211, + AS cand *-haug*), an example

of sense (ii) above, would have been formed on OE *pōl*-. *Pulprestwic* 1199x1200 (= Pow Burn) Ayrs is an interesting, presumably Gaelic, formation on an Old English settlement name.

a2) Pollock Burn Slk (→ R Ettrick) + **-ōg**, or else Gaelic *-ach*.
Pollok Rnf Ross (2001) p. 177 + **-ōg**, or else Gaelic *-ach*.

b1) Proper compounds with **-*pol** as generic are likely to be early, and so Brittonic; most are definitely upland streams:

Camilty MLo PNMLo p. 304, WLoPN p 22 ? + **cam[b]**- + **-tīy** or **-treß**, but Gaelic *camalltaidh* ‘twisted one’ is much more likely, with later folk-etymology giving forms like *Campbell-tree* 1684.

Crimple Beck YWR ERN p. 105 + **crum[b]**-: see LHEB §112(1) at p. 510.

Dipple or Dippool Water Lnk(→ Mouse Water), Dipple, with Dippool Water, Ayrs (= Black Burn), *Dipple Burn* WLo (= Bog Burn, Bathgate; J. G. Wilkinson pers. comm.), and *Dupple* (= Blue Cairn, Kirkmichael), with Dupple Burn, Dmf (rising in Kirkpatrick Juxta) CPNS p. 349, PNDmf p. 82, all + **dūß**-.

Garpal Burn Dmf (Sanquhar), Garpel Burn Ayrs (x2, → R Ayr and → Loch Doon), Garpel Burn Rnf (Lochwinnoch), Garpel Burn Kcb (Balmaclellan) PNGall p. 142, and Garpol Dmf (Kirkpatrick Juxta), all + **-*garw**-.

Ribble R, with Ribchester and Ribbleton (Preston), PNLanc pp. 65, 144-5 and 146, ERN p. 340, JEPNS17 p. 44, ? + **rō**-, with lenition; possibly + variant **-pil*, cf. **pil*, **pyl* in Welsh place-names (see Pierce (1958-60) at p 264) and **pyl* in Cornish ones (but see CPNE p. 185); for unaccented *i* > *e* in OE see OEG §369, pp. 153-4. Breeze (2010) proposes **pe:l* > MnW *pyyll* ‘wise, steady’, but this is a very obscure and problematic river-name.

Trauspoll Cmb (→ King Water) ERN p. 33 ln1 (not in PNCmb) + **trōs**-.

b2) Forms with ***pol**- or derivatives as a generic first element are extremely common, but many have second elements that are certainly or probably Gaelic, and a few might be English/ Scots ‘inversion compounds’, e.g., perhaps, Powdrake and Powfoulis Stg (but see PNFESTg p. 86, where Reid proposes *G fo-glais* ‘streamlet’ and *drochaid* ‘bridge’). Even where the first element is Brittonic, loss of stress in Gaelic (GG §7(iv), pp. 13-14) and/ or English/ Scots speech leads to reduced forms like *po-*, *pe[r]*-. Examples where the specifier is arguably Brittonic include: Falgunzeon Kcb (Kirkgunzeon) PNGall p. 135 + st’s n *-Winnjan* (Cumbric *Gwinnian*). The form *Boelwynnyn* 1175x85 could be for lenited **pol*- rather than Maxwell’s *G fâl*- ‘a garth, pen, fold’, see **wal**, also **mę:l**, and Brooke (1991) at p. 319. On the saint’s name *Winnjan*, see Clancy (2002) for discussion of place-names commemorating *Winnian* and *Finnian*, and his controversial identification of these with *Nynian*.

Patervan Pbl (Drumelzier) ? + **-terūin**, but see also ***polter**.

b2 Pillmour Burn ELo (Whitekirk) ? + **-mōr**: possibly + variant **pil*-, see Ribble under (b1) above; the second element would be Gaelic-influenced, if not Gaelic in origin; but similar names are common in Elo and neighbouring shires, possibly of varied origin, see DOST s.v. *pilmwre*. Piltanton Burn Wig PNGall p. 224, PNRGLV p. 85 + *?-*tan*- (see ***tā**-) + **-an** (or OE *-tūn* ‘a farm’), but see also **tān**.

Poldean Dmf (Wamphray) PNDmf p. 129 + **-dīn**.

Poldevine Dmf (Wamphray) PNDmf p. 129 + **-duß[i]n**.

Poldivan Lake Dmf (Closeburn) + **-duß[i]n** which see.

Polgauer Cmb (Little Clifton) ERNp. 329, PNCmb p. 360 + **-gaßr**.

Pollentarf Water (= West Burn), with Polintarf, Pbl (West Linton) CPNS p. 453 ? + **-in** + **-tarw**, showing Gaelic influence: the farm is mentioned as ‘Polintarf’ in Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Weir of Hermiston* ch 7.

Polmaise Stg (St. Ninians) PNCIk p. 74 + ***mayes**-.

Polmont, with Polmont Hill, Stg CPNS p. 400, PNFESTg p. 39 **-mōnið**; if not Gaelic; it probably preserves an earlier name of the Gilston Burn.

Poltadan Ntb (lost, in North Tynedale) ? + an ancient stream-name ***tā-d**- + **-an**.

- Polternan* Cmb (= Castle Beck, Naworth) PNCmb p. 8 ? + **-terpūin**, see Barrow cited by Todd (2005) p. 92 n29, but see also ***polter** and **nant**.
- Polthledick* Cmb (lost field-name in Burtholme, perhaps an earlier name for the Carling Gill) ERN p. 329-30, PNCmb p. 73 + **-*tē:d-**, see **leïd** and discussion there, + **-jōg**, see **-ōg**.
- Poltie Burn* Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 226 + **-tiy**, or Gaelic **-tigh**.
- Poltkinerum* Cmb (Bewcastle) PNCmb p. 62 ? + **-*cinnorjon**, see discussion under **cīnt**.
- Poltross Burn* Cmb/ Ntb border PNCmb p. 23 + **-traws**: there are two other streams of this name in Cmb, in Askerton and Lanercost, see Todd (2005) p. 92; see also Barrow (1992), p. 132 n24.
- Poutreuet* Ntb (Falstone) PNNtb p. 160 ? + **-treß-** + **-ed**, but note also Welsh *trefred* ‘abode’ (see Coates, CVEP p. 323); some confusion with *Polterheued* and Powterneth Beck, both nearby in Cmb, may be suspected; see also ***polter**.
- Pow Maughan* Cmb PNCmb p. 24 + Cumbric personal name **Merchiōn* < *Marciānus*, see PNCmb p. 194 for Maughonby, and PNMLo pp. 132-3 for Merchiston; cf. Mercaston PNDrb pp. 587-8, and for the same personal name in the Welsh borders, see Parsons 2022, p. 126 and n72.
- Powbrand Syke* Wml (Stainmore) PNWml2 p. 78 + **-bran**, or AS cand personal name **-Brand**.
- Powbrone Burn* Lnk CPNS p. 204 + **bröüan-**, Gaelicised if not early Gaelic in origin, **poll-bròn*.
- Powcady* Cmb (Walton) PNCmb p. 114 ? + **-cad-** + **-öü**, but see discussion of *Polterkened* under ***polter**.
- Powdonnet Well* Wml (Morland) + personal name *Dünōd* < *Donātus*, possibly a local saint or chieftain (cf. Cardunneth Pike Cmb, see **cajr** and ***dīnn**).
- Powmuck Burn* Dmf (Eskdalemuir) PNDmf p. 38 + **-moch**, or else Gaelic **poll-muic*.
- Pularyan Wig* (Inch) PNGall p. 230, PNRGLV pp. 80-1 ? + **-i[r]-** + **-rijajn**, but see discussion under the latter.
- Pulinkum Wig* (Kirkmaiden) PNRGLV p. 85 (not in PNGall) ? + **-wīnn-** + **-cum[b]-**, which see.

For a number of other possible **pol-** formations, see under ***polter**.

c1) *Perbryns* Pbl (unlocated) ? + **-prēs**: if so, the lenition implies a compound.

c2) *Mospaul Rox* (Teviothead) PNRox p. 37 ? + **mayes-**, but a Scots ‘inversion compound’ with the personal name Paul seems likely.

***polter** (m?)

‘An extended form’ of ***pol** (ERN pp. 330-1, PNCmb p. 487)? However, the suffix is obscure. The formation must postdate internal [-lt-] > [-ll-], i.e. 8th century (assuming the same occurred in northern Brittonic as in Welsh: see LHEB §54(1), p. 400). If the suffix were ***-der** < **duþr**, surviving and recorded forms would all show [-ld-] > [-lt-], a development which Jackson (LHEB loc. cit. n1) says ‘appears to be quite late ... *ld* lasted into the MW period’.

This seems to have been in use in areas of Cumbric-speaking settlement in the 10th to 11th centuries as a term for an upland stream: see James (2008) at p. 201. It apparently occurs in:

a1) *Polterheued* Cmb (→ King Water) PNCmb p. 8 [+OE *-heafod* ‘head’].

Poltragon Cmb (Bewcastle) PNCmb p. 62 [+ AS cand *haug* > ME *-howe* ‘a hillock, mound, barrow’]: on the modern form see discussion under ***dragon**.

Poutreuet Ntb (Falstone) PNNtb p. 160 ? + OE *-heafod* ‘head’, but see also ***pol**, or else ***pol-** + **-treß-** + **-ed** or **-red**, see under **treß**: early forms may show confusion with *Polterheued*, above, and Powterneth Beck Cmb, below.

Powter Howe, with *Pouterhow Pike* PNCmb p. 373 [+ AS cand *haug* > ME *-howe* ‘a hillock, mound, barrow’].

b2) Patervan Pbl (Drumelzier) ? + **-ban[n]** or **-mayn**, but the lenition would be irregular: see also ***pol**.

Polterkened Cmb (Gilsland, ? = Peglands Beck) LanCart 1 + *-cejn-* (see ***ceμ-**) + **-ed**, or + ***cōnīð** (Breeze (2006c) p. 330), or personal name *Kenneth* < Gaelic *Coinnich* (Todd (2005) p. 92): Breeze, loc. cit., suggests a connection with Powcady (see under ***pol**), but the evidence for that place-name offers little support and is too late for certainty.

Polternan Cmb (= Castle Beck, Naworth) PNCmb p. 8 ? + **-nant**: if ***polter** is Cumbric, this would have to be a phrasal name with **nant** as specifier, perhaps being the former name of the beck; however, see under ***pol** and **teruīn**.

Potrail Water Lnk (→ Clyde) CPNS p. 181n2 ? + **-*eil**.

Potrenick Burn Lnk (→ Potrail Water) + **-?**, but possibly G ** triana(i)ch* ‘of a third part’.

Pouterlampert Rox (Castleton) J. G. Wilkinson pers. comm. + **lann-** + **-pert[h]**, or personal name *Lambert*.

Powterneth Beck Cmb (Brampton, → Gelt) PNCmb p. 24 ? + **-nejth** or ***nīð** as an early stream-name, or possibly ***pol-** + **-treβ** + **-nōwīð**.

Note: *Poltrerneth*, *Peltreuerot* Ntb (Falstone) PNNtb p. 160: these are probably errors for *Poutreuet*, arising from confusion with *Polterheued* and Powterneth Beck, both nearby in Cmb: for *Poutreuet* see above and under **pol**, and also Barrow (1992) p. 132 n23.

pont (f)

Lat *pont-* (oblique forms of *pons*) adopted as Br **pontā-* > OW(LL) *pont* > M-MnW *pont*, O-MnCorn *pons*, O-MnBret *pont*.

‘A bridge’, initially perhaps a Roman-style, masonry bridge unlike eCelt **brīwo-/ā-* (DCCPN p. 12), but replacing that as the general term in all the Brittonic languages. On the currency of this word in Pictish, see Aitchison 2019.

a1) Pontheugh Brw (Cockburnspath) CPNS p. 348: there is no bridge here, and no reason to suppose there ever has been, it is probably *pant-* [Scots *-heuch* ‘a steep bank or steep-sided valley’].

Pundamot Wml (= Eamont Bridge) PNWml2 p. 205: a Cumbric or Norman-French formation? [+ river-name Eamont, OE **ēa-gēmot* ‘river-meeting’ via AS cand **á-mót*, see PNWml1 pp. 5-6].

b1) Penpont Dmf CPNS p. 356, PNDmf p. 107 + **pen[n]**:- this may have been a compound appellative, see Padel in CPNE p. 180, but otherwise could be phrasal (c2); on the history of this crossing-place, see A. D. Anderson (2010) at pp. 106-7, and Aitchison 2019, p. 20.

Kilpunt WLo (Kirkliston) CPNS p. 348, PNWLo p. 43 + **pen[n]**- replaced by early Gaelic *cenn-*, Anglicised as *kil-*; see Aitchison 2019, pp. 20-3.

powę:s (m)

? eCelt **k^wo-wēso-* > Br **powę:so-* > OW(LL) *poguis-*, M-Corn *powes-*, Old-MBret *powes* > Bret *pauouz*; ? cogn. Lat *quiēs*.

‘Quiet, peace, rest’. Only recorded in West Brittonic in the compound *poguisma* ‘place of rest’ (see **-ma**). The association of this compound, at LL158 and 260, with the saint’s name *Dewi* (David) implies some religious connotation, perhaps a wayside shrine. By the seventh century, this word had fallen together with ***pōwę:s**, which see.

a1) *Pouis* Rox (Castleton) CPNS p. 383: in view of the early Christian inscription in the vicinity, some religious use may be implied, but see ***pōwę:s**.

a2) Possil Lnk (Cathcart) CPNS p. 383 ? + **-el**, or, less likely, OE *-hyll*.
 Posso Pbl (Stobo) CPNS p. 383 ? + **-ua**, see above.

pōwę:s (m?)

Lat *pāgensēs* adopted as late British **pōȳę:ses* > MW *Powys* (place-name, DPNW p. 399).

See LHEB p. 91, §46(6) pp. 373-4, and §75(7) pp 442-4, CIB #18 at pp 62 and 66, #25 at p 85, and #80 at p. 226 n1418.

Latin *pāgensēs* meant ‘people of a *pāgus*’, which may have been used specifically of a Celtic territorial unit, a ‘canton’ (see Quentel 1973, and Breeze 2015b, 186 – 7), or it may have referred more loosely to a rural area, so ‘countrymen, rustics’. In Continental usage, it was applied sometimes to the territory of a *civitas*, sometimes to a smaller district, and in Wales from the 12th ct, it was used for a *cantref* (see also **plę:β**). There is no evidence for it acquiring in Britain any association with *pāgani* in the sense of ‘heathens’. It is presumably the origin of the Welsh kingdom-name *Powys*, and might have been used as a territorial term in the North, but by the seventh century it had fallen together with ***powę:s**, which see for discussion and examples.

prenn (m?)

IE **k^wre-* (zero-grade of **k^wer-* ‘cut’, a specialised sense of ‘do, make, build’? cf. **pēriū**) > eCelt **k^wre-s-no-* > Br, Gaul *prenno-* (but also Gaul *prenne*, fem acc sg) > M-MnW *pren*, OCorn *pren* > Corn *predn*, OBret *prin* > Bret *prenn* ‘sortileges, sticks for divination’; OIr *crand* > M-MnIr *crann*, Mx *croan* ‘a mast’; cogn. Gk *prīnos* ‘holm oak’.

On the etymology, see Hamp (1980-2).

One of a family of **k^wre-* words related to trees and wood, cf. **pert[h]** and **pris**. The central meaning is ‘standing timber’, typically a single large tree, though in all the Celtic languages it comes, from an early date, to be used for various forms of cut and worked timber. In place-names it could presumably refer to prominent single trees, perhaps significant as boundary-markers, meeting-places or pre-Christian religious sites, or might mean ‘a cross’ (cf. OE *trēow*, ‘very common indeed’, Smith in EPNE2 p. 186; see also DCML pp. 212-14 and refs.)

For distribution, see SPN² pp. 212-14 and map 20. Nicolaisen includes some names in Ayr which consistently show initial *b-*; leaving these aside for the moment, this element seems largely restricted to Lothian and the Borders, along with Fife and north Tayside, straddling the supposed Brittonic/ Pritenic boundary; the distribution is not (pace Nicolaisen SPN² p. 210) ‘predominantly Pictish’, the balance either side of the Forth is relatively even. What is striking is the relative absence of **prenn** from other parts of the Old North and Pictland; it occurs as a generic in about twenty name-phrases in Wales (AMR) and a couple in Cornwall (CPNE p. 193).

A further ground for uncertainty is the possibility that some, if not all, of these names in Scotland contain **brinn**: for devoicing of initial [b-], cf. *plen* for **blain**, while ‘a certain tendency’ for early Celtic [u] to become [e] is identified by Jackson as a feature of Pritenic (*Problem* p. 161), so **prenn** might well be a ‘Pritenic’ (more accurately, east and south-east Scottish) form from **brunnjo-* (see **brinn**, and Taylor 2011 pp. 96-7). Moreover, many of the names listed below

have *Prin-* or *Pirn-*, and both [i/e] variation and metathesis occurs in Anglicised forms of **brinn**, notably in Malvern Wor, see VEPN2 pp. 49-50. An additional consideration is the possibility that the place-name generic in question is in some cases a feminine noun (see Primside Rox below): the descendants of both **brinn** and **prenn** are generally masculine in the Brittonic languages, but Jackson treats the British **brunnjā-* as feminine (LHEB §157 p. 581, §163 p. 590), while the Gaulish form *prenne* is apparently feminine too, so the situation remains confusing.

On the other hand, names that are relatively well-documented show fair consistency in their early forms, at least insofar as *P-/B-* are distinguished, though the evidence is often sparse and late: if we are dealing with a regional dialectal feature, such variation between, but standardisation within, the forms of individual names would not be unexpected. In the present work, names consistently showing *B-* in recorded forms have been listed under **brinn**, those showing *P-* are listed below, but the two lists should be compared: in all cases, local knowledge of the topography could clarify the question, though the general picture seems to be of sites where ‘a rounded hill’ or ‘a prominent tree’ are equally possible.

a1) Pirn MLo (Stow) PNMLo pp. 367-8.
Pirn Pbl (Innerleithen) CPNS p. 351, PNMLo loc. cit.

a2) Pirnie Rox (Maxton), and Pirnie Braes ELo (Pencaitland), both CPNS p. 351 ? + **-ig** or **-ōg** Gaelicised as *-aich*, or *-in* or plural *-öü*. Cf. Pirnie Fif (Wemyss), and others, PNFif1 p. 597. Pirniehall Dnb (Kilmarnock) likewise [+ Scots *-heuch* ‘a steep bank, ravine’]. Pirnie Lodge Stg (Slamannan) PNFESTg p. 31 likewise. Prendwick Ntb PNNtb p. 160 *Prenderwyk* 1256 makes + **-treß-** just possible, but other early forms do not support this [+ OE *-wīc* ‘a homestead, hamlet, specialised farm’].

b2) Barnbogle WLo (Dalmeny) CPNS pp 351-2, PNWLo pp. 4-5 + **-büge:l**, cf. Barnweil Ayr, listed under **brinn**, and note Padel’s comment favouring **brinn** here, at CPNE p. 34.

Pirncader MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 352, PNMLo p. 368 ? + **-cadeir**.

Pirntatoun MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 351, PNMLo pp. 368-9 + **-tī[y]** [+ OE *-tūn* ‘a farm’], which see.

Plenderleith Rox (Oxnam) PNRox p. 31 + **-treß-** [+ ON *-hlaða* ‘a barn’]: early forms consistently *Pren-*; note that MacDonald favours **brinn** here – ‘Roxburgh dialect occasionally substitutes “p” for “b”. The interpretation is supported by the topography.’

Prendergust Brw (Ayton) ? + **-dreß-** (see **treß**) + **-gest** (see ***cest**), the double lenition would imply that **prenn** (or **brinn**) here was feminine, but a Brittonic origin is doubtful, see discussion under ***cest**.

Prenteineth Ayr (Loudon) CPNS pp 204n1 and 352 ? + early river-name **Tanad* (see ***tā-** and **tān**): Watson, CPNS p. 352 seems to see this as a Gaelic formation, with **prenn** adopted into local Gaelic, but the meaning would presumably have been opaque (or it would have been replaced with *crann*), and see discussion under **tān**.

Primrose Brw (Preston) CPNS p. 352 and Primrose Drh (Jarrow), both with Primrose Hills, ? + **rōs**; however, Taylor, PNFif1 p. 357, discussing Primrose (Dunfermline) rejects this etymology, proposing early Gaelic **prim-* as ‘another possibility’ (note that *Primrose* MLo, = Carrington, is from the family name of the Earls of Rosebery, derived from the place-name in Fife, see PNMLo pp. 111 and 387). In the absence of early records, the likeliest origin of both the Brw and Drh names is English ‘primrose’, the hill-name being primary (cf. Primrose Fif (Dunino), PNFif3 pp. 252-3).

Primside Rox (Morebattle) PNRox p. 30 + **-wen-** (see **wīn[n]**), the mutation implying that **prenn** (or **brinn**) here was feminine [+ OE *ġe-set* ‘a dwelling, a camp, a place for animals’ > ME/Scots *sete*, either ‘a dwelling, seat, settlement’ or in the Scots legal sense, ‘a letting, a lease’, see EPNE2 p. 120 and DSL].

Printonan, East and West, Brw (Eccles) CPNS p. 351 ?+ **-*tonnen** (see ***ton**).

c2) Traprain ELo (East Linton) + **treß-** **-brīnn** would be topographically appropriate, but early forms favour **-prenn**. A compound formation with **treß-** as specifier is unlikely, especially as there is no trace of lenition. This seems to be the only case where **-prenn** is the second element, but cf. *Roderbren* listed under **brīnn**.

prēs (m)

IE **k^wre-* (zero-grade of **k^wer-* ‘cut’, a specialised sense of ‘do, make, build’? cf. **pēriū**) > eCelt **k^wre-s-tjo-* > Br **prestjo-* > OW(LL) *prisc* > M-eMnW *prys* (and *presel*), Corn **prys[k]* (in place-names, CPNE p. 194); adopted in Mīr as *pres*, G *preas*.

On the etymology, including its relationship to **pert[h]** and **prenn**, see Hamp (1980-2) p. 85. On the vowel quantity, see LHEB §35, pp. 340-4: Anglicised forms generally show a lengthened vowel, though Middle English/ Scots shortening has affected some names.

‘Brushwood, scrub, a thicket’, developing the sense of ‘managed (coppiced) bushes’.

This word is found in two of the *awdlau* attributed to Taliesin:

BT61(VII) *kat ym prysc. kat leu*: J. T. Koch (SNSBI Conference, Bearsden 1997) identifies the latter as Catlow YWR (PNYWR6 p. 201).

BT63(XII) *ystadyl tir penprys*: Clancy (2013) pp. 171-2 n34 (and see Gruffydd (1994), p. 71), suggests this may be ‘the area round Dumfries’ (see below), while Breeze (2002c) at p. 171, favours Press Castle Brw (see below).

a1) Jackson, LHEB p. 343, considered the use of this word as a simplex place-name ‘curious’, but he may not have taken into account the ‘managed’ sense and the importance of such coppiced thickets in the mediaeval rural economy. It is well-attested in England (see PNShr1 pp. 241-2 and CPNE p. 194) and Wales (at least a dozen in AMR showing simplex *Prys[c]*, as well as many with a suffix, plural, diminutive etc.), and it seems relatively common in the North:

Preese, with Preese Hall Lanc (Kirkham) PNLanc p. 153, JEPN17 p. 89.

Preesall Lanc (Lancaster) PNLanc p. 159, JEPNS17 p. 92 [+ ON *-hǫfuð* ‘a head’ replaced by OE *-ofer* ‘a ridge’, also + AScand *-haug* ‘a hill, a heap, a mound’, influenced by OE *-halh* ‘a nook, a detached portion of land, a water-meadow’]: the implication of the complex range of mediaeval forms is that **Prēs* had been adopted here by English speakers as the name of a district, and it came to be attached to a range of English and/ or Scandinavian generics referring to specific locations in that district. In spite of the modern form, there is no evidence for **presel* here.

Presdall Wml (Milburn) PNWml2 p. 124 [+ AScand *-dal* > ME *-dale*]: recorded forms do not favour **dǫl** here.

Press Castle Brw (Coldingham) CPNS p. 421: see above.

Priorsdale Cmb (Alston) PNCmb p. 175 (see also PNLanc p. 153) [+ AScand *-dal* > ME *-dale*]: popular etymology has influenced forms from 17th century on.

c1) Pressmennan ELo (Stenton) CPNS p. 399 + **-mönīð**.

c2) Dumfries CPNS pp. 421-2 ? + **dīn-** or **drum-**: however, *D[r]unfres* 1189 onwards favours Gaelic *dronn-* added to an Anglicised **-Pres* (with shortened vowel) from a Brittonic simplex (a1) **Prēs* (or, if Clancy is right, **Penbrēs*, see above), the meaning of which would have been opaque to Northumbrian English speakers, though Gaelic speakers might have recognised it as cognate with early Gaelic *pres*.

Perbrys Pbl (unlocated) ? + **pol-**: if so, the lenition implies a compound.

R

rag-

IE**prh_ae-* or **pro-* + *-k-* > eCelt **rāc-* or **rac-* > Br **rāc-* or **rac-* > OW(LL) *rac* > MW *rac* > W *rhag*, Corn *rag*, OBret *rac* > Bret *rak*; cf. (from IE **prh_ae-* + *h_x* or *-i-*); cf. Lat *prae*, Gmc ?*forai-* > OE *fore-* > ‘fore-’, Gk *pará, paraí*, Skt *pare, purā*, or (from IE **pro-*, see **rö-**) Lat *prō*, Gk *pró*, Skt *pra-*.

The etymologies of these forms, while doubtless related, are complex and controversial: see OIPrIE §18.2 at pp. 288-90. On the Brittonic forms, see LHEB§198(2), pp 656-7, and EGOW p. 135.

‘Before, opposite’, also ‘adjacent to’.

This prefix may be present, + **-cē;d**, in the kingdom-name *Reget*, Rheged. Williams’s objection (PT p xlii) that ‘opposite a wood’ is *ar-goed* in Welsh place-names does not rule out **rag-gē:d* in a sense ‘[place] next to a wood’, or even ‘fore-wood, front part of a wood’. Such a formation would, however, have had to be later than lenition, as **rac-caito-* would have given ***rache:d*. If the name was **rag-gē:d*, it should have developed in Welsh to ***Rhygoed* unless it had fallen into disuse during the transition from neoBrittonic to Old Welsh, and then been rediscovered from an early written source and revived by Welsh bards in the central middle ages, though its origin had by then become obscure. However, Watson’s discussion of *Dún Reichet* (home of St. Colmán Duib Chuilinn) in *Féilire Oengussa*, CPNS p. 168, draws attention to possible Irish parallels (especially for Dunragit, below); see also ***reg, rö-**, and **-ed**, and on Rheged in mediaeval Welsh literature, Haycock 2013 pp. 10-11 and 33-4 nn53-8.

The possibility that either of the following may have some connection with the kingdom of Rheged has complicated discussion of their names. Whether or not they have anything to do with that kingdom, the formation **rag-gē:d* may be considered:

Dunragit Wig CPNS p. 156, PNGall p. 131 + **dīn-** (or, more probably, Gaelic *dùn-*) + **-cē;d**, or else **rö-**, which see, and see also Watson at CPNS p. 168 on *Dún Reichet*. Rochdale Lanc PNLanc pp. 54-5, JEPNS17 p. 42 ? + **-cē;d** [+ OE *-hām* ‘a farm, an estate’, replaced by ME *-dale*]; or else the suffix may be **rö-**, which see. The river-name Roch, which is *rach(e)* from 12th ct, but also *Rached* etc from 13th ct (PNLanc p. 28, ERN p. 344), may be a back-formation, which contributed in turn to the replacement of *-hām* by *-dale*. The name may have been reinterpreted to incorporate the OE poetic term *ræced* ‘a hall’, but altogether it is highly problematic.

Note that Read Lanc (Padiham) is *Reced* in the mid 13th ct (JEPNS17 p. 49), but other forms beginning with *Reved* 1202 (PNLanc p. 79) confirm that this is an error for a name probably derived from OE **ræge-hēafod* ‘roe-head’, perhaps a ‘totemic’ name.

*red-

IE *[*h₁*]*reth₂-* (cf. **h₁reih_x* ‘move’, see **rīa**) > eCelt **ret-* > Br **ret-* > verbal root in MW *redeg* (etc) > W *rhedeg*, MCorne *resek*, OBret *retet* > Bret *redek*; cf. OIr *reithid* > Ir *rith*, G *ruith*, Mx *roie*; cf. ***rod**.

A verbal root meaning ‘run’. It may be present in early river-names, including the following, and possibly some listed under **rīd**, which see:

a1) [*sikam de*] *Gileredh* Wml (lost field-name in Newby) PNWml2 p. 148 ? + **cīl-**, influenced by ON *gil* ‘a ravine’, + **-ī[r]**-, perhaps preserving an ancient stream-name (A. Walker, pers. comm.).

a2) Forth, Firth of and R ? + **wo-** + suffix *-jā-*, see PNRB pp. 269-71, ESSH p cxviii, and Nicolaisen (1958) at pp 111-12. I. Williams’s proposal **wo-rit-jā-* is commonly cited, but if the sense is ‘somewhat, not very strongly, running’, O’Rahilly’s **wo-ret-jā-* is the correct form. The root **wo-red-* underlies the verbal form OW *guoraut-* > W *gward-*, which means ‘succour, deliver’ (see ***woṛe:d**), but the meaning in a river-name, presumably from a much earlier formation, would probably be ‘sluggish’. The final [θ] probably reflects the influence of Goidelic *rith*, see **rīd**, but might be a Scots development, cf. *Keith* < **çe:d**. Unless they are all derived from a very garbled original, there cannot be any linguistic connection between this name and forms in Classical sources like *Bodotria*: on the latter, see ***böðar**. For comprehensive discussion of the various names of the river and firth, see PNFif 1 pp. 39 – 45, and PNCIk pp. 93-101; also, for *Werid* in *De Situ Albaniae* and Welsh literary sources, Haycock 2013, 25-6, n33.

On *Guerit*, a possible lost name for the R. Lune and its region, see Rowland 1981-2.

Penruddock Cmb (Hutton Soil) PNCmb p. 213 + **pen[n]**- + **-ōg**: **pen[n]**- is presumably a secondary formation, prefixed to what was perhaps an early stream-name, either **rid-ōg* (see **rīd**) or else **red-ōg* - if the latter, note Coates’s suggestion, CVEP p. 284, ‘elliptically for something like *maes rhedeg* “a racetrack”, but this is very uncertain’. See also PNCmb loc. cit. Again, a possible trace of an early stream-name.

Plent[r]idoc MLo (Borthwick, = Arniston) CPNS p. 136, PNMLo p. 100, Barrow 1973, p. 73 ? + **blajn-** + epenthetic *-d-* + **-ōg**: J. G. Wilkinson pers. comm., but see also **tri-**.

c2) Penrith Cmb PNCmb pp. 229-30: + **pen[n]**-, **-rīd**: see discussion under both of these, but early records favour *-red*, *-reth*. If this is **red-* ‘run’, or else **rē:d-*, Welsh *rhwydd* ‘fast, fluent, generous’, a lost river-name, perhaps an earlier name for the Eamont, is possible.

redin (m)

IE **pr-ti-* > eCelt **rati-* > Br, Gaul *rati-no-* > OW adj *retinoc* > MW *redyn* > W *rhedyn*, OCorn *reden* > MCorn singulative *redanan*, MBret singulative *radenenn* > Bret *raden*; cf. (from OCelt **rati-*) Middle-eMnIr, G *raith*; cf. (from o-grade **(s)por-no-*) WGmc **farno-* > OE *fearn* > ‘fern’, Skt *parṇam* ‘a wing, feather, leaf’.

For the etymology, see OIPrIE §11.3 pp. 179, 181, DCCPN p. 28, EGOW pp. 136-7. For Continental examples, see ACPN pp. 98-101, where forms containing *RATA* are treated as representing either **rati-* or **rāti-*, see **rōd**.

‘Fern, bracken’, a collective noun.

c2) Glenridding Wml (Patterdale) PNWml2 pp. 222-3, DLDPN pp. 132-3: the modern form influenced by ME *ridding* ‘a clearing’, EPNE2 p. 91, s.v. **ryden*.

Tradunnock Aysr (Kirkoswald) CPNS pp. 361-2 + **treß** - + **-ōg**, cf. Tredunnock Mnm DPNW p. 465, and Tredinick, Tredinnick Cwl CPNE p. 196; otherwise + ***-dantōg**, which see for discussion.

*reg (f)

IE *prek-s- > eCelt *rek- > Br *rek- > M-MnW *rheg-*; cogn. Lat *prex*.

The root-sense is ‘a prayer, entreaty’; it acquired (as in Latin) the negative connotations of ‘a curse’, but with the suffix **-ed** it has the sense of ‘liberality, generosity’. Williams’s (1952) suggestion that this could be relevant to the kingdom-name *Reget* > Rheged remains attractive – compare my speculation regarding **Elued** – but see also **rag** and *rö-.

rejadər (f)

IE *h₁rih_x- (zero-grade of *h₁reih_x ‘move’, see *rīa) +-tis-ə- > eCelt *rīatrī- > Br *rīatrī- > OW *reatir* > MW *ryeidr* > W *rhaeadr*; OIr *riathor* > MlIr *riathar* > Ir *reathar*.

See OIPrIE §22.11 at p. 394, LHEB §33, p. 337, §39, pp. 358-60 and §157, pp. 581-3, and EGOW p. 135.

‘A waterfall or cascade’.

Gruffydd (1990) identified *Rayadr Derwenydd* in the lullaby *Pais Dinogad*, CA1114, with the Lodore Cascade on Watendlath Beck Cmb, above Derwentwater. While this is plausible, his claim that there are no waterfalls of any size on any of the rivers in the North of the ‘Derwent’ type (see **dār**) overlooks the substantial cascade between two waterfalls on the uppermost stretch of the R Derwent in Derbyshire clearly shown on the 1st edn OS map but now submerged by the Derwent reservoir. If this *awdl* does date from the 6th century (see Koch in YGod(K), introduction §xii), that part of the High Peak could well have been hunting-ground for Brittonic-speaking aristocrats. See also Haycock 2013 p. 27 n37.

a1) Rutter Force, with Low Rutter, Wml (Drybeck) PNWml2 p. 99: A. Walker pers. comm., but see **rö-** and **rūð**, and OE *hrūtere ‘roarer’ is also possible here.

*rīa or *rijā

IE *h₁rih_x- (zero-grade of *h₁reih_x, extended form of *h₁er-* ‘to move’, see *red- and *worę:d) > eCelt *ri- + -w- > Br *riwā-, cf. Afon Rhiw Mtg, and MnW *rhid* ‘semen’ (and see also **rejadər**); cf. O-eMnIr *rián* ‘the sea’; cogn. Lat *rīvus*, and cf. OE *rinnan* ‘run’ and *riþ* ‘a stream’, Skt *ritī* ‘a stream’, and river-names of the ‘Rhine’ type.

Alternatively, IE(WC) *reǵ- > eCelt *reg- + -jā- > lBr *reyjā-; cf. (possibly cognate) Lat *rigāre*, and river-names of the ‘Regen’ type.

See OIPrIE §22.11, pp. 393-4 and §20.9 at p. 348, IIEL §6.4, pp. 121-30 and §6.6.9-10, pp. 137-40.

The sense of *ri- is ‘flow, pour’, that of *reg- is ‘to water, moisten, irrigate’. On these ancient hydronymic elements see Nicolaisen (1957) at p. 253 and Kitson (1998) at pp 73-118. One or other of them probably underlies several river-names in the North:

a1) Ripponden, YWR PNYWR3, p. 65, and Ryburn, YWR PNYWR7, pp. 136-7 [+ OE *-būrna* > ‘a burn’]; DEPNE(O) and PNYWR give OE *hrīf-* ‘violent, fierce’ as an alternative, while

DEPN(C) favours OE *hrēod* ‘a reed’, but the 15th ct forms on which these are based could well be re-interpretations of the name.

Rye R (with Riccal R, Rievaulx, Ryedale and Ryton) YNR ERN pp. 349–50, PNYNR p. 5, but see also **riw**.

Rye Water, with Dalry, Ayr, unless that is a back-formation; see under ***dōl**.

A form with *-w-* + *-l-*, might underlie Rule Water Rox, but see also **riw**.

rið (n, later f, but variable)

IE **pr-* (zero-grade of verbalised **per-* ‘[go] across’) *-tu-* > eCelt **ritu-* > Br **ritu-* > OW(LL) *rit* > M-MnW *rhyd*, OCorn *rid* > Corn **rid* (in place-names, CPNE pp. 197-9), OBret *rit*; Mlr *-rith*; cogn. Lat *portus*, Gk *-póros*, and cf. (from e-grade) Gmc **ferðuz* > OE *ford*, AS cand *fjorð*.

See OIPrIE §15.7 at p. 250, also §22.12 at pp 394-6, and JEPNS1 p. 50. For Continental examples, see ACPN pp 103-4. On the gender, see CPNE p. 198.

‘A ford’. In Goidelic, this fell together with the verbal noun *rith*, ‘running’, and was superseded by *áth*. Confusion with the same root may arise in Brittonic too: i.e. **h₁reih_x* + *-t-* > ***red-** (which see, and see also LHEB §7(2), pp 284-5, CPNE p. 197, and Parsons 2022 pp. 142-3 and 187 n.2). The prevalence of *red* in early forms of several place-names in the North (and see Welsh examples cited by Richards 1960-3 at p. 216) raises the possibility that either the pronunciation of **rið** in West Brittonic was with a rather open vowel [rɪð], or else that these are actually formed from ***red-**, ‘running’, in which case they would be stream-names.

On Celtic religious cults associated with fords, see DCML p. 176, regarding the Gaulish goddess [*P*]ritona.

Rið pretty certainly occurs in a number of Roman-British place-names:

Carbantorium PNRB pp. 300-1 + ***carþan-**, if Rivet and Smith’s emendation to *-ritum* is accepted, but see also **riw**. The fort at Easter Haprew Pbl.

Maporium PNRB p. 412 + **mab-**, and *Tadorium* PNRB p. 463 + **tad-**: see discussion under **mab**, and the note above on possible religious connotations. Both are unlocated, but probably in southern Scotland.

This element might possibly be present, + **cors-** in *Corstopitum* PNRB pp. 322-4, see Wilkinson (2004), p. 87 n62, but see **cors**, **corð** and **peth**.

kat yn ryt alclut CT61(VII) presumably refers to a ford somewhere near Dumbarton, but it is unlocated.

a2) Forth R ? + **wo-**: Williams’s proposal **wo-rit-jā-* is commonly cited, but if the meaning is ‘somewhat, not very strongly, running’, O’Rahilly’s **wo-ret-jā-* is the correct form: see ***red-**, also ***worç:d**.

Penruddock Cmb (Hutton Soil) PNCmb p. 213 + **pen[n]-** + **-ōg-**: or else + **-*red-**, see discussion under that element.

b1) Penrith Cmb PNCmb pp. 229-30: + **pen[n]-**, which see: Ekwall’s interpretation, ‘chief ford’, discussed there would imply a compound formation, otherwise this could be phrasal, (c2). The final [θ] is probably the NW England dialectal variant, see **cç:d**, though the influence of Middle Irish *rith* would not be impossible here. The ford, if this is – **rið**, was 1 mile SE, at Eamont

Bridge, see PNCmb loc. cit. However, a lost name for the Eamont is not impossible, see ***red-**. For discussion of these and other possibilities, see Whalley (2021) pp. 122-4, 145, 149, 161-3 .

b2) Redmain Cmb PNCmb p. 267 + **ī[r]**- + **-mayn** (which see regarding a possible genitive singular form). The local pronunciation, see PNCmb loc. cit., favours **rið-** rather than ***red-** here, and note the considerations above regarding forms with *red*.

Roderbren Ayrs (Tarbolton) ? + + **ī[r]**- + **-brīnn-** or **-prenn-**, with **rið-** > *rod-* by dissimilation, see Breeze (2006a), but see also ***rod** and ***rōd**.

c2) *Talahret* Rnf (Pollock or Cathcart) + **tal-** + **ī[r]**-. On the aspirated *-hr-* see LHEB §93, pp. 473-80: the form must be Cumbric, post-900. On the location, see Barrow (1992) p. 214.

rīy (m)

IE(NW)**h₃reiǵ-* ‘stretch out, direct, order’ (< IE **h₃reǵ-* ‘extend’, see **riinn**) + *-s* > eCelt **rīgs-* > Br, Gaul *rīks-*, *rīgo-* > OW *Rīg-* (in personal names) > M-eMnW *rhi*, OBret *ri*; O-MnIr *rí* > G *rìgh*, Mx *ree*; adopted from eCelt into early Germanic as **reiks-* > OE *riče* ‘a kingdom’ (see D. H. Green (1998), pp. 150-1); cf. (from lengthened grade **h₃rēǵ-*) Lat *rēx*, Skt *rāj-*.

See OIPrIE §17.1, especially at p. 268, and §22.7 at p. 387, DCCPN p. 29 (also p. 28 s.v. *rego-*), LHEB §§75-7, pp. 440-52, §79, pp. 455-6, §82 pp. 459-60, and §89, pp. 469-70, and CIB #65, pp. 207-11, and p. 287. For the etymology, see OIPrIE §11.3 pp. 179, 181, EGOW pp. 136-7. For Continental examples, see ACPN pp. 102-3.

‘A king’.

This element occurs in the name *Rigodunum* PNRB p. 448 + **-dīn**, probably the fort at Castleshaw YWR. However, as the usual term for ‘a king’, this word was superseded in the Brittonic languages at an early date by others (*brenin* < **briy-ant-in-*, cf. **bre[y]**, *teyrn* < **tiyern*); so place-names like Dalry MLo, PNMLo 124 and see under ***dōl**, if they contain the word for ‘a king’, are likely to be Gaelic in origin (modern pronunciation with [-rai] favours Gaelic **dail-fhraoich*, cf. **wrūg**, and this may be true of the others too); for *rìgh* in Kilrymont (= St. Andrews) see PNFif3, p. 478.

A form with an adjectival suffix, **rīy-on-* > MW *rhion*, forms the core of the *polis-* name *Rerigonium* of the *Novantae* PNRB pp. 447-8, + the intensive prefix **rō-** and formative suffix *-jo*.

A number of places mentioned in mediaeval Welsh verse are thought to recall the kingdom ruled from *Rerigonium*. *Kaer rian* in BT29 might be Cairnryan Wig, and *luch reon* in BT34 (*R[h]jeon* in later poems) Loch Ryan. *Pen Ryonyd yn y Gogled* TYP. 1, later modified to *Penryn Rioned* TYP. 85 (see also TYP p. 229), may likewise have been a place associated with *Rerigonium*, being **riy-on-jo-* + **pen[n]**-. See Haycock (2013), pp. 9 and 22-3 nn26-7.

The ‘royal’ associations of this area seem to be reflected in the mediaeval lordship of Portree on the Rhinns, presumably associated with *Port Ríg* referred to in the story of Néide mac Adna in the 12th ct Book of Leinster. Both Watson, CPNS p. 157, and MacQueen, PNRGLV p. 81, identify this as Portpatrick, though the proximity of the place in the Irish text to *Rind Snóc* rather suggests a harbour in the south Rhinns, near to the Mull of Galloway, as OE **snōc*, when used of

coastal features, consistently refers to a long, narrow promontory, often a peninsula with a narrow isthmus like that of the Mull.⁶

a1) Loch Ryan Wig CPNS p. 34, PNGall p. 202 **rīy-on-* + **luch-**, Gaelicised *loch-*: see above.

b2) Cairnryan Wig (Inch) PNGall p. 52 (as *Cairnarzean*) ?**carn-** + -**rīy-on*, but the first element is probably Gaelic *càrn*: see above.

Dunree Ayrs (Cassilis) CPNS p. 199 ? + **dīn-**, but probably Gaelic.

Note: Dalreagle Wig (Kirkinner), PNGall p. 103, is treated by MacQueen, PNWigMM pp. 22-3, as Gaelic **dail-* 'a haugh' or **doire-* 'oakwood' + *-riaghail* 'a rule' (from the same root as **rīy**), as a stream-name, perhaps indicating a boundary, cf. Regal Burn Lnk (Avondale, CPNS p. 147), but see ***dōl** and **egle:s**. Early forms favour *-riaghail* in Carseriggan Wig (Kirkcowan) too: see CPNS pp 147-8, PNGall p. 62, PNWigMM p. 23, also PNFif1 p. 457, discussing Ryelaw (Kinglassie).

*rijajn (f)

Br *rīg-* (see **rīy**) + *-agnā-* > M-MnW *rhiain*; Old-Mīr *rīgain* > eG *rìghinn*

Originally 'a princess', but extending to 'a maiden'.

c2) Pularyan Wig (Inch) PNGall p. 230, PNRGLV pp. 80-1 + ***pol-** + **-i[r]**-; a connection with **rīy** is likely as it is close to Cairnryan. However, early forms favour a Gaelic formation, with Gaelic-adopted *pol-* + *rìghinn*, here presumably 'a princess', though it fell together with *rìghinn* meaning 'a snake' and so became obsolete.

The Modern Welsh plural form is *rhianedd*, but a genitive singular **rieini* < **rīyayni* is implied by the princess's name **Rieinmelth* (for *Riemmelth* in the ms Harley 3859 genealogy, see LHEB §38(A1) pp. 351-3). On the basis of this, a nominative plural form, **rieini* < **rīyaynijās*, might be surmised. Such a plural, or archaic genitive singular, may be present in:

c2) *Lanrekereini* Cmb (Dalton) LanCart49 + **lanerc-** + **-i[r]**- (A. Walker, pers. comm.). This may be of interest as evidence of the role of women in upland farming in the Cumbric period: for the date, see discussion under **lanerc**, and compare *Roswrageth* Cmb, discussed under **wreig**. But see also ***oyn**.

*rīn[n] (m)

IE(NW) **h₃riĝ-* (zero-grade of IE(NW) **h₃reiĝ-* 'stretch out' < IE **h₃reĝ-* 'extend', see **rīy**) *-nd-* > eCelt **rindo-* > Br **rindo-* > OW(LL) plural *rinion* > MW *-ryn* > W *-rhyn* (in place-names), Corn **rynn* (in place-names, CPNE p. 199), OBret *-rinn* (in compound); OIr *rind* > Ir, G, Mx *rinn*.

⁶ In place-names, Middle Irish *snóc* and Gaelic *snòig* are from OE *snōc* or a Scandinavian cognate. Gaelic *snòig* occurs at least three times on Tìree (An Snòig near Sanday, Port Snòig below Ben Hynish – with a narrow spit of rock across the entrance to the bay – and Snòig on the west side of Ceann a' Bhara); OE *snōc* occurs in the North as a coastal feature at *Blythesnake* Ntb (Blyth), Snook Point Ntb (Beadnell), *The Snewke* Ntb (Lindisfarne), and *Le Snoke de Berwic* Ntb (apparently Sharper Head, Berwick). Inspection of all these supports the observation above. Note that Barbour's *Mullyrrysnwk* (Bruce I 118) is misconstrued by Bellenden as *Mulis Nuk*; Barbour also refers to Turnberys snuke, Bruce IV.556, and Blin Harry to 'Dwnottar, a snuk within the se', Wallace VII.1044.

See OIPrIE §22.7, pp. 387-8.

‘An apex, point, promontory’. Apart from the Breton compound *gabl-rinn*, cognate with Old Irish *gabul-rind*, ‘a pair of compasses’, the word survives in the Brittonic languages only in place-names. For examples (mainly probably Gaelic) throughout Scotland, see CPNS pp. 495-6.

Penryn Rioned TYP. 35 (see also TYP p. 229) is a Middle Welsh modification of *Penryonyd* TYP. 1: see **rīy**. It incorporates the Welsh (and Cornish) place-name Penrhyn, for which there is no evidence in the North. GPC treats *pen-rhyn* as a compound appellative, and *-rhyn* in other Welsh place-names as a back-formation, but, as Padel points out (CPNE p. 199), the stress-pattern indicates a phrasal formation, and the Goidelic cognates support ***rīn[n]** as a genuine, though archaic, place-name forming element in Brittonic.

a1) The Rhinns of Galloway, Wig, are possibly mentioned in three early Irish sources: the Martyrology of Oengus (under September 28th), Marianus Scottus (s.a. 1087 = 1065: note that Marianus was writing at Movilla Dwn, almost within sight of the Rhinns Wig, so is more likely to be referring to them than Rinns Rsc), and in the story of Néide mac Adna in the Book of Leinster; in the Latinised nominative plural, it appears in the Libellus de Nativitate Sancti Cuthberti: see CPNS pp. 157-8, 165, 168, and 515 n158. The name is probably Goidelic (+ Scot plural *-s*), but could be Brittonic in origin. For the location of *Rind Snóc*, see under **rīy**.

a2) Rinnion Hills Cmb (Kingwater) PNCmb p. 96 + plural *-jon*: cf. *pullou rinion* LL pp. 142-3. *Runeon* 1589 suggests Cornish **run*, Breton *run*, ‘hill, slope’, but other records show *Rin-* consistently, the Cornish plural of *run* is *runyow* (CPNE p. 349), and that word is not recorded in Welsh.

b2) Renfrew CPNS p. 349 + **-frūd**, Gaelicised.

c2) Terringzean Ayrs (Cumnock) CPNS p. 360 ? + **-i[r]**- + **-fōntōn**, or *-rinnion*, see Rinnion Hills above, or Gaelicised saint’s name *Ringan*, i.e. Ninian, see discussion under **fōntōn**, also A. James (2014b) p. 28.

rīw (n, later m or f)

?IE *(NW) **h₃riǵ-* (see **rīnn**) > eCelt **rigo-* > *Br *rigo-* > OW(LL) *riu* > M-MnW *rhiw*, Corn **rew* (in place-names, CPNE p. 196).

‘A steep slope’, or perhaps a track up such a slope.

Watson’s proposal (CPNS p. 35) of this element in *Carbantorigum*, variant *-ridum*, ‘obviously makes very good sense’, say Rivet and Smith at PNRB pp. 300-1, though they prefer **-rīd** here: + ***carβan-**.

a1) Rye R, with Ryedale and Rievaulx, YNR ERN p. 349, PNYNR5, pp. 5 and 73, Ekwall proposes **rīw** (cf. Afon Rhiw Mtg DPNW pp. 410-11), but see also **rīa**. Wardrew Ntb (Gilsland) PNNtb p. 207 [+ OE *weard* > ‘ward’, i.e. ‘lookout’].

a2) Laggangarn, earlier *Lekkingoriow*, Wig Brooke (1992) at p. 311 + **lech-** + **-[h]in-** (Gaelicised to *leac-an-* ‘slab of the...’, later to *lagán-* ‘a little hollow’, or else these were prefixed by Gaelic-speakers to an earlier Brittonic name) + **-wo-**, but see also **woreü**. Rule Water Rox + *-l-*: but see also **rīa**.

c2) Cumrew Cmb PNCmb p. 77 + *cumm-*, see **cumb**.

rö-

IE **pro-* (from **per-* ‘pass through, go beyond’) > eCelt **ro-* > Br, Gaul **rö-* > MW *ry-* > W *rhy-*, M-MnCorn *re-*, Bret *re-*; O-MnIr, G *ro-*; cogn. Lat *prō-* ‘in front of’, Gk *pro-* ‘in front of’, Skt *pra-* ‘in front of, ahead of’; see also **rag**.

See LHEB §200 at pp 659-62, §204B(1), pp. 674-5, §205, pp. 678-81.

In Brittonic, an intensive prefix used with nouns, ‘great’, and with adjectives, ‘exceedingly, completely, etc.’.

It is present in *Rerigonium*, see **rīy**.

It may be present, + **-ce:d**, in the territorial name *Reget*, Rheged. If the name was **rö-gē:d*, it should have developed in Welsh to ***Rhygoed*, but see discussion under **rag**, and see also ***reg**. Whether or not they have any connection with Rheged, Dunragit Wig and Rochdale Lanc may likewise have this prefix rather than **rag-**, but again see discussion there. For critical reviews of opinions as to the location of this territory (and of Woolf’s suggestion that the name arose from a misinterpretation of an honorific adjective **rö-ged* > MW *rhyged* ‘of great gifts’ applied to Urien), see Breeze (2012b) Haycock (2013) pp. 11 and 33-4 nn56 and 58, Clancy (2013) pp. 156-7 and 169-70 nn19-26, Whalley (2021) p. 137.

It may be combined with **-duβr** in river-names, but see also **rūd**:

Carruthers Dmf (Middlebie) CPNS p. 368, PNDmf p. 91 + **cajr-** ? + **-duβr**

Glenruther Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 150 + **cūl-** or ***cūl-**, see both of these.

Riddrie Lnk (Glasgow: the area south of the Molendinar Burn): see Durkan (1986) at p. 284.

Rother YWR ERNp. 348, PNYWR7 p. 136.

Rutherglen Lnk.

Rutter Force, with Low Rutter, Wml (Drybeck) PNWml2 p. 99, but see also **rejadər** and **treβ**.

It may be present in R Ribble, with Ribchester and Ribbleton (Preston), PNLanc pp. 65, 144-5 and 146, ERN p. 340, JEPNS17 p. 44, + *-pil*, but see discussion under **pol**.

It is possibly combined with **-treβ** in:

Rattra Kcb (Borgue) CPNS p. 364, PNGall p. 233; proposed by Breeze 2003, 162-3, it is possible here, but early forms for Rattray in Abd and Per favour a Pictish cognate of **rōd**, Gaelicised as *ràth*, See A. James (2014b), p. 23.

Rutter Force Wml see above.

Tartraven WLo (Linlithgow) PNWLo p. 64, Wilkinson 2013, p. 4 + **-treβ-** + **-an-**: see **torr**, but *Retrevyn* 1264 implies earlier **rö-**.

*rod (f)

IE *[*h*₁] *roth*₂- (o-grade of *[*h*₁] *reth*₂- ‘run’, see ***red-**) –*eh*₄ > eCelt **rotā-* > Br **rotā-* > MW *rot* > W *rhod*, Corn *rô*s, OBret *rod* (uncertain) > Bret *rod*; cogn. Lat *rota*, Skt *ratha* ‘a chariot, a waggon’.

‘A wheel’, but also, in Middle Welsh, ‘a circuit, a district’, while Owen and Morgan, DPNW pp. 292-3 s.n. Lledrod, suggest ‘a defensive enclosure’ (cf. **rōd**).

b2) Roderbren Ayrs (Tarbolton) SPN² p. 213 + **ī[r]**- + **-brīnn** or **-prenn**, but see also **rīd** and **rōd**.

rōd (earlier f, but later m?)

eCelt **rātis* > Br, Gaul **rātis* > MW *rawt* > W *rhawd*, Bret *-ret* (in a compound) ; apparently adopted from Brittonic into Old-MIr as *ráth* ‘a ring-fort’ > eG *ràth*, Mx *raath*, and re-adopted from Mir into MW as *rath* > W *rhath*; cogn. Lat *prātum* ‘a meadow’.

See Jackson (1970), p. 78, and PNRB pp. 443-4. For the etymology, see OIPrIE §11.3 pp. 179, 181, DCCPN p. 28, EGOW pp. 136-7. For Continental examples, see ACPN pp. 98-101, where forms containing *RATA* are treated as representing either **rāti* - or **rati* -, see **redin**.

The basic meaning in Brittonic is probably ‘an earthen rampart’, thence ‘a fortified enclosure’. It came to be applied, or transferred, to Roman fortifications (PNRB p. 443). A *Dea Ratis* was invoked on Hadrian’s Wall at Chesters and Birdoswald (PCB pp. 276, 295, 474).

For *ráth* in Irish place-names, see Toner 1998-2000. In Ireland, and likewise (though at a relatively late date) in Wales and Pictland, the term came to be used for the home of a chieftain, and, thence, for a district or ‘multiple estate’ administered from a chieftain’s fort (see Aidan Macdonald 1982, and T. James in *Uses* at pp. 106-8). *Ráth* is uncommon in the north and east of Ireland (probably obsolete in those regions by the tenth century, Toner op. cit. p. 30), and Gaelic *ràth* likewise rare in Arg and SW Scotland (but see PNBute p. 568). In eastern Scotland, where Gaelic *ràth* is relatively common, Macdonald (op. cit.) argues that Pictish usage influenced its sense; see also Taylor 2011, 107-8, and PNFif5 p. 477. A similar usage probably underlies the Modern Welsh sense of *rhawd*, ‘a host, a troop’, while *rhath* means ‘an earthen mound’.

None of the instances shown below is unproblematic. As in Arg, but in contrast to Pictland, Gaelic *ràth* seems very rare or absent. Catterick may show an early use of the British element in a compound, and Rattrra seems to be a compound too, though the cognate is rare or absent in Goidelic compound names. Like Rattray in Abd and Per, Rattrra might be a P-Celtic compound appellative later applied as a place-name. For discussion of these and other possible examples, see Whalley (2021), p. 126.

a2) Ratho MLo PNMLo pp. 349-50 + plural **-öü**: there are two notable hill-forts in this parish (J. G. Wilkinson, pers. comm.).

b1) Catterick YNR PNYNR p. 242 ? + **cad-**; or else **-*trajth**, or Latin *Cataracta* adopted by Brittonic speakers. See **cad** for discussion, also Catterick Moss Drh (Stanhope). *Penratho* ELo (lost) CPNS p. 355 + **pen[n]**- + plural **-öü**: or else (c2).

b2) Roderbren Ayrs (Tarbolton) SPN² p. 213 + **ī[r]**- + **-brīnn** or **-prenn**, but see also **rīd** and ***rod**.

Romanno, with Romanno Bridge and *Romanno Grange* Pbl (Newlands) CPNS pp. 153-4 + *-manach*, see **mönach**. Forms like *Rothmanaic* c1160 seem to show the form **roth* that is common in place-names in Pictland; it is referred to by Taylor 2011, pp.107-8, and PNFif5 p. 477, also Márkus in PNBute p. 568, as 'Pictish', but would in fact be a Gaelic form influenced by **rōd**. Here it may refer to territory ruled from the major hill-fort that overlooks the settlement, which became a grange of Holyrood Abbey, see CPNS loc. cit., Durkan (1986), and D. Hall (2006) p. 157.

c1) Muckra Slk (Ettrick) CPNS p. 138, Muckraw WLo (Torphichen) CPNS p. 147, PNWLo pp. 96-7 both ? + **moch-**, or else + **crōw**, which see, but Gaelic **muc-ràth* or **mucrach* are possible. Rattrra Kcb (Borgue) PNGall p. 233, CPNS p. 364 + **treß**: Breeze 2003, 162-3, explained correctly that Middle Welsh *rhath* (see above) cannot be relevant here, but ignored the fact that O-MW **rawd* must have remained current in Brittonic (see above); he also overlooked the research by Macdonald and T. James cited above. A compound **rōd-dreß* might possibly have been an appellative, signifying 'farm of a chieftain's fort', i.e. 'a demesne'. See also **rō-** and A. James (2014b), p. 23.

c2) *Carraith* MLo (Stow) PNMLo pp. 372-3 + **cajr-**; *Carthow* loc. cit. may be the same + an OE or Scots element such as *-hōh* 'a heel, a heel-shaped hill-spur'; cf. next entry. Carrath, Great and Little Wml (Murton) PNWml2 p. 104 ? + **cajr-**, but documentation is very late (A. Walker, pers. comm.). If early, *Carraith* and Carrath may be 'a fort with an earthen rampart', if late, 'stockade-village of a chieftain's estate'.

rōs (? earlier f, but later m or f)

IE **pro-* (see **rō-**) + **steh₂-* 'stand' (see **was*) > early Celtic **rostā-* > Br **rossā-* > OW (LL)-MW *ros* > W *rhos*, Corn **ros* (in place-names, CPNE pp. 199-203), M-eMnBret *ros, roz*; OIr *ros[s]* > Ir, G, Mx *ros*; cogn. Skt *prastha* 'a plateau, a table-land on top of a mountain' (see below).

See LHEB §35(2), pp. 341-3, and §122(3), pp. 530-4, and Padel's very full discussion in CPNE pp. 199-202. Coates 2012 p. 78 draws attention to a Proto-Semitic root **raš* 'headland, promontory'. Note also Sims-Williams (1991) on the dating of the 'New Quantity System', and so of the lengthening of the vowel in Brittonic. While forms with a short vowel might be expected only in areas of the earliest Germanic-speaking occupation, and forms with a lengthened vowel elsewhere, some Middle English and early Modern forms show early Middle English lengthening before an inflectional vowel [rōse], while others show late Old English doubling of the consonant and shortening of the vowel in the same context [rösse]: see OEG §287, pp. 121-2, and notes on the place-names in (a1) below, also Coates op. cit. p. 79 n26.

The root meaning as given by Watson, CPNS p. 116, is 'something forth-standing', and this agrees with its use for 'a promontory' in all the Celtic languages. However, the reference is especially to flat-topped promontories, both coastal and on river-bends, and this seems to reflect the basic sense of Sanskrit *prastha*, 'something spread out', or 'something that can be proceeded across' (which is consistent with the derivation of IE **pro-* from **per-*, see **rō-**), so a broader sense, 'high but relatively level ground', thence 'upland pasture, moorland', may be a better interpretation, and such a usage is likewise common to all the insular Celtic languages; .

Later semantic developments, to 'a (lowland) plain' in Modern Welsh, 'marshland' in Herefordshire English dialect, 'woodland' in the modern Goidelic languages, are unlikely to be relevant in the North. On these usages, see EPNE2 pp. 87-8, and Mac Giolla Espaig (1981).

kat yn ros terra BT29(XI) is emended by Williams PT p. 126) to ...*rost eira* ‘upland of snow’, which Breeze (2002b) at p. 169 identifies with Snow Hill WLo (Bathgate), though Snedden in Paisley Rnf or Sneddon near Dumfries are other possible candidates. In any case, *idem* 2012c identifies it, along with *Rosed* in other mediaeval Welsh verse, as Rossett Wml (Kendal Ward, Langdales) PNWml1 p. 207 ? + **-ed**, but the earliest record (*sic* 1706) is far too late to allow for any certainty: ON *hross-sátr* ‘horse shieling’ is the likeliest origin, even if it was adopted by Cumbric speakers and found its way into mediaeval Welsh poetry.

a1) Fletchers Cmb (Alston) PNCmb p. 174 *F[l]eecheroos* 1475 [? + ME *flesshere* ‘a butcher’ or OFr *flecher* – ‘an arrow-maker’, or a personal-name from either]: ‘upland pasture’ here, but ‘speculation is dangerous’ PNCmb loc. cit.

Roos YER PNYER p. 56: here ‘promontory’, in an area of very early Germanic-speaking settlement, see Coates 2012 p. 79 n26. The earliest forms including *Rosse* DB show a short vowel with residual inflectional *-e*, later forms, from *Rose* 1285, show Middle English lengthening: see above, and LHEB §35(1) at p. 342, and §122(3), pp. 530-4.

Roose, with Roosecote, (Dalton-in-Furness), and Roosebeck (Aldington), Lanc PNLanc pp. 202 and 208: here the long vowel could be from neo-Brittonic, but again *Rosse* DB suggests Old English consonant doubling and vowel shortening (see above), with later Middle English re-lengthening (*Roos* from 1336). This could be ‘promontory’ or ‘moorland’; see Edmonds (2013), p. 22.

Rosebrough Ntb (Newstead) PNNtb p. 168 [+ OE *-burh*, *-byrig* ‘enclosure, stronghold’], but Watts (1979) at p. 123 n4, suggests that this may be a corruption of *Osberwic* 1242, PNNtb p. 148 s.n. Newstead.

Ross Ntb (Belford) PNNtb p. 169: a coastal promontory. The short vowel, consistent in records from 1208x10, could be from late British here if it was heard by Northumbrian English speakers before the neo-Brittonic ‘New Quantity System’.

Ross Castle Ntb (Chillingham) only documented from 1799. Near Bamburgh, so, again, the short vowel could be from late British. Probably ‘moorland’ here – it is not on an obvious hill-spur, though the ‘castle’ is a hill-fort: see Watts (1979) loc. cit.

ad Rossam Wml (f-n in Shap Rural) PNWml2 p. 181: this is probably ‘upland pasture’, maybe from as late as the Cumbric period.

a2) Cockcrossen Kcb (Tongland) PNGall p. 75 ? + **coch-** + **-an** or **-īn** [+ OE *cocc²*- ‘a game-bird’, or OE *cocc¹*- ‘a hillock’ in an ‘inversion compound’; see EPNE pp. 103-4]: ‘a small piece of hill-pasture’ is possible here; however, the formation is probably Scots, with *rossen* < G *rosan*, *rasan* ‘brushwood, underwood, copse, shrubbery’, see Ó’ Maolalaigh (2022a) p. 100.

Rosendale Lanc PNLanc p. 92, JEPNS17 p. 55 ? + **-an** or **-īn** [+ AS cand *dal* > ‘dale’]; here, ‘moorland’, but note Ekwall’s doubts.

Rossett Wml (Kendal Ward, Langdales) PNWml1 p. 207 ? + **-ed**; see above for Breeze’s identification *Rosedd* mentioned in mediaeval Welsh poetry.

Rossington YWR PNYWR1 p. 49 + **-an** or **-īn** [or OE *-ing²-tūn* ‘farm named (after) or, with *-ing⁴*-, ‘associated with’ **Rosse*]: this is on a river promontory; cf. Rossie Fif (Collessie), PNFif4 pp. 234-8.

b1) Melrose Rox CPNS pp. 175, 496, PNRox p. 26 + **mę:l-**: while Nicolaisen, like other scholars, invokes this as the classic example of a ‘pre-English Cumbric name’ (SPN² p. 8), it should be noted that Bede’s *Mailros*, HE III₂₆, also in VCA, is a Goidelic or Goidelic-influenced form (LHEB p. 327), and the name could have been given by Irish-speaking monks. Old Melrose, the original monastic site, is a ‘flat-topped river-promontory’ *par excellence*.

b2) *Rosket* Lanc (Wigan) PNLanc p. 122 + **-cę:d**.

Roswrageth Cmb (Gilsland) PNCmb p. 103, Lan Cart 1 etc. + *-wreigið*, plural of **wreig**, which see for discussion of the form and of the possible evidence for the role of women in hill farming during the Cumbric period: ‘upland pasture’.

Ros[e]neath Dnb CPNS pp. 246-7 + **-nīued**: a substantial, hilly peninsula between the sea-lochs Gare Loch and Loch Long.

c2) Cardross Dnb CPNS p. 353 + ***carden-**, which see,: a significant promontory on the Clyde estuary.

Primrose Brw (Preston) CPNS p. 352, and Primrose Drh (Jarrow), both with Primrose Hills, + **brīnn-** or **pren[n]-**, see under both of these,. Both could be ‘upland pasture’. (Primrose MLo (= Carrington) is from the family name of the Earls of Rosebery).

rūd

IE **h₁roudh-* (o-grade of **h₁reudh-* ‘(bright) red’) > early Celtic **roudo-/ā-* > Br, Gaul **roudo-/ā-* > Old-MW *rud* > W *rhudd*, OCorn *rud* > MCorn *ru[y]th* > Corn *ruth*, OBret *rud[d]* > Bret *ruz*; OIr *rúad* > Middle -MnIr *rua*, G *ruadh*, Mx *ruy* (from earlier oblique form); cogn. Lat *rūfus*, Gmc **raudaz* > OE *rēad* > ‘red’, ON *rjöd̥r*, Skt *rohita*, and cf. (from zero-grade **h₁rudh-*) Lat *ruber*, Gk *erythros*, Skt *rudhira*.

‘Red’. In the Celtic languages, especially ‘reddish-brown, ginger, ruddy, russet’.

c1) Names of the ‘Rother’ type are probably **rō-** + **-duβr**, see both these elements, but **rūd-** + **-ar** or **-duβr** is possible. They include:

Carruthers Dmf (Middlebie) CPNS p. 368, PNDmf p. 91 + **cajr- ?** + **- duβr**; note Red Cleuch, ‘A deep rugged glen through which a stream runs, this stream rises on Carruthers Fell and falls into Kirk Burn’ (OS Name-Book OS1/10/37/44; A. Hunt pers. comm.), but see under **cajr**.

Glenruther Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 150 + **cūl-** or ***cūl-**, see both of these.

Riddrie Lnk (Glasgow: the area south of the Molendinar Burn) see Durkan (1986) at p. 284.

Rother YWR ERNp. 348, PNYWR7 p. 136.

Rutherglen Lnk influenced by Gaelic *ruadh*, = ***glīnn**, early Gaelic *-glenn*, or Scots *-glen*.

Rutter Force, with Low Rutter, Wml (Drybeck) PNWml2 p. 99, but see also **rejadər** and **treβ**.

b2) Cockleroy WLo (Torphichen) CPNS p. 146, PNWLo p. 3 ? + or ***clog-** or ***clegir-**, but see under ***clog**.

S

***Sachs (m)**

Gmc **Saxso[n]-* adopted as Lat *Saxo[n]-*, Br **Saxso-* > Middle Welsh *Seis* > W *Sais*, MCor **Seys* (in pers. ns., CPNE p. 208) > Corn *Zowz* (from pl. *Zowzon*), MBret *Saus* > Bret *Saoz*; MIr *Sacsa* > Ir *Sacsa[nach]*, G *Sasannach*.

‘A Saxon, an Englishman’. The Germanic ethnonym may well be related to **saxsan* > OE *seax* ‘a knife, a dagger’. It is uncertain whether the Celtic forms were adopted from Germanic or vernacular Latin speakers. In any case, it would have become **Sejs* by the late 6th ct. (see LHEB §126, pp 536-40 and §157, pp. 581-3). Jackson’s view (op. cit. p. 540) that the preservation of [χs] in northern place-names implies a slightly later date for > [js] overlooks the strong possibility that it was preserved, or restored as [ks], under the influence of English and of ecclesiastical Latin: if so, the form *Sax* may well be a late, Cumbric, usage.

c2) Glensax Pbl CPNS p. 356 + **glinn-**, Gaelicised or Anglicised.

Pennersax Dmf (a parish, subsequently subsumed in Middlebie) CPNS pp. 180 and 396, PNDmf p. 94 (as Pennersaugh) + **pen[n]-** + **-i[r]-**.

Both these refer to a singular ‘Saxon’, who may have been a landholder, not necessarily resident.

The plural form **Saxsones* > **Saxson* > W *Saeson*, Corn *Zowzon*, Bret *Saozon*, perhaps more likely to imply a distinct group of inhabitants, may be in:

Glensaxon Dmf (Westerkirk) CPNS p. 356: but see **Brithon** for Glenbarton nearby; the proximity of these two places suggests both names were given by a third party, Gaelic-speakers. In that case, Glensaxon is an anglicised form of early Gaelic (Middle Irish) *Glenn-Sacsan*.

sajun (f)

IE **stomh* > eCelt **stamnā-* > Br **stamnā-* > M-MnW *safn*, OCor *diminutive stefenic* > MCor *sawn*, Bret *s[t]aon*, Vannetais dialect *s[t]an*; cogn. Gk *stoma*.

On the loss of *-t-* in West Brittonic (and, later, in South West Brittonic), see LHEB §119, pp. 527-8 and §122, pp. 529-34.

‘A mouth’, but in Cornish and Breton place-names, ‘a channel, a cleft, a gully’. The same seems appropriate in:

c2) Torsonce MLo (Stow) PNMLo pp. 370-1 + **treß-** or **torr-** [+ Scots plural *-s*]: the Gala valley widens abruptly here at the confluence with Lugate Water.

***scōl (m)**

eCelt **scālo-* > Br **scālo-* > MW *yscawl*; O-MnIr *scál*, G *sgail*; ? cf. Gothic *skōhsl*.

The primary sense was ‘a ghost, a supernatural being’, especially a powerful one, but in Welsh, Irish and Scottish Gaelic literatures it is used of human heroes, and in Welsh it comes to mean ‘a young warrior’.

Williams (1931-3) identified *Cantscaul* HB64 and AC s.a. 631 as the site of the battle of *Hefenfeld* (633) near Hexham Ntb; see also Jackson (1963b). Watts (1994) at p. 130 explains *Cantscaul* as a translation of OE *Hagustaldesham*, Hexham, which he interprets as ‘the estate of a young nobleman’, perhaps of the junior son of a thegn. See also under **cant**.

*serch (f)

IE ?**serk-* ‘circle’ > early Celt **sercā-* > Br **sercā-* > M-MnW *serch*, OCorn *sergh-* > Corn *sergh-*, Bret *sergh*; O-M Irish *serc* > Ir, eG *searc*; ? cf. Lat *sarciō* ‘make restitution’.

The etymology is obscure, but the semantic range of derivatives of IE **serk-* seems to be wide: see OIPrIE §17.4 pp. 276-7, and §18.5, pp 297-8.

In the Celtic languages, primarily an abstract noun, ‘love’, but used to refer to beloved persons and objects of desire.

Breeze (2008b) sees this in the river-name:

a1) Sark R Dmf/Cmb ERN p. 352, PNCmb p. 26.

*sgor (f)

Br **scorā-* > M-eMnW *ysgor*, Corn ? **scor* (perhaps ina p-n, CPNE p. 206 s.v. *scorren*)

‘A fort, an enclosure’. Occurs in Welsh place-names, e.g. Gwaunysgor Flt DPNW pp. 179-80.

c2) Dunscore Dmf PNDmf p. 28 + **dīn-**.

sich

Lat *siccus* adopted as neoBrit **sich* > O-MW *sich* > M-MnW *sych*, M-MnCorn *segh*, OBret *sech* > Bret *sec* ‘h’; MIr *secc* > eMnIr, G *seac-* (in compounds and as verb).

‘Dry’. Normally a pre-positioned adjective, so the (c1) forms below are not necessarily early.

c1) *Sechenent* Cmb (Midgeholme) Lan Cart 189-90 (*Sethenent* at 1, 9, 170-2), ERN p. 355 + **-nant**; see ERN, also LHEB §146 at p. 569 on the form *Sekenent* Lan Cart 22 and 201, which implies ‘Pritenic’ (and northern Cumbric?) [k] for [χ] (cf. **lanere**). Compare *ir sichnant* LL173, the two streams named Sychnant in Radnorshire (Ceri and St Harmon), and a pass named Sychnant Crn (Dwygyfylchi): none of these show the form *sech-*, and even in Lan Cart it may reflect ME [e] for [i].

Gilsaughlin Wml (Cliburn) PNWml2 p. 136 ? + **-līnn** [+ ON *gil-* ‘ravine’, or else it may be OE **salh-hlynn* ‘willow-torrent’].

spīdad (m)

IE(NW) **sk^wis-* (zero-grade of **sk^weis-* ‘thorn, needle’) + *-jats-* > eCelt **skwijat-* (oblique stem of **skwijass-*) > Br **spijat-* > OW(LL) sgv. *ispīdatenn* > MW sgv. *ysbyddaden* > W *ysbyddad*,

Corn *spethas* (also *sper-* in compounds and a place-name, CPNS p. 211), MBret *speth-* (in a pers. name) > Bret *spezad* ‘gooseberries’; IE **sk^weis-* (see above) > O-MIr *scé*, gen *sciach* > Ir *sceach*, G *sgitheach*, Mx *sceach*.

See LHEB §38(A1) at p. 351, and §119, pp. 527-8.

‘Thorn bushes’, collectively, especially hawthorn.

a1) Spadeadam Cmb (Kingwater) PNCmb pp. 96-7 + singulative *-en*.

*stajer

IE **steigh-* ‘to step, go’ > Gmc **staig-*[s]r- > OE *stāġer* > ‘stair’, adopted into PrW > W *staer*.

‘A stair’. ‘In p.ns. [OE *stāġer*] no doubt has the sense, “a (steep) ascent”, cf. dial. *stair* “steep”’, Cameron in JEPNS 1 (1969) p. 36, addenda and corrigenda to EPNE2 p. 141. It is however uncommon in English names, and rare in Welsh ones (only two examples in AMR).

Stair ‘stepping stones, a path across a bog, a rough bridge’ is peculiar to Scottish Gaelic (CPNS pp. 120 and 200): it may have been adopted from P-Celtic; if so, it had reached Cumbric/Pictish from Old English *stāġer* as early as the 10th century. However, somewhat later adoption, directly from early Scots into Gaelic (and independently from Middle English into Welsh) is perhaps more likely. An alternative possibility, that it was formed from the early Gaelic preposition *tar* (< ie **terh₂*- cf. **tīr* and **trōs*, > Gaelic *thar*) ‘across’, with prosthetic *s-*, is discussed by Taylor in PNFif5 at p. 505.

a1) *Stair*, with *Stairaird*, Ayrs (Ochiltree), also *Starr Ayrs* (Straiton), CPNS p. 200; both are probably Gaelic in origin.

*ster (f?), *stre-, *striw

?IE **ster*[h₃]- . eCelt **ster-* > Br **ster-* > OBret *staer* > Breton *ster*; cf. Lat *sterno* ‘I strew’, *strāmen* ‘straw’, *strātum* ‘a bed’, *struo* ‘I arrange, construct’ (adopted to form a noun **īstriw* > M-MnW *ystryw*, *ystre*, see below), Gmc **strawja-* (< IE zero-grade **str-*) > OE *strēa*[w] > ‘straw’, *strewian* > ‘strew’, Gk *strōma* ‘straw, bedding’, Skt *stariman* ‘something spread out, a bed’ (but note that Gmc **straumaz* > OE *strēam* > ‘stream’, ON *straumr*, is < IE **sreu-*, so not related to **ster*).

On the development of the initial on-glide in West Brittonic, see LHEB§119, pp. 527-8. It was present by the 9th ct, but its origins in neoBrittonic are unclear.

The etymology of the Breton word *ster* ‘a stream’ is doubtful (possibly from Lat *æstuarium* > OFr *estier* ‘a canal’; on *-st-* in Celtic see also *stūm*), any cognate in West Brittonic is unknown.

Nevertheless, a plural **steri*, is adduced by McLure (cited by Ekwall in PNLanc p. 190), and later by Williams (PT XI, see note p. 126) + *wīn[n]*- in *Gwensteri* BT29. They identified this as the R *Winstre Wml/Lnc* (ERN p. 463, PNLanc p. 190, PNWml1 pp. 14-15, DLDPN p. 375). Although ‘the *Winstre* has dark brown water’ (Ekwall PNLanc loc. cit.), ‘whitish clay has been dredged from the river’ (Smith PNWml1 p. 15, citing G. P. Jones). However, the preposition *yn* suggests a district or piece of land rather than a river, and ON *vinstra* ‘the one on the left’ is a river-name in

Norway and could well be so here (Ekwall ERN loc.cit., and see Fellows-Jensen 1985, p. 425); see further under **wīn[n]**.

Some form of this element might underlie the place-name Stirling. However, the copious early records ‘show a fairly consistent first syllable in *striu-*, with the *-u-* almost certainly representing [v]’ (Clancy 2017, 8) which is not easily reconciled with any form of **īster* for which we have evidence. A form involving eG *sreb, srib* ‘stream, river’, as proposed by Clancy (ibid. p. 10), is more probable. The second element is probably eG *linn* (or, if the generic was Britt., **līnn**). Modern Gaelic *Sruighlea* may well be a reinterpretation, it is unlikely to help in explaining the origin (see Watson 2002 pp. 61-2, Clancy op. cit. pp. 11-12).

strad (m)

IE **strā-* (‘flat, level’, < **str-*, zero-grade of **ster-* ‘spread out’) > eCelt **strā-* + past participle *-to-* > Br **strāto-* > OW(LL) *estrat, istrat* > M-MnW *ystrad*, Corn **stras* (in place-names, CPNE pp. 212-13), OBret *strat* > Bret *strad*; M-MnIr, G *sra[i]th* (adopted as Scots *strath*), Mx *strah*; cogn. Lat *strātum*.

The meaning in the Insular P-Celtic languages is ‘a broad, level valley’, extending in Welsh to ‘a river-basin’, ‘flat meadow-land alongside a river’ (see EL1 pp. 35-6).. In the Goidelic languages the latter meaning is the min one, though Brittonic/ Pictish usage affected Gaelic and (indirectly) Scots.

Historical and literary examples include:

Stratcludenses Asser, *Stræclud Walas* A-SC(A) s.a. 875, *Strat Clut* AC s.a. 945 all + river-name Clyde These refer only to the successor-kingdom to that of *Alclud*, between 870 and 945, there is no evidence for the name being used any earlier or later. See also **clūd**.

Stranit 1124 PNDmf pp. 25-6 + river-name Nith, see **nejth**.

Estrahanent 1124, *Stratanant* 1152, PNDmf p. 1 + river-name Annan, see **Anaw**.

Both these show early Gaelic *srath* with reduction of [θ].

Gwen Ystrat CT56 (II) + *-wen-* (see **wīnn**, and Williams’s note, PT p. 31).

a1) Straid Ayrs (Lendalfoot, Girvan) influenced by G *sraid* (< Lat *strāta*) ‘a street’, but there is no Roman road or apparent ‘street’ here: see McQueen (2005), p. 56.

b2) Strathbrock WLo (Uphall) PNWLo p. 72, WLoPN p. 31 + **-broch**, which see; Gaelic *srath* is pronounced with /sr-/, not /str-/, in southern dialects, but the Scots form is generalised in place-names (see PNBute p. 572), so it could be Gaelic in origin.

*ster (f?), *stre-, *striw

?IE **ster[h₃-]* . eCelt **ster-* > Br **ster-* > OBret *staer* > Breton *ster*; cf. Lat *sterno* ‘I strew’, *strāmen* ‘straw’, *strātum* ‘a bed’, *struo* ‘I arrange, construct’ (adopted to form a noun **īstriw* > M-MnW *ystryw, ystre*, see below), Gmc **strawja-* (< IE zero-grade **str-*) > OE *strēa[w]* > ‘straw’, *strewian* > ‘strew’, Gk *strōma* ‘straw, bedding’, Skt *stariman* ‘something spread out, a bed’ (but note that Gmc **straumaz* > OE *strēam* > ‘stream’, ON *straumr*, is < IE **sreu-*, so not related to ***ster**).

On the development of the initial on-glide in West Brittonic, see LHEB§119, pp. 527-8. It was present by the 9th ct, but its origins in neoBrittonic are unclear.

The etymology of the Breton word *ster* ‘a stream’ is doubtful (possibly from Lat *æstuarium* > OFr *estier* ‘a canal’; on *-st-* in Celtic see also **stūm**), any cognate in West Brittonic is unknown.

Nevertheless, a plural **steri*, is adduced by McLure (cited by Ekwall in PNLanc p. 190), and later by Williams (PT XI, see note p. 126) + **wīn[n]**- in *Gwensteri* BT29. They identified this as the R Winster Wml/Lnc (ERN p. 463, PNLanc p. 190, PNWml1 pp. 14-15, DLDPN p. 375). Although ‘the Winster has dark brown water’ (Ekwall PNLanc loc. cit.), ‘whitish clay has been dredged from the river’ (Smith PNWml1 p. 15, citing G. P. Jones). However, the preposition *yn* suggests a district or piece of land rather than a river, and ON *vinstra* ‘the one on the left’ is a river-name in Norway and could well be so here (Ekwall ERN loc.cit., and see Fellows-Jensen 1985, p. 425); see further under **wīn[n]**.

Some form of this element might underlie the place-name Stirling. However, the copious early records ‘show a fairly consistent first syllable in *striu-*, with the *-u-* almost certainly representing [v]’ (Clancy 2017, 8) which is not easily reconciled with any form of **ster* for which we have evidence. A form involving eG *sreb*, *srib* ‘stream, river’, as proposed by Clancy (ibid. p. 10), is more probable. The second element is probably eG *linn* (or, if the generic was Britt., **linn**). Modern Gaelic *Sruighlea* may well be a reinterpretation, it is unlikely to help in explaining the origin (see Watson 2002 pp. 61-2, Clancy op. cit. pp. 11-12).

Note however that the (distantly related?) Latin *struo* ‘I arrange, construct’ is probably the origin of Middle to Modern Welsh *ystryw* ‘a stratagem’ and Middle Welsh *ystre* > Welsh *ystref* ‘a dwelling’ (the Modern Welsh form being influenced by *tref* < **treβ**); or else the latter may be from British Latin **strua* ‘a fence-post, a paling’ from the same verbal root, or even from late Latin *striga* ‘a military camping-ground’; **strua* is probably the source of Middle to Modern Welsh *ystre* in the sense of ‘a boundary’, falling together with *ystre* ‘a dwelling’ (see LHEB §44, pp. 365-6, and §46(3), pp. 372-3).

stūm (m or f)

IE **st[h₂]eug-om*, ? + IE(NW) **h₁eǵhs-*, > eCelt **[?ecs-]steugom* > eBr **[?ecs-]stō:gom* > lBr **[?eχ-]stūwom* > OW(LL) *ystum*, Corn **stum* (in place-names and a compound, CPNE p. 213), OBret plural *stumou* > Bret *stumm*; MÍr *[s]túaim* ‘flank, ridge, side’ > Ir *tuaim*, G *tuama*, both ‘a mound’. See also ***stwīth**.

See OIPrIE §18.2 at p. 293 and §20.9 at pp. 344-8, LHEB §122(3), pp. 530-4, and Schrijver (1995), pp. 399-430.

The sporadic survival of early Celtic initial *st-* (giving Modern Welsh *yst-*) is highly problematic. I. Williams proposed prefixed **ecs-* to explain **stūm** and ***stwīth** (see Richmond and Crawford (1949), p. 36 s.n. *Stuctio*), but this was rejected by Rivet and Smith, PNRB p. 462 s.n. *Stuctio*, and (implicitly) by Jackson, LHEB pp. 530-4. Schrijver loc. cit. sees *s-* surviving after consonants ‘in syntactically close contexts’, mainly after nouns, subsequently generalised.

The Indo-European root **st[h₂]eug-om* meant ‘stiff, straight’. If Williams is correct, **[?ecs-]steugom* would presumably be ‘out of alignment, bent’, becoming nominalised, ‘a bend’, in Brittonic. The related Old to Middle Irish *[s]túag* ‘an arch, a bow, a loop’ can mean ‘bent’ in phrases like *stuagh-bhrághaideach* ‘stiff-necked’, but the Brittonic word has connotations of flexibility, suppleness, cf. ***stwīth**. The semantic development of Goidelic *[s]túaim* etc. (see above) adds to the complexity. We can only conclude that, somehow, a root meaning ‘stiff, straight’ came to acquire a contrary set of meanings, in Goidelic something ‘arched, curved’

(though probably still rigid), in Brittonic something ‘bent’ (and probably flexible). In Brittonic place-names, the reference is generally to a river-bend.

Watson suggests this element, modified by ‘folk-etymology’, in:

c2) Penistone Knowes Silk (Yarrow) CPNS p. 354 + **penn-**; he compares The Pennystone Kcb (Kirkmabreck), though it is unclear whether he intended the same etymology there; for Peniston YWR see **pen[n]**. An Old English etymology with *-ing²-tūn*, or *-penig-tūn*, is formally possible, but Penistone Knowes is a pretty remote height on the Yarrow-Ettrick watershed where *tūn* ‘a farm’ seems unlikely, and *penig* all the more so (see discussion of Penninghame Wig under **pen[n]**). Some early forms suggest Old English **Penn-ing²-halh* ‘a corner or a detached portion of land named after **Penna*’, but that personal name is unrecorded, again see discussion of Penninghame Wig and Penistone YWR.

*stwith

IE **st[h₂]eug-*, ? + IE(NW) **h₁eǵhs-*, > eCelt **[?ecs-]steug-* + *-tjo-/ā-* > eBr **[?ecs-]sto:cto-/ā-* > lBr **[?ex-]stwith* > MW *-estuuth* > W *ystwyth*; cf. OIr *[s]túag* > Ir, G *stuagh, tuagh*.

For the phonological and semantic questions this word raises, see references and discussion under **stūm**.

Primarily ‘bent, curved’, so in Modern Welsh ‘flexible, supple’.

The name of at least four watercourses in Wales (Brc, Crd, Glm, Mtg: see AMR, and DPNW p. 506 for Afon Ystwyth Crd).

Breeze in CVEP, pp. 64–6, proposes this in:

a1) Esthwaite, with Esthwaite Water, Lanc PNLanc p. 218, DLDPN pp. 111–12, but Anglo-Scandinavian **aust-þveit* ‘eastern clearing’ or **eski-þveit* ‘ash-clearing’ is more likely: see Whaley, DLDPN loc. cit.

*sulu (n, later m?)

A verbal noun from *syllu* is recorded as *swll* in W Owen-Pugh’s Dictionary (1803), cf. also *sylw*. The etymology is obscure, but it is presumably to be associated with Breton *selle* ‘see’ and OIr *sellaid* ‘sees, perceives’, with its verbal noun *sell* ‘a glance’ (also ‘iris of an eye’). The preservation of *s-* may imply adoption from Goidelic.

The meaning in a place-name would presumably be ‘a view, a prospect’.

Breeze (2000a) at p. 76, suggests that this element is present + **dīn-** in *Dinsol yn y Gogledd* in *Culhwch ac Olwen* (ed Bromwich and Evans 1992, p. 567n). He speculatively identifies this with Soutra MLo, below, but see Haycock 2013 pp. 9 and 22 nn23–5, for several other suggestions.

b1) Solport Cmb PNCmb p. 107 + **-pert[h]**.

Soutra MLo CPNS p. 363, PNMLo pp. 222–3 + **-treß**.

T

***tā-**

IE **teh_a-*, zero-grade **təh_a-* (see ***tōd**); cf. Lat *tābeō* 'melt', *tābēs* 'decay, putrefaction', WGmc **pawōjan* > OE *þawian* > 'thaw', Gk *tékō* 'melt'; see also ***tān**, ***tēs**, ***tew**, ***ti-**.

The root-sense has to do with 'melting, thawing, dissolving'. ***tā-** is seen in a large number of river-names in Britain, in many cases preserving IE [*ā*] without the regular Brittonic development to [*ō*]. It occurs, but not so frequently, in northern continental Europe, and is regarded by supporters of the 'Old European' hypothesis as a hydronymic element in that category: see Nicolaisen (1957) at pp. 256-9, idem (1958) at pp. 193-6 (discussing Tain Ros) and SPN² pp 244-5, Kitson (1996) at p. 90, Isaac (2005), p. 204, and Taylor in PNFif4, pp. 56-8 (discussing R. Tay). For an alternative etymology, see Falileyev's discussion of **tam-* 'cutting, cutter', DCCPN pp. 31 and 211.

A form with a dental root-determinative (cf. W *tawdd* etc., see ***tōd**) may be present in:

a2) *Poltadan* Ntb (lost, in North Tynedale) + **pol-** + **-an**.

Forms that may be from this root plus a nasal root determinative, **tā-m-* or **tā-n-*, are frequent in Britain, but have been associated with IE **temh_x-*, e-grade of **tomh_x-* 'dark', or else **tmh₁-*, zero-grade of **temh₁-* 'cut' or 'be cut', see DCCPN p. 31:

a1) Tame R YWR, Che, Lanc ERN p. 390, PNChe1 p. 36, 3 p xiii, PNLanc p. 27.

Tame R YNR ERN p. 390, PNYNR p. 6.

Team R Drh ERN p. 390, DDrhPN p. 123.

Glentemont Dmf (Langholm) CPNS pp. 180, 399, PNDmf p. 86 + **glinn-** (or G *gleann-*, Scots *glen-*) + ***-tā-[n]-**, ? + **-ī[r]-**, + **-mōnīō**: an early stream-name < ***tā-** influenced by G *teine*, or ***tān** may be implicated, with both the other elements added later; but see also **tan**.

a2) The following appear to involve stream-names, the first three having the first element added later:

Carstairs Lnk CPNS pp. 386-7 + **cajr-**, which see, ? + **-ar** [+ Scots plural *-s*]; the second element is apparently identical to Tarras, see below.

Glentanner Water Slk SPN² p. 244 + **glinn-** (or G *gleann-*, Scots *glen-*) + **-ar**: an earlier stream-name is implied, cf. *Tanarus fl.* in northwest Italy, but see also **tān**.

Prenteineth Rnf CPNS pp. 204n1 and 399 ? **brinn-** or **prenn-** + **-ed**, influenced by G *teineadh* 'fiery'. A stream-name < **Tānato-/ā-* is possibly involved, cf. R Tanat Mtg/Den (LL *Tanet*, DPNW p. 456), but see discussion under **prenn**, also **tān**.

Tarras Water Dmf CPNS p. 387, PNDmf p. 12 ? + **-ar** [+ Scots plural *-s*].

b1) Temon, with Temon Beck and *Nenthemonou*, Cmb (Upper Denton) ERN p. 301, PNCmb p. 81, Lan Cart 9 etc. ? + **-mayn**, or else **dīn-**, which see.

c2) A simplex stream-name **Tān* may underlie:

Piltanton Burn Wig PNGall p. 224, PNRGLV p. 85 + **pol-** + ? **-an**, influenced by OE *-tūn* 'a farm', or that element added at some stage, but see also **tān**.

*taβl (f?)

Lat *tabula* or *tabella* ? > Br Lat **tab'la* > adopted as Br **tablā-* > MW *tabl* > W *tafl-*, Corn *towl*, MBret *taoul* > Bret *taol*; OIr *táball* > M-MnIr *tabhall*, G *tabhal*.

The syncope may have occurred in British Latin or late British, see LHEB §2(1) p. 268 and §196 pp 651-4.

In the Celtic languages, **tab'la* had the specialised sense of ‘a catapult, a sling’, in Welsh developing to a verbal root, ‘throw’ (*tavlei* in CA A78/ LXXXIII A), and a specifier in compounds, ‘(something) thrown, a projectile’. However, *tabula* re-entered Middle Welsh (probably via Old French *table* > M-MnE ‘table’) as *tabl* ‘a board, a panel, a table, a tablet, or anything flat’.

c2) Cairntable Ayrs/Lnk border CPNS p. 203 + *carn-* ‘a heap of sling-stones’ (cf. **durn**) or ‘a flat-topped cairn’ (cf. **burð** and OE *tæfl*, EPNE2 p. 174)? The hill is flat-topped, and recorded forms from c1315 favour the latter, which would have been a late Cumbric formation.

tad

IE **t-at-* > eCelt **tato-* > Br **tato-* > W *tad*; cf. Lat (inscriptions) *tata*, Gk *tatâ*, Skt *tata*.

While this formal etymology can be supplied, as in the case of **mamm**, [tatV] is probably such a primal articulation that the normal philological principles are hardly applicable.

‘Dad, father’.

Tadoritum PNRB p. 463 + **rīd**: see under that, and **mab**, for possible religious connotations. Unlocated, but probably in southern Scotland.

tāl (usually m, but variable)

IE **telh_x[-om-]* > eCelt **talo-* > Br, Gaul *talo-* (in pers. ns.) > O-MnW *tâl*, OCorn *tal-* (in a compound and pers. ns., CPNE p. 214) > Corn *tal*, OBret *tal-* (in a place-name) > M-MnBret *tal*; cf. OIr *talam* > Ir, G *talamh*, Mx *thalloo*, ‘earth, ground’; cf. Lat *tellus* ‘the Earth’, Gmc **pelaz* > OE *pel* ‘a floor’, Skt *tala-* ‘bottom, surface’.

See OIPrIE §13.2, pp. 224-5, EGOW pp. 144-5, CIB †36 at p. 108 and †38 at pp. 123-4 and n690, CPNE p. 214.

In P-Celtic, this word comes to mean ‘brow, front’, and, especially in place-names, ‘end’ (so in LL, and see CPNE p. 214).

a2) Gaelic *tulach*, *tileach*, ‘a knoll, a hillock’, is uncommon in southern Scotland (CPNS p. 184); where it does occur, a Brittonic predecessor **tāl-ōg* may sometimes be suspected, as in the documented case of Kirkintilloch below. However, Fintloch Kcb (Kells) PNGall p. 137, and Fyntullach Wig (Penninghame) *ibid.* p. 139 (see also s.n. Fyntalloch PNWigMM p. 117), are both *fionn tulach*, ‘white hill’, possibly an appellative referring to a grassy hill, as suggested by Maxwell s.n.; see CPNS p. 184, and Ó’ Maolalaigh 2022b p. 353. Lochtyloch WLo (Bathgate)

PNWLo p. 84 may in contrast be *lòch-tulach*, 'dark hill', as suggested by Watson, cited by Madonald loc. cit.

Craigdilly Slk (Yarrow) CPNS p. 138 ? + **cre:g-** + **-ōg**, i.e. lenited *-*dālōg*, Gaelicised as *-*dileich* with dialectal *tileach* for *tulach*, which may have had a more specific sense, 'place of assembly', see Taylor in PNFif5, pp. 519-20; cf. Kirkintilloch next.

Kirkintilloch Dnb CPNS p. 348 + **-cajr-** + **-pen[n]-** + **-ōg**, Gaelicised **cenn-tileich*, cf.

Craigdilly above. See also **cajr**.

Talla Water Pbl/Slk ? + **-ōg**: Welsh *talog* can mean 'jaunty, lively'; this is perhaps relevant here.

b2) Tail o' Ling Wml (Bampton) PNWml2 p. 197 + **-ī[r]-** + **-līnn**; this was near the north-east end of (pre-reservoir) Haweswater (A. Walker pers. comm.).

Talahret Rnf (between Pollock and Cathcart) ? + **-ī[r]-** + **-rīd**, which see: see Barrow (1992) p. 214.

Talkin Cmb PNCmb pp. 35 and 88 ? + **-can[d]**, **-*cant** or **-ceμn** (see ***ceμ**): the last would be the same formation as Welsh *talcen* 'forehead, brow', see Coates (1988) pp. 33-4.

Tallentire Cmb PNCmb p. 324 + **-*[h]īn-** + **tīr**: see Jackson LHEB p. 10, and discussion under **-*[h]īn**.

Tantallon ELo ? + **dīn-** (which see) + **-ceμn** (see ***ceμ**): i.e. 'forehead, brow', cf. Talkin, and see Ross (2001) p. 208 (giving the Welsh form as *talgan*); Dorward (1995) p. 45 proposes *talgwn*, 'high frontier' (see ***cant**).

tan

OW *-tan* > M-MnW *tan*, *dan*, Corn *dan*, Bret *dan*.

See EGOW p. 75, J. E. C. Williams (1950) at pp 4-7, and GMW §237, pp. 209-10. The lenited form *dan* (from *wo-dan* > OW *guotan* > M-MnW *o dan*, etc.) is sometimes generalised (as in Cornish and Breton), see GMW §20n3, p. 17.

'Under'. In Welsh and Cornish place-names usually found with the definite article, see DPNW pp. 118 (for *Dan-yr-ogof* Brc) and p. 457 (for *Tan-y-bwlch* Mer, etc.), and CPNE p. 80.

Alkincoats Lanc (Colne) ? + ***al-** or **alt-** + **-ī[r]-** + **-cē:d**, see **cē:d**, and Breeze in CVEP at p. 219. Glentenmont Dmf (Langholm) CPNS pp. 180, 399, PNDmf p. 86 ? + **glīnn-** (replaced by G *gleann-*, Scots *glen-*) + **-ī[r]-** + **-mōnīð**, but see also **tā-** and **tān**.

tān (m)

IE ? **təp-* (zero-grade of **tep-* 'warm') *-n-* > eCelt **ta/eno-* > Br **tano-* > OW *tan-* (in pers. n.) > M-MnW *tān*, O-MnCorn *tan*, Bret *tan*; cf. OIr *tene* > M-MnIr, G *teine*; cf. Lat *tepēre* 'be lukewarm', Gk *tephra* 'ashes', Skt *tapati* 'warms'. See also ***tēs**.

See OIPrIE §20.9, pp. 344-5. The etymology of the P-Celtic forms, and their relationship with OIr *tene* (also *taine*, see DIL s.v. *tene*), are obscure.

'Fire'

For most of the following, see also ***tā-**:

a1) Glentenmont Dmf (Langholm) CPNS pp. 180, 399, PNDmf p. 86 + **glīnn-** (or G *gleann-*, Scots *glen-*), ? + **-ī[r]-**, + **-mōnīð**, influenced by G *teine*: a stream-name **Tān* might underlie this,

otherwise it may be a compound (c1) **Tān-mōniδ*, perhaps implying a beacon, but see under **tā**- and **tan**.

a2) In the following, the first element may have been added later to a pre-existing stream- or hill-name:

Bardennoch Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 23 + **barr**- (if feminine, see **barr**) + **-ōg**, but see also ***dannōg**; could be Gaelic **bàrr-teineach*.

Glentanner Water Slk SPN² p. 244 + **glinn**- (or G *gleann*-, Scots *glen*-) + **-ar**, but see discussion under ***tā**-.

Prenteineth Rnf CPNS pp. 204n1 and 399 ? **brinn**- or **prenn**- + **-ed**, influenced by G *teineadh* ‘fiery’, but see discussions under **prenn** and ***tā**-.

b2) Piltanton Burn Wig PNGall p. 224 ? + **pol**- [+ OE *-tūn* ‘a farm’].

***tarδ (m)**

Br **tardo*- > M-MnW *tardd*, Corn *tarth*, MBret *tarzh*.

Verbal noun meaning ‘an eruption, a bursting out’, cf. Modern Welsh *tarddu* ‘bubble up, spring up, gush, flow, pour, ooze, etc.’

Alternatively, the river-name may be **tarth*, which is apparently:

IE **ter[s]*- + *-t* > eCelt **tarto*- > Br **tarto*- > M-MnW *tarth* ‘mist, vapour’, not found in Corn or Bret; O-MnIr, G *tart* ‘drought, thirst’; cogn. Gk *térsomai* ‘I dry up’, and cf. (from o-grade) Lat *torreō* ‘I dry up’, (from zero-grade) West Gmc **þurs-t* > OE **þurst* > ‘thirst’, (from zero-grade) Skt *tṛsyati* ‘thirsts’.

However, the semantic shift in Welsh is curious, and its appropriateness (whether with connotations of ‘drought’ or ‘mist’) questionable. This word occurs in CA B14 (LXIIC) in the sense of ‘mist’.

a1) Tarth Water Pbl, or else **tarw**.

tarw (m)

IE **tauro*- > eCelt **tarwo*- > Br, Gaul *tarwo*- > M-MnW *tarw*, M-MnCorn *tarow*, MBret *tarv*; OIr *tarb* > M-MnIr, G *tarbh*, Mx *tarroo*; Lat *taurus*, Gk *taûros*.

‘A bull’. On bulls in Celtic mythology and symbolism, see PCB pp. 384-90, DCML pp. 512-4. Occurring frequently in river-names (see CPNS p. 453), examples in southern Scotland are all Gaelic in form, but P-Celtic antecedents are likely. For Continental forms see ACPN pp. 113-14, also DCCPN p. 31.

a1) Tarf Water Kcb CPNS p. 453, PNGall p. 257.

Tarf Water Wig CPNS p. 453, PNGall p. 257, PNWigMM p. 9

Tarth Water Pbl, but this is more likely to be ***tarδ**.

a2) Duntarvie WLo (Abercorn) CPNS pp. 36 and 147, PNWLo p. 16, WLoPN p. 24? + **dīn**- + **-ed**, perhaps a lost stream-name Gaelicised, or else Gaelic **dùn-tarbhaidh* in origin, but see also **terpūn**.

b2) *Glenterf* ELo CPNS p. 142 + **glinn-** (or G *gleann-*, Scots *glen-*, added to an early stream-name).

Polintarf, with *Pollentarf Water* (= West Burn), Pbl (West Linton) CPNS p. 453 + **pol-** + **-in-**.

*teĵth (f)

IE **steigh-t-* > eCelt **tēctā-* > Br **tē:χtā-* > M-MnW *taith*; OIr *techt* (verbal noun of *téit* ‘goes’ GOI §288, p. 183 and §727 at p. 450) > Ir *teacht*, G *teachd*; cf. Gmc **stīg-* > OE *stīgan* ‘move, go, climb’, OE *stīg*, ON *stígr*, both ‘a step’, Gk *steíkh-*, *stíkhos* ‘a row, a line’, Skt *stighnoti* ‘climbs’.

A verbal noun (nominalised participle) from the root meaning ‘step, go forward’. Welsh *taith* is used for ‘a journey, a voyage’ but in an early ethnic name it may have had connotations of ‘marching, stepping forward’.

It may be present in *Curia Textoverdorum* on an inscription from Beltingham near Chesterholme Ntb (see PNRB pp. 470-2), with ‘x’ representing [χ] in the context [-kt-] > [-χt-] (see LHEB §60, pp. 407-11). However, other possibilities include a derivative of IE (NW) (*s*)*teg-* ‘cover’ (see **tīy**), or of IE **tek-* ‘breed, beget, bear a child’ (cf. OE *þegn* > ‘thane’, Gk *tíktomai* ‘beget, bear’, Skt *takman-* ‘child, offspring, descendant’), or a cognate of the OIr homonym *techt* meaning ‘a possession’ (an abbreviated verbal noun form from *techtáid*). The second element is obscure. On *curia*, see **corð**.

*tērið

M-MnW *terydd* ‘ardent, furious’, presumably a verbal noun, cf. Welsh *ter-* in compounds, Cornish and Breton *tēri*, ‘be impetuous’, and Welsh *torri*, Cornish and Breton *terry*, ‘break, destroy’ (see LHEB §162, pp.589-90 and §166(10), p. 195).

A neoBrittonic form of this word is proposed by Williams (cited in PNCmb pp. 51-2) as the specifier +***arμ-** in *bellum Armterid* AC573 (in ms BL Harley 3859), which may be Arthuret Cmb: see discussion under ***arμ**.

terμin (m)

Lat *terminus* adopted as OW *termin* > MW *teruyn* > W *terfyn*; cf. MŪr *termonn*

See EGOW p. 146.

In place-names, ‘a boundary’. See the discussions of Tarvin Che in ERN p. 392, PNChe3, p. 281 and Parsons (2022) p. 143; the element seems to be most common in NE Wales and neighbouring parts of Che and Shr (Parsons loc. cit. and p. 186).

c2) Duntarvie, with Duntarvie Craig, WLo (Abercorn) CPNS pp. 36 and 147, PNWLo p. 16, WLoPN p. 24 ? + **dīn-**, but see also **tarw**.

Patervan Pbl (Drumelzier) ? + ***pol-**; cf. Pwllterfyn Denb (Eglwys-Bach), but see also under ***polter**.

Polternan Cmb (Brampton, = Castle Beck, Naworth) PNCmb p. 8 ? +-***pol**, see Barrow cited by Todd (2005) p. 92 n29, but see also ***polter** and **nant**.

***tēs**

IE * *tep* –*st*- > eCelt **tep-stu*- > Br **tess*- > M-MnW *tes*, OCorne *tes*; OIr *tess* > M-MnIr, G *teas*; cf. Lat *tepēre* ‘be lukewarm’, Gk *tephra* ‘ashes’, Skt *tapati* ‘warms’. See also ***tān**.

For the suffix, see DDrhPN p. 123.

‘Warmth’, with connotations of ‘boiling’, ‘excitement’, etc.

Proposed by Ekwall, ERN pp. 395-7, for the river-name Tees, but note Jackson’s scepticism, LHEB §35 at p. 343, and Watts’s reservations regarding the vowel-length, DDrhPN loc. cit. The name is however certainly ancient, and the connotations appropriate. See also ***ti**-.

***tew**

IE **teuh_a*-, zero-grade **tuh_a*-; cf. **tuh_a*- *s*- > Gmc **pus*- > ON *þjóstr* ‘violence’, and (+ - *kmt*- ‘hundred’) Gmc **pusundi* > ‘thousand’, Gk *sáos* ‘healthy’, Skt *tavati* ‘is strong’

This root, with the sense ‘swell’, ‘grow powerful’, in a non-Celtic form, has been proposed for the river-name Tweed, but note the doubts surrounding this: see ERN pp. 421-3, SPN² p. 246, Kitson (1998) at p. 109, and DEPNC p. 632.

Ptolemy’s *Touésis* [*eíschusis*] PNRB pp. 480-1, is not the Tweed, perhaps the Spey, but the root may possibly be the same: see Isaac (2005) at p. 206.

***ti-**

Nicolaisen (1957) at p. 262, and SPN² pp. 244-5, proposes a pre-Celtic root **tei*-/**ti*- for river-names of the ‘Tyne’ type, following Ekwall in giving the meaning as ‘to melt, to flow’. However, the existence of such a root is questionable. It seems to assume a diphthongal form **teih_a*- related to IE **teh_a*- (see **tā**- and **tōd**). This may be supported by OE *þīnan* ‘grow moist, dissolve’, but that must be associated with OE *þān* ‘irrigated land’, and both are probably from **teh_a*-. The only Indo-European root of the form **teih_x* that is supported by words in recorded languages is a verbal one, ‘be dirty’, with connotations of ‘excrement’, including W *tail*, Corn *teyl*, Bret *teil*, ‘dung, manure’. A zero-grade form with a nasal root-determinative **tih_{x-n}*- is evidenced as far afield as Old Church Slavonic and Tocharian (see OIPrIE §8.1 at p. 121). While it is not impossible that such a root was involved in hydronyms, it is more likely that ***ti**- is an ancient river-naming term not necessarily related to ***tā**-, and of obscure meaning.

a1) Tyne R ELo.

Tyne R ERN p. 425, PNNtb p. 202, PNCmb p. 29.

Tyne Beck YWR ERN p. 426, PNYWR7 p. 140.

Stream-names of the ‘Tyne’ type may underlie:

Teindside Rox (Teviothead) PNRox p. 38 [+ OE *-sīde*; influenced by Scots *teind* ‘a tithe’], but see also **dīn**.

Tindale Tarn etc. Cmb ERN p. 426, PNCmb p. 36 + **-jōl**, but see discussion under that element.

a2) Forms from the same root, with a nasal root-determinative plus an added, probably Celtic, suffix, may include:

Teviot R (Rox, Slk) see Watson (2002) p. 126 + suffix *-jā-* + secondary suffix *-ed*, i.e. **Tīμ-j-ēt-* (note local usage, ‘Tivydale’): see further under *-ed*.

A form with root-determinative *-l-* is proposed by Nicolaisen, loc. cit., for:

a1) Till R Ntb ERN p. 407, PNNtb p. 179.

A root **teih_x-s-* might underlie the river-name Tees, but see **tēs*.

tī[γ] (m)

IE(WC) **[s]teg-* > eCelt **tego-* > OW (LL and Asser) *tig-*, *-ti* > M-MnW *tŷ*, OCorn *ti* > MCorn *ty* > Corn *chy*, OBret *-tig* > MBret *ti*; O-MIr *tech*, *-tig* > Ir *teach*, *tigh*, G *taigh*, Mx *thie*; cf. + *-t-* > eCelt **tec-to-* > Gaul *texto-*, Latin *tectus*, past participle of *tēgō* ‘I cover’, also Germanic **þakjan* > OE *þeccan* > ‘thatch’, Greek *stégō* ‘I cover’.

See DCCPN p. 32, LHEB §76, pp. 445-8, and CPNE pp. 77-9; for the range of forms in the Goidelic languages see Ó Maolalaigh (2022b), pp. 295–8.

In all the modern Celtic languages, the basic meaning is ‘a cottage, an ordinary house’, but in compounds ‘a shed, a hut, an outbuilding’, not necessarily a dwelling. In the North, most of the reasonably certain occurrences are (b1) in formations such as *pen-ty* (see **pen[n]**). In late Middle Welsh poetry this compound was used for ‘a chief house, a hall’, though in Modern Welsh it, too, has declined to ‘a cottage, a shed’, even ‘a lean-to’. Another interpretation possibly relevant to the place-names below would be ‘end-house’, an outlying building at the ‘head’ of a settlement or landholding. It is doubtful whether this element occurs in England (except Cwl) at all (Padel 2013b, p. 16).

b1) Penty Lnk (Shotts) CPNS p. 356.

Penteiacob Pbl (= Eddleston) CPNS pp. 135, 354: the spelling may indicate a plural with final stress, **pen-tei*, which might suggest adoption into Northumbrian OE before the Cumbric accent-shift (see LHEB §§206-8, pp. 682-9), but note that the shift may not have immediately affected a transparent compound, the plural ‘in compounds is generally *-tyeu*’ (GMW §30 p. 27, i.e. + *-öü*) and the personal name *-Iacob* may be no earlier than the 11th century, but see Davies 2012.

Other compounds might be evidenced in:

Pirntaton MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 351, PNMLo pp. 368-9 + **brīnn-** or **pren[n]**: Watson favours the suffixed form **tīdīn*, ‘a measure of land, a small-farm, literally “house-land”’ (see LHD pp. 386-7 s.v. ‘toft’; note that *tyddyn* as a diminutive is a Modern Welsh usage) [+ , or the suffix replaced by, Scots *-toun*].

Currochtrie, High and Low, PNGall pp. 101-2, PNRGLV p. 10 ? + **cajr-** + **-ūch-**: *le duae Currochtyis* 1492 may favour **tī[γ]**, or a Gaelic origin with Scots development, see discussion under **treß**.

Terraughtie Kcb (Troqueer) CPNS p. 201, PNGall p. 258 + **treß-** + **-ūch-** (which see) + **-tī[γ]**. Trusty’s Hill Kcb (Anwoth) PNGall p. 262 (as *Trusty Knowe*) ? + ***trōs-**, which see.

c2) Cases where **-tīγ** might be a specific include:

Camilty MLo PNMLo p. 304, WLoPN p. 22 ? + **cam[b]**- + **-pol-**, or else + **-treß**, but Gaelic **camalltaidh* is likely.

Craigentye Wig (Glasserton) PNGall p. 85 ? **crę:g-** + **-īn-** or Gaelic *creag-an-tighe*.

Poltie Burn Kcb (Carsphairn) PNGall p. 226 + **pol-**, but probably Gaelic **poltaidh*.

*tīr (m)

IE *tēr- (lengthened grade of verbal root *ter ‘cross over’ < *terh₂-, see **trōs** and **tri-**) –s- > eCelt *tīrso- > IBr *tīrjo- > M-MnW *tir*, Corn *tyr*, Bret *tir*; Old-MnIr *tír*, Gaelic *tìr*; cf. Lat *terra*. See also ***lethir**.

See LHEB §117, pp. 521-5. See also **treß**.

‘Land, an area of ground, a territory’; in Middle Welsh legal usage, ‘a landholding’ of any size, from an estate to a selion (ploughing-strip: see LHD p. 386 and the references there, also Parsons 2022, pp. 144-5). It seems to have been an early toponymic term forming a range of compounds which may well have been appellatives having administrative or territorial rather than strictly topographic meanings, cf. MW *godir*, a Pictish equivalent of which appears to have influenced the usage of the Gaelic cognate *foithir* (see Taylor's discussion, PNFif5, 376-8). However, neither of these terms seems to be found in our area, and both ***tīr** and Gaelic (or Gaelicised) *tìr* are largely restricted to Galloway, Cumbria and neighbouring parts of Northumberland, suggesting an association with 10th – 11th century Cumbric-speaking settlement.

The possibility that the ancient *Calat[e]ria*, probably associated with the Calders MLo, was **caled-* + **-tīr** was raised by Breeze (2002d) at pp. 37-8: see ***cal-** for discussion.

In *tir penprys* CA63(XII), *tir* is usually taken as a poetic appellative, but it could have been part of a territorial name: see **prēs** for discussion. For *O Bentir* in CA LXXIXAB, see **pen[n]**.

b1) As generic in compounds, ***tīr** may be confused with **treß** in Anglicised forms. Blennerhasset Cmb PNCmb pp. 265-6 + **blajn-** [+ ON *–heg-sætr* ‘hay-shieling’], or else **–treß-**. Coulderton Cmb (Allerdale Lowside) PNCmb p. 413 + **cūl-** [+ OE *–tūn* ‘a farm’], cf. Welsh *culdir* ‘a narrow stretch of land’. Glaisterlands Ayrs (Rowallan, Kilmaurs), Glaisters Kcb (Kirkpatrick Durham) PNGall p. 146, Rig o’the Glaster Wig (New Luce) PNGall p. 146 [+ Scots *rigg o* ‘ridge of’ and pl. *–is*], all + **clas-** (which see) or **glās-**, or else Gaelic **glas-tìr* or *–dhoire* ‘of oak’, but the compound formation favours a Brittonic origin. Holmcultram Cmb PNCmb p. 288 + **cūl-** [+ OE *–hām* ‘a farm, an estate’, + AScand *holm-* ‘a small island, a water-meadow’ added later], cf. Coulderton above.

c2) Blantyre Lnk Nicolaisen (1970) p. 48 + **blajn-**: see Breeze (2000-06), p. 1. Craigantyre Wig (Stoneykirk) PNGall p. 81 ? + **crę:g-** + **-in-**, but more probably Gaelic **creag-an-tìr*, with *tìr* having here the sense, common in Gaelic place-names, of ‘dry land above the sea’ (cf Murray 2014, p. 73). Tallentire Cmb PNCmb p. 324 + **tāl-** + **-*[h]in-**: see Jackson LHEB p. 10 and discussion under **-*[h]in-**.

*tōd

IE *tāh_a- (see ***tā-**) –d- > eCelt *tōdo/ā- > Br *tōdo/ā- > MW *tawd* > MnW *tawdd*, Corn *tedh*, OBret verb *tod-* > MBret *teuziff* ‘dissolve, melt, smelt’.

Adjectival form from the verbal root of Welsh *toddi* ‘melt’, so ‘molten, dripping’: see DCCPN p. 31 s.v. ***tā-**, GMW §184 at p. 166.

c1) Toathmain Wml (Shap Rural) PNWml2 p. 172, also Tothman Wml (field-name in Soulby) PNWml2 p. 24 ? + **-mayn** (A. Walker, pers. comm.), but an English personal name may be involved.

*ton (m, but variable), *tonnen* (f)

IE **tṃh_x*- (zero-grade of **temh_x*- ‘be struck, be exhausted’) –*d*- > eCelt **tondo-* > Br **tonno-* > M-MnW *ton*, *tonnen*, Corn *ton*, OBret *tonnen* > M-MnBret *tonenn*; O-MnIr *tonn*; cf. Lat *tondeō* ‘mow, browse’, Gk *téndo* ‘nibble, browse’.

Welsh *tonnen* and Breton *tonenn* have a feminine suffix that is probably adjectival in origin. Old Irish *tonn* is feminine, and falls together with *tonn* (f) ‘a wave’, which is the only meaning of *tonn* in Gaelic and Manx. In Welsh, the two words are generally distinguished by gender, but may be confused (for *ton* (f) ‘a wave’ see EGOW p. 148).

The meaning in place-names seems to be either ‘unbroken land’ or ‘ley-land, grass pasture occasionally cultivated’ (see CPNE pp. 220-1), though in other contexts in both Brittonic and OIr, the senses include ‘a surface, a crust, a rind, tough skin’.

c2) Printonan, East and West, Brw (Eccles) CPNS p. 351 + **brinn-** or **pren[n]-**, + **-an** (if **-ton**), or else + *-tonnen*.

torr (f)

IE *(*s*)*trh₁*- (zero-grade of *(*s*)*terh₁*- ‘stiff’) –*s*- > eCelt **to/arsā-* > Br **torrā-* > ?OW *torr* (but see EGOW p. 148) > M-MnW *tor*, O-MnCorn *tor*, OBret *tar*, *tor* > M-MnBret *teur*, *tor*; OIr *tarr-* > M-MnIr *tarr*, *torr*, G *tàrr*, *tòrr*, Mx *tarr*, *thor*; adopted as E *tor* in place-names (see below).

The etymology is uncertain. See Broderick in JEPNS41 (2009), p. 42.

The root sense is ‘something bulging or protruding’, especially ‘a belly’. The topographic senses, ‘a heap of rocks’ (Welsh, and adopted into English in place-names especially in the south-west, though rare in Cornish, see CPNE p. 221, EPNE2 p. 184, and Broderick 2009) and ‘a bulging, steep or conical hill[ock], a knoll’ (Gaelic, see PNFif5 p. 514, but not Irish), are relatively late developments.

In northern England, field- and other minor names combined with English elements are probably later formations, undoubtedly English. Likewise, in southern Scotland, those with Gaelic elements are probably Gaelic formations, though some (e.g. those with colour adjectives like Torbane WLo, Torduff Dmf and MLo, Torphin MLo and WLo, cf. examples in Fife, PNFif5 loc. cit.) may have had Brittonic antecedents. The semantic distinction between ‘a heap of rocks’ and ‘a knoll’ is probably insufficient to determine whether several of the names below are Brittonic or Gaelic in origin.

a1) Tar Hill WLo (Ecclesmachan) Wilkinson 2013 p. 4

Tor Kcb (Rerrick) PNGall p. 260.

Torhouse, with Torhousemuir etc., Wig (Wigtown) PNGall p. 260, PNWigMM pp. 17-19 [+ Scots ‘-house’]; see PNWigMM loc. cit. for discussion.

Torr Hill Kcb (Anwoth) PNGall p. 261.

Torr Knowe Kcb (Kirkmabreck) PNGall p. 261.

Torr Kcb (2x: Kells, Kirkcudbright) PNGall p. 260 [Scots plural *-s*].
 Torrs, Low, Mid and High, with Torrs Warren Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 260, PNRGLV p. 70 [Scots plural *-s*].
 Torness ELo (Cockburnspath) [+ ON *-ness*].

a2) Bartorran, with Bartorran Hill, Wig (Kirkcowan) PNGall p. 32, PNWigMM p. 96 + **barr-** + **-an**, if not Gaelic: see **barr..**

Tarnmonath Fell Cmb (Gilsdale) PNCmb p. 87 + **-īn-** (cf. M-MnW diminutive *tarren* < **tarrinā-* with a-affection, and Torry Fif, PNFif1 p. 558) + **-mönīð**, see Breeze (2006b) at p. 330; or else a Gaelic formation + ON *tjörn-* > ‘tarn’ in inversion compound; confused, late documentation leaves the etymology of this name very uncertain.

b1) Keltor Stg (= Torwood, Blairdrummond) CPNS pp. 348-9 ? + **celli-**, or else Gaelic **caille-tòrr*: either way, the partial translation in the Scots form is noteworthy.

b2) Cross Dormant Wml (Barton) PNWml2 p. 210? + **trōs-** [or OE *trūs*, ON *tros-*, ‘brushwood, litter’] + **-mönīð**, or else **-treβ-**.

Tartraven WLo (Linlithgow) PNWLo p. 64, Wilkinson 2013, p. 4 Gaelicised *tàrr*, + **-treβ-** + **-an**; *Retrevyn* 1264 implies earlier **rö-**.

Tercrosset Cmb (Kingwater) PNCmb p. 97 + ***-cras-** or **-crojs-** (see both) + **-ōg**.

Torcaik MLo (Borthwick) PNMLo p. 104 + **-crę:g**.

Torpenhow Cmb PNCmb pp. 325-6 + **-pen[n]-** + plural **-öü** or **-ōg**.

Torfichen Hill, MLo (Temple) PNMLo pp. 387-8? + **-bīchan** (see **bīch**): maybe a transferred name from Torphichen WLo, see next entry, and note that Dixon refers to Torfichen at pp. 34, 455 and 457, but only lists Torphichen (*sic*) Hill under Temple parish.

Torphichen WLo PNWLo p. 89 ? + **-bīchan** (see **bīch**): see discussion in WLoPN p. 32, or else **treβ-**, or else G *tòrr*, see above, perhaps + saint's name Féchin, see Taylor 2009, 73-4.

Torsonce MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 145, PNMLo p. 370 + **-saun**, which see [+ Scots plural *-s*], or else **treβ-** (see Dixon PNMLo loc. cit.)

Torweaving WLo (West Calder) PNMLo p. 94, WLoPN p. 19 ? + **-*gweβr-** or ***weβr-** + **-īn**, or Gaelic **tòrr-uaimhinn* ‘hill of horror or detestation (*sic*, not ‘devastation’)’.

Trahenna Hill Pbl (Broughton) CPNS p. 369 ? + **-hen-** + **-*anheð**: or else **treβ-**, and see discussion under **hen**.

Tranent ELo CPNS p. 360 + **-ī[r]-** + *-neint*, see **nant**; local pronunciation may favour **torr-** rather than **treβ-**.

c2) Knockietore Wig (Old Luce) PNGall p. 182 + **cnuc[h]-** + **-ī[r]-**.

Knocktor Kcb (Troqueer) PNGall p. 188 + **cnuc[h]-** if not Gaelic.

Knocktower Kcb (Parton) PNGall p. 188 + **cnuc[h]-** if not Gaelic.

*trajth (m)

eCelt **traxto-* > M-MnW *traeth*, OCorn *trait* > MCorn *treath*, OBret *-draid* (lenited in compound) > MBret *traez* > Bret *traezh*; OIr *tracht* > MIr *tráig* > M-MnIr *trá*, G *tràigh*, Mx *traie*.

For evidence of a Pictish/ northern P-Celtic equivalent of *traeth*, note *Capildrayth* c1290x96, Capledrae Fif (Auchterderran), PNFif1 p. 99.

‘Shore, sand’, usually of the sea, or tidal or navigable rivers.

Hamp (1993) proposes this as the second element in:

b1) Catterick YNR PNYNR p. 242, PNRB pp. 302-4 + **cad**:- this would imply early Celtic elision in **catu-[t]raxt-onjon* to give Ptolemy's *Katouraktónion*; see Hamp 1993, and discussion under **cad**, also **rōd**.

b2) *Trail* Kcb (= St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright) PNGall p. 261 (as 'Trahill'), Brooke 1991, 319 + -?; or **treß**-? Or else Gaelic *traigh*- [+ OE *hyll* > 'hill'].

treß (f)

IE (NW) **trē-bs-* > eCelt **trebā-* > Br, Gaul and Iberian Celtic *trebā-* > OW *treb* > M-MnW *tre[f]-*, OCorn *treu-* (in compound, CPNE p. 223) > MCorn *trev* > Corn *tre*, OBret *treb* > Bret *trev*; OIr *treb* 'a house, a landholding, a family' > G *treabh* 'farmed village' (Dwelly), also *trebaid* 'ploughs' > Ir, G *treabh* 'to plough'; ? cogn. Lat *trabs* 'a wooden beam', Gmc **þorpam* > OE *þrop*, ON(E) *þorp*, 'a dependent settlement' (see EPNE2 pp. 205-12, Cullen, Jones and Parsons 2011, pp. 11 - 17), Gk *téramna* 'enclosed chambers'.

See ACPN pp. 115-16 and map 4.10, and DCCPN p. 32.

The meanings in the Celtic languages may reflect two roots, one (as above) associated with (house-) building, the other, **tr-* (zero-grade of **ter-*, see **tīr**), referring to an area of land (with Latin *tribus* reinforcing the third sense, 'a household, a family'). Thus the element denotes both a habitation and the land associated with it (especially arable land). In Roman-British names it may possibly extend to whole 'tribes' as well as all the lands and settlements they occupy (see PNRB pp. 259-60 s.n. *Atrebatas*). In mediaeval Welsh law, the *tref* was the basic unit of landholding, 'a townland', the building-block of the *cantref*: see references in LHD at p. 387 s.v. *tref* and p. 423 s.v. 'townland'.

Places named with **treß** in the North (as in Wales and Cornwall) are typically substantial farms or hamlets showing continuity of settlement from at least the central middle ages; some developed into villages, though few appear to have been centres of ancient power, and relatively few emerged as mediaeval parishes. Watson's observation (CPNS pp. 191 and 362) of marked clusters of place-names involving **treß** in Ayrshire and Galloway, associated with other Brittonic place-names and names indicating a population perceived as British, raises the possibility that **treß** denoted a settlement with a specific status or role within a complex estate, or else refers to holdings established when such estates were broken up. See further under (b2) below, also Nicolaisen in SPN² pp. 214-19 with map 21, Barrow in *Uses* at pp. 59-63 and map 2:5, MacQueen in PNWigMM pp. 12-16, and A. James (2008 and 2014b).

Outwith the Old North, **tre[ß]** is most common in place-names in south-west Wales and western Cornwall (CPNE pp. 223), in both areas occurring predominantly in phrase-generic position (b2, CPNE pp. 229-32, and for Wales generally, DWPN pp. 463-76). It occurs frequently throughout the rest of Wales (DWPN loc. cit. an p. lxx), rarely in Devon and in districts away from the Welsh border in Shropshire and Cheshire: see discussion under (b2) below, and, for a full review of its distribution in Wales, Cornwall and Brittany, see Padel (2023), pp. 264-73.

The Irish cognate *treabh* is rare in place-names (CPNS p. 357), though its listing as a common noun by Dwelly suggests it could have been used (perhaps under the influence of P-Celtic usage) in Scottish Gaelic toponymy, see PNFif5 p. 517, and (b2) below.

An ancient compound verbal root **ad-trebā-* (cf. Welsh *athref* 'habitation, dwelling', and OIr *atrab* > MIr *aittreb* > Ir *aittreabh* 'possession', eG verb *aittreabh* 'inhabit') is apparent in *Locatrebe* (PNRB pp. 394-5, Breeze (2001b) at pp. 152-3) + *loc-* (see **luch**), 'a lake-dwelling', perhaps a crannog somewhere in south-west Scotland, or a Roman fort in the territory of people

who were known as ‘lake-dwellers’ because they favoured crannogs (such as the one at Glenlochlar? But see **lūch**).

Another compound, **con-trebā-*, cf. OIr *con-treba* ‘inhabits’, *coitreb* ‘company, community’ > G *caidreabh* ‘fellowship, friendship’, occurs as the name of a local deity *Contrebis* invoked on altars from Lancaster and Overbrough Lanc: see DCM p. 92, PCB p. 572.

a1) The simplex form Threave is not necessarily early. Indeed, it may date from a time when **treβ** had ceased to be used in phrasal place-name formations, but survived as an appellative in Cumbric, or was even adopted into Ayrshire and Galloway Gaelic, to denote a settlement with a specific role or status (see A. James 2014b pp. 23 and 35): for an alternative view, see MacQueen PN WigMM p. 13.

Threave Ayr (Kirkmichael) CPNS pp. 191, 358.

Threave Ayr (Kirkoswald) CPNS p. 358.

Threave Kcb (Kelton) PNGall p. 259, CPNS p. 358.

Threave Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 259, PN WigMM p. 12.

a2) Dreva Pbl (Stobo) CPNS p. 363 ? elided **-i[r]**-, causing soft mutation, + **-treβ-** + **-ma** [or else OE **draeg-weg* ‘draw-way’, a steep hill difficult for waggons, see A. James (2009c), pp. 121-6]. *Poutrevet* Ntb (Falstone) PNNtb p. 160 + ***pol-** + **-ed** or **-red**, cf. Welsh *trefred* ‘abode’ (Coates, CVEP p. 323), or else ***polter-** + OE *-heafod* ‘head’: early forms seem to show confusion with *Pouterheued*, and Powterneth Beck, both Cmb, and lost *Poltrerneth Burn* Ntb (which may be an error for *Poutrevet*); see ***polter** and **tīr**.

Tartraven WLo (Linlithgow) PNWLo p. 64 + **torr-** (which see), Gaelicised *tàrr*, + **-an**.

Rattra Kcb (Borgue) CPNS p. 364, PNGall p. 233, SPN² p. 217 + **rö-** or **rōd-**: see Breeze (2003b) p. 162 and A. James (2014b) pp. 23-4 and 35.

Rutter Force, with Low Rutter, Wml (Drybeck) PNWml2 p. 99, ? + **rö-** or **rōd-**, see Rattra above, but also **duβr** and **rejadər**.

b1) In the North, examples of compound formations with Brittonic specifiers + **-treβ** occur in Lothian and south-west Scotland. On formations of this type in north-eastern Scotland, see Nicolaisen, SPN² pp. 214-19, idem 2000 pp. 321-2, Hough 2001b, Taylor in PNFif5, p.517. The significance of compounds with **-treβ** throughout Scotland merits further consideration – such formations *may* be early place-names (cf. *Locatrebe* above, and see LHEB pp. 225-7) but it should be remembered that common compounds like **nōwīδ-dreβ*, **ūchel-dreβ*, **rö-dreβ* and **trōs-dreβ* could have remained in use as appellatives well after the sixth century, and it is possible that they were applied by Cumbric speakers in place-naming as late as the 9th-11th centuries; in both Pictland and southern Scotland, they seem to have been prone to Gaelicisation or reinterpretation by Gaelic speakers.

Barrostan Wig (Penninghame): see discussion of Trostan, Troston under **trōs**.

Blennerhasset Cmb PNCmb pp. 265-6 + **blajn-** [+ ON *-heg-sætr* ‘hay-shieling’], or else **-tīr-**.

Cadottrell Wml (Longsledale) PNWml1 p. 162 + ?- + **-ōg-** or **-ūch-** [+ OE *-hyll*], but very obscure: A. Walker pers. comm.

Camilty MLo PNMLo p. 304, WLoPN p. 22 ? + **cam[b]**- + **-pol-**, or else + **-tī[y]**, but Gaelic **camalltaidh* is likely.

le Contref Kcb (lost) Brooke (1991) at p. 302: ? + **pen[n]**- Gaelicised *cenn-*, see *Pendraven* below, and A. James (2014b), p. 24.

Crachoctre Bwk (Coldingham) ? + ***crach-** + **-ōg-** or **-ūch-**, Breeze (2000b) pp. 125-6, but see discussion under ***crach**.

Cross Dormant Wml (Barton) PNWml2 p. 210 ? + **trōs-**, or else **-torr-**, + **-mönīō**.

Currochtrie, High and Low, Wig PNGall pp. 101-2, PNRGLV p. 10 ? + **cajr-** + **-ūch-**: but Maxwell suggests Gaelic *ceathramh-* ‘quarterland’ or *currach-* (*sic*) ‘bog’+ *-uachdar* ‘upper’ or *-Ochtradh* (= Uhtred), MacQueen Gaelic *còrr-* ‘out-of-the-way, a remote place’ + *-ochdamh* ‘eighth part (of a davoch)’, and M. Ansell (pers. comm.) **ceathramh-* ‘quarterland’

+ *-uachdarach* 'upper', but see Márkus's discussion of Garrochty Bute (Kingham), PNBute pp. 191-4, where '-ty' appears to be a secondary (and possibly simply epenthetic) addition to a form < Gaelic *garbhach* 'a rough place', assimilated to *garbhachd* 'roughness', in a Scots plural form + *-is*, compare *le duae Currochtyis* 1492 here with *le Gariteis* 1498, *Carrauchteis* 1500 at Garrochty; whatever the origin, the neighbouring Garrochtrie, below, is likely to be associated if not identical in origin: see also **tī[y]**, and A. James (2014b) p. 25.

Fintry Stg CPNS p. 364, SPN² p. 217 ? + **fin-** or **wīn[n]**-, Gaelicised *fionn-*: see discussion under **fin**.

Garrochtrie, Wig (Kirkmaiden) PNGall p. 143 ? + **garw-**, Gaelicised *garbh-*, + **-ūch-**, or else Gaelic *garbh-* + *-ochdamh* 'eighth part (of a davoch)': cf. neighbouring Currochtrie, above. Gultree, also *Giltre Makgrane*, Ayr CPNS p. 362 ? + **wel[t]**- or **weli-**; see A. James (2014b) pp. 26-7 and 35.

Halltree MLo (Stow) PNMLo p. 365 + **hāl-**, which see.

Kirroughtree Kcb (Minigaff) CPNS p. 367, PNGall p. 174 ? + **cajr-** + **-ūch**, but Watson in CPNS, Maxwell in PNGall and Brooke (1991) at p. 319 all see *-*Uchtrid*, i.e. Uhtred Lord of Galloway (1161-74); local legend may at least have influenced the development of this name as well as that of Currochtrie above, and Cave Ochtree Wig (Leswalt), PNGall p. 66. However, **ceathramh-uachdarach* cannot be ruled out. See A. James (2014b) p. 25.

Longniddry ELo CPNS p. 363, SPN² p. 216 + **nōwīð-** [+ OE *lang-* > 'long'].

Monreith Wig PNGall p. 213, PNWigMM pp. 12-13 + **mōnīð-** or **mōr-** + **treß**: see under **mōr**.

Newtryhill Stg (Denny) PNFESTg p. 32 + **nōwīð-** [+ OE *hyll* > 'hill'].

Niddrie MLo (Liberton) CPNS p. 363, PNMLo pp. 294-5 + **nōwīð-**.

Niddry, also West Niddry, WLo (Kirkliston) CPNS p. 363, PNWLo pp. 43-4, SPN² p. 216 + **nōwīð-**.

Ochiltree Ayr CPNS p. 209, SPN² p. 216 + ***ūchel-** + **treß**: see discussion under ***ūchel**, also Barrow in *Uses* pp. 59-63 with map 2.5, and A. James (2014b) pp. 22, 25 and 35.

Ochiltree Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 218, CPNS pp. 35, 209, PNWigMM p. 12 + ***ūchel-**; see SPN² pp. xx and 216-17, A. James (2014b) pp. 25 and 35.

Ochiltree WLo (Ochiltree Linlithgow) PNWLo p. 61, SPN² p. 217 + ***ūchel-**.

Pendraven Cmb (lost field-name in Upper Denton) PNCmb p. 82 + **pen[n]**- + **-an**, presumably diminutive: Breeze (2006c) at p. 330, compares Welsh *pentref* 'a village', but in Brittonic or Cumbric the sense may have been 'a settlement and/or portion of land on a headland, or at the "end" (in some sense) of a landholding', cf. *le Contref* above; or else **pen[n]**- + **-i[r]**- + **-aβon** (see **aβ**): see discussion under **pen[n]**.

Plenderleith Rox (Oxnam) PNRox p. 31 + **brīnn-** or **prenn-** [? + ON *-hlaða* > Scots *-lathe* 'a barn'].

Plendernethy Bwk (Ayton?) + **blajn-** ? + ***nejth** + **-īg**, or else + **-i[r]**-: a lost stream-name Gaelicised **neitheach*, cf. CPNS pp. 210-11? J. G. Wilkinson pers. comm.

Prendergust Brw (Ayton) + **brīnn-** or **prenn-** + **-*cest**, but see discussion under ***cest**.

Rattra Kcb (Borgue) and Rutter Force, with Low Rutter, Wml (Drybeck), see under (a2) above.

Soutra MLo CPNS p. 363, PNMLo pp. 222-3 ? + ***sulu-**, see discussion under ***sulu** of Breeze's (2000a) identification of this place with *Dinsol* in *Culhwch ac Olwen*.

Trostan, Troston, frequent in SW Scotland, see discussion under **trōs**.

Trostrie, with Trostrie Moat Kcb (Twynholm) CPNS pp. 180 and 350, PNGall p. 262 **trōs-**, which see for discussion.

b2) Most of the name-phrases below are likely to reflect the status of **treß** as the favoured term for major units in the landholding systems developing in the later first millennium in the Cumbric-influenced parts of the North. This is all the more likely in the case of formations with the definite article: see discussion under **i[r]**, and (especially for those in Ayr, Dmf, Kcb and Wig) A. James (2014b). In some cases, the specific has been influenced by Gaelic, and in a few, a Gaelic formation with *treabh-* is a possibility, albeit a fairly remote one (see above).

Forms with Tra-, Tro-, show vocalisation of [β]. Metathesis of these can lead to confusion with **torr**.

- Dramore Wood, with *Tramores Hill* on Armstrong's map (1775), Pbl (Broughton) ? + **-mōr**; see Drummond (2009), p. 14.
- Tarelgin Ayrs (Ochiltree) CPNS p. 360 ? + **-ī[r]**- + **heligen*, see **helig**: see Breeze (2002f), p. 110, and A. James (2014b) p. 27.
- Terraughtie Kcb (Troqueer) CPNS p. 201, PNGall p. 258 + **-ūch**- (which see) + **-tī[y]**; see A. James (2014b) pp. 32 and 36.
- Terregles Kcb CPNS p. 359, PNGall p. 258 + **-ī[r]**- + **-egle:s**, which see for discussion, , also A. James (2014b), pp. 22, 31-2 and 36.
- Terringzean Ayrs (Cumnock) CPNS p. 360 ? + **-ī[r]**- + **-fōntōn**, or *-rinnion* (see **rīn[n]*), or Gaelicised saint's name *Ringan*, i.e. Ninian, see discussion under **fōntōn**, also A. James (2014b) p. 28.
- Torphichen WLo PNWLo p. 89 ? + **-bīchan** (see **bīch**): see discussion in WLoPN, p. 32, or else **torr**, which see for discussion and for Torfichen Hill MLo.
- Torquhan MLo (Stow) PNMLo p. 370 ? + **-*hwaen**, or *-wenn*, see **wīnn**, see under both these elements for discussion, and Troquhain etc. below.
- Torsonce MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 145, PNMLo p. 375 + **-saun**, which see [+ Scots plural *-s*], or else **torr**- (see Dixon, PNMLo loc. cit.)
- Trabboch Ayrs (Ochiltree) CPNS p. 362 ? + **-*beð** or **-*bedu**; see A. James (2014b) p. 27.
- Trabeattie Dmf (Torthorwald) PNDmf p. 121 ? + **-*beð** or **-*bedu**, which see, and see A. James (2014b) p. 37.
- Traboyack Ayrs (Girvan), also Traboyack House Ayrs (Straiton), CPNS pp. 359, 361 ? + **-*biw**, see **būch**, + **-ōg**; see A. James (2014b), pp. 30 and 36.
- Trabroun ELo (Gladsmuir) CPNS pp. 359-60 + **-ī[r]**- + **-brīnn**, which see for discussion, or **-bronn**.
- Trabrown Brw (Lauderdale) CPNS pp. 359, 363 **-ī[r]**- + **brīnn** or **-bronn**, see Trabroun above.
- Tradunnock Ayrs (Kirkoswald) CPNS pp. 361-2 + **-*dantōg**, , or **-redin**- + **-ōg**; see both ***dantōg** and **redin**, also A. James (2014b) pp. 29 and 35.
- Trahenna Hill Pbl (Broughton) CPNS p. 363 ? + **-hen**- + **-*anheð**: or else **torr**-, see discussion under **hen**.
- Trail* Kcb (= St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright) PNGall p. 261 (as 'Trahill'), Brooke 1991, 319 + **-?**; or **trajth**-?
- Trailflat Dmf (Tinwald) CPNS p. 359, PNDmf p. 119 ? + **-ī[r]**- + **-*lad**, see **leid** for discussion, and A. James (2014b) p. 37.
- Trailtrow Dmf (Hoddum) CPNS p. 359 ? + **-ī[r]**- + **-*trulliad**: see Breeze (1999c), and James (2014b), p. 37.
- Tralallan* or *Trolallan* Kcb (Parton) CPNS p. 363 ? + lost stream-name **-*al-au-n-**; see **al**- , and A. James (2014), pp. 30-1.
- Tralodden Ayrs (Old Dailly) ? + **-*lōd** or ***lud**, + **-an**: see ***lōd** and ***lud**, and A. James (2014b), pp. 29 and 36.
- Tralorg Ayrs (Old Dailly) CPNS p. 361 ? + **-*lury**, which see, and see A. James (2014b) pp. 29 and 36.
- Tranent ELo CPNS p. 360 + **-ī[r]**- + **-neint**, see **nant**; but see **torr**-.
- Tranew Ayrs (Kirkmichael) CPNS p. 361 ? + **-nōwīð**, which see for discussion, also A. James (2014b) pp. 28 and 35.
- Tranewath* Lanc (Ashton, Lancaster) PNLanc p. 253 ? + **-nōwīð**.
- Traprain, with Traprain Law, ELo CPNS pp. 350, 363 + **-brīnn** or **-prenn**.
- Traquair Pbl (Innerleithen) CPNS p. 360 + **-ī[r]**- + river-name Quair, see ***wei**- and ***wejr**.
- Travercraig* Dmf (Durrisdier) PNDmf p. 34 + **ī[r]**- + **-creig**, cf. Trochrague below, and see A. James (2014b), p. 37.
- Traverlen* MLo (= Duddingston) CPNS p. 360 ? + **-*wūr-lēn** (see **wūr**), or **-ī[r]**- + **-līnn**, see Barrow (1980) p. 40.

- Treales Lanc (Kirkham) PNLanc p. 152, JEPNS17 p. 88 ? + **-i[r]-** + **-li:s[s]**, see under that element, and A. James (2009) at pp. 196-7.
- Trearne Ayrs (Beith) CPNS pp. 361-2 ? + **-i[r]-** + **-onn** [or OE *trēow-ærn* ‘a timber house’], see Clancy (2008) for full discussion of this name.
- Treesmax Ayrs (Ochiltree) CPNS p. 362 ? + **-[h]in-** + **-ōch** [+Scots plural *-s*]; see A. James (2014b) pp. 27-8.
- Tregallon Kcb (Troqueer) CPNS p. 362, PNGall p. 261 ? + **-*galon** (pl of ***gāl** which see); see also A. James (2014b) pp. 32 and 36.
- Trerankelborhan Wml (lost field-name in Mansergh) PNWml1 p. 53 (+ ON personal name *Hrafinkel* + Old English *-*burgæsn* ‘a burial-place’, see EPNE1 pp. 57-8): the generic may be ON *tré* ‘a tree’) in an ‘inverion’ formation: see Grant (2002) at p. 87.
- Trevercarcou Kcb (unlocated, probably in Balmaclellan) + **-i[r]-** + ? **-cajr-** + **-coll**, or + **-carreg-** or + **-*carrōg-**, + **-öü**: see under **cajr**, **carreg** and ***carrōg**, and A. James (2014b) p. 30.
- Trevergylt (lost, in *Inquisition of David I*) CPNS p. 361 ? + **-i[r]-** + **-wel[t]** or **-*wilt**.
- Treueronum (in *Inquisition of David I*) CPNS p. 361: see Troney Hill below.
- Triermain Cmb (Waterhead) PNCmb p. 116 + **-i[r]-** + **-mayn**.
- Troax Ayrs (Lendalfoot) CPNS p. 362 ? + **-wag** [+Scots plural *-s*]; see A. James (2014b) p. 30.
- Trochrage Ayrs (Girvan) CPNS p. 360 + **-i[r]-** + **-creig**; the form *Trevercreigeis* cited by Watson refers to Trochrage House and Nether Trochrage together [+Scots plural *-is*]: see A. James (2014b), pp. 29 and 36.
- Trogart Ayrs (lost, in Carrick) CPNS p. 362 ? + **-garth**: see A. James (2014b), p. 29.
- Troloss Lnk (Elvanfoot) CPNS p. 362 + **-lost**, see A. James (2014b), p. 38.
- Troney Hill Rox (Ancrum) ? + **-i[r]-** + **-onn**: this may well be *Treueronum*, in the *Inquisition of David I*, see Durkan (1986) at pp 293-4 and Clancy (2008) at pp. 103-5.
- Troqueer Kcb CPNS p. 362, PNGall p. 261 + a river-name of the ‘Quair’ type, see ***wei-** and ***wejr**, and A. James (2014b), pp. 22, 31-2 and 36.
- Troquhain Ayrs (Kirkmichael) CPNS p. 362, Troquhain Kcb (Balmaclellan) PNGall p. 262, CPNS p. 362, and Troughend Ntb (Otterburn) PNNtb p. 201, all ? + **-*hwaen** or **-wenn**, see **wīn[n]**, Torquhan above, but also ***truch**, and A. James (2014b) pp. 28 and 30.
- Trowier Ayrs (Girvan) CPNS p. 361 + a river-name of the ‘Quair’ type, see ***wei-** and ***wejr**, and A. James (2014b), pp. 29-30 and 36.
- Tryorne* (lost?) CPNS p. 361: this has been proposed as a form for Troney Hill Rox, but it is probably an error for Trearne Ayrs, see both these above, and Clancy (2008) at pp. 103-5.

c2) Badintree Hill Pbl (Tweedsmuir) CPNS p. 424 ? + **bod-** + **-[h]in-**, but see **bod**.

*tres (m)

M-MnW *tres*, Breton *tres-* (in compounds); OIr *tress* > Ir, eG *treas*; cf. OW *treis* > W *trais* ‘might, force’, see EGOW p. 149.

‘Battle, conflict, strife, tumult, violence’. Probably a stream-name, either Brittonic or Goidelic, in the following:

c2) Beltrees Rnf (Lochwinnoch) + Gaelic *baile-*, probably Gaelic in origin.

Cummertrees Dmf PNDmf p. 72 + **cōmber-** or **cōmbrōy-**: see under these.

Glencrest (sic c1220, Lan Cart) Cmb (lost field-name in Kirkoswald) PNCmb p. 218, + **glinn-** + **-ōg**, reading **-trest* or **-tresc* (cf. *Glentreske* below); or Goidelic *glenn-* or Middle English *glen-* + Middle English epenthetic *-k* (? < *-t*), or else + the related Brittonic *-*trust* > MnW *trwst* ‘tumult’: A. Walker pers. comm.

Glentreske Wml (lost field-name in Patterdale) PNWml2 p. 228 + **glinn-** + **-ōg**, cf. *Glencrest* above.

Glentress Pbl (x2, Innerleithen and Peebles) CPNS p. 444 + **glinn-**, or a Gaelic formation + *glenn-*, or Middle English *glen-*.

tri-

IE **tri-* or **tr̥-t-* (< zero-grade of **treyes*, **trih₄* ‘three’, perhaps associated with **terh₂₋*, see **tīr** and **trōs**) > eCelt **tri-*, **trito-/ā-* > Br, Gaul *tri-*, *trito-/ā-* > M-MnW *tri-*, *tryd-*, Corn **try-* (see CPNE pp 233-4) or *tres-*, Bret *tri-*, *tres-*; OIr *trí-* > M-MnIr *tré-*, G *trì-*, Mx *tree-*; cogn. Lat *tri-*, Gmc **pri-*, Gk *trí-*, *trítos/a*, Skt *tri-*, *tria-t-*: common to all major Indo-European language-groups, see IIEL §8.5.2 at pp. 222-3, OIPrIE §4.5 at p. 61, §7.2 at p. 108, and §19.1 at pp. 308-9 and 311, DCCPN p. 32, EGOW p. 150, LHEB §69 p. 426, GOI §385 p. 242.

Prefix meaning ‘triple’ or adjective meaning ‘third’. The prefix falls together in the Brittonic languages with the (unrelated) intensive **tri-* < Br **tr̥e-*-, ‘very’, see LHEB §199(e), p. 659. One or other of these seems to be involved in the name below, but the formation and meaning are baffling:

a2) *Plent[r]idoc* MLo (Borthwick, = Arniston) CPNS p. 136, PNMLo p. 100, Barrow 1973, p. 73 + **blajn-** + **-ōg-**: if a suffix is implicated, some lost element may be reflected by *-d-*: Watson in CPNS and Dixon in PNMLo both treat this as *Balantradach*, ‘farm of the warriors’, noting the proximity of the Templars’ chapel at Temple, but see Barrow’s discussion of *Plent[r]idoc* in *Uses*, p. 73. Alternatively, the *-d-* might be epenthetic, see ***red**.

*trōn (f)

Gk *thrónos* adopted as Lat *thronus*, Br Lat **tronas*, adopted as Br **tronā-* > M-MnW *trôn*, cf. Corn *trôn* (masc). See LHEB §55 pp 401-2.

‘A throne’. The meaning ‘a circle’, suggested by Watson CPNS p. 369, was probably adopted in Middle Welsh from Middle English, see GPC s.v. *trôn*.

c2) Cardrona Pbl (Innerleithen CPNS p. 369 + **cajr-** + -plural **-öü**, or else Gaelic **cathair-drothanach* ‘fort of the winds’ Ross (2001) p. 44.

Pharaoh’s Throne Kcb (Tongland/ Twynholm boundary) CPNS p. 369 might be a folk-etymologised version of some name formed with this element. It is a solitary standing stone, not a circle.

*trōs

IE **tr̥h₂₋* (zero-grade of **terh₂₋* ‘across, through, above’, see **tīr** and **tri-**) – *nts-* > early Celtic **trāns* > early British **trāΣ-* > late British **trāh(s)-* > OW(LL) *tros-* > M-MnW *traws-*, Corn *dres*, OBret *trus* > M-MnBret *dreis(t)*; OIr *tar-* > Ir, G *t(h)ar*, *tras-*; cogn. Lat *trāns*, and cf. Gmc **purχ* > OE *purh* > ‘through, thorough’, Skt *tiras* ‘over, across, apart’.

See OIPrIE §18.2 pp. 289-90, LHEB §184, p. 637 (on analogical *-s-* in neoBritt), GOI §854C, p. 531 (on the Goidelic forms).

In place-name formations, an adverbial prefix or suffix, generally indicating that the main element lies ‘across, athwart (something else)’, though other possible senses, may include

‘strong’ in stream-names, ‘harsh, inhospitable’ for rough or marshy land; see DPNW p. 463 s.n. Trawsgoed, and Parsons 2022, pp. 122-3 and 147,

On the distribution, especially along the Brittonic/ Pritenic interface, see Watson (2002) at pp. 87-8. It is striking that Poltross Burn, *Trously*, Truss Gap, Trusmadoor, Trusty’s Hill and the several Trostans all lie on, or close to, natural and historic boundaries, as do The Trossachs and Troisgeach Hill north of the Forth.

In simplex names, a generic ‘place, settlement, etc.’ is presumably understood:

Trows Rox (Roxburgh) [or else OE **trēow-hūs* ‘tree-house’, a timber building]

Truss Gap Wml (Shap Rural) PNWml2 p. 178, DLDPN p. 349 [+ -ON *-gap* > ‘gap’], or else **drus**.

Throsk Stg (Stirling) perhaps Gaelicised, cf. *crasg*, *cròsg* ‘a crossing-place’ (Watson 2002 p. 87, and see **crojs**); cf. also *Pultrosk* c1280 for Poltross, below.

Thross Burn Ntb: see Barrow (1992) p. 132 and n24.

Various similar, presumably Brittonic, formations with **trōs** include:

Bartrostan Wig (Penninghame) MacQueen PNWigMM p. 96, proposes Gaelic **bàrr-trasdain* ‘crozier height’, but see Trostan below.

Cross Dormant Wml (Barton) PNWml2 p. 210 ? + **-treß-** or **-torr-**, + **-mōnið** [or OE *trūs-*, ON *tros-*, ‘brushwood, litter’].

Poltross Burn (Cmb/Ntb border) PNCmb p. 23 + **pol-**: see Barrow (1992) p. 132 and n24.

Trauspol Cmb (Kingwater) ERN p. 331n1, not in PNCmb + **-pol**.

Trostan, Troston, see below.

Trostrie, with Trostrie Moat Kcb (Twynholm) CPNS pp. 180 and 350, PNGall p. 262 + **-treß**; a compound **trōs-treß* may have been an appellative, ‘a farm at a crossing-place’, see CPNS pp. 350-1, A. James (2014b) pp. 25-6 and 35, also Taylor in PNFif 3, pp. 231-3, and Márkus in JSNS1 (2007) pp. 89-91, both the latter discussing Troustrie Fif (Crail).

Trously MLo (Stow) CPNS p. 350, PNMLo p. 371 + **-le**, which see.

Trusmadoor Cmb (Ireby) DLDPN pp. 348-9 and plate 1, not in PNCmb + **-µa-**, or else **drus-** [+ OE *-dor* ‘door’]: see under **drus**, and Whaley (2001) pp. 77-96.

Trusty’s Hill Kcb (Anwoth) PNGall p. 262 (as *Trusty Knowe*) ? + **-tī[y]**; Maxwell, PNGall loc. cit., refers to associations with the Pictish ruler Drest, Gaelicised Drust: these are nineteenth-century antiquarian speculations rather than genuine folklore, but they might have been prompted by a pre-existing place-name; see A. James (2014b), p. 26.

Trostan or Troston occurs very frequently in SW Scotland:

Bartrostan Wig (Penninghame)

Trostan Hill Ayr (Straiton)

Trostan, with Little Trostan, Trostan Burn and Trostan Isle Kcb (Minigaff)

Troston Knowe Ayr (Dalmellington), Trostan Burn and Hill Kcb (Carsphairn), and Troston Hill Dmf (Tynron), are separate locations to the NW, NE and SE of the Cairnsmore of Carsphairn

Troston with Troston Rig Dmf (Sanquhar)

Troston, with Troston Burn, Hill, Loch and Rig Kcb (Dalry)

Troston, with Troston Hill Kcb (New Abbey)

All of these are on or close to ridges. Watson (CPNS p. 350) asserts that at ‘Troston in Glencairn parish’ (recte Tynron) ... ‘W[elsh] *tref* has been translated by English *tun*’, but this is unlikely to have happened so frequently. Trostan is quite common in Irish hill-names (e.g. Trostan mountain near Cushendal in Layd, Co. Antrim) and has been taken there as a metaphoric use of *trostán* ‘a staff’, a crozier’. MacQueen PNWigMM p. 96 gives the same explanation for Bartrostan Wig but that too seems far-fetched for such a frequently used name. An adopted form from Latin *transtrum*, British Latin **trāstrum* (LHEB p. 86) ‘a cross-beam’ would make more sense in such names, indicating a ‘cross hill, transverse ridge; **trāstrum* > **trōst* > MnW *trawst* (ibid.), so a Brittonic formation + **-an** could explain these, but McKay in DUPN, p. 142, sees an Irish cognate

in the Ulster hill-names, and a Gaelic origin is possible for the Scottish ones too. Troston Sfk (*Trostringtune* 975x1016) involves an anglicised form of a Scandinavian personal name *Trausti* (Insley 2013 pp. 246-7), which is not impossible in SW Scotland, but a Celtic name referring to the topographical location seems more likely.

*truch

?eCelt *trunc- > [OW(LL p. 279) *ad vadam trunci*] > M-MnW *trwch*, Corn *trogħ*, Bret *truc'h*; cogn. Lat *truncus*. The etymology, and the status of the Book of Llandaff form, are very uncertain, it may be an early adoption from Latin.

‘Broken, cut short’.

c1) Torquhan MLo (Stow) SPN² p. 214, and Troughend Ntb (Otterburn) PNNtb p. 201, both ? + -***hwaen**, which see, and see Coates in CVEP p. 323, but also discussion under **treβ**, and **wīn[n]**.

truin (m)

eCelt *drugno- > Br *trugno- (cf. Gaulish *trugnō-*, Galatian *drouggos*) > M-MnW *trwyn*, OCor *trein* (*sic* for *troin, see CPNE p. 235) > MCor *troen* > Corn *tron*; OIr pers. name *Uí Dróna* (genitive plural).

See CIB #46 at p. 149, #48 at pp. 161-3, and pp 256 and 352.

‘A nose’: in place-names, ‘a promontory’.

BT29(XI) *kat ymro vretwyn* + **bre[y]**-, see Williams’s note, PT pp. 123-4.

a1) Troon Ayrs CPNS pp. 191 and 516n191.

*trulliad (m)

Lat *trulla* ‘a wine-ladle’, adopted as Br *trullo- > M-MnW *trull*, from which MW *trulliad* > W *trulliad*

‘A cup-bearer, a butler’. *Trull* occurs in CA A57/B18 (LXIAB), and *trulliad* in Welsh Laws from 12th ct, but it is uncertain how early this formation was.

c2) Trailtrow Dmf (Hoddom) + **treβ**- + **-i[r]**-: see Breeze (1999c).

*tūβ (m, but f in Mn W)

eCelt *toibo- > Br *tūbo- > O-MnW *tu*, MCor *tu*, Bret *tu*; OIr *toib* > Ir,Gaelic *taobh*, Mx *cheu*; cogn. Lat *tibia*.

See LHEB§66(1), p. 416, and EGOW pp. 132 and 152.

‘Side’, topographically, ‘a part’.

A. Walker (pers. comm.) suggests the following:

b2) Towcett Wml (Newby) PNWml2 p. 146 ? +**-cē:d** [replaced by OE *-sīde* > ‘side’, or else ON *sætr* ‘shieling’, or personal name *Tófi* + OE *-sīde*]; note the three parallels in Cwl, CPNE p. 236, suggesting a possible appellative comparable to English ‘woodside’ (on which see OED s.v.), but see also ***tul**.

tul (m as noun)

eCelt **tuslo-* > Br **tullo-* > OW(LL) *toll-* > M-MnW *twll*, M-MnCorn *toll*, OBret *tull* > M-MnBret *toull*; Old-MnIr, G *toll*, Mx *towl*.

GPC gives IE **(s)teu-* ‘thrust’: this should be **(s)teud-*, which cannot be the origin, though there may be an ultimate connection.

In Modern Welsh, ‘a hole’, also adjectival (with a-affected feminine, MnW *toll*) ‘holed’. In place-names, possibly ‘a hollow’ or ‘a cave’: see Padel (2009) at pp. 121-2.

c1) Compounds + **-cē:d** occur several times in Wales and Cornwall (and there are examples in Somerset and Brittany): this was presumably an appellative meaning ‘broken woodland’, with gaps or clearings, or a wood in a hollow.

Towcett Wml (Newby) PNWml2 p. 146 ? +**-cē:d** [replaced by OE *-sīde* > ‘side’, or else ON *sætr* ‘shieling’, or personal name *Tófi* + OE *-sīde*], but see also ***tūβ**.

Tulketh Lanc (Preston) PNLanc p. 146, JEPNS17 pp. 83-4 + **-cē:d**, which see.

turch (m)

IE *?*tworkō-* > eCelt **turco-* > Br **turco-* > M-MnW *twrch*, Old-MnCorn *torch*, OBret *torch* > MBret *tourch* > Bret *tourc'h*; Old-MnIr, G *torc*, Mx *turk* (in place-name).

See OIPrIE §9.2 at p. 139.

‘A boar’, especially a wild one. For boars in Celtic legend and literature, see DCML pp. 44-5, DCM pp. 40-1, PCB 390-404. Occurs in several stream-names in Wales, but rarely if at all in Scotland (Watson CPNS pp. 442 and 453), and it is indeed uncommon in names of any kind in the North, whether Brittonic or Goidelic (which are very difficult to tell apart). See also ***bayeð**.

c2) Glenturk Wig (Wigtown) PNGall p. 151, PNWigMM p. 112 + **glinn-** or G *gleann-*: this might imply a lost name for the Broken Causeway Burn, but cf. Watson’s observations above. Mindork Wig (Kirkcowan) PNGall p. 211, PNWigMM p. 21 + **min-**, **mönið-** or **mönju-**.

U

ūch-

IE **h₄up-* (see **wo-**) –s- > eCelt **ouks-* > eBr **o:ch-*, Gaul *Ux-* (in personal names), > lBr **ūch-* > OW *uuc* 'higher, over', (LL) *huchti* (inflected preposition, 'above it') > MW *uch* > W *uwch* (comparative adjective, 'higher'), Corn *a-ugh* 'above', OBret [*h*]*uch* > M-MnBret *a uch* 'above'; OIr *ós, úas* 'above', and cf. *úach* ?'top' > Ir, G *uach-* in compounds.

See DCPN p. 35, EGOW p. 155. See **ūchel** for discussion of the vowel.

As a prefix, 'higher': Richards (1964-5) argues that MW *uwch* in cantref and commote names meant 'farther', from the point of view of a topographic or historic 'central place'. On the basis of this, compounds with **-tī[y]** or **-treβ** may perhaps signify settlements originally associated with large-scale annual stock-movements. Such adjective + noun compounds may not necessarily be early, and in any case, they could have remained in use as appellatives for several centuries, so names such as those below (and see also **ūchel**) may be from no earlier than the Cumbric period. Moreover, the absence of comparable compounds (or indeed, it seems, of any compounds with **ūch-**) in Welsh, Cornish or Breton place-names may suggest that, if **ūch** is present in the names below, it is as a preposition in a phrasal formation, 'above [the farm or house]'.

Cadottrell Wml (Longsleddale) PNWml1 p. 162 + ?- + **-treβ** - [+ OE *-hyll*], or else **-ōg-**, but very obscure: A. Walker pers. comm.

Crachoctre Bwk (Coldingham) ? + ***crach-** + **-treβ**, or else **-ōg-**: see Breeze (2000b) at pp. 125-6, but see discussion under ***crach** and **crę:g**.

Currochtrie, High and Low, Wig PNGall pp. 101-2, PNRGLV p. 10 ? + **cajr-** + **-treβ** or **-tī[y]**, but see under **treβ**.

Kirroughtree Wig (Minigaff) CPNS p. 367, PNGall p. 174 ? + **cajr-** + **-treβ**, but G *uachdarach* could be involved, see discussions under **cajr** and **treβ**.

Garrochtrie, Wig (Kirkmaiden) PNGall p. 143 ? + **garw-**, Gaelicised *garbh-*, + **-treβ**, but see under **treβ**.

Terraughtie Kcb (Troqueer) PNGall p. 258 + **treβ-** + **-tī[y]**.

ūchel

eCelt **ouks-* (see **ūch-**) –*ello/ā-* > eBr **o:ch^sello/ā-*, Gaul *Uxel-* in personal names > lBr **ūchello/ā-* > M-MnW *uchel*, MCorn *ughhell* etc. (see CPNE p. 237) > Corn *hual*, Bret *uc'hel*; OIr *úasal* > Ir, G *uasal* 'noble'; cogn. Gk *hupsēlós* 'high'.

See LHEB §121 p. 529 and §126, pp. 536-40.

In Pritenic, the eCelt **[ou-]* seems to have developed only to **[o:]*, giving **ochel* (or possibly **ossel*) in Pictish (see Jackson (1955a), pp. 137 and 165, and Koch (1982-3) at pp 215-16), rather than *[ū]* > *[ü:]* as in Brittonic (LHEB §18, pp. 305-7). The lower vowel **[o:]* seems to be evidenced south of the Forth in Ochiltree Ayr, Wig and WLo (see below, and Taylor 2011, pp.

89 and 92-3, also in PNFif 4, pp. 53-4 and PNClk, pp. 105-7, on The Ochils), though early forms for the latter two vary between *o* and *u*.

‘High’: for reservations as to the presence of this element in several Scottish place-names, see Rhys (2019-21); on the meaning in compounds with **–treβ**, see discussion under **ūch-** and **treβ**, also Barrow’s discussion of the ‘Ochiltree’ names in *Uses* at pp. 59-63 with map 2.5.

Ancient examples in the North include:

Alaunocelum*, as amended, PNRB p. 246, + **alauno-*, see *al-**: apparently in SE Scotland.

Itunocelum PNRB pp. 380-1, + **Ituno-*, see **id**: unlocated, though Rivet and Smith loc. cit. favour a coastal site near Beckermeth Cmb.

Uxelum PNRB pp. 483-4 perhaps the fort at Ward Law Dmf; *Uxela* in Rav might possibly record an earlier or alternative name for the R Lochar (perhaps also an associated deity-name) from which the fort was named, although *Uxelum* can perfectly well be interpreted as ‘high place’.

Uxelodunum PNRB pp. 221 and 483 + **–dīn**: the Roman cavalry base at Stanwix Cmb.

See also ***ogel**.

c1) Ochiltree Ayrs CPNS p. 209, SPN² p. 216 + **–treβ**; see Barrow in *Uses* pp. 59-63 with map 2.5, and A. James (2014b) pp. 22, 25 and 35.

Ochiltree Wig (Penninghame) PNGall p. 218, CPNS pp 35, 209, PNWigMM p. 12 + **–treβ**; see SPN² pp. xx and 216-17, A. James (2014b) pp. 25 and 35.

Ochiltree WLo (Linlithgow) PNWLo p. 61, SPN² p. 217 + **–treβ**.

Ogilface WLo CPNS p. 378, PNWLo p. 97 + **–mayes** with lenition; however the voicing of *–g-* is curious, ***ogel** may be more likely. See Taylor 2011, pp. 89 and 92-3, and Rhys 2016-21, p. 43.

W

wag

Lat *vacuus* > VLat **vacus*, adopted to > O-MW *guac* > W *gwag*, Corn *gvak*, Bret *gwak*.

See EGOW p. 63.

‘Empty, vacant’. ‘Perhaps used as a nickname’ in Boswague Cwl (Padel, CPNE p. 113), and the same could perhaps be true here:

c2) Troax Ayrs (Lendalfoot) CPNS p. 362 ? + **treß-** [+Scots plural -s].

wal and wāl (f)

IE **welh_x-* > eCelt **walo-/ā-* (+ *-atā-* > **walatā-* > OW *gulat* > M-MnW *gwlad*, OCorn *gulat*, OBret adjective *guletic*, ‘country, land’) > Br, Gaul *wal-* in personal names; cogn. Lat *valeo* ‘I am strong’.

This verbal root, ‘be strong, exercise power’ occurs adjectivally in several British personal names of the **Cunowalo-*, **Dumnowalo-* > *Cynwal*, *Dyfnwal* kind (and, for Continental examples, see DCCPN p. 33). One such name, **Lugu-walo-* (+ deity name *Lugo-*, see **lūch**), apparently underlies *Luguvalium* PNRB p. 402 (+ suffix *-jo-*): see also PNRB p. 265 sv *Bannovalium*, and Jackson (1948), idem (1963a) at pp 80-2, idem (1970) at p. 76, and in LHEB at p 226. For the phonological development of this name in Brittonic, see LHEB §172 at p. 607 and §175 at p. 616; for its modification to become Carlisle Cmb see under **cajr**, and in PNCmb pp 40-1, and also LHEB §41 at p. 362n1 and §208 at p. 688n1.

Breeze (2002h) see this element also in *Vindobala* PNRB p. 500 (+ **winn-**, the fort at Rudchester Ntb), preferring the Ravenna Cosmography’s form *Vindovala*, but see ***bāl**, and PNRB loc. cit. for objections to this.

It is possible that a lengthened form of the above root, **wālā-*, underlies OW/Pictish *gual* > M-MnW *gwal* ‘a wall’ (in HB, and often in mediaeval literature, ‘The Wall’, i.e. Hadrian’s, see Haycock 2013 p.10), Corn *gwal* (in place-names, CPNE p. 114) and O-MnIr *fāl*, G *fāl*, Mx *faal*. Usage in the Celtic languages was undoubtedly influenced by Latin *vallum*, either directly or via OE(Angl) *wall* (itself probably from a West Germanic adoption of the Latin word: see OEG §143, pp 55-6, and §539, p. 212). **Wāl* could have preceded OE(Angl) *wall-* in several place-names in the North where the origin of ‘Wal-’ is *wall-* rather than *walh-* ‘a Briton’, e.g. Walton Cmb PNCmb p. 114.

a2) Wallow Crag Wml (Shap Rural) PNWml2 p. 178 ? + **-öü**: A. Walker pers. comm., but doubtful.

c2) Two or three names in the North are formed with **pen[n]**, in the sense (presumably) of ‘end’: Kinneil WLo (Bo’ness and Carriden) CPNS pp. 346-8, PNWLo pp. 30-1 + **pen[n]**, replaced by Gaelic *cenn-*. This place-name is of great interest in relation to the linguistic situation in the Forth valley in the 7th-8th centuries: on the forms *Peanfahel*, *Penneltun* HE I₁₂ and *Pengual*, *Cenail* HB23 see Jackson (1955a) at pp 143-4, 161 and 165, and Nicolaisen in SPN² at pp 211-12 and 219-20.

Pen-bal-crag Ntb (Tynemouth) PNNtb pp. 203-4 + **pen[n]** [+ Eng ‘crag’]; according to Camden, also Leland (*Benebalcrag*), the locally supposed end of the Roman Wall.

Penielheugh Rox (Crailing) CPNS p. 354, PNRox p. 17 + **pen[n]** [+ Scots *heuch* ‘a steep bank, cliff overhanging a river’]; but see Macdonald’s topographical objections, PNRox loc. cit., and see also under **pen[n]**.

Penwhail Kcb (Girthon) PNGall p. 223 + **pen[n]**-; the location and apparent lenition here would favour a compound, ‘head-wall, *heid-dyke*’ the boundary between farmed land and common hill-grazings.

*wan[n]

IE **h₁ieu(h_a)-n(n)-* > eCelt **wanno-/ā-* > Br **wanno-/ā-* > MW *guan* > W *gwan*, OCorn *guan* > Corn *gwadn*, OBret *gwenion* (plural) > Bret *gwan*; O-MnIr, G *fann*; cogn. Lat *vānus*, Gmc **wano-* > OE *wan* ‘lacking’ (and cf. ‘wane’, ‘want’);), ON *vanr*, Gk *eūnis*, Skt *ūna-*.

The Indo-European root is essentially a privative adjective or prefix, ‘deficient (in), deprived (of), wanting’; in the Celtic languages, the sense is ‘weak, feeble’ (OE *wann* > M-MnE ‘wan’ in the sense of ‘pale’ is of uncertain origin: it might be an unnoticed adoption from Brittonic).

Breeze (2001b) suggests this element in the river-name *Abravannus* PNRB p. 240, with intensive prefix **aβr-**, which see, + ***wan[n]**. He equates this with the Piltanton Burn Wig (*Pol t-sant Antoin* PNGall p. 224); for evidence of a Roman-British trading site at the mouth of this stream, see A. Wilson (2001) at pp. 82 and 112, also PNRGLV pp. 85 and 91-2. However, Isaac (2005) at p. 190, gives a derivation from IE **n-prh_xwo-no-* ‘not crooked’ or ‘not bad’, so ‘straight’ or ‘good’, > eCelt **abrāvo/ano-* > eBr **abrāvono-* (cf. OIr *amrae* ‘excellent, marvellous’ <**n-prh_xw-jo*, and Lat *prāvus* < *prh_xwo-*), and he identifies it with the Water of Luce (as do Rivet and Smith, tentatively, in PNRB loc. cit., and Koch (2007) map §15.3).

***wan[n]** might be present in Wansbeck Ntb ERN p. 432, PNNtb p. 206 [+ A-Sc *bekk* > ‘beck’, which is not common in Ntb, see EPNE1 p. 26], but the early forms leave this a very obscure case.

*waraj (m)

eCelt ? **wo-* (see **wo-**) + *-rigo-/ā-* > Br **woriga-jo-* > OW *guarai*, *guaroi-* > MW *gwar[a]e* > eMnW *gwarae*, M-MnCorn *gwary*, OBret *guari-* (also devoiced forms: M-MnW *chwarae*, MCorn *hwary*, MBret *choary* > Bret *c’hoari*; ?OIr *fuirec* > MIr *fuirech* > Ir *fuireagh* ‘feast, entertainment’, but this falls together with the verbal noun *fuireach* ‘staying’).

On the etymology, which is obscure, see EGOW pp. 64-5.

‘Play’, in the sense of sport or (presumably later) of dramatic performance.

This may be the specifier in *Din Guoaroy* HB61 and 63, = Bamburgh Ntb: see Jackson (1963b) at pp 27-8, and note Hope-Taylor’s (1977), pp. 290 and 370, comments on the appropriateness of such an interpretation in the light of the ‘arena’ at Yeavinger. However, the persistence of *i/y-* in the various recorded forms for the first syllable, and the indications that the suffix is *-wi-* makes this very doubtful (see LHEB §65, pp 414-15). A personal name, cf. Welsh *Gwair* and OIr (? from Old Welsh) *Gúaire*, is perhaps more likely: for several proposed etymologies for these names see CIB #76, pp. 224-5 and n1404, but note that their origin remains obscure.

*warthaμ (f)

> eCelt *u[p]er- (see *wor-), which see, + superlative suffix *-tamo-/ā-* > Br *wertamo-/ā- > M-MnW *gwarthaf*, Corn *guartha*.

See DCCPN p. 34 on formations with *-tamo-/ā-*, and GMW §41n5, p. 40, on loss of *-v*.

‘Uppermost’: as a noun, ‘top, summit’.

a1) *Watchcommon* Cmb (Midgehome) PNCmb pp. 103-4 + MIr personal (saint’s?) name *Colmán*: A. Walker pers. comm., but an ‘inversion compound’ with ON *varði* ‘a cairn’ is quite possible here.

*was (m)

IE *sth₂o- (zero-grade nominal form of *steh₂- ‘stand’) > eCelt *sta-, + *wo-, which see, > Br *wosta- > M-eMnW *gwas*, ‘unknown in Cornish’ (Padel CPNE p. 115); OIr *foss* > M-eMnIr *fos*, eG *fas*; cf. Lat *Vesta*, goddess of the hearth, *vestibulum* ‘entrance court or chamber’, Skt *vāstu* ‘site, foundation’. See also *aṅgwas and wotōd.

See OIPrIE table 4.12, p. 66, and CPNS pp. 210 and 498-500.

‘An abode, a dwelling-place or stopping-place’.

A note to HB42 in ms CCCC139, 75r, equates *Guasmoric* with *Palmeceastre* (= Old Carlisle Cmb, PNCmb p. 330, and see **mayl**), though this is doubtful. The specifier is presumably a Brittonic personal name from Latin *Mauricius*, > Welsh *Meurig*. See Dumville (1977) at p. 27.

*weβr or *weμr (m)

eMnW *gwefr*.

The etymology is wholly obscure.

‘Amber’.

a2) Torweaving MLo (West Calder) PNMLo p. 94, WLoPN p. 19 ? + **torr-** + **-īn**: suggested by Wilkinson, or else + ***gweβr-**, or G **torr uaimhinn* ‘hill of horror, detestation’ (sic, not ‘devastation’).

*wei-

IE *weis-, zero-grade *wis- > eCelt *weis-, *wis- > eBr *we:Σ-, *wiΣ-; cf. (from o-grade?) OE *wōs* > ‘ooze’, Skt *avisa* ‘river, sea’, *aveṣa-* ‘flow’; alternatively, IE *wegh- or *weġh- > eCelt *wei-s- : cf. Lat *vexāre*, Gmc **wagjan* > OE *wagian* > ‘wag’, Gk *gaié-okhos* ‘earth-shaking’ (see also wōγn).

See OIPrIE §22.11, pp. 393-4 and §22.10, pp 391-2. The relationship between **weis-* meaning ‘flow’ and a similar root meaning ‘twist’ is uncertain (see **wejr*, and OIPrIE §22.4, pp. 378-80; see also Coe 2000 p. 14 on W *gŵyth*, Ir *féith*, ‘vein’, but also DEPN(C) s.n. Goyt); likewise, that between **wegh-* or **weġh-* meaning ‘shake’ and a similar root meaning ‘bear, carry’ (see OIPrIE §22.17, pp 404-6).

This root, with a basic sense of ‘flowing’ (if **weis*) or ‘[set] in motion, disturbed’ (if **weġh-*), is considered to be present in several ancient river-names (not necessarily Celtic in origin) throughout Europe, see ACPN p. 183 n63.

Quair Water, with Traquair, Pbl CPNS p. 360 ? **we:Σ-* or **wiΣ-* + suffix *-urā-* (cf. Weser), + **treβ-** + **-i[r]**- in Traquair: see references for R Wear below, and **wejr*.

Troqueer Kcb CPNS p. 362, PNGall p. 261 ? **we:Σ-* or **wiΣ-* + suffix *-urā-*, + **treβ-**: cf. Traquair above, but see **wejr*.

Trowier Ayrs (Girvan) CPNS p. 361 ? **we:Σ-* or **wiΣ-* + suffix *-urā-* + **treβ-**: cf. Traquair above.

Wear R Drh ERN pp. 441-2 and 475, DDRhPN pp. 133-4 ? **wiΣ-* + suffix *-urā-*, see LHEB §41, p. 362, and §71, pp. 429-31, Nicolaisen (1957) at p. 236, and Kitson (1998) at p. 89 and n24 (suggesting two parallel forms, with *-urā-* and *-urjā-*), but see also **wejr*.

Wedale MLo/Rox (valley of the Gala Water) ? **we:Σ-* + suffix *-jā-* [+ AS cand *dal* > Scots *-dale*, or OE (Angl) *-halh*, dative *-hale*, > Scots *haugh* ‘riverside land’], or else OE *wēod-* > ‘weed’; see Dixon, PNMLo pp. 419 and 436, but he gives no early forms (OE (Angl) *wīh*, *wīg-*, ‘a heathen temple’, adjectivally, ‘holy (to pagans)’ is unlikely; *wēoh-* sometimes suggested for this name is West Saxon).

Wymott Brook Lanc PNLanc p. 127 ? **wiΣ-* + suffix *-jā-* [+ OE *-mūða*, presumably referring to the confluence with R Lostock]; see Ekwall’s discussion of river-names of the ‘Wey, Wye’ type, ERN pp. 451 – 4.

Wyre R Lanc ERN pp. 475-6, PNLanc pp. 139-40, JEPNS17 p. 79 ? **wiΣ-* + suffix *-urā-*, but note Jackson’s caution, LHEB §41 at p. 363.

**wejr* (f)

IE **wei(h₁)-d-* > eCelt **weid-* + *-rā-* > Br **we:drā-* > MW *gweir* > W *gwair* (only in compounds, also *gŵyr*), Corn *gôr*, Bret *goar*.

See OIPrIE §14.1, pp. 230-6, LHEB §71(1), pp. 429-31. There may be a relationship between this root and **weis* meaning ‘twist’, see **wei-* and OIPrIE §22.4, pp. 378-80.

‘A bend, something curved or twisted’.

Vedra PNRB pp. 489-90, is probably the R Wear Drh, as is the specific in (*hyt*) *Gaer Weir* in *Armes Prydein* (ed Williams 1972, lines 2-3): see Breeze in CVEP pp. 79-80, but also idem (2011b), Isaac 2005 at p. 202, and Haycock 2013 pp. 24-5 n31. A name meaning ‘twisted’ is appropriate, but the early forms in English sources (*Wirus* etc.) require internal *-s-* > eBr *-Σ-* rather than *-d* > *-j-*, see *wei-*. Ptolemy’s form may reflect an alternative, British, name for the river, or some re-interpretation by the Britons of an ancient river-name (ERN and DEPN(C), both s.n. Wear). An alternative but very problematic etymology might involve **we:d-r-*, from a

lengthened form of the IE root **wed-* ‘water’ (cf. OE(Angl) *wēt* > ‘wet’) + a nasal infix (PNRB loc. cit.), but the regular Celtic development of **wē:d-r-* is seen in OIr *uisce*, and see also **went* and *winn*).

Similar considerations may apply to other hydronyms of the ‘Weir’ type: records for Quair Water, with Traquair, Pbl, and Trowier Ayrs (Girvan) are too late to discern whether these are from **wē:Σ-* or **wiΣ-* + suffix *-urā-* (see **wei-*) or **wejr*. In Troqueer Kcb **wejr* is more likely, referring to the bend in the R. Nith where Troqueer Motte is located, otherwise **weir* or **wejr* might be a former name for Cargen Water.

An ancient river-name from IE **wei(h₁)- d-* > eCelt **weid-* without the suffix *-rā-* might possibly be the origin of R Jed Rox, but it is very obscure: see also **wī:ð**.

**wəd-*, from an zero-grade form of the IE root **wed-r-* ‘water’ (mentioned above under *Vedra*) has been invoked, with root-determinative *-s-* for the etymology of R Ouse YNR-YER (ERN p. 314, PNYNR p. 5, PNYER p. 9), **wəd-s-* > eCelt **udso-* > Br **usso-* > neoBritt **ūs* > W *Ūs*, but this is ‘guesswork’ (Watts DEPN(C) s.n.): see LHEB §35 at pp. 342-3.

wel[t] (m)

IE **wel-s-* > eCelt **welso-* > Br **welso-* > OW *guel* > MW *guelt* > W *gwellt*, MCorn *guels* > Corn *gwels*, OBret *guelt-* Bret *géat*, Ushant dialect *gwelt*; cf. OIr *gelt* > Ir *geilt*.

See OIPrIE §10.3, but also EGOW p. 66 and references. OIr *gelt* is the verbal noun of *gelid*, so ‘grazing, pasture’, and may be of different ancestry (see DIL s.v. and GOI §§682-5, pp. 421-4).

‘Grass, pasture’, a collective noun. Note that most of the names below, apart from the compounds Batwell and Guiltree, show epenthetic *-t*, suggesting relatively late formation.

a1) Guelt Ayrs (Cumnock) CPNS p. 191.

b1) Batwell Wig (Kirkmaiden) PNGall p. 34 ? + **bayeð-**.

c1) Guiltree, with *Giltre Makgrane*, Ayrs (Kirkmichael) CPNS p. 362 ? + **-treß**, but see also ***weli**.

c2) Bothwell Lnk ? + **bod-** which see, but see also **well**.

Drumwalt Wig (Mochrum) CPNS p. 180, PNGall p. 127 + **drum-**, but see PNWigMM p. 20. Leswalt Wig CPNS p. 180, PNGall p. 195 ? + **li:s[s]-**: MacQueen (1955) at pp. 79-80, rejects Maxwell’s *lios-* + *-uillt*, genitive singular of *allt*, referring to the Aldouran Burn (**Allt-dobhran*, ‘otters’ burn’), and in PNRGLV pp. 93-4 he points out that early forms have *-wat*, so the *-l-* may be inorganic, in which case the specifier is obscure; MacQueen compares Lasswade MLo, which is equally difficult.

Leuchold WLo (Dalmeny) PNWLO p. 8, WLoPN p. 27 ? + **luch-** or **lūch-**: see under both of these, if the latter, the formation would be compound, (b1); the voicing of *-t* is presumably due to the preceding *-l-*.

Trevergylt (lost: in the Inquisition of David I) ? + **treß-** + **-i[r]-**, or else ***wilt**.

weli (m)

IE **legh-* ‘lie down’ > eCelt **legjo-*, + *wo-* > Br **wo-ligjo-* > OW *gueli* > M-MnW *gwely*, OCorn *gueli* > MCorn *guely*, Bret *gwele*; cf. OIr *lige* ‘lying down’ > Mlr *lighe* ‘a bed, a tomb’; cf. Lat *lectus* ‘a bed’, Gmc **lizjan* > OE *licgan* > ‘lie’, Gk *léknos* ‘a bed, a bier’.

See LHEB §76, pp. 445-8, EGOW pp. 66-7.

Primarily ‘a bed’, extending to a bed for planting crops. In the Welsh Laws, MW *gwely* acquired a very distinct sense, ‘a land-owning kinship group’, see ***gaβel**, Jones (1996), and LHD n100.5, pp. 260-1. However, the evidence for this in Wales is no earlier than c1100 (Parsons 2022, p. 223 and n9), there is no trace of this in Cornwall, and it must remain doubtful in the North.

c1) Guiltree, with *Giltre Makgrane*, Ayrs (Kirkmichael) CPNS p. 362 ? + **-treβ**: suggested by Brooke (1991) at p. 320, but place-names with *Gwely-* in Wales are invariably formed with proper names; see also **wel[t]** and A. James (2014b), pp. 26-7 and 35.

well

?IE **wel-* ‘wish, want’ + *-n-* > eCelt **welno-/ā-* > OW *guell* > M-MnW *gwell*, Corn *guel*, Bret *gwell-*; cf. Lat *volō*, Gmc **wel[l]an* > OE *wyllan* > ‘will’, Skt *vri-* ‘choose’.

The etymology is complicated: see EGOW p. 67.

‘Preferable’, coming to serve as the comparative adjective, ‘better’: see GMW §42, p. 40.

Veluniate, the fort on the Antonine Wall at Carriden WLo, PNRB p. 490, is probably based on **welauno-* (? < **welamno-*), incorporating or related to **well**. Rivet and Smith interpret this as ‘good’ (PNRB loc. cit. , and see also *ibid.* pp. 271-2, s.n. *Bolvellaunium*), but Sims-Williams, ACPN p. 118 (though not listing *Veluniate* as it is not in Ptolemy) gives the meaning of **Vellauno* as ‘governor’, comparing OIr *follaimnigid* (*sic, recte follamnaigid*) ‘rules, governs’, < o-grade **woll-amno-*.

c2) Bothwell Lnk ? + **bod-**, which see, but see also ***wel[t]**.

*went

An element of great obscurity. It may occur as a suffix in river-names of the ‘Alwent’ type, see **al-**, and possibly the ‘Derwent’ type too, see **dār**, but see Kitson (1996) at pp. 79-81 and ACPN pp. 118-19 and 310-11 (where Sims-Williams excludes the ‘Derwent’ class). In hydronyms, a relationship with IE **wed-r-* ‘water’, is possible (cf. Gmc **wentrus* > OE *winter*, ‘winter’, probably from a nasalised form of that root, and see ***wejr**, but also ***winn**).

The same syllable, but not necessarily the same element, occurs as *Venta* in the names of three *civitas* capitals in the south (PNRB pp. 492-3), and in *Bannaventa* (the Romano-British settlement at Whilton Lodge near Daventry Ntp, PNRB pp. 262-4, where discussion of the element is reviewed; see also APN p. 119 and references). **Bannaventa* may also have been the correct form for St Patrick’s birthplace, *bannavem taburniae*, see **ban[n]** and **bern**.

Otherwise, the syllable occurs in the North only at **Glannoventa*, PNRB p. 367 + ***glan-** or **glann-**. In all the cases mentioned, a sense ‘a market, a trading-place’ is quite plausible, but the apparent similarity to Latin *vendere*, ‘to sell’ and its Vernacular Latin and Romance derivatives is probably misleading. Both **Bannaventa* and **Glannoventa*, as topographical names, might

incorporate the suffix seen in the river-names above, or be based on lost river-names with that suffix. Nevertheless, Sims-Williams in ACPN p. 119 includes **Bannaventa* and **Glannoventa* along with the *Venta* group, under the sense ‘market’.

*werβ (f)

?IE **[h₁]wer-b-* . eCelt **werbā-*, ?cf. M-MnW *gweryn* ‘liquid’; ?cogn. Gmc **wairpan* > OE *weorpan* > ‘warp’.

A very difficult etymology: see also **werther*.

A root supposedly meaning ‘turn, twist’ (Ekwall, ERN pp. 454-5), but it is uncertain whether IE **[h₁]wer-b-* carried that meaning. The primary sense of Gmc **wairpan* is ‘throw, cast’, and its etymology is obscure. Latin *verbēna* ‘a sacred bough (of olive, laurel, etc.)’ is from IE(WC) **w₁b-* ‘a branch, a twig’, which might be a zero-grade form of **[h₁]wer-b-*: see OIPrIE §10.1 at p. 161.

Nicolaisen, SPN² pp. 231-5, discussing R Farrar Inv, gives ‘moisten’ as a sense of IE **wer*, but this is hard to support from non-hydronymic cognates. Isaac (2005) at p. 201 gives **[h₂]wer-* ‘flowing water’, but this is likewise based mainly on river-names. Cognates in Baltic, Slavic, Albanian and (possibly) Greek have to do with ‘joining together’ - ‘binding, threading’ or ‘sticking, gluing’. Nevertheless, a root centred on **wer-* does seem a widespread hydronymic element, with examples in Wales including Afon and Llyn Tryweryn Mer (DPNW p. 478).

An alternative etymology is proposed by Sims-Williams in ACPN at p. 120 associating *Verbeia*, the R Wharfe (PNRB p. 493), with a quite different root, IE **weru-* > eCelt **verbā-* > OIr *fer[b]* ‘a hind’ (and, in poetry, ‘a cow’, but this may reflect confusion with OIr *erp*: DIL s.v. *fer[b]*); this may be cognate with Latin *vervex* ‘a wether’ DCCPN p. 35. He rejects *Verbeia* from any possible hydronymic family based on **wer-* or **war-* on the grounds of its ‘being clearly of the wrong structure’ (ibid. p. 322 n70).

A further IE root that may merit consideration is **werh₂u-* ‘broad’, cf. Gaul *weru-* in personal and place-names (see DCCPN p. 34), Gk *eurus*, Skt *uru*, see OIPrIE §18.5 at pp. 297-8, and DCCPN p. 34.

a2) Wharfe R ERN pp. 454-5, PNYWR7 pp. 143-4 + suffix *-ejā-*: see PNRB p. 493 and p. 256 s.n. *Arbeia*, and LHEB §6(4), pp. 281-2: the modern form reflects the influence of ON *hverfi* ‘turn’ (which is not related to OE *weorpan* above).

wern (f, also m)

IE **werno-/eh_a-* > eCelt **werno-/ā-* > Br, Gaul **wernā-* > OW(LL) *guernen* (singulative) > M-MnW *gwern*, O-MnCorn *guern*, Bret *gwern*; O-MIr *fern* > Ir *fearn*, G *fearna*, Mx *farnay*, *fernagh*; cogn. Skt *varaṇa-* ‘Barna, *Crataeva religiosa* (syn. *Crataeva roxburghii*)’, a tropical tree of medicinal and religious importance.

See ACPN pp. 120-1 and 311, and for a reservation concerning the IE etymology, DCCPN p. 34.

‘Alder’, as a collective noun in the Brittonic languages, also frequently ‘swamp, alder-carr’, and ‘marshland’ in general, see ELI p. 61, and Parsons 2022 p. 121.

a2) Waren Burn Ntb ERN p. 435 + **-ed**, if adopted as Northumbrian OE * *weorned* > **wearned* > *warned* 12th ct: see OEG§147, p. 57, but note Campbell's doubts. Werneth Che (Hyde) PNChel p. 302, and Werneth Lanc (Oldham) PNLanc p. 51, both + **-ed**: the adoption of Brittonic **wern-* as OE **wern-* is normal here; see **-ed** for *-eth*, and Whalley (2021) pp. 124-5.

werther (f)

IE **wer-* 'surround, cover, contain', or **wers-* 'a peak', > eCelt **wer[s]-* + *-terā-* > Br **werterā-* > MW *gwarther* (and cf. W *gwerthyr*, 'a fort'? But that is not recorded in GPC or AMR before 18th ct); cognate, if < **wer-*, Skt *vartra* 'a dyke, a dam', and cf. Latin *a-perire* 'to open', Gk *éruomai* 'I guard, I conceal', Skt *vr̥-* 'to cover', *varaṇa* 'a rampart, a mound'; if < **wers-*, cogn. O-MIr *fert* 'a burial mound' > Ir, G *feart*, and cf. OIr *ferr* 'better, superior' > Ir, G *fearr*, Mx *share* (< *is fhearr*), Latin *verrūca* 'a wart', Gk *hérma* 'a pillar, a prop', Skt *varṣman* 'height, top'.

A plural form meaning either 'ramparts' or 'high places' is seen in *Verteris* PNRB p. 496, the Roman fort at Brough under Stainmore.

a1) Ferter Ayr (Barr) CPNS p. 69: this may represent the same element, with Gaelicised *f-* for *w-* and *-t-* for *-th-*. Note that Scots *ferter* < OFr *fiertre* < Mediaeval Latin *feretorium*, 'a feretory', a portable shrine for sacred relics, and, by metonymy, a chapel (within a church) housing such a shrine, is unlikely to be relevant here. There is no reason to suppose there was any church with such a chapel here, and it is in an area where mediaeval religious (or post-reformation Catholic) nomenclature would almost certainly have been Gaelic.

wī:δ (f)

IE **widh-* (zero-grade of **weidh-*) > eCelt **widhu-* > Br, Gaul *widu-* > OW *guid* > MW *guit*, *gwyd* > W *gwydd*, OCorn *guiden* (singulative) > MCorn *gweyth*, *gweith* > Corn *gwyth*, OBret *-guid* > M-MnBret *gwez*; OIr *fid* > Ir, G *fíodh*, Mx *fuygh*; cogn. Gmc **widuz* > OE *wudu* > 'wood', ON *viðr*.

See EGOW p. 68.

'A wood', in the sense of a substantial area of high woodland or managed trees, as well as cut timber and 'wood' as a substance. In place-names, the topographic sense is obviously the main one.

If Anglicised as **wæþ*, it would have fallen together in later OE with the Anglicised form of ON *vað* 'a ford', so may be hard to distinguish in names showing ME *wath* or *wat*.

a1) R Jed Rox if Cumbric *gwī:δ* was adopted to become early Scots *Gedde-* 1139 in Jedburgh Rox PNRox p. 22, and the river-name was a back-formation (replacing **Glass*? See PNRox pp. 35-6, and under ***cl̥:ss** and ***gl̥:iss**), but see also **wejr**.

a2) Dinwiddie Rox (Castleton) CPNS p. 372 + **dīn-** + suffix *-jo-*.
Dinwoodie Dmf (Applegarth) CPNS p. 372, PNDmf p. 5 + **dīn-** + suffix *-jo-*.

b2) *Quothqu[h]an* Lnk ? + *-wenn* (see **wīnn**): J. G. Wilkinson pers. comm.
Watcarrick Dmf (Eskdalemuir) PNDmf p. 40 + **-carreg**, but see Breeze (2002c) where he suggests **wī:δ* > W *gwydd* in the sense of 'a grave, a tumulus', though the basic sense (<IE

**weid-* ‘see’) ‘a visible, conspicuous place’ may be appropriate here [Johnson-Ferguson's suggestion, OE *wæd-* ‘a ford’ does not agree with the earliest forms, though it, or the ON cognate *vað-*, probably influenced the name].

Watermillock Cmb PNCmb p. 254 ? + **-i[r]-** + **-mę:l-** + **-ōg** [or else OE *wēðer* > ‘wether’].

Vethcoch Cmb (field-name in Waterhead) PNCmb p. 117, CVEP p. 284 + **-coch**.

c1) Yanwath Wml (Barton) PNWml2 p. 204 ? + Cumbric personal name **Eiyein* (from Greek > Latin *Eugenius*, > MW *Ywein*), but if so, the second element is probably ON *-vað* ‘a ford’. On *Ywein*, see LHEB §26 pp. 323-4 and §46(2) at p. 370n1, and CIB #84, p. 232.

c2) [*Chef*] *Carnenuat* lost, Rnf? in the *Inquisition of King David* + **carn-** ? + **-*[h]in-**, or else ***cajr-** + **-nōwīð**, which see. This is not the same place as Carnwath Lnk.

Carnwath Lnk CPNS p. 386 + **carn-** ? + **-i[r]-**, or else ***cajr-** + **-nōwīð**, which see; **wi:ð* > W *gŵydd* might also be considered here, cf. Watcarrick above (b2) (W. Patterson, pers. comm.)

Lasswade MLo PNMLo p. 275 ? + ***li:s[s]-**; Dixon gives OE *læswe* ‘pasture’ (genitive) + **-[ǵe]wæd** ‘ford’.

*wiðbed (f)

MW *gwydbet* > W *gwybed*, Corn *guibeden* (singulative).

Etymology obscure, but see Coates 2017, pp. 43 - 4.

‘Gnats, midges’, a collective noun. it occurs in Welsh and Cornish place-names: see CPNE p. 119.

c2) *Burntippet Moor* Cmb (Farlam) PNCmb p. 84, Lan Cart ? + **brīnn-** (A. Walker pers. comm.) But early forms favour A-Sc *brenk* > ME *brenke* > ‘brink’ + personal name *Ibbet* (diminutive of *Isabel*) in an ‘inversion compound’. If the name is Cumbric, *Brenkibeth* 1169 shows *-gw-* adopted into Middle English as *-k-*. The proximity of Midgeholm Cmb may be mere coincidence!

wīg (f)

IE **wik-* (zero-grade of **weik-* ‘extended family, clan’) ? > eCelt **wicā-* > Br **wicā-* > MW *guic* > M-MnW *gwig*, OCorn *guic* > Corn **gwyk* (in place-names, CPNE p. 119), OBret *guic* > Bret *gwig*; O-MnIr *fich*, early G *fich*; cogn. Skt *viś* ‘a settlement, a house’, and cf. (from e-grade) Lat *vīcus*, Gmc **wīχaz* > OE *wīc*, ON *vík*, and (from o-grade) Gk *oikos* ‘a house’, *oikía* ‘a household’.

See OIPrIE §12.1, pp. 203-5 (for Proto-Indo-European), PNRB p xviii (for Latin), CPNE p. 119 (for the P-Celtic languages), and Coates (1999, for Old English).

There is uncertainty as to whether the Celtic, Latin and Germanic words are independent developments from **weik-*/ **wik-*, or, if adoption was involved, which languages adopted from which.

The primary sense is ‘a settlement occupied by a population of fairly closely-related kinsfolk’. The Roman administrative sense, *vīcus* ‘the smallest class of settlement having legal status, though subordinate to a superior centre of authority’, doubtless influenced usage in the Celtic and Germanic languages. Semantic developments of Old English *wīc* from ‘a dependent settlement’

to several specialised senses is traced by Coates (1999). However, ‘evidence for the existence of *gwig* in Brittonic in the sense of “settlement” or “dwelling” is poor’, Jackson LHEB p. 252n1: the earliest citation in GPC is *cair guicou* c1200, though Padel, CPNE p. 119, labels it ‘Old Welsh’. The Middle-to-Modern Welsh sense, ‘wood, forest’, may not be from the same origin: see Jackson (1970) at p. 72.

Delgovicia, probably the Roman-British settlement at Wetwang YER, PNRB pp. 331-2, + **dely**. Rivet and Smith’s discussion misses the close relationship between **wik-*, with the sense of ‘extended family, clan’, and the use of its derivatives (whatever their precise history, see above) as habitative terms in place-names. If this name is based on an ethnonym, **Delgovices*, a meaning like ‘spear-clan’ is likely (see **dely**); in *-vicia-* (with suffix *-jā*) the meaning shifts naturally to ‘home (of that clan)’. Alternatively, this and other names based on ethnonyms in *-vices* (for which see ACPN pp. 122-3) may be formed from an early Celtic **wic-* from the zero-grade of IE(NW) **weik-* ‘fight’ (> OIr *fichid* ‘fights’, cognate with Latin *vinco* ‘conquer’, and cf. OE *wīg* ‘strife, warfare’): for this proposal, see Jackson (1970) at p. 72.

Gabrantovicum sinus PNRB pp. 363-4 ? + **gaβr-** + *-nt-* (as a diminutive suffix), + *-wīco-* in the sense of ‘a bay suitable for a harbour’ in the vicinity of Bridlington or Filey YER, but it is very doubtful whether the British word carried this meaning. Jackson (1948) at p. 57 took *gabrā-* here to mean ‘a mare’ (for objections see PNRB loc. cit.), *-nt-* to be a participial suffix, and *-vicum* to reflect the early Celtic meaning ‘fight, conquer’ (see above), yielding an ethnic name, ‘horse-riding warriors’. While this is, for Jackson, rather forced, a tribal or personal name might be involved, see **gaβr**.

Longovicium PNRB pp. 398-9 + ***long-**, the Roman fort at Lanchester Drh: Rivet and Smith see this as being based on a tribal name, **Longovices*, + **-wīg**, though the formative *-o-* is unexplained. For Lanchester, see ***long**.

a2) Wigan Lanc PNLanc p. 103 + **-an-**: probably originating as a Roman *vīcus* associated with *Coccia* (for which see **coch**), see Breeze in CVEP at pp. 232-3, and cf. Le Vigan etc. (x5) in France, Dauzet et Rostaing (1963) s.n.

b1) Barwick Kcb (Dalry) PNGall p. 34 ? + **barr-**, or else OE *bere-wīc*, literally ‘a barley-farm’, but used of ‘an outlying part and/ or settlement of an estate’, EPNE1 p.31, and Coates 1999. Carrick, with Carrick heights, Ntb (Elsdon) PNNtb p. 40 ? + **cajr-**, see Coates CVEP p. 324, but the meaning and reference of such a compound would be obscure. A phrasal form (c1) might make more sense, especially if **-wīg** had acquired the sense ‘forest’, in which case a late, Cumbric-period, origin may be inferred.

*wilt

?IE(NW) **g^wel-t-* > eCelt **gwelt-ijo-/ā-* > Br **gweltijo-/ā-* > M-MnW *gwyllt*, OCorne *guill* > Corn *gwyls*, OBret *gueld-*; OIr *geilt* ‘wild man, mad man’ (maybe adopted from Brit) > Ir *gealt*, *geilt*, G *geilt*; cogn. Gmc **wilpiaz* > OE *wilde* > ‘wild’, ON *villr*.

Apparently only Celtic and Germanic.

‘Wild, uncontrolled’. Förster favoured a Brittonic origin for the river-names below (see LHEB p. 434 n1), though Ekwall ERN pp. 170-1 and PNCmb p. 14 treat it as Goidelic *geilt*. The root may be IE **g^wel[s]-* ‘well up, flow’ + participial *-t-*, though it seems to be otherwise absent from Celtic. IE **k^wel-* ‘turn’ would be possible only if initial *k^w-* had become voiced in early Celtic.

a1) Gelt Burn Ntb ERN p. 171.

Gelt R Cmb ERN pp. 170-1, PNCmb p. 14, and see LHEB p. 434 n1.

c2) *Trevergylt* (lost: in the Inquisition of David I) ? + **treß-** + **-ī[r]-**, or else ***wel[t]**.

*win[n]

An element of unknown origin and meaning seems to be present in *Vinovia* or *Vinovium* PNRB pp. 504-5. The suffix, ***-owwjo-** is likely to imply an underlying river-name (see Jackson (1970) at p. 81).

The first syllable in Binchester Drh, DDrhPN p. 9, the site of the Roman fort named *Vinovia/um*, might preserve this element, if C. C. Smith's (1980) ingenious suggestion is accepted, that it was pronounced ***Bin-** by the Iberian Celtic-speaking *Vettones* (otherwise *Bettones*) stationed there. However, reinterpretation by Old English speakers with *binn* 'cattle-stall, manger', or *binnan* 'inside', could have influenced the development (see Jackson (1970) at p. 81 and in LHEB at p. 89n2 and p. 260n5).

[*in castello*] *Guinnion* HB56 may represent a name based on this element but influenced by **winn**.

For *Gwensteri* BT29 and R Winster Wml/Lnc see under ***ster**.

winn

eCelt ***windo-ā-** > Br, Gaul ***windo-ā-** > OW(in personal names and LL) *guinn*, feminine *guenn* > MW *gwin*, *gwen* > W *gwyn*, feminine *gwen*, OCorn *guyn* > MCorn *gwyn*, feminine *gwen*, OBret *guinn*, feminine *guen* > MBret *guin[n]*, *guen[n]* > Bret *guinn*, *guenn*; OIr *find* > MÍr *finn* > Ir, early G *fionn*, early Mx *phing* (in place-name, oblique case: DMxPN p. 73) > Mx *finn*.

The Indo-European background is uncertain. IE ***weid-** 'see, know' + infixed **-n-** is most generally favoured (see DCCPN pp. 34-5). Alternatively there might be a similar relationship with ***wed-r-** 'water' and with **-went-** in river-names; see ***wejr** and ***went**, and cf. Gmc ***wentrus** > OE *winter*, 'winter', probably from a nasalised form of ***we:d-**. Occasionally in epigraphic and other early written sources, **-e-** occurs rather than **-i-** even in masculine forms: see CIB ‡22 at p. 76. See also ***halę:n**.

'White, light, pale', also 'bright, shining'.

A number of Romano-British place-names have *Vindo-* in compound formations; those in the North include the following (see under the generic elements for discussions, and ACPN pp. 123-4 for examples throughout the Roman world):

Vindobala PNRB p. 500, the fort at Rudchester ntb + ***bāl** or ***wal**.

Vindogara PNRB pp. 501-2, an unlocated site on Irvine Bay Ayr ? + ***cal**, ***carr**, **-gar[r]** or ***garw**.

Vindolanda PNRB p. 502, the fort at Chesterholme Ntb + **-lann**.

Vindomora PNRB pp. 502-3, the fort at Ebchester Drh ? + **-mōr**.

Williams, PT p. 126, identifies [*kat yg*]*wenstri* BT29(XI) with the R Winster Lanc/Wml ERN p. 463, PNLanc p. 190, PNWml1 pp. 14-15, ? + ***ister**, which see for discussion.

Williams, PT pp xlix and 31, also identifies *gwen ystrat* BT56(II) with the Eden Valley Cmb/Wml (+ *-**strad**), and, at PT p. 41, he reads [yn] *lech wen/ Galystem* as a miscopying of **Lech Velen/ Galysten* (i.e. **lech-** + **-melin**, which see). He identifies this as Galston Aysr. Both these are presumably place-names, and Williams's proposals are ingenious, but highly speculative; Breeze 2012b at p. 61, and idem 2015a, suggests that *gwen ystrat* is a miscopying of *gwensteri*, above.

a1) Winewall Lanc (Trawden) PNLanc p. 88 [+ OE(Mercian) *-wella* 'a well']; perhaps a stream-name, but the medial vowel is problematic, Ekwall favours OE pers. n. *Wina*, and see Coates CVEP p. 319.

c1) Fintry Stg CPNS p. 364 + **-treß**: ? Gaelicised **fionn-*, see Watson CPNS loc. cit., but see also **fin**. If Watson's etymology is correct (as it is for Fintray Abd, which was probably **can-dref*, see **can-treß*, see **can[d]** and Nicolaisen 2011 p. 322), other place-names with 'Fin-' could have Brittonic **winn** behind them, e.g. the four places named Fingland and one Finglen in Pbl CPNS p. 140, and Fingland Cmb PNCmb pp. 125 and lxxviii, + **-glinn**. Winckley, with Winkley (*sic*) Hall, Lanc (Mitton) PNLanc p. 141 ? + **-cę:d**, which see [+ OE *-lēah* 'a clearing, pasture, meadow'], but see also **celli**.

c2) Carfin Lnk (Bothwell) CPNS p. 367 + **carn-**, Gaelicised if not Gaelic in origin. *Cumheueruin* Cmb (Kingwater and/or Walton) Lan Cart 151, 204 + **cum[b]**- + **-gweßr-** or **-*hauar-** (see both of these). The absence of *-g-* on **-winn** may indicate early adoption into Northumbrian Old English, though it could have been inhibited in the context *-r-w-*; or else **-in**. Colvend Kcb PNGall p. 76 ? + **-*cūl**, which see. Lessudden Rox (St. Boswells) PNRox p. 34 ? + ***li:s[s]**- + **-ed-** + feminine *-wen[n]*; Gaelic **lios-* + *-aodainn* 'hill-face' is more likely, perhaps cf. Lassodie Fif (Beath) PNFif1 pp. 176-7, but Taylor doubts this etymology there because of the loss of *-n*; Macdonald in PNRox gives OE *lāes-* 'meadow' + *-sīde-* 'side' + *-*winn* 'pasture'. Primside Rox (Morebattle) CPNS p. 351, PNRox p. 30 + **brinn-** or **prenn-** + feminine *-wen[n]*- [+OE *ġe-set* 'a dwelling, a camp, a place for animals' > ME/Scots *sete*, either 'a dwelling, seat, settlement' or in the Scots legal sense, 'a letting, a lease', see EPNE2 p. 120 and DSL]: see discussion under **prenn**. Pulinkum Wig (Kirkmaiden) PNRGLV p. 85 ? + **pol-** + **-cum[b]**, which see. Torquhan MLo (Stow) PNMLo p. 370, Troquhain Aysr (Kirkmichael) CPNS p. 362, Troquhain Kcb (Balmaclellan) PNGall p. 262, CPNS p. 362, and Troughend Ntb (Otterburn) PNNtb p. 201, all ? + **treß-**, but *-quh-* implies unlenited **gwen[n]*, which would be irregular. Moreover, early forms for Torquhan MLo and Troughend Ntb may suggest a different formation, + (**-i[r]**-) + **-*hwaen**, which see, and see also ***truch**.

wlib (m as noun)

?IE(NW) **wlk^[wl]-* (zero-grade of **welk^[wl]-*) > eCelt **wlik^[wl]u-* > br **wlipo-* > OW *gulip* > M-MnW *gwlyb*, OCorne *glibor* (noun) > Corn *gleb*, OBret *gulip* > MBret *gloeb*, *glueb* > Bret *gleb*; O-MnIr, G *fliuch*, Mx *fliugh*; ? cogn. Lat *liquidus*.

See OIPrIE §20.9 at p. 347 and EGOW pp. 70-1.

'Wet, damp, moist', also 'fluid, liquid'. It occurs in place-names in the Book of Llandaff, and quite frequently in AMR, but only as a specifier in field-names and local topographic names.

a1) Wilpshire Lanc (Blackburn) PNLanc p. 72: apparently a district-name [+ OE *-scīr* 'a (Northumbrian) shire, a territorial unit'], see Kenyon (1991) pp. 100-1 and 142, and Roberts (2008) pp. 151-87; Ekwall PNLanc loc. cit. considers that *gwlyb* 'does not seem to suit the

locality’, but Breeze CVEP pp. 223-4 disregards this and rejects Ekwall’s proposal for OE *wlips* ‘lispings’. Note that Wilpshire is adjacent to Dinckley (see **đīn** and **cę:d**), and close to Mellor (see **mę:l**, **brey**) and Eccleshill (see **egļes**).

WO-

IE **h₄upo-* > eCelt **wo-* > Br, Gaul *wo-* > OW *guo-*, *gwa-* > M-MnW *go-*, *gwa-*, MCorn **go-* (mainly in place-names, see CPNE p. 105), Bret *gou-*, *gua-*; OIr *fo-*, *fa-*, *fu-* > Ir, G, Mx *fo-*; cogn. OE *ufe-* ‘on’, and cf. *upp[e]* > ‘up’, Gk *hupó* ‘under, by towards’, Skt *upa* ‘upwards, towards’.

See OIPrIE §18.3 at p. 292, LHEB§49, pp. 385-94, GOI§837, pp. 511-13, and Schrijver (1995) pp. 110-37.

A leniting prefix, primarily preverbal but in place-names prepositional, essentially ‘under, below’ but developing a wide range of sense, typically diminutive or subordinative.

A number of elements originally formed with this prefix are treated here as independent lexemes: see ***waraj**, ***was**, **weli**, **woβer**, ***wogerð**, ***worę:d**, and **wotōd**.

Place-names in which **wo-** is prefixed to an element that itself remained an independent lexeme in Welsh may include the following (see under the headwords for discussion):

R Forth ? + **-*red-** or **-rīd**, but see also ***worę:d**.

Gogar, with Gogar Burn, Stg (Denny) CPNS p. 210, PNFESTg p. 40, WLoPN p. 17, and Gogar, with Gogar Burn, MLo (Ratho) + **-*cor** or **-garth**, but see also **coch**, ***cog**, and ***wogerð**.

Govan Rnf + **-ban[n]**.

Laggangarn Wig + **lech-** + **-īn-** + **-rīw**, but see also ***woreü**.

woβer (m)

IE **bher-* (see ***ber**) –*w-* > eCelt **beru-* + **wo-** > Br **wobero-* > OW(LL) *guuber*, *guuer* > M-MnW *gofer*, OCorn *guuer* > M-MnCorn *gover*, MBret *gouher*, *gouveer* > Bret *gouer*; OIr *fober*, *fofor* > MIr *fobar* > Ir, G *fobhar* (in place-names, see IPN p. 212 and CPNS p. 504); cf. Lat *fermentum* ‘yeast, leaven’, OE *beorm* ‘yeast, leaven’, and (from zero-grade) OE *brēowan* > ‘brew’, Gk *porphúrein* ‘to bubble’, Skt *bhurvan* ‘restless motion (of water)’.

See OIPrIE§16.2, pp. 258-9, Schrijver (1995) pp. 112-14, and ACPN p. 199n46 (on *Voberna*, river-name in Gaul). For forms in LL, see Coe (2000) pp. 12-13.

‘The outflow of a well or small spring, a streamlet’.

a1) Cover R ERN p. 100, PNYNR p. 2: Breeze, CVEP pp. 59-60, (unknowingly?) follows Förster in proposing this etymology, but overlooks Jackson’s observation, ‘this derivation is hazardous’ (LHEB §73 at p. 434): *C-* implies late adoption (see LHEB§49, pp. 385-94 and CIB p. 288 n125), unlikely in this area, with subsequent initial devoicing. See also ***cöü**, ***ber**, **bre[y]** and **gaβr**.

c2) Bangour WLo (Ecclesmachan) CPNS pp. 145-6, PNWLo p. 48 ? + **ban[n]**-, or else **-gaβr**: in any case Gaelicised as **beann-gobhar* (see under **ban[n]**) if that is not the origin.

Several other stream-names considered under **gaβr** might perhaps have this element instead.

*wogerð (f)

eCelt **cerdā-* > Br **cerdā-* > MW *kerd* > W *cerdd*, OCorn *kerd* > MCorne *kerdh*; O-MIr *fo-ceird*.

Welsh *cerdd* is a verbal noun, ‘going, a journey, etc.’, though O-MIr *fo-ceird* has the primary sense of ‘put, place’, with a very wide range of semantic development. In Welsh, *gogerdd* means ‘a step (up)’, in place-names, ‘a slope, a ledge, a terrace’; Ir *focherd* is ‘a feat of arms, a (spear-) cast, etc.’, but in place-names its meaning is similar to that of *gogerdd*, though it could be cognate with Welsh *gogartha* (see **garth**, especially under Gogar Stg) with a similar meaning.

a1) Gogar, with Gogar Burn, Stg (Denny) CPNS p. 210, PNFESTg p. 40, WLoPN p. 17, and Gogar, with Gogar Burn, MLo (Ratho) PNMLo p. pp. 352-3. If these are ***wogerð** or another ***wo-** formation, it implies late adoption by English speakers (see LHEB§49, pp. 385-94 and CIB p. 288 n125), but see also **wo-**, **coch**, ***cog**, ***cor**, and **garth**.

wōyn (f, earlier n?)

eCelt **wāg-no-/ā-* > Br **wāgnā-* > OW *guoun* > MW *gweun* > W *gwaun*, OCorn *gwon*, *guen* > Corn *goon*, MBret *gueun* > Bret *geun*; OIr *fán* > Ir *fán*, eG *fàn* (in place-names, see CPNS p. 142), Mx *faaney*.

The Indo-European background is dubious: there may be a relationship with IE **wegh-* or **weǵh-*, see ***wei-**, or with **weh₂g-* ‘be curved’ (cf. Lat *vāgus* ‘wandering’), but see EGOW p. 75, DCCPN p. 33, Hamp (1974-6a) pp. 30-1 and 139-40, P. Russell (1988) pp. 131-73, and Sims-Williams (1991) at p. 73.

The meaning in the Brittonic languages is primarily ‘level, marshy ground’, whether upland or lowland (see GPC s.n. *gwaun*); developments include ‘a meadow’ in Welsh, ‘downland, unenclosed pasture’ in Cornish; in Goidelic, the meaning is ‘a slope’.

a1) Wawne YER PNYER pp. 44-5: see Coates, CVEP pp. 176-1. This requires early adoption into Proto-English, from late British **wāynā* with spirantised *-g-* but still unrounded *-ā-*, for which there would have been a short window of opportunity in the late fifth century: see LHEB §9, p. 292, §§84-6, pp. 460-6, and §140, pp. 558-60, also CIB pp. 281-2 and Hamp (1974-6a) pp. 30-1. The early forms, e.g. *Wag[h]ene* 1086, *Wagna* 1151, *Waune* 1228, reflect Old English **Wag^hnā*, showing that the development *-gn-* > *-un-* took place here in Middle English, not in neo-Brittonic. The alternative proposed by Ekwall, ERN p. 440 (and see Smith, EPNE2 p. 239), requires a hypothetical OE **wāgen* ‘a quagmire, quaking sands’, associated with OE *wagian* > ‘wag’, and OE **wagu* ‘a wave’: these may be related to the Celtic words, but see above and under ***wei-**. See also Breeze (2005c and 2011a).

Walney Island Lanc (Dalton), PNLanc p. 205 [+ ON *-ey* ‘island’]; ON *vogn* ‘an orca, killer whale’ is more likely, or OE **wāgen* mentioned above, see DEPN(C) s.n.

Wor-

IE **h₄uper-* > eCelt **u[p]er-* > Br, Gaul and Lepontic *wer-* > OW *guar-* > W *gor-*, *gwar-* (in compounds), Corn **gor-* (in place-names, CPNE pp. 109-10), Bret *gour-*; OIr *for-* > Ir, G *for-*,

far- (see GOI §115(a), p. 72), Mx *far-*; cogn. Lat *s-uper*, Gmc **uberi-* > OE *ofer* > ‘over’, Gk *hupér*, Skt *upári*.

See OIPrIE §18.2 at pp. 289 and 292, DCCPN p. 34. See also ***warthaμ**.

Ultimately a comparative form of the IE root **h₄up-*, see **wo-**: the latter root influenced the development of early Celtic **u[p]er-*, see GOI §838, pp. 513-14. It develops as a preposition in Goidelic, also a pre-verbal and pre-nominal prefix, but it survives only as a prefix in Brittonic, falling together as a preposition in Welsh with **ar-**, which see.

The sense is primarily ‘over, above’, but in place-names it overlaps substantially with senses of **ar-** such as ‘upon, close to’, see GMW §§204-6, pp. 183-9 and CPNE pp. 109-10. An intensive sense, ‘very’, probably derives from **wor-** but extends to **ar-** (see Newton Arlosh Cmb under **ar-**).

Gorgie MLo (parish in Edinburgh city) PNMLo p. 125 ? + ***cī:n**.

Worsley Lanc PNLanc p. 40, JEPNS17 p. 34 + **-ce:d** [+ OE *-lēah* ‘a clearing, pasture, meadow’] or **-celli**: see Cubbin (1972-3); but Mills (1976) p. 152 favours an OE personal name *Weorc-*.

***wore:d (m)**

IE **h₄upo-* (see **wo-**) + **-h₁reih_x* (extended form of *h₁er-* ‘to move’, see **rīa**) *-t* > eCelt **wo-reit-* > Br **wore:t* > M-MnW *gwared*, Corn *gwares*; OIr *fo-réith* (verb) > Ir *fóirith-* (with suffixes), G *fòir[ith]in*; cf. .Latin *succurrere* for the semantic formation.

‘Help, succour’, so ‘deliverance, salvation’.

c2) Loquhariot MLo (Borthwick) ? + **log-**: see Breeze (2003c), seeing this either as an appellative or a saint’s name **Gwrgared*; Clancy 2016, pp. 72-5, tentatively accepts Breeze’s proposal, though with the name amended to **Uoruored*; however, some ingenuity is required to derive forms recorded in the 12th to 14th centuries from a name formed with **-wore:d*.

For R Forth, ? **wo-rit-jā-*, see under ***red-** and **rīd**.

***woreü**

?IE **h₄uper-* (see **wor-**) + **-h₃reġ-* (see **rīy** and **rīnn**) > eCelt **wor-rew-* > Br **worew-* > MW *woreu* > W *gorau*; OIr *forg* [g]u, *forgo*: ?cf. Lat *superior* ‘higher’.

The etymology is uncertain.

‘Object of choice’, becoming (by Middle Welsh), the superlative ‘best’: see GMW §42, p. 40.

c2) Laggangarn Wig ? + **lech-** + **-īn-**, or else + **-wo-** + **-rīw** (which see): see Brooke (1991) at p. 311, but it is a very implausible etymology.

wotōd (m)

IE **h₄upo-* + *-*steh₂-* ('stand', see **was*) + *-d-* > eCelt **wo-tādo-* > Br *wotād-* (in ethnic name) > OW *guotod-* > M-MnW *Gododd-*; OIr *fothad* > M-eMnIr *fothadh*.

See EGOW p. 75.

The root sense is 'a foundation, a support'. However, in the ethnic name in which it survives, *Votādini* CPNS p. 28, PNRB pp. 508-9 (+ suffix *-ini-*, see *-īn*), this is probably the name of an ancestral figure comparable to OIr *Fothad*, on whom see DCM pp. 213-14.

The literature discussing the identity and location of the peoples referred to by Ptolemy and in HB (as *guotodin*) and CA (as *Gododdin*) is of course vast, the most recent overviews at the time of writing are to be found in several papers in Woolf ed. 2013. Suffice to say that assumptions that there was anything beyond nominal continuity between the ethnicity and territory of Ptolemy's *Votādini* and those of the *Guotodin/ Gododdin*, or that there was any awareness of a real historical-geographical location for the people and region in the minds of the authors of HB and CA, both seem tenuous.

wreig (f)

IE **wih₁r-* (see *wūr*) > eCelt **wir-* + *-ac-ijā-* > Br **wracijā-* > OW *gurehic* > MW *gureic* > W *gwraig*, OCorn *grueg*, *greg* > MCorn *gurek* > Corn *gwrek*, MBret *gruec* > Bret *grek*.

See LHEB §166(1) p. 595 and EGOW p. 76.

'A woman'.

a1) Gourock Rnf ; Breeze 2012a at p. 192 sees this as a simplex name referring to a standing stone known as 'Grannie Kempock's stone', identifying it with *Gwleth* in VK(J) and [*pen ren*] *wleth* in BT 34.1. Watson, CPNS p.201, says 'may be [Gaelic] *guireóc*, *guireág*, "a pimple", with reference to the rounded hillocks there'.

c2) *Roswrageth*, *Raswraget* Cmb (Gilsland) PNCmb p. 103, Lan Cart 1 etc. + *rōs-* + plural morpheme *-īð-*: in Old English *-gg-* [g] seems to have replaced lenited *-c-* here, contrast forms involving *cę:d* etc., and see LHEB §137, pp. 556-7. On *-t/-th* for *-ð* see LHEB §136, p. 556, and §138, p. 558. Women and girls were generally responsible for tending livestock during summer grazing on the hills (see **rijajn*), but the specific reference to women in this place-name suggests some exceptional female rights or responsibilities on this piece of moorland.

*wrūg (m or f)

eCelt **wroico-ā-* > Br, Gaul **wrūco-ā-* > M-MnW *grug*, Corn **griik* (in place-names, CPNE p. 113; note also dialectal English *griglan* in Cwl), Bret *brug* (influenced by the French cognate *bruyère*); OIr *froich* > MI *fráech* > Ir, G *fraoch*, Mx *freoagh*; cognates from Gaulish **wrūco-* include Vernacular Latin *brūcus*, Old Provençal *bruc*, Catalan *bruch*, dialectal Spanish *bruza*, as well as French *bruyère*.

See LHEB §22, pp. 312-17.

'Heather', primarily *Calluna vulgaris* and *Erica* species, but sometimes used of other heathland vegetation.

Brocavum and *Brocolitia* PNRB pp. 283-5: Rivet and Smith prefer this element to **broch** in these names, but see under that heading.

a1) Castle Greg MLo (Mid-Calder) PNMLo p. 314, WLoPN p. 18: see under **cam[b]** and ***hēs** for discussion of *Camulosessa*, a Roman fortlet possibly sited here.

c2) Bargrug Kcb (Kirkgunzeon) PNGall p. 24 + **barr-**, or else + **-crūg** (but lenition would be irregular), or Gaelic **barr-gruaig* ‘hill of long grass’.

Dalry MLo CPNS pp. 144 and 200, PNMLo p. 124, and Dalry, St John’s Town of, Kcb PNGall p. 103 ? + **dōl-**, Gaelicised as **dail-fhraoich* (not **-righ*, in view of current pronunciation: see **rīy**).

wūr (m)

IE **wih₂ro-* > eCelt **wiro-* > Br, Gaul **wiro-* > O-MW *gur* > W *gŵr*, OCorn *gur* > Corn *gour*, MBret *gur* > Bret *gour*; OIr *fer* > Ir, G *fear*, Mx *fer*; cogn. Lat *vir*, Gmc **wiraz* > OE *wer*, Skt *vīra-*.

See DCCPN p. 35, EGOW p. 76.

‘A man, a male person’.

Watson, CPNS pp. 360-1, suggested **wūr-lēn*, a Brittonic equivalent of MIr *fer-léighinn*, representing Latin *vir-legens* ‘reading-man, lector’ (a senior position in early monasteries) in *Traverlen* MLo (= Duddingston), **treß-** + *-lēn*, but see under **līnn**.

The plural, Br **wiri-* > neoBrittonic **wīr* > Welsh *gwyr* is seen in **medel-wīr* ‘reapers’, in Drumelzier Pbl CPNS p. 421 + **dīn-**: see ***medel**.