Index of Celtic and Other Elements
in W.J.Watson's 'The History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland
by A.G.James and S.Taylor
incorporating the work of A.Watson and the late E.J.Basden

Introduction

In the field of Scottish place-name studies, William J. Watson's *The History of the Celtic Place-names of Scotland* (1926) still holds a canonical status comparable to that of Eilert Ekwall's *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names* (1936) in England: it is the starting-point for any serious study of the toponymy of almost any part of the country outwith the Northern Isles. In it, Watson discusses a multitude of place-names, but, perhaps even more important for the modern researcher, he exemplifies the bulk of the Scottish Celtic 'onomasticon', the body of Celtic vocabulary from which place-names have been formed over the past two millennia, and he raises important questions concerning the formation and interpretation of names which, even where his answers have to some extent been superseded by more recent scholarship, can still stimulate research and provide agenda for debate in the new century.

But *CPNS* (as it is familiarly abbreviated) is not, it must be admitted, as user-friendly as Ekwall's *Dictionary*. The indexes of places and tribes and of personal names, though substantial, are by no means comprehensive, and, given the importance to researchers of the evidence for the 'onomasticon', the lack of an index of place-name *elements* is a serious impediment.

Significant progress in remedying this deficiency was made by the late Eric Basden, whose enthusiasm for the Perthshire Highlands led him to undertake, as a labour of love, a complete *Index of Celtic Elements* in CPNS along with an *Index of Subjects*. This languished in manuscript form in the National Library of Scotland for nearly twenty years, known only to a few scholars, but was transcribed and published by the Scottish Place-name Society in 1997. Mr. Basden's experience as a scientific taxononomist (in the field of entomology) and his lifelong passion for collecting made his *Index* a model of accuracy and completeness, but as it stands it, too, presents problems for the researcher, most notably in the separate listing without any cross-references of each 'variant' of every element - so that earlier and later, mutated and inflected forms each appear at different places in the list; even researchers with a good knowledge of the numerous diachronic and synchronic changes that words can undergo in the Celtic languages is hard-pressed to locate all references to a particular lexical item. The omission of accents - surprising, given Basden's characteristic attention to detail - and a rather unsatisfactory system for ascribing the elements to their various languages, are other shortcomings; moreover, the fact that he indexed much more than place-name elements - indeed, almost every word in any language other than modern English that he found in Watson's text - while it may offer material of interest to the philological specialist, makes this *Index* all the more rebarbative for the place-name researcher to use.

So the publication of Basden's valuable contribution as it stood was seen as an interim measure; it was felt by the Committee of the SPNS that his achievement could be built upon, by using his *Index* as the raw material for a somewhat more linguistically sophisticated guide.

At the same time, a second very useful aid came to light, in the form of a typescript index of elements prepared by Angus Watson (no relation) in the course of his work on the place-names of the Ochils (A. Watson 1997). This lists all the main Gaelic place-name elements found in CPNS, but - much more substantially - it indexes all the Anglicised forms of those elements occurring as parts of names mentioned by W.J.Watson. Thus it complements Basden's work most helpfully.

The present index takes Basden's work as its starting-point, but modifies it in the following respects:

>   it omits words that are clearly not place-name elements or directly relevant to place-name study, though

Introduction

the approach is cautious: it retains prepositions (since these, even though they are rarely incorporated into Celtic place-names, may affect the form in which a name becomes 'fixed'), words cited by Watson as ones related to place-name elements or otherwise explicating their form or meaning, words associated with land-holding law and custom even if they do not occur (in CPNS at least) as place-name elements, and elements of tribal names;

> it includes, in addition, personal names, in particular names of saints, that occur as elements of place-names - these can appear in present-day place-names in bizarrely disguised forms, and not all of them are listed in Watson's index of personal names;

> it also incorporates, more or less in its entirety, the corpus of Anglicised forms of Gaelic elements assembled by A.Watson (it should be noted that he did not, in general, include forms of P-Celtic elements: there are some found in his index, and a few more have been added, but coverage is not complete);

> within it, all forms of the 'same' element are grouped together under a preferred headword, with *see* cross-references from all variant and related forms, along with the Anglicised forms from A.Watson's index; the policy for selecting headwords is explained in more detail below.

The intention of this index is, then, that a researcher, faced with an unfamiliar place-name element, whether in a modern Anglicised form or in an earlier document (in a context of Latin, Older Scots, earlier Scottish Gaelic or another of the Celtic languages) may have a good chance of identifying it and of locating Watson's discussion and exemplifications of it in CPNS.

<u>Choice and form of headwords</u>

> headwords are listed alphabetically in the index, any letters shown in brackets being disregarded in alphabetisation, and *see* cross-references from the alternative forms being provided where necessary;

> the majority of elements listed are nouns or adjectives, and the unmutated nominative singular form is preferred, with *see* cross-references from mutated and inflected forms;

> in the case of Q-Celtic elements, the Modern Scottish Gaelic form is normally preferred, except where the form occurring in Scottish place-names is regularly closer to an earlier form (earlier Scottish Gaelic or 'Irish', see below, <u>Identification of languages</u>), in which case the latter is preferred, with a *see* cross-reference from the Modern Scottish Gaelic form;

> where a Gaelic noun or adjective in the nominative singular feminine appears in both unmutated and lenited (aspirated) form in CPNS, references to both forms are grouped together and the **(h)** is shown in brackets in the headword, but is disregarded in alphabetical order;
> P-Celtic words are normally treated as headwords only if they are identified by Watson as elements of Scottish place-names in their own right (notably in chapter XI), and are discussed at different points in CPNS from their Q-Celtic cognates; there is also a handful of P-Celtic words mentioned by Watson whose meanings have diverged from those of their Q-Celtic cognates - these, too, are entered as headwords in the index; otherwise, P-Celtic words are grouped under related Q-Celtic headwords, with *see* cross-references;

> P-Celtic words treated as headwords are normally cited in their Modern Welsh form, with *see* cross-

references from any other forms (see below, <u>Identification of languages</u>);

> a few non-Celtic words appear as headwords (Old English, Scots, Old Norse, Latin); these likewise are explained below, under <u>Identification of languages</u>.

<u>Order of variant and related forms</u>

Following the headword, variant and related forms mentioned by Watson are normally entered in the following order (for explanation of the various languages, see below, under <u>Identification of languages)</u>:

nominative singular forms (if headword is noun or adjective):
> mutated (lenited/ softened, eclipsed/ nasalised) forms of the headword, e.g. **bre** (W), mutated **fre**
> dialectal variants of the headword, with the dialect identified in brackets, e.g. (G: Perths dial)*
> Indo-European root, indicated by the conventional sign √, e.g √**bher**
> related Latin or Greek words (LATIN in SMALL CAPITALS, Greek in Greek script with Roman transcription)
> early Celtic forms (eCelt)
> Old Irish forms (OIr)
> earlier Scottish Gaelic forms (eG)
> Middle Irish forms (MIr)
> Modern Irish forms (Ir or, where necessary, MnIr)
> British forms or cognates (Br; where necessary, eBr, lBr)
> Gaulish cognates (Gaul)
> Old and Middle Welsh forms (OW, MW)
> Modern Welsh cognates if headword is Q-Celtic (W or, where necessary, MnW)
> Breton and Cornish cognates (Bret, Corn)
> Anglicised forms (in *italics,* preceded by the abbreviation Angl) **

* note that phonetic spellings used by Watson to indicate pronunciation are only included in the index if he identifies them as dialectal forms

** see below, under <u>Identification of languages</u>, for discussion of Anglicised forms of Gaelic elements, and of all the languages listed above.

oblique and plural forms (if headword is noun or adjective), with variants and related forms in the order shown above):
> genitive singular (gen or, where necessary, gen sg)
> dative singular (dat or, where necessary, dat sg)
> nominative plural (nom pl)
> genitive plural (gen pl)
> dative plural (dat pl)

A few points should be noted regarding case-forms:

4

> guttural-stem nouns having gen sg in **-(e)ach** (Calder pp94-6 §85) may be indistinguishable (as place-name elements) from adjectival forms with the suffix **-(e)ach**; so, for example, **luachrach** could be 'of rush' or, as Watson says (pp 235, 423), 'rushy' (and see references under **-ach** in the Index)

> 'dative' includes what Watson calls 'dative-locative', where place-names have preserved a dative inflection after an assumed preposition such as **ag** ('at'), in place of the nominative form; simplex names ending **-aich**, earlier **-aigh**, are examples of such 'locatives', e.g the various places called Rossie, **rosaigh**, discussed by Watson on pp497-8.

> likewise, it is characteristic of Celtic place-name formation that the genitive in the specific (usually second) element often carries a 'locative' sense, 'at', 'by', 'on' etc., as in **Baile Loch** or **Tigh an Fhasaidh**.

> Watson also mentions 'compositional' forms of nouns occurring in compounds (CPNS pp 445, 497, 505, 517 add n250; **tulaich** p481 and **inbhir** pp476 etc. might possibly belong in this category, too, or else they may be further 'dative-locatives'); the nature of such forms, especially in names, seems a neglected area of Celtic philology.

Meanings

As in Basden's *Index*, the meanings of elements are those given or clearly implied by Watson. Where Watson gives different interpretations of a word in different places, these are normally entered in alphabetical order, not implying any hierarchy or historical development of meaning such as are found in typical dictionary entries. However, where there are clear conceptual subgroups within the range of senses, and especially where there are long strings of location references, numbered subdivisions are used (see further below, under Location references.

Where Watson expresses doubt or admits defeat regarding the meaning of a word, a '?' is used, and Watson's words are quoted in brackets (e.g. '"obscure to me" WJW'). In other cases where Watson gives no meaning, Basden was cautious in inferring meaning; most such cases were words occurring incidentally in quoted texts, and so are omitted from the present *Index*. Watson omitted to explain a very few actual place-name elements; where possible, meanings for these are supplied (in brackets) from standard dictionaries. Brackets are also used if an entry is a personal name ('pers n' or 'saint's n'), with the lexical meaning, if Watson gives it, in inverted commas.

Location references

Where there are long strings of location references (normally more than six), three means are used to help the user:
> pages where Watson discusses the etymology and usage of an element are
    shown in **bold**
> separate forms are indexed separately as sub-headings, following the
    order set out under Order of variant and related forms above, except
    that Anglicised forms of nominative and oblique cases are grouped
    together at the end;
> where meanings are given numbered subdivisions, these may be indexed

separately, marked 'sense (1)' etc.

Basden, again, was very cautious in signalling locations where there might be some room for doubt, putting page numbers in brackets where the word in question is not actually interpreted by Watson on that page. In many such cases, the meaning has been given on a previous page, or can be clearly inferred from context, but Basden's careful approach has been followed very largely in the present *Index,* using *italics* for such page-references.

Unlike Basden's, the present *Index* distinguishes between continuous discussion or exemplification of an element over two or more successive pages (indicated with a hyphen and elision of numerals, e.g. '198-9'), and separate mentions of the same element on successive pages (listed separately, e.g. '198, 199'). Where a headword occurs on a page only in a footnote, the page and note numbers are given, e.g. '198n9'; the additional notes in CPNS, pp ix and 517-22, are indexed by the page where the note appears and the page it refers to, e.g. '517 add n79'.

<u>Identification of languages</u>

Basden's system for distinguishing among Scottish Gaelic (unmarked), 'other Celtic' (in round brackets) and non-Celtic (in square brackets) had the merit of simplicity but inevitably gave rise to some inconsistency and lack of clarity, especially in its treatment of earlier forms of elements in the Q-Celtic languages and in its lack of distinction between Q- and P-Celtic. The present *Index* attempts to provide a more precise indication of the provenance of the forms listed, although careful reference to Watson's own attributions, conscientious study of other, more recent, philological sources, and invaluable assistance from Dr. Simon Taylor, will not have eliminated all possibility of uncertainty, inconsistency or downright error!

The discussion which follows is intended to clarify the terms used in identifying the various languages, and to draw users' attention to some ways in which present-day scholars' usage of some linguistic labels may differ from those of Watson; it should be read in conjunction with Watson's *Introductory* (CPNS pp1-9).

Indo-European roots (√)

Watson mentions a handful of Indo-European roots: these are indexed with the conventional symbol √ to indicate their abstract and hypothetical character. They appear under the Celtic headwords evolved from them, with *see* cross-references from the root form.

Early Celtic (eCelt)

This should refer to the prehistoric Celtic language spoken during the period when it had become distinct from other Indo-European languages but was not itself differentiated into separate languages by such developments as the 'P-/Q-' division (the dating and dynamics of which remains a matter of some controversy). Watson's successor in the Chair of Celtic at Edinburgh University, Kenneth H. Jackson, called this 'Common Celtic' (Jackson 1953 pp3-4); the term 'Proto-Celtic' is also favoured by present-day scholars (Russell 1995 pp10-14).

So *Early Celtic* forms are, strictly speaking, bound to be hypothetical (and thus marked with an asterisk *), but Watson does use this label for some forms actually appearing in Classical sources (literary or epigraphic), so its usage in CPNS to some extent overlaps with *Gaulish* and *British.*

Introduction

Gaulish (Gaul)

Watson refers to several elements of names (of places, persons or tribes) found in Classical texts and inscriptions from (or relating to) Roman Gaul, as cognates of insular Celtic words (he also mentions one word from an inscription from Roman Spain, strictly 'Celtiberian'). These are grouped in the *Index* with their Gaelic or Welsh cognates.

British (Br)

Watson uses *British* as a broad term for the P-Celtic language (or languages) spoken (probably) throughout Great Britain in the first five centuries AD, and also for the descendant (or descendants) of this language which continued in use thereafter in northern Britain, surviving in some regions as late as the 10th or 11th centuries. Jackson (1953 pp4-11) introduced a finer distinction into the classification of these languages which is generally followed by modern scholars.

Jackson uses 'Britonnic' as the generic term corresponding to Watson's *British*, restricting use of the latter to the period prior to about 500, i.e. Jackson's 'British' corresponds to the stage of development which Watson sometimes labels *early/ earlier British* (eBr). The evidence for northern British place-names, from Classical literary and epigraphic sources, is discussed in detail in Watson's chapters I and II.

In the period after about 500 (according to Jackson 1953 chap. I; more recently a case has been presented for a rather earlier date: Sims-Williams 1990) major phonological changes began to differentiate the south-western Brittonic languages, Cornish and Breton, from Welsh and the 'Brittonic' languages of the north (again, modern studies of Welsh dialects have challenged Jackson's clear-cut geographical division: see Russell 1995 pp132-4). In the centuries that followed, Jackson (1993, 1995) saw two 'Britonnic' languages in northern Britain: 'Cumbric', initially throughout what is now southern Scotland and northern England and surviving for five centuries or more in parts of the region between the Trossachs and the Lake District, and 'Pritenic' (1955 p160), which he argued 'was not quite the same as British, nor simply a northern form of Britonnic as Watson thought it was' (1955 p152), and which was spoken north of the Forth and east of Druim Alban (see CPNS p12).

Watson is very cautious in his assertions about *'Pictish':* he uses the term twice, in inverted commas, on p212, labelling the river-name *Don* as 'British or "Pictish"' and on p347 the name *Paen-fahel* is 'Pictish'. Both these imply that Watson was reluctant to see 'Pictish' as a distinct language, and the present *Index* follows his usage in labelling P-Celtic elements from early medieval sources throughout Scotland as *British* (Br).

Jackson also proposed another 'Pictish' language that incorporated pre-Celtic elements surviving (at least for epigraphic purposes) alongside 'Pritenic'. The latter hypothesis provoked most attention: it has little support among present-day scholars, and the debate, while interesting, has proved something of a distraction as far as the study of place-names is concerned. Scholars who have focused their attention on the former proposal generally use 'Pictish' for the P-Celtic language of the north-east, and take a position between Watson and Jackson in seeing 'Cumbric' and 'Pictish' as dialects of *British* rather than separate languages (for recent reviews of and contributions to the debate on 'Pictish', see Nicolaisen 1996 and Forsyth 1998).

Welsh (W)

So Watson treats the *later British* (lBr) of all parts of north Britain, Jackson's 'Cumbric' and 'Pritenic', as closely comparable to Old Welsh, a view which (with the provisos above regarding 'Pictish') is broadly acceptable to present-day scholars. On the basis of this assumption, and in the absence of any but minimal evidence other

than place- and personal-names for later *British* (see Jackson 1953 pp9-10), Watson makes frequent reference (especially in chapters XI-XII) to Welsh cognates of the P-Celtic elements he identifies, and refers to some names of places in Wales that exemplify elements also found in Scotland. He sometimes cites *Old Welsh* (OW) or *Middle Welsh* (MW) forms, but frequently gives the modern (MnW) form. He also (on pp 340-5) discusses the Scottish place-names for which the earliest evidence is found in medieval Welsh versions of poems of northern British origin, and he cites a number of Welsh words that are P-Celtic equivalents of Gaelic elements. In this *Index,* Welsh words which Watson treats as cognates of *British* place-name elements in their own right, and discusses at different points in the text from their Gaelic cognates, are indexed separately under the *Modern Welsh forms, with see also* cross-references to their Gaelic cognates; the same applies in cases where Welsh and Gaelic words have diverged in meaning. In all other cases, Welsh words are indexed under the related Scottish Gaelic headword, with *see* cross-reference from the Welsh form. Words are ascribed to Old (OW, pre-1200), Middle (MW, 1200-1500) or Modern Welsh (W, or, where necessary, MnW: post-1500) following Watson's own ascriptions.

Cornish (Corn) and *Breton* (Bret)

Watson also makes occasional reference to *Cornish* (Corn) and *Breton* (Bret) words, as cognates of Gaelic or Welsh elements: these are indexed under the appropriate Gaelic or Welsh headwords. Again, Watson's own labels are used where he refers to *Old Cornish* (OCorn, before 1200), *Middle Cornish* (MCorn, 1200-1575), *Old Breton* (OBret, before 1100) and *Middle Breton* (MBret, 1100-1659).

Irish (Ir)

The earliest Q-Celtic forms discussed by Watson are conventionally labelled *Old Irish* (OIr) on the grounds that the Irish and Scottish forms of Gaelic are indistinguishable in writing prior to the 11th century at the very earliest (see below, under *Scottish Gaelic).* This applies not only to words cited by Watson from Irish sources (as early forms of elements found in Scotland), but also to those found in truly Scottish sources (notably in the corpus of poetry from Iona: see Clancy and Márkus 1995), and even to elements of Scottish place-names found in the context of Latin works of Scottish origin (in particular, Adamnan's *Life of Columba,* discussed by Watson in chapter III of CPNS, and see Anderson and Anderson 1961). *Old Irish* (OIr) words are generally listed in the present *Index* under the related Modern Scottish Gaelic headword, with *see* cross-references from the *Old Irish* forms, except those which have no descendants in Modern Scottish Gaelic.

The developing differences between *Irish* and *Scottish Gaelic* during the *Middle* (MIr, 10th - 12th centuries) and early *Modern Irish* (eMnIr, 13th - 16th centuries) periods remain a matter of some controversy (see Russell 1995, pp61-2), but it is a matter of fact that many of the earliest mentions of places in Scotland are found in Irish annals and other texts written in medieval Ireland (albeit in some cases drawing on Scottish sources now lost). Moreover, throughout these centuries, all literary works, even those composed in Scotland or by Scottish authors in Ireland, were written in a conservative register from which any distinctively Scottish features were excluded. Consequently, Watson makes extensive reference to *Middle* and early *Modern Irish* words, as elements of Scottish place-names actually recorded in Irish texts or as earlier cognates of elements whose first Scottish records are more recent. In the present *Index*, such words are, again, normally listed under the related *Modern Scottish Gaelic* headword. It must be admitted that the dating of linguistic forms - especially elements of Scottish place-names - found in later medieval copies of early Irish texts is a highly specialised task beyond the philological skills of the present indexer: words are ascribed to Old (OIr), *Middle* (MIr) or early *Modern Irish* (eMnIr) following Watson where possible, otherwise according to the accepted date of the source, but accuracy cannot be guaranteed.

Introduction

Watson also mentions some *Modern Irish* (Ir, or, where necessary, MnIr) words as cognates of *Modern Scottish Gaelic* elements, and gives examples of place-names in Ireland that share elements with some in Scotland; such words and name elements are, again, indexed under their *Scottish Gaelic* equivalents with *see* cross-references where needed.

Scottish Gaelic (G)

Under the circumstances described above, 'early' (or 'earlier') *Scottish Gaelic* (eG) must refer very broadly to any form showing distinctively Scottish features found in sources of the *Middle* and early *Modern Irish* periods (10th - 16th centuries), and even - in the absence of any chronological subdivisions yet agreed among scholars - to *Scottish Gaelic* words of the 17th - 19th centuries that were obsolete by Watson's time.

The earliest major source in which early *Scottish Gaelic* place-names may be found is the *Book of Deer,* (Cambridge Univ. Lib. ms Ii.6.32), an incomplete 9th century Gospel Book with a scribal colophon in *Old Irish* and several *Gaelic* notes added in hands of the late 11th and early 12th centuries, giving the foundation history, place-name legend ('dindshenchas') and details of land-grants of the earlier, Iona-related, monastery of Deer in Buchan. Jackson (1972) doubted that the *Gaelic* of these notes contained features that could be regarded as distinctively Scottish, but recent research has challenged his view (see O'Maolalaigh 1998a, 1998b); it does not, therefore, seem unreasonable to regard at least the elements of Scottish place-names in the *Book of Deer* as examples of (very) early *Scottish Gaelic.*

From the time of the notes in the *Book of Deer* up to the Reformation, increasing numbers of Scottish place-names are found in legal documents and chronicles written in *Latin* or, from the 14th century, *Older Scots.* The spelling of such names tends to reflect the orthographic conventions of the contextual language, or even the influence of standard literary Gaelic (see under *Irish,* above); nevertheless, Q-Celtic elements of such names may legitimately be regarded as specimens of early *Scottish Gaelic.*

A major landmark in the emergence of *Scottish Gaelic* as a literary language is the *Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Nat. Lib. of Scotland Adv. ms 72.1.37), an anthology of poetry and other material in *Scottish Gaelic* compiled between 1512 and 1526. Written in a unique orthography based on that of contemporary *Scots,* it provides invaluable evidence of the phonology of *Scottish Gaelic* at the time. Watson mentions a number of place-names and a few other words from this source (for his own edition of the poetry in the *Book,* see Watson 1937); these, again, are indexed as early *Scottish Gaelic.*

Words from sources later than 1600 can generally be regarded as *Modern* (in the sense of post-medieval) *Scottish Gaelic.* However, a few are signalled by Watson as obsolete by his time (of course many more may be by now), and others as having changed in pronunciation or spelling: such forms are treated as early *Scottish Gaelic* (eG) in the present *Index.*

Other *Modern Gaelic* words are labelled (MnG) in cases where there may be ambiguity, otherwise they carry no label in the *Index.* Such *Modern Scottish Gaelic* forms are generally preferred as headwords. Spellings follow Watson's, even where these differ from those in Dwelly (1920) or more recent dictionaries. Accents in particular (which Basden omitted entirely from his *Index)* appear as shown by Watson, the only exception being cases where a pair of forms differ only in carrying a grave *(Scottish)* or acute *(Irish)* accent: in such cases, only the *Scottish* form is shown in the heading, though location references include all pages where either form occurs. It has to be observed that even Watson seems not to have been 100% consistent in his use of accents, though his note on the use of the acute accent for 'open a' in *Scottish Gaelic* (CPNS p.xiii) alerts us to a

precision in his usage that has been abandoned in late 20th century Gaelic (Scottish Examination Board 1981)!

Manx

Before we leave the Celtic languages, it is worthy of note that Watson makes no mention in CPNS of *Manx Gaelic,* a language poorly documented in his time. Recent research (O'Maolalaigh 1998a pp 29-30) has drawn attention to the relevance of Manx for an understanding of the forms of Gaelic place-names in Galloway: indeed, research on the place-names of Man (Broderick 1994, 1995, 1997) and Co. Down (Toner and Ó Mainnín 1992; Hughes and Hannan 1992; Ó Mainnín 1993; Muhr 1995-6) is contributing to the major reassessment of the traditional geographical divisions of the Q-Celtic language family envisaged by Ó Buachalla (1977, 1988) - Watson's assumption (especially in chapter VI) that the *Gaelic* of the south-west was closely akin to more northern forms of *Scottish Gaelic* is no longer unquestioned.

Greek and *Slavonic*

Although the bulk of the *Index* naturally comprises Celtic words, Watson makes extensive reference to other Indo-European languages. *Greek* words, and one from Old Church *Slavonic,* mentioned by Watson as possible cognates of Celtic elements are indexed under the appropriate Celtic headwords, with *see* cross-references to them. *Greek* words are shown in Greek characters and in the Roman transcriptions used by Watson.

Latin

Most *Latin* words fall into the same class, but one or two appear as 'elements' (alongside Latinised forms of *British* words) in place-names recorded by Roman writers (in chapters II and III of CPNS), and others have meanings different from their Celtic cognates, so they stand as headwords in the *Index. Latin* words appear in SMALL CAPITALS.

Old Norse (ON)

All words ascribed to the Germanic languages appear in *italics* in the *Index.*

Watson mentions a few words of *Old Norse* (ON) that appear in translation-loans in those areas of the north and west mainland and the islands where *Norse* and *Gaelic* interacted during the 9th - 13th centuries. It should be noted that in CPNS Watson pays relatively little attention to these areas (his study of the place-names of Ross and Cromarty, Watson 1904, deals more fully with *Norse* and *Norse-Gaelic* elements); consequently, a number of words that were borrowed from *Norse* to become productive place-name elements in those areas are conspicuous by their absence from the *Index,* such as **acarseid**, **botha**, **cleit**, **cnap**, **cuidhe**, **geodha**, **gil**, **mol**, **sgeir**, **tobhta**, **tolm**, **ùidh**, **ùig**.

Old English (OE)

Watson likewise mentions a few words of *Old English* (OE: he more often calls it 'Anglo-Saxon'), appearing either in hybrid names or translation-loans in those areas of Lothian and the Borders which formed part of the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria during the 6th - 9th centuries, and where a northern form of English remained the dominant language thereafter (mainly in CPNS chapter V). Although the forms he gives (except when referring specifically to southern *Old English)* are broadly 'Anglian' as opposed to 'Saxon', it should be noted that they do not necessarily display the distinctive features of Old Northumbrian.

Introduction

Scots

A few words are included of the Older *Scots* Tongue, the 'cousin' of Middle English that flourished as the courtly and literary language of Scotland in the 14th - 16th centuries and which survives in the range of 'Lallans' dialects. Again, some appear as elements in hybrids or calques, but others are terms relating to landholding and farming: these are not strictly place-name elements, but are of interest and relevance to place-name studies. A few *Scots* words which Watson doubtless assumed would be familiar but which may baffle present-day readers (even Scots!) are supplied with meanings drawn from the *Concise Scots Dictionary*.

Anglicised (Angl) forms

However, the great majority of entries in the *Index* reflecting *Scots* usage are those marked 'Angl'. These are the *Anglicised* forms of *Gaelic* place-name elements drawn from the thorough work of A. Watson (see above), who listed all such forms shown by Watson as current. Nearly all the forms indexed by A. Watson have been included in the present Index, the only omissions being 'Anglicised' elements that are identical (at least in spelling) to their Gaelic equivalents.

A. Watson did not include *Anglicised* forms from earlier documents, nor elements preserved as simplex names (such as Perth: these can, of course, be found in Watson's own Index of Places and Tribes in CPNS), nor did he include *Anglicised* forms of P-Celtic elements; a few forms in each of these categories have been added to the present *Index,* but coverage of the P-Celtic forms is less than complete.

In his typescript, A. Watson distinguished carefully among forms appearing as initial, medial or final elements; these distinctions have been largely maintained in the present *Index,* except where identical forms appear in two or all three positions, in which cases they have been grouped together. *Anglicised* forms are indexed under the appropriate Celtic headwords, with *see* cross-references to them; they are placed following the Celtic forms from which they are derived (so distinguishing Anglicisations of nominative and oblique cases, singular and plural); however, where location references are tabulated, *Anglicised* forms are all listed at the end of the series, as users are likely to find this more convenient when searching for examples.

Finally, it might be objected that these forms too should be labelled *Scots,* or even 'Scotticised', but they need to be distinguished from actual loanwords from *Gaelic* in the *Scots* tongue. 'Scotticised' may also carry the derogatory connotations of 'Scotticisms', and there must be some danger of confusion if we talk of 'Scotticising' the language of the *(Gaelic*-speaking) Scots! In any case, *Anglicised* is the term that Watson himself used.

References

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Abbreviations

*	hypothetical form (identified as such by WJW)
√	Indo-European form
abl	ablative
acc	accusative
adj	adjective, adjectival
art	article

Br   British (see *Identification of Languages* above)

Bret   Breton

Celt   Celtic (see *Identification of Languages* above)

Dan   Danish

dat   dative

def   definite

dial   dialect, dialectal

DwellyE.Dwelly *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary*

e   (1: with languages) early, earlier
            (2: with place-names) east, eastern, Easter

E   English

EPNE   A.H.Smith *English Place-Name Elements*

esp   especially

fem   feminine

G   (Scottish) Gaelic (Modern, unless otherwise specified)

Gaul   Gaulish (see *Identification of Languages* above)

gen   genitive

Ir   Irish Gaelic (Modern, unless otherwise specified)

l   late, later

Lat   Latin (Latin words are normally indicated by SMALL CAPITALS)

M   Middle (with language)

masc   masculine

Mn   Modern (with language)

n   north

N	Norse
nom	nominative
O	Old (with language)
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary* (i.e. *The New English Dictionary on Historical Principles)*
pers	personal
Perths	Perthshire
pl	plural
R	River
R&S	A.L.F.Rivet and C.Smith *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*
s	south, southern
sg	singular
ST	S.Taylor (personal communications)
sv	*sub verbo,* under the word ...
Swe	Swedish
vb	verb, verbal
w	west, western, Wester
W	Welsh (Modern, unless otherwise specified)
WJW	W.J.Watson
YGM	*Y Geiriadur Mawr*