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The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties

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Some Notes on the Late May Williamson's Doctoral Thesis at the University of Edinburgh, 1942

On-line publication through the website of the Scottish Place-Name Society is the first time that May Williamson's thesis on *The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties* (Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire and Dumfriesshire but not Peeblesshire) has been published in any form. It is nearly seventy years since May Williamson worked on it. Inevitably, therefore, it contains some information which is incomplete in the light of more recent discoveries, and some conclusions which with the benefit of more information and decades of scholarly debate, for instance on the dating and significance of certain Old English place-name elements, would probably not now be reached.

However, it is still an extremely valuable resource – which is why the SPNS decided to invest money and effort in making it more widely available – and many will appreciate the new ease of access to it, compared to having to consult and make notes from the typed thesis at the Edinburgh University Library in George Square. It remains valuable because the sources for old forms of the place-names are in large part still those available to May Williamson; because it includes the only published and readily available compilation of sources for a large number of place-names of Germanic formation in most of the Border counties; because its explanation of 'Geography and Dialect' on pages ii to vi of the preface is a helpful summary scarcely in need of up-dating; because the elegant, uncluttered style and the often sharp insights make for pleasant reading; but above all because despite the necessary health warning due to its age its commentaries on elements and place-names are still to a great extent valid.

The comment on the readability of the thesis inevitably applies more to the discursive historical sections of the preface than to the main text which accommodates the discussion of elements and place-names and lists the sources. At the very beginning of the preface May Williamson notes that she had been constrained by the terms of her scholarship to "...pursue advanced study or research in Scottish Language and Literature with special reference to dialects on both sides of the border and to such border antiquities and music as bear on the subject". Accordingly, as she continues: "In order to satisfy these requirements as far as possible, rather more attention has been given to historical and dialectal notes than is usual or necessary in place-name studies". Between the lines we may read that she found the obligation somewhat irksome, but we may now be grateful for the extra breadth and depth that it gave to her studies. Despite the title's reference to non-Celtic place-names, therefore, the preface actually includes much information about Celtic-speaking populations, and discussion of a number of Celtic place-names, in sections on 'The Roman Period' to 'The Battle of Brunanburh' which took place in or about 937.

It is these background historical sections that are bound to seem least reliable after decades of scholarly research and reconsideration of the early historical period by historians, archaeologists and linguists. For instance the hoard of luxurious late Roman metalwork found on Traprain Law in East Lothian would now generally be thought to have been deposited by Brittonic-speaking natives, rather than by Germanic raiders; and the favoured location for Brunanburh has tended to gravitate to Bromborough in the Wirral rather than to follow May Williamson's preference for Burnswark in Dumfriesshire. Occasionally her relative unfamiliarity with Celtic languages may show, as in baldly listing the personal name *Branoc among Old English personal names, without giving the possible justification for this classification that a Brittonic name, a diminutive of *bran* 'raven', might have been adopted into the name stock of speakers of Old English. Her reliance on 1 inch to 1 mile Ordnance Survey maps is understandable, especially in a period of war-time stringency, but if she could have referred to larger-scale maps, which name more small-scale features of the landscape, she would doubtless have found that the Old Norse topographic elements *gil* and

grein had been adopted widely into what became the Scots tongue and were not necessarily indicators of Scandinavian settlement. As was conventional at the time but is less usual practice now, the element headings use the most ancient Old English forms and do not separately classify later medieval and early modern derivatives of those elements in Scots, where these rather than ancient forms were used to form new place-names.

However, such reservations are outweighed by admiration for the continuing validity of much of May Williamson's clear and penetrating thinking. A neat instance of this is her use of a recorded form of the valley name Annandale – the river name being well documented from Roman times as Celtic – reformulated with a Scandinavian genitive as 'dale of [man called] Qnundr'; from this at first sight inconsequential information she makes the important deduction that the presence of people with a Scandinavian background in that area must have been such that it would seem natural for the name of the district to be attributed to a man bearing a Scandinavian name.

The primary structural division of the body of the thesis is by place-name generics rather than by parish as had already become the pattern for county publications of the English Place-Name Society. Thus, had May Williamson's judgements of the attribution of place-names to particular elements been erratic or systematically flawed, the discussion of elements would have been nearly worthless and the usefulness of the whole work to present-day place-name studies would have been largely limited to information about older forms of names; and then only by using the index to locate entries for particular places. On the contrary her concise discussions of how the generics were used, with contrasts and comparisons to usage in England, especially of course in the English border counties, are tightly argued and nearly always still compelling. So are her attributions of particular place-names to elements – sometimes not the superficially obvious ones – with pertinent and astute observations about local topography and pronunciation as well as comments on the significance of early forms. Such observations are a testament to the thoroughness of her research.

Where there may now be disagreement with the thesis about what a name originally denoted, as for instance with Coldingham because of recent thinking that relatively late, northern formations in *-ingahām* may refer to an English-speaking monastic community rather than a pioneer community of secular Anglo-Saxon colonists, it is far more likely to be because of things that May Williamson could not have known in 1942 than any failure to make best use of resources then available. Since most of the place-names dealt with are not as old as Coldingham or the elements as historically and linguistically problematical as *-ingahām* (which would now be divided into several formations of different origins and meanings), thanks to the quality of the author's scholarship much of the thesis could have been written today.

W Patterson

The following were involved in preparing and checking the transcript of the thesis:-

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/i/

PREFACE

This thesis has been produced under the conditions of the Gatty (Florence Emily and Charles Tindal) Memorial Scholarship, the holder of which “must pursue advanced study or research in Scottish Language and Literature with special reference to dialects on both sides of the border and to such border antiquities and music as bear on the subject”.

In order to satisfy these requirements as far as possible, rather more attention has been given to historical and dialectal notes than is usual or necessary in place-name studies.

The following work is intended as a survey of the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian place-name material in the Border Counties. I have tried to demonstrate what types of names occur, where they are situated, and roughly to what period they belong. Thus it has been more convenient to group the names under their endings than to arrange them by parishes in the manner of the English Place-Name Society’s (EPNS) volumes.

It is almost impossible to date Scottish place-names with any certainty since spellings for the majority are not found before the 13th century, but /ii/ generally they may be classified under three headings:-

- (a) Old English
- (b) Middle English
- (c) Scandinavian, and Middle English of Scandinavian origin

Between the first two classes there must be a good deal of overlapping. It is known that names in *-ing*, *-ingahām*, *-ingtūn* and *-hām* probably ceased to be formed after the Old English (OE) period, but many of the other habitational endings which in England belong to this time must have continued to be formed at a much later date in the North. Similarly many of the names classified as Middle English (ME) may belong to the OE period.

It has been my practice to count as an ending the second element of each name if a habitative or topographical term. Thus Torwoodlee is discussed under *-wood* and Capehope Burn under *-hope*. Only the main, or original, parts of names are of importance in a survey of this kind, and so where groups occur such as Caverton, Caverton Mains, Caverton Hillhead, Caverton Mill, I have dealt only with the basic name, Caverton.

Names which do not appear in the 1-inch Ordnance Survey maps, but which are found in sources before 1600, have been used for purposes of illustration and comparison. In most cases I have not consulted the /iii/ 6-inch maps in attempts to locate these or other minor names.

The phonetic symbols used in the transcription of place-name pronunciations are those normally employed by the EPNS.

GEOGRAPHY AND DIALECT

The Border area of Scotland divides into three main sections, the lowlands of Berwick and the Tweed-Teviot river basins on the north, a central mass of mountainous country, and the plain of Dumfries in the south.

Berwickshire is cut off from Lothian by the Lammermoor Hills, through the western part of which, however, runs the valley of Lauderdale, the main inland route from Lower Tweeddale to the north. The Merse is the continuation of the Northumbrian plain and stretches to the base of the Lammermoors. The parishes of Stichill, Ednam, Smailholm and Makerstoun, although part of this area, belong to Roxburghshire. The dialect of Berwick and Lothian is known as East Mid Scots.

The main districts of Roxburgh are the valleys of the Tweed, Teviot and their tributaries. In the south are the Cheviot Hills through which passes lead to England. To the west is the watershed between Roxburgh and Dumfries. At least half the area of the county lies more than 500 feet above sea-level. The parish of Castleton is mainly on the Liddel which /v/ drains to the Solway, and is really a separate dialect area from the rest of Roxburgh, having affinities in speech and in place-name forms with Dumfries and Cumberland (Watson, 6).

Selkirkshire, which comprises mainly the valleys of the Ettrick and Yarrow and of a short stretch of the Tweed, is separated from Roxburgh by a watershed, although the parish of Ashkirk is on the Ale which flows into the Teviot. The dialect of the shire belongs to the Southern Scots group which includes Roxburgh, Eskdale and Annandale (*SND*, Map 2). The place-names show a marked proportion of Gaelic forms which links the area with Peeblesshire, rather than with the other three Border counties in this respect.

The greater part of Dumfriesshire belongs geographically to the plain of Cumberland. All the rivers drain to the Solway. To the north are the Lowther Hills which divide Dumfries from Lanark, Peebles, Selkirk and Roxburgh. Nithsdale, at the head of which a pass leads in to Ayrshire, is a separate dialect unit which belongs to the West Mid Scots group. Gaelic influence is very strong in place-names north and west of the Nith.

Place-name forms before 1600 do not give much /vi/ indication of dialect distinctions, since these did not occur to any great extent until the end of the MSc period. It is not until the 16th and 17th centuries that occasional spellings reveal phonetic variations. Distinctions are more noticeable in vocabulary, in the choice of place-name elements rather than in their form. Differences in pronunciation are found in the modern spoken versions of the names rather than in their present spellings, which have been reduced to a common Scots form.

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Modern Lowland Scots is a development of the Old Northumbrian (ONb) dialect of Old English (OE), through Northern Middle English (NME) and Middle Scots (MSc).

Only some half dozen place-names have spellings which go back to the OE period. A few late 11th century spellings found in the Durham Chartulary may be classed as very late OE or early

ME. From late 12th century to mid 14th century the language of the examples is Northern ME. Middle Scots continues until the late 16th century.

Below are listed some of the developments observable between ONb and ModSc in the place-name forms which have been collected: /vii/

1. ME *ǣ*, whether from the OE *ǣ* or ON *ǣ*, is frequently fronted to *ě* in MSc or early ModSc. ME *braken* (from ON *brakni*) becomes *brecken* in Breckenside (Glc): *Brekensyd*, 1636, and in the modern forms of Breconrae, Brecken Rig, etc. (No. XXXII). ME *Alis* is the first element of Ellisland (No. LII).
2. OE *ā* is already fronted to [ɛ:] in NME. In spellings up to 1400 it is still *a*, but in the MSc period is represented *ai*, *ay*. The *i*, *y* is used with all vowels in MSc to represent length. That the pronunciation of *ai*, *ay* was [ɛ] or [ɛ:] at this period, however, and not yet [e:] is seen by the frequent substitution of *ai* for the sound [ɛ], for ME *ě*, eg *Graitnay*, 1598; *Kailsoo*, *Blaeu*; *Fairnilee*, 1599; *Haitschaw*, 1536.
3. ME *ai* and *ei* interchange to represent ME *ēȝ* from OE *ēġ* or ON *ei*, e.g.:
 - (a) OE *grǣġe-*, ONb *grēġe-denu*, ME *grēȝ-dene*: *Greidene*, 1095-1100; *Grayden*, c 1288.
 - (b) OE *ēġ-tun*: *Eitun*, 1095-1100; *Eyton*, 1253; *Aytone*, 1296.
 - (c) ON *grein*: *Greymland*, 1542; *Graines*, 1635.
 - (d) ON *þveit*: *-thuayt*, c 1218; *-thweyte*, 1304; /viii/ *-twayt*, 1317; *-pheit*, 1194-1214.
4. In ONb there was no breaking of *a* before *l* plus consonant. ModSc *haugh*, *saugh* are developments of ONb *halh*, *salh* (WS *healh*, *sealh*). ONb *walh* is seen in Wauchope (No LX). Before *r* plus consonant *ǣ* *a*, rarely breaks in this area, e.g. ONb *fǣrn*, *ǣrn*, *-wǣrd* (in personal names).
5. In MSc *al*, *ol* are vocalised to *au*, *ou*. ME *halȝh* > MSc *hauȝh*; ONb *ald* > MSc *auld*; ME *hol* > MSc *how*. An inverted form of this process frequently appears: cf *Falside* for ME *fāw-side*.
6. OE *ǣ¹* is *e* in non-West Saxon (WS) dialects. OE *strǣt* > NME *strēte*: *Derestrete*, 1150. Leitholm: *Letham*, 1165-1214, from OE *lǣt*, ONb *lēt*.
7. ON *au* > ME *ou*, later *o* in some cases. Copland is *Coupland*, c 1230 from ON *kaupa-*. Gowkhall (KF) contains ON *gaukr*.
8. OE *ēa* undergoes smoothing to *ē* before *-h* in ONb. WS *hēah*, ONb *hēh* > MSc *heiȝ*, *hei*, *hie*: cf *Hielawes*, 1621. WS *lēah*, ONb *lēh* > MSc *leiȝ*, *ley*, ModSc *-lie*. /ix/

9. ME *ī* from any source is frequently lowered to *ě* in ModSc, eg OE *hrīs-tun* > ME *Rīstun* > Reston: ME *Iliveston* > Elliston. Cf PN NbDu, 257, para 10. Conversely, ModSc *ě* is sometimes raised to *ī*, eg Redpath: *Ridpetth*, *Blaeu*; Fenwick: *Fynnīk*, 1547. Cf PN NbDu, 256, para 7.
10. OE *ȝ* in NME was by the 14th century probably identified in pronunciation with Fr *ū*. ME spellings in *o*, *oi*, give place later to MSc *u*, *ui*, eg *Lombormore*, c 1050 (from OE *mor*); *Ekfurde*, c 1400 (from OE *ford*, ME *fōrd*); *Brumelandis*, 1569 (from OE *brom*); *Lammermuir*, c 1485. In modern Lowland Scots dialects pronunciation varies between [y], [ø] and [e:]. The confusion of the OE ending *-mere* with OE *mōr* is caused by similarity of pronunciation (cf No XLI). OE *-ōh*, as in *clōh*, *hōh*, *plōh* became MSc *clouch*, *cluʒh*, etc, later written as *cleuch*, *heuch*, *pleuch*. Only *heuch* is pronounced [hju:x]: the others are [elu:x] and [plu:x]. Cf PN YER, xxx.
11. MSc *u* from OE *ū* shortened, is usually fronted to [ɪ, ə] in modern pronunciation, eg *Billerwell* /x/ (*Bullirwell*, 1553); *Philliphaugh* (*Fulhopahalche*, 1317). Cf PN NbDu, 258, para 13.
12. OE *ū* becomes *ou* in ME and MSc. In the modern dialects there is a tendency for this to become *ō* before liquids and nasals, eg *Solway*, *Bonchester*, *Bonshaw*.
13. Final *-b* disappears in ModSc *kaim* from OE *camb*, 1OE *cāmb*. Medial *-mb-* is assimilated to *-mm-* in *Cummertrees* (*Cumbertres* 1215-45); *Lammermoor* (*Lambremore*, 1120).
14. MSc substitutes *d*, *dd* medially for OE *ð* in many cases, eg *weðer* > MSc *wedder* in *Wedderburn*, *Wedderlairs*, etc. Early examples of this are seen in *Broderstanis*, 1489 and *Ruderforde*, 1165-88.
15. Final *-f* may be lost in the hill-name, *The Schill*, from OE *scýlf*. It disappears in compounds with *wulf-*, eg *Wolstruthir*, 1506; *Wowley*, 1590.
16. A prosthetic *h-* is common in NME and MSc. This is a mere scribal device and does not denote a dialect tendency to place an aspirate before initial vowels: cf *Hekfurde*, c 1400; *Hellum*, c 1270. /xi/
17. MSc *quh-* represents OE *hw-*, [ʍ], eg *Quhit-* for OE *hwit-*.
18. In MSc, *sch-* frequently replaces initial *s-*. The reverse process is also common, eg, MSc *buss* for ME *busch*; MSc *flass* for ME *flasshe*.
19. Initial *to-* is occasionally represented as *tho-*, eg *Thotheryg*, 1550; *Thorbrec*, 1194-1214.

20. Metathesis is a very common feature of MSc, especially with *r*. *Brunt-* for *burnt-* occurs frequently in place-names. A few names display elaborate metathesis in early forms, eg Tushielaw, Annelshope.
21. Epenthesis occurs in several cases. In Rumbleton, *ml* > *mbl*; in Stantling *nl* may become *ntl*; in Standhill *nl* may become *ndl*. 16th century spellings of Amisfield as *Hempsfeild*, etc, show *ms* > *mps* (No XIX).
22. Assimilation and dissimilation are frequent. Various examples are noted in the text.
23. Few OE grammatical case-endings are preserved. Four examples of the dative plural in *-um* occur in Denholm, Whitsome, Hume and Ellem.

/xii/ Oblique endings in *-an* were lost in ONb and do not therefore appear in NME. Spellings for Brunanburh and Degsastan which exhibit weak endings in *-an* may be due to scribes unfamiliar with northern usage.

The MSc present participle in *-and* is seen only in a spelling for Trottingshaw, as *Trottandschaw*, 1492.

MSc past participles in *-it* appear in *Kippitlaw*, 1557-8, and *Senegideside*, late 13th century, which may represent *sengit-side*.

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PALATALISATION

Although no evidence of vowel diphthongisation after palatal consonants is afforded by the material collected for the Border area, it is plain from mediaeval spellings and modern pronunciation that in most cases initial back consonants were palatalised before front vowels.

Initial *č* [tʃ] is found in the modern form *chester*, from OE *čæster*. The *e* is not a development of OE *ea*, but a fronted form of ONb *æ*, ME *a*. A similar case, but without 1ME fronting of the vowel, is seen in **/xiii/** Chatto, from an OE personal name **Cætt*.

OE *čiriče* > ME *chirche* was early replaced by ME *kirke* (ModSc *kirk*) from ON *kirkja*. Spellings in *chirche* in the 12th and 13th centuries might already represent [kirkə] since *ch-* was frequently written for [k] in the Anglo-Norman script (IPN i, 102). Norman influence is practically non-existent in place-name material in this area, however, and it is doubtful whether *chi-* ever represented anything but [tʃi] in our spellings. Forms for Channelkirk show that in one case at any rate *ch-* was a palatal sound, since in the 12th century form *Childenchirch* it is certain that the first *ch-* represented [tʃ], and it is therefore unlikely that the other two had a different pronunciation.

Initial *ġ* precedes OE *æ* in *ġæt* and *ġærd*, the ModSc forms of which are *yett* and *yard*: cf The Yett, Yetholm, and Ashyards. Present-day names in *-gate* are either very recent in origin or represent ON *gata*, “a road”.

OE *sċ-* becomes MSc *sch-* [ʃ]. OE *sċaġa* gives MSc *schaw*; OE *sċanca* gives MSc *schank*. OE **sċel* > ME *shele* > MSc *schele, scheil* > ModSc *shiel*. Shearington may be from an OE personal name **Sċġra*.

Medial and final palatalisation of *-ċ*, *-ċġ* and **/xiv/** *-sċ* is also common, although alternative forms with back consonants, due to the influence of cognate Norse terms are more frequent in the modern dialect and in later forms of place-names. OE *wīc* is regularly *-wick* in S. Scotland and N. England, perhaps due to confusion with ON *vīk*, although there is only one example of the latter in the Border district. ModSc *birk* and *birken* have quite replaced OE *birċ* and *birċene*, but a spelling *Birchinside* is recorded in the 12th century (No XXXII). OE *bryċġ* is normally *brig* in ModSc owing to the substitution in ME of a form from ON *bryggja*: cf Scotsbrig. In Birgham, however, the present pronunciation [bæ:rdʒəm] shows that a metathesised form of OE *bryċġ* has been retained. In Ashkirk and Ashtrees there has been no attempt to substitute ON *ask* for OE *æsc*.

Most of the other elements which exhibit a back consonant before or after a front vowel are of Norse origin, eg, *kelda, gata, garð, gil, sker, skali, mikill, bekk, bigging*. A few are Celtic: *caer, carse, calc, kil*.

/xv/ THE ROMAN PERIOD

With the early Celtic inhabitants of the Borders, and with their temporary conquerors, the Romans, we are not greatly concerned, except in so far as they influenced place-names and affected the course of Anglian history.

When the Roman armies finally abandoned their stations on Hadrian's Wall about the year 380AD, the land north of the Cheviots had been exempt from their control for almost two centuries. Only Birrens of all the Roman forts in Scotland had remained long in Roman hands, and recent excavations have shown that it ceased to be occupied before the middle of the fourth century (Birley, 279). The Roman occupation of Scotland, while it lasted, was purely military.

The Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain indicates several military stations in the Scottish Border area. Permanent forts are marked at Newstead, Cappuck and Birrens, large temporary marching camps at Channelkirk and Torwood Moor, and temporary forts at Raeburnfoot, Gilnockie and Burnswark.

Birrens has been identified with *Blatobulgium* of the Antonine Itinerary. The name has not been **/xvi/** preserved in any later source. The first element appears in several Celtic compounds: cf *Blatomagus*, the 3rd century form of Blonde, Haute-Vienne (Longnon, 44), and represents OCelt **blat*, "flower", the source of W *blawd*, "flower, meal", and OIrish *bláth*, "flower" (Holder, sv). The terminal represents OCelt **-bulgion*, derived from *bulga*: cf OIrish *bolg* "bag, sack", OBrit *bolg* (Holder, 630). The meaning of the compound is perhaps "flowery hollow", rather than Watson's suggestion of "meal-sack place". Blebo, Fife, is the Gaelic form of the same name: *Bladebolg*, 1144 *St And*; *Blathbolg*, 1165-1214, ib.

It is generally agreed that the *Trimontium* of Ptolemy, and the *Trimuntium* of the Ravenna Geographer, apply to the camp at Newstead which lies directly under the triple summits of the Eildon Hills (Curle, 7). The name is purely Latin, denoting “the place of the three mountains”.

The third Roman permanent fort was at Cappuck where Dere Street crosses the Oxnam Water. There is no possibility that the name is Latin. The farm on which the camp is situated was known as Cappuck or Cape Hope (Macdonald, 321). The former may be Gaelic, the latter is certainly English: cf No XX.

/xvii/ No Roman names have been preserved for the temporary camps: these are known by the name of the farm or estate on which they lie. Birrens is the only one which has received a name denoting an earthwork. There are several other examples of the use of *birren* in Dmf, but all apply to Celtic or mediaeval fortifications: Hizzie Birren, White Birren (Wstk) and Birren Knowes (Esk) are noted in AHMC (Dmf). This report claims that the term is applicable only to “enclosures” or cattle shelters, belonging to the time of the Border reiving, but it has been by no means established that the erections are of so late a date. “Birren” seems to represent OE *byrgen*, “burial place, tumulus”: cf Birrens Hill, No. XXVII. “Burren”, which is also found in this area (Jam, sv), may be a dialectal variation, or may represent OE *burg-æsn*, (cf PN La, 85), ME *burwain*, *burren*, from which the form *birren* may have arisen with the Southern Scots raising of the ME *ǔ* to ModSc *ī* [i, ə]. A cognate term, probably Irish in origin, is *borran*, which appears in NW England (PN CuWe, 135).

The usual term for a Roman station in England is *chester* or *caster* (OE *ceaster*, *cæster*), but of the seventeen names in *-chester* in Roxburgh and Berwick, **/xviii/** not one refers to a Roman site. The form in Cumberland and Westmorland is mainly *castle*, eg Bewcastle, Papcastle, etc, but most of these names have early forms in *-cæster*. This terminal is also applied to the non-Roman sites in one or two cases. Names in *-castle* in Dumfries denote Celtic or mediaeval fortifications: there are no examples of early spellings in *-cæster*.

ROMAN ROADS

The most important feature of the Roman occupation of Scotland was the construction of the military roads which linked the districts north and south of the Cheviot Hills. It has been demonstrated how the Roman roads facilitated the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlement of England (Dauncey, 55). Although it cannot be proved that Scotland was colonised by this means, it can still be asserted that the Roman roads were the chief means of north-south and east-west communication until well into the Middle Ages. Much of the strategy of early wars depended upon the Roman roads which provided almost the only known routes through the Cheviots, Lammermoors and Lowther Hills, for the lowland-bred Anglo-Saxons.

Two routes led into Scotland from the south, the eastern one a continuation of Ermine Street through *Habitancum*, *Bremenium* and the camp at Pennymuir in the Cheviots to Cappuck on the Scottish side of the **/xix/** watershed, then across country to Newstead, and up the valley of the Leader to cross into Lothian at Soutra and so perhaps to the station at Inveresk; the western one from *Luguvallum* running north-west to Birrens and up Annandale to the camp at Clyde Burn, from where the course of the road is indistinct. It may be that unpaved routes used only in emergency ran from there to connect with the station at Lyne on upper Tweedside, and with the western end of the Northern Wall.

Ermine Street, north of Hadrian's Wall, was known as Dere Street: *Deorestrete*, c 1050 (12th) SD; *Dere-* 1150 (16th) *Dryb*; 1206 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Derestredt*, 1165-77 LSMM. This is OE *Dera strēt*, "street of the Deirans".

The people of Deira are *Deiri*, c 730 (8th) Bede, and Deira is *Dearne rice* (dat), 634 (12th) ASC(E); *provincia Deirorum*, c 1110 Flo Wig. A Welsh spelling, *Dewr*, late 6th (13th) *Goddodin*, shows that the British name of the district was *Deivr*, *Deifr*. This was adopted by the Anglians (cf IPN i, 21). The use of a tribal name in the genitive plural with *strēt* is seen in names of other Roman roads, Watling Street and Ermine Street (DEPN, 477; 12 – Arrington). These two names are not primary constructions, being taken /xx/ from original place-names, but grammatically they are comparable to Dere Street.

BRITONS IN SOUTH SCOTLAND

Our knowledge of the pre-English inhabitants is derived from Ptolemy and Tacitus, and from the later writings of Gildas and Nennius.

The *Brigantes*, who gave their name to Bernicia, or derived it from the name of the district (IPN, ib), extended, we are told, "from sea to sea", and perhaps occupied most of Northumberland, Berwick, Roxburgh and Cumberland. North of them, and on the east coast were the *Votadini*, whose name is the Brythonic equivalent of the Goedelic *Gododin*, *Guotodin*, employed in the phrase "Manau of the Guotodin", applying perhaps to a district on the upper Forth (PN WLth, xvi). On the west were the *Selgovae* who may have occupied Dumfriesshire. Their name seems to be Goedelic, by its initial *s-* from OCelt *h-*, a change which does not occur in Old British. It is likely that the frontiers of several tribes met in the region of Selkirk. In the Yarrow valley a tombstone commemorates two brothers of the Damnonii, a people generally supposed to inhabit an area around Stirling.

Ptolemy supplies a list of the cities of the various tribes but since those in South Scotland, with /xxi/ the exception of *Trimontium*, cannot be identified, they are of interest mainly to the Celtic scholar.

All the documentary evidence of the history of the Britons before the 6th century is gleaned from a few references in *Historia Brittonum*, Nennius, the Welsh heroic poetry and early Gaelic sources. The information is meagre, inaccurate and often apparently contradictory. That there was a large Celtic population in South Scotland is attested to by the great numbers of hill-forts scattered over the more mountainous districts, and by the persistence of so many Brythonic elements in place-names. It is possible that some of the Arthurian battles were fought in this area, perhaps against invading Anglo-Saxons, or perhaps against the Picts and Scots. For a discussion on the historicity of Arthur and the sites of the various battles attributed to him by Nennius, v. *Antiquity*, 1935: *Arthur and his Battles*, by O.G.S. Crawford, pp 277-291.

At the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasions the whole of South Scotland was occupied by Brythonic Celts. It was not until the 9th century that Scots began to inhabit Lothian, although no doubt they had been filtering into upper Nithsdale from Ayrshire for some time previously.

/xxii/ The survival of a greater number of British place-names and place-name elements in South Scotland than in any other area colonised by the Anglo-Saxons seems to indicate that a

British population existed side by side with the Anglian one for a considerable period. Mr Myres believes that the earliest English settlers in Bernicia constituted a “military aristocracy”, which was not sufficiently numerous to drive out the Celts completely, but which was powerful enough to make of them “tributary subjects” (Myres, 422). The kingdom of Strathclyde remained a British confine until the early 11th century, so that throughout the period of Northumbrian supremacy over southern Scotland, there was always a large British community within a few days’ march of central Bernicia. No doubt there was considerable intercourse between Strathclyde and the upland districts of Dumfries, Roxburgh and Selkirk.

BRITISH PLACE-NAMES

Professor Watson claims 42 OWelsh place-names for Berwick, 52 for Roxburgh, 22 for Selkirk, and some twenty odd for Dumfries. Many of these are hybrids. Less than thirty names throughout the four counties remain in more or less their original British form.

A rough summary of some of the more important /**xxiii**/ elements would not be out of place here, since they are frequently coupled with English terms in later formations.

OBrit *caer*, “a fort”, which perhaps occurs independently in Keir (CPNS, 368), and is seen in Carfrae (ib, 369) and Carruthers (ib, 368), appears also in Caerlaverock which may be a British-English hybrid: *Karlaveroc*, 1159-81 (1300) HC; *Carlaverok*, 1335-6 CDS. The second element seems to be an OE personal name *Laferce*: cf *Wm. Laveroc*, or Wm. son of *Leveric*, c1234 H.C. There is no instance of the OE word for “lark” used as a personal name unless it occurs in Laverstock, W, and Laverstoke, Ha (DEPN, 276).

OCelt **cumba*, “valley”, W *cwm*, is found in Cumrue (Kkm), which is a parallel form to Cumrew, (Cu) (DEPN, 130).

Dinley and Dinlabyre contain OW *din*, “fort”, which may also be the first element of Din Fell (Cst) and Din Moss (Lin). Dinmontlair Knowe (Cst) contains the “lost” name Dinmont, a British-Gaelic hybrid (CPNS, 372). A variant, *dinas*, may occur in Tinnis (Cst), (ib).

Eccles is OBrit **eclēs*, a loan from Latin. Ecclefechan, however, is Gael: *Egil fechan*, 1249 CDS; *Egglesfeyan*, 1296 ib.

/**xxiv**/ Melrose has been thought to be Gaelic, since Gael *ros*, “promontory”, seems to suit the situation of Old Melrose better than W *rhos*, “moor, meadow”, but as the first element is OBrit **mail-os*, “cropped, tonsured”, the compound probably means “bare moorland” (cf CPNS, 496). Early spelling are: *Mailros*, c700 (late 9th or early 10th century), *Anon L St C*; *Mægil-*, c 900 (c 1000) A-S Bede; *Mal-*, 1146 (c1185) *C de M*.

Pen-, from OCelt **pennos*, “head”, occurs as the first element of several names: Penchrise, Penpont, and Pennersaugh are British compounds (CPNS, 354, 356). Johnston’s surmise that Penchrise is OW *pen crys*, “height with the girdle round it”, may be correct (PNS, 270). Pennygant Hill (Cst) may preserve the name *Pennango*, 1153-65 LSMM, seen also in Blaeu’s *Penangushoap*, which may be OCelt **penn-ango-s*, “corner hill”. Pen Grain (Esk), Penlaw (H & C), Skelfhill Pen (Tvt) and Ettrick Pen (Ettr) no doubt all contain this element. For Peniel Heugh (Rxb) and Peniestone Knowe (Ettr), v. CPNS, 354. Penmanshiel Moor (Ckb) and Penshiel (Crn) belong to the same class.

Plenderleith (Oxn) and Plendernethy (Duns) appear to have the same first element as Prendergust (Ayt) but its nature is doubtful. OCelt **prenno*, “tree”, /**xxv**/ is seen in Printonan (Cdstr) and Primside (Mrb), which are O.W. *pren tonnen*, “tree of the bog”, and *pren gwyn*, “white tree” (CPNS, 351). OW *tref*, “place, farm”, is found in Trabroun (Laud) and Trailtrow (Cum), (ib, 359).

The name of the rivers and streams are predominantly Celtic, and only a few can be claimed as British or Norse. The Eden, Ale, Allan, Evan, Esk and Kale are names which have parallels in other parts of Scotland and in England and Wales. The Nith may be comparable to the Nidd, YWR, although Ekwall is inclined to disagree on the grounds that the Dumfries-shire Nith is derived from Ptolemy’s *Novios*, and therefore cannot have the same root as the Nidd. Earliest spellings for the Nith refer to Nithsdale: *Stranit* c1124, *Stradnitt*, 1124-40 CDS; *Stranith*, 1192-98 LSMM; *Strathnith*, 1195-99 ib; *aquam de Nid* (acc), 1161-74 (1300) HC. Tweed, Teviot, Leader, Gala, Ettrick, Yarrow, Annan, are all of Celtic origin.

Examples of early Anglo-Saxon formations incorporating British elements are not uncommon in this region. Coldingham is formed from *Colud*, seen in *Caer Golud*, the Celtic fortress on St. Abb’s Head: v. No II. Tynninghame in East Lothian contains a British river-name. The only comparable forms in England are /**xxvi**/ three *-ingas* names, probably from pre-English river-names: Avening, Glo (PN *-Ing*, 70), Ulting, Ess (ib, 50) and Spalding, L (ib, 87). Ednam contains the name of the River Eden and OE *hām*: cf Alnham Nb (PN NbDu, 4).

British-English hybrids have mostly been mentioned already in this chapter. There remain, however, two in both of which a British element precedes OE *hōh*, “hill spur, height”. Minto is W *mynydd*, “hill”, and OE *hōh*, a combination in which the later element explains the earlier. Kelso is W *calc*, “chalk”, and OE *hōh*. It may be a translation of the Welsh form *Calchuynid*, which appears in Taliessin (CPNS, 343), into ONb *calc-hōh*, but the initial back consonant makes it probable that the British element was retained or at least influenced the English pronunciation: v. No XXX.

/**xxvii**/ THE ANGLIAN SETTLEMENT OF BERNICIA

The earliest statement about the settlement of Bernicia is the entry for 547 in ASC ‘A’: “*Her Ida feng to rice, þanon Norþan hymbra cynecyn onwoc*”. This is amplified by an 11th century interpolation to the effect that Ida reigned twelve years and built *Bebbanburh* which was first enclosed with a fence and afterwards with a wall. From references in Nennius and Welsh sources it is learned that the fortress was earlier a Celtic stronghold named *Din Guardi*. It was renamed after the wife of Ida’s grandson, *Bebbe*, to whom it was gifted.

The Celtic tradition of the settlement is less trustworthy, since it comes from Nennius. It is full of probably fictional details, but the main points are clear. The *Historia Brittonum* and Nennius both state in passages of equal obscurity as to geographical facts, that *Octha*, the son or grandson of Hengist, and *Ebbisa*, first settled Bernicia after ravaging the Orkneys. Mr Hodgkin thinks the story dubious, but concedes that “there could have been no better way (than by advancing via the Orkneys) of doing what Hengist had been called in to do” (Hodgkin, 152). This tradition cannot safely be ignored, because all /**xxviii**/ sources are agreed that Hengist was called in by Vortigern to assist him against the Picts and Scots.

Now Hengist had proved Frisian connections (v. Myres, 346), and much of the Anglo-Saxon pottery which has been discovered in Northumbria shows “striking parallels with the pottery of the Frisian *Terpen*” (ib, 350). Although many historians have attempted to discredit the historicity of Hengist’s part in the movement, these facts seem to agree very well with Mr Myres’ theory about the *Ambrones*, who, he claims, crossed to the Humber area from the coast of Friesland (v. History XX, 250-62).

Archaeological evidence supplies us with the most definite information about the first settlements in England. Finds of the pagan period are very few in Bernicia: the OS map of England in the Dark Ages notes only one pagan cemetery and three single burials. Mr Myres, however, in his sketch-map of the early settlements, records three cemeteries, at Galewood, Howick and Hepple, and nine single burials (Myres, facing p. 411).

This scarcity of remains in the north has led Professor Baldwin Brown to believe that the area was not settled until after the influence of Christianity had led to the discontinuance of cremation. Mr Hodgkin /**xxix**/ declares that such a view “demands miracles ... of rapid settlement and propagation” (Hodgkin, 152). It is noticeable, nevertheless, that in the districts where Romano-British resistance was greatest, pagan customs disappeared most rapidly (Dauncey, 55). This would certainly apply to Bernicia where British opposition was strong and prolonged.

The non-existence of Anglian archaeological material belonging to the earliest period in South Scotland has caused the belief that there could have been no primary settlement north of the Tweed. Whether this is so or not, it is wrong to regard the Tweed as a frontier or boundary, since all we know of the invading tactics of the Anglo-Saxons shows that they used the river-valleys as their main means of access to the lowlands of England, and never as dividing lines between territories belonging to different tribes. The Bernician kingdom was more likely to be continued on the coastal plain to the base of the Lammermoor Hills than to end at the Tweed.

The latest theories are that the Anglo-Saxons did not sail up the rivers much beyond the first few miles in the Wash area, but pursued campaigns of conquest along the Roman roads. The Tweed is not navigable by any craft of deeper draught than a canoe more than ten /**xxx**/ miles from its mouth, but no doubt the invaders followed the river-bottoms as the easiest routes of penetration into the country.

At Traprain Law near Dunbar a hoard of silver was unearthed which is believed to have been secreted in the early 5th century by Saxon pirates. This does not necessarily indicate settlement at this date in the Forth area, but it shows that raiding parties visited the district quite a century before 547.

In a pagan grave at Corbridge on the River Tyne, a collection of ornaments was found which included two cruciform fibulae. These were of a type which has also been located on the lower Elbe, and is believed to belong to the earliest kind of Saxon material discovered in Britain. The brooches need not mark anything more than the most scattered settlement, or the passage of travellers across the Roman Wall, but they do determine the presence of Anglo-Saxons in Bernicia almost a century before Ida (v. NCH, x, 12).

A tradition is preserved in Symeon of Durham that Ida journeyed north by sea and landed with his followers at Flamborough Head (i, 338). This is a peculiar statement unless it means

that Ida came to Deira from farther south. If he left Deira for Bernicia he would be more likely to leave from Flamborough Head than to /xxxii/ land there.

Nevertheless it seems very probable that Bernicia was colonised from the sea, and not by penetration by land. There is a distinct area to the south of the Tyne, stretching as far as the Tees, in which there are practically no pagan remains. County Durham was in all probability a waste of uninhabitable ground which cut off advance by land from the south: there is a note to that effect in the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* (SD i, and Flo Wig, ii, 250). That Ida came from Deira is almost certain; he styled himself *Humbrensis*. The repetition of the Tribal name *Gyrwe* in the place-name Jarrow, and of the place-name Lindsey in Lindisfarne (which means “the island of the travellers to or from Lindsey”) is further proof of the connection between Deira and Bernicia in the earliest period (v. DEPN, 256, 284).

Some further information about the earliest years of the Bernician kingdom may be gleaned from the genealogies of the royal house. The most interesting, although not the most authentic, version is to be found in the continuation of Florence of Worcester (ii, 250), immediately after a transcription of Edward I’s letter to the Scottish Claimants bidding them place themselves in his judgment. It forms a preface to a genealogy /xxxiii/ of the Scottish royal family and its source is unknown. It begins, “*Hyring* fuit primus rex qui regnavit post Britannos in Northumbria”, and then gives *Hyring*’s descendants, who were *Wodna*, *Withglis*, *Horse*, *Uppa*, *Eppa*, *Ermering* and *Ida*. All are styled “rex”. The list is followed by a statement: “*Omnes enim isti reges ab Hyring usque ad Idam regem ab omnibus historiographis vel omissi vel ignorati sunt, et eorum gesta sive in patria combusta, sive extra patriam deleta sunt*”, which may be merely an attempt to brazen out an imaginary Bernician family tree, but which, coming at this point in the chronicle, may contain some truth, since Edward is suspected of the destruction of documents which he considered unfavourable to his claim of overlordship. John of Eversden, the author of this part of the chronicle, may actually have known of sources which perished in this manner.

Obviously, if *Hyring* was seven generations above Ida, it is unlikely that he ruled in Bernicia, since he must have lived about the year 340. Several generations, however, can be discounted. *Wodna* must be the god degraded to the status of king; *Withglis* is plainly the *Wilgisl* of the Deiran royal house, three generations above *Ælle* (ASC, A, a 547); *Horse* may owe the initial consonant and medial -r- to confusion /xxxiii/ with *Horsa*, and the form may really be the same as *Oesa*, *Esa* (ASC, ib, and OET, 170), who was Ida’s grandfather; *Uppa* may be *Yffi* of Deira, or merely a repetition of *Eppa* who corresponds to *Eoppa*, *Eobba* in the other texts; *Ermering* is not represented elsewhere. *Hyring*, by these eliminations, may be considered as only four generations above Ida, which brings him into clearer historical focus. It is notable that the names which remain all alliterate: *Ida*, *Ermering*, *Eppa*, *Esa*, but that *Hyring* does not. Anglo-Saxon kings in direct succession usually bore alliterating names, so the probability is that the first four names are those of reigning monarchs.

From the other texts of the genealogy some additional matter can be obtained H.B. notes that Ida united *Dinguayrdi* and *Guurth Berneich*, which means that he first brought the Celtic fortress at Bamborough under Bernician control. No doubt he subdued the Celtic population in the neighbourhood and made them a tributary people to the Anglians.

Nennius adds a note to the Deiran table to the effect that *Soemil* (the great-grandfather of *Ælle*), “*ipse primus separavit Deur o Birneich*” (MGH, iii, 204). This *Soemil* does not appear in the ASC genealogy where he is replaced by *Westerfalca*.

/xxxiv/ *Oesa, Esa, Ossa, Horse* may be the *Hussa* of the Taliessin poems, who was one of Arthur's antagonists. He may also be *Ochtha*, who with *Ebissa* (perhaps *Eobba*) "occupaverunt regiones plurimas ultra mare Frenessicum". That these were Hengist's son and grandson seems incompatible with the fact that they were also Ida's grandfather and father.

The *Beornec, Beornic* of H.B. and OET, *Benoc*, ASC, may represent an attempt to establish an eponymous ancestor for Bernicia.

From the evidence above, it appears almost certain that parts, at any rate, of Bernicia had been settled by Anglo-Saxons before Ida's time. His coming to Bernicia, however, was evidently an important landmark in Northumbrian history, or it would not have been so carefully noted in all sources. It seems probable that he led a large contingent of Deirans into Bernicia with a strong military force which crushed the last Celtic resistance centred in Bamborough, and made a conspicuous Anglian settlement in the area which he had conquered. Lesser kings may have maintained a precarious existence in the district before him, but he was no doubt the first to make the Anglian conquest of Bernicia an established fact.

/xxxv/ EARLY TYPES OF PLACE-NAMES AS EVIDENCE OF ANGLIAN SETTLEMENT

OE place-names ending in *-ingas* form the earliest stratum of habitation-names in England, and are to be found in greatest numbers in areas where other evidence of primary settlement has been produced.

Names ending in *-ing* are rare in the North of England, and OE forms in *-ingas* for these names are non-existent. Some three or four 12th century spellings in *-ing(e)s* are the only evidence that original forms in *-ingas* occurred at all in the northern counties.

The only certain example of an *-ingas* name in the Bernician area is Birling, Nb (PN NbDu, 23). Simprim may be another. Crailing is more than doubtful. Binning Wood, East Lothian, mentioned by Ekwall (PN *-Ing*, 98) is named from Binning, West Lothian, which is of Gaelic origin (PN WLth, 49).

Ekwall attempts to account for the scarcity of *-ingas* names in Northumbria by Scandinavian influence, and in South Scotland by Gaelic influence. Neither of these excuses is valid, as it has been proved elsewhere that both Scandinavian and Gaelic influences were negligible in this area. It seems plain that the paucity of *-ingas* names bears out the contention **/xxxvi/** that there was little or no primary settlement in Bernicia.

Names in *ingahām* are, however, much more numerous in this area; there are eleven in Northumberland, one in Berwickshire, and two in East Lothian. It has been remarked that *-ingahām* and *-ing(a)tūn* compounds occur in western counties of England where *-ingas* names are very rare, from which it has been deduced that these were of later formation than names in *-ingas*, or at least that they continued to be formed when *-ingas* names were no longer in living use (PN *-Ing*, 114 ff). The same conclusion may be drawn in Bernicia. Fresh Anglo-Saxon settlements were being established there at a period when *-ingas* names were already almost obsolete. Nevertheless, the sources containing some of the *-ingahām* names for this area are quite as early as those in which *-ingas* names appear farther south. The

Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert was written about 700 which compares favourably with the date of sources for some of the Anglian *-ingas* names. Ekwall concludes that “there seems no reason ... to ascribe a much later age to the type *-ingham* than to the type *-ingas*”.

Names in *-ingas* and *-ingahām* are generally to be found near the coast, in easily accessible river-valleys /**xxxvii**/ and on Roman roads. Simprim stands on a slight ridge, 200 ft in height, two miles to the north of the Tweed and about twelve miles from its mouth. This position compares well with those of other *-ingas* names in the Humber area. Not only is Crailing obscure in etymology, but it stands on a tributary of the Teviot, too far inland to be a likely site for earliest settlement.

Names in *-ingahām* are nearer the coast. Coldingham is about a mile from the sea and the original *Caer Golud*. In East Lothian Tynninghame is on the River Tyne, less than a mile from the shore; and Whittingehame is on the Whittingehame Water about five miles from the coast. All are at elevations of between 50 and 350 feet. The eleven *-ingahām* names in Northumberland are near the coast, or on the Rivers Aln, Till or Tyne. In Cumberland there are three examples, two on the coast and one inland.

Names in *-ington* are more common in South Scotland, and are almost certainly later than the two previous classes. There are five examples in Berwickshire and one in Dumfriesshire. In East Lothian there are two at least, Bonnington and Haddington. There are twenty-eight examples in Northumberland and five in Cumberland. They are to be found farther inland and often on slightly higher levels than the *-ingahām* names, /**xxxviii**/ but always in accessible positions. It is doubtful whether OE *-ingatūn* is represented to any great extent in Northern England and Southern Scotland: an ending with singular *-ing* plus *-tūn* seems more common. In our area there are no ME spellings in *-ingetun* to suggest a form in the genitive plural.

Names ending in *-hām* belong also to a very early date. These cover a wider area than the *-ing* formations. They are mainly in river-valleys but farther upstream. Their distribution indicates penetration by the Tweed and its larger tributaries. The importance of the rivers in the Border area is underlined by the number of these early names which employ stream-names in their composition, e.g. Tynninghame, Edrington, Edrom, Ednam, Leitholm.

It will be noted from the presence of an *-ingtūn* and a *-hām* name in Dumfriesshire that Anglian settlement of that district took place contemporaneously with, or quite soon after, the colonisation of Berwickshire. Two *-ingahām* names occur in Galloway: Penninghame in Wigtown, and *Edingham in Kirkcudbright, commemorated in Edingham Loch, (v. Kermack).

An examination of the map on which these names are plotted shows the area of earliest Anglo-Saxon settlement. It is plain that colonisation was by sea, /**xxxix**/ perhaps directly from Deira and the settlements in the Humber area. A few names on the course of Dere Street in Northumberland suggest that it was used in the penetration of Bernicia, but it is clear that the invaders did not follow this route into Scotland over the Cheviots.

The majority of Northumberland names in *-ingas* and *-ingahām* are either near the coast or in the chief river-valleys. It is not necessary to suppose that the Anglo-Saxons sailed up the rivers. To invaders arriving by sea the river-mouths would offer the most suitable access to the interior of the country, since the shores are mainly rocky and inhospitable. In a hilly district the easiest routes invariably lie in the valleys of the rivers. The earliest types of names in the Border area are all within easy reach of the sea, and it was not until the period when names in *-ingtūn* and *hām* were being formed that settlers ventured deeper into the country.

The colonisation of Dumfries and Galloway must either have been from the settlements in Cumberland or from upper Tynedale in Bernicia. The position of the names, which are near the coast or on rivers draining to the Solway, suggests that the Anglo-Saxons crossed the firth from Cumbria, and there is no concentration /**xli**/ in the most easterly districts to suggest that they came across the Roman Wall.

With these names the settlement period comes to an end. The next category is still very early, but the names in it belong to a time when the colonists were beginning to clear and cultivate the land they had annexed.

Since agriculture in this area could be pursued with any success only in the alluvial soil of the river-bottoms, the next group of names will be found in much the same area as the earliest examples. To it belong names in *-worð*, *-wīc*, *-burh*, *-bōtl*, *-tūn*, *-ciriće*, *-hūs*, *-lēah* and *-halh*, recorded before 1200 and containing an OE grammatical ending, personal name, or topographical term. It will be seen that these are not precisely the same terms which occur first in England. *-Cot* and *-stede* are not among the earliest habitative names in South Scotland, nor is *-feld* so early as *-lēah* and *-halh*. Some of the topographical endings, *-hōh*, *-dūn*, *-denu*, *-wudu*, *-mere*, seem to be quite as early as those above, although it is unlikely that they were formed until slightly later.

/xli/ THE BATTLE OF DEGASTAN

The fullest account of this encounter between the Angles and the Scots is to be found in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, Book I, Chapter 34. From it we learn that Æðelfrið had been ravaging the territory of the Britons. The extent of his campaigns is not stated, but evidently they were extremely thorough for Bede says that the inhabitants of the conquered territories were treated with great brutality. They were either driven out entirely or forced to serve under Anglian rule. No doubt the reference to Saul and the "ravening wolf" can be discounted, as Bede, like Gildas before him, was not unbiased in his opinions. Nevertheless, Æðelfrið's methods were evidently unusual as we are told that no other English king "made more of their lands either tributary to the English nation or habitable by them".

The reason of Ædan's rising against Æðelfrið is not stated. It is unlikely that Æðelfrið had penetrated to Scottish territory but no doubt he had advanced sufficiently far into the British area to endanger Scottish integrity. That Ædan received support from Ireland we learn from the Annals of Ulster. Mael-umae, who came to his aid, probably sailed up the /**xlii**/ Firth of Clyde to meet him, for Ædan's seat was at Aberfoyle (CPNS, 129, 225).

The whereabouts of Æðelfrið's army is unknown. Most historians take it for granted that the Anglians had crossed to the West Coast and conquered Dumfriesshire, but there is no proof of this. It is equally likely that they marched up the East Coast and proceeded along the southern shores of the Forth. The battle is as likely to have been fought near Stirling as at the head of Liddesdale.

Strategically, of course, a decisive victory in the latter area would drive an effective wedge between the Britons of Cumbria, and those of Strathclyde which would make possible future English penetration into the lowlands of Cumberland and Dumfriesshire. Since evidences of fairly effective Anglian settlement are to be found both in place-names of an early type and in the Anglian monuments of the 7th and 8th centuries in these areas, it is obvious that the Celtic population must have given way either of their own free will or to the persuasion of war about this period.

A point near the Dawston Burn in Castleton parish is usually accepted as the site of the battle. As a meeting place it is very convenient. The Angles could have come up Tynedale and the Scots up Liddesdale from /xlīii/ the shores of the Solway where the Irish had perhaps landed. A stream called Day Sike, running to join the Border at Bell's Burn, may also have taken its name from *Dægsa stān*. This was according to Bede "a famous place", and some kind of obelisk may have marked the limit of British territory, for it is here that the Catrail ends, an ancient earthwork which may have marked the boundary between Anglian and Celtic lands before this decisive battle drove the Britons farther westward. The name is variously spelt: *æt Egesan stane*, 603 ASC A; *æt Dægstane*, 10th century gloss on this text; *æt Dægsan stane*, 603 ASC E; *Degsastan*, c730 Bede HE; Flo Wig; *Degsa stone*, ib.

The first element seems to be an OE personal name *Dæg(i)sa*, an *-isa* derivative of *Dæg-*, seen in *Dæghræfn*, Beowulf, etc. This recalls the unexplained runes on the Ruthwell Cross: ᚦXlᚱXᚦ *dægisgæf*, which seem to contain the same name, which is of a very early type: cf Dickins and Ross, 4 n⁴. The association with the Cross strengthens the belief that the battle was fought in Dumfriesshire.

/xliv/ THE RUTHWELL CROSS

If the date of this monument could be established on purely aesthetic and philological considerations, the period and extent of Anglian supremacy in Dumfriesshire could be more definitely determined. Unfortunately two of the chief authorities on the subject base their final conclusions upon external knowledge of Northumbrian history.

In form and manner the Ruthwell Cross is closely associated with the Bewcastle Cross, and belongs to approximately the same period. Mr T D Kendrick dates the latter about the year 700, on the grounds that exact counterparts to certain features are found in the illumination of the Lindisfarne Gospels, and that these forms do not appear in later English work. The parallels are seen in the almost classical scroll, in the intricately-planned interlace work, and in the "bold lateral curves in the 'hollow line' manner" in one of the panels (Kendrick, 132). Ruthwell must be some years earlier, to judge by the less stylised treatment of the figures, and the rather barbaric technique of certain passages such as Mary Magdalen's arm, and the beasts under Christ's feet, which recall the manner of the Franks Casket (ib, 130). On these /xliv/ grounds the cross can justifiably be dated about 680 AD.

The late Professor Baldwin Brown came to the same conclusion, but for slightly different reasons.

In the Bewcastle Cross a runic inscription, now much defaced, is reputed to have contained the names of Alhfrið son of Oswy, and of his wife Cuniburga or Cyniburg who was the daughter of Penda. The last link with Alhfrið was cut when his protégé Wilfrid died in 709: Mr Hodgkin points out that a memorial bearing his name was most likely to be erected during Wilfrid's lifetime (Hodgkin, 363). Nevertheless Mr W G Collingwood assigns the Ruthwell Cross to a group of which the Acca Cross at Hexham (c 740) is the prototype, and makes out an elaborate case for dating it at 792, the next occasion upon which a Mercian princess married a Northumbrian king, a hypothesis which Baldwin Brown dismisses as "an attractive fairy-tale".

The evidence of the runes and lettering on the cross is inconclusive. The Roman characters are similar, with minor alterations, to those used in Lindisfarne, Durrow and Kells: they might belong to any time between 650 and 850. The futhorc corresponds to that in the older inscriptions up to about 700 AD but with certain additional characteristics. The /**xlvi**/ development of the D from \mathfrak{D} to \mathfrak{D} corresponds to that on the Hartlepool stones and the Thames Sword and this might point to a later date. The most important difference to be observed between the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses on the one hand and the chief English inscriptions of known date on the other, is the employment of special symbols for velar *g* and *k*. The fact, however, that Ruthwell and Bewcastle distinguished between back and front consonants does not necessarily point to a later date than that of inscriptions which do not employ such symbols, but merely to a more exact phonetic consciousness.

Linguistic evidence indicates a date between that of the earliest Northumbrian texts and the Lindisfarne Gospels. The language of the Dream of the Rood which appears upon the Ruthwell Cross is slightly less archaic than that of Caedmon's Hymn, Bede's Death-Song, and the Leiden Riddle. The *e* in *men*, the back-mutation in *haefunæs*, and the form of the unstressed vowels in one or two cases are later developments than are found in the earliest poetry. The absence of syncope, however, in *haefunæs*, the retention of certain primitive forms in unstressed vowels, and the form *hiæ*, must belong to an earlier period than the language of Lindisfarne, Ritual and Rushworth². The first half of the /**xlvi**/ 8th century is, on these grounds, the most likely date for the language of the poem (Dickins and Ross, 12-13).

A date between 700 and 750 seems to be the most suitable for the erection of the Cross, when all the foregoing evidence is taken into account.

At this time the greatest age of Northumbrian Christianity was just passing, but its influence must still have been strong in the more distant parts of the kingdom. At Bede's death in 730 Anglian bishops reigned in Whithorn, and there must have been great missionary activity radiating from that centre. The Celtic church, however, was also active in the west, particularly during the preceding centuries, which is proved by the number of place-names in Dumfries and Galloway incorporating the names of 6th and 7th century Celtic saints.

Southern Dumfriesshire no doubt proved refractory and the Ruthwell Cross may commemorate some great victory of the Roman over the Celtic faith.

The name Ruthwell has been thought to denote “rood well”, but early spellings prove that this is impossible.

Ryvell, c 1320 HMC (Var Coll v); 1529 RMS; *Rewel*, 1452 RMS; *Reuell*, 1477 HMC (*Drml*); 1570 CSP; *Ruvale*, 1507-8 RMS; 1509, 1517 APS; *-vel*, 1536 RMS; *Riffell K*, *Rifwell*, Blaeu; *Rivell*, 1622 RMS.

/xlviii/ The present pronunciation is [rɪvəl].

Spellings in *Ruth-* may be due to association with the numerous Ruthvens, which are usually pronounced [rɪvən]. The first element, however, cannot have the same origin as that in Ruthven which is consistently *Roth-*, eg *Rothuan*, 1236 (Strathnairn); *Rotheuen*, c1233 (Perth); *Rothfan*, c1224 (Banff); *Rothuan*, c1208 (Huntly), (CPNS, 387). The interchange of *y*, *e* and *u* in the MSc forms of Ruthwell point to an original *y* or *i*, which in ME are unstable vowels in the Border area. OE *ryge wælla*, “rye well”, is possible, but forms in *well* are unusual at such an early date.

This may however be an OBrit compound: OW *rhiw*, “hill” and *ial*, “cultivated region”, or a British-Gaelic hybrid with Gael *bhail*, “farm”, as the terminal.

Although the Ruthwell Cross is by far the most complete and remarkable piece of Anglian sculpture in the area, it is not the only example of such work. To approximately the same date belong several fragments found at Jedburgh, while the Carlowrie Cross (originally at Aberlady) and the Morham Cross may have been executed before the end of the 8th century (see Baldwin Brown, VI part ii, 209; Kendrick, 135, 203). The Cross at Hoddom may belong to the same period. Slightly later in date, probably 9th century, are the crosses at Nith Bridge and Closeburn (Kendrick, 204-5). A carved slab at Wamphray is probably Scandinavian workmanship.

/xlix/ SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENT AND PLACE-NAMES

For the Scandinavian invasion of Southern Scotland there is almost as little documentary evidence as for the coming of the Anglo-Saxons. Archaeological material is small in quantity. Place- and personal-names supply the bulk of our knowledge about the settlements.

As the east and west coasts form two distinct areas, each shall be treated separately.

EAST COAST

The Danes engaged in raiding expeditions on the eastern coastline for almost a century before making their first settlements in England. The earliest account of such a raid on Scottish territory is found in the chronicle of Matthew Paris, where an attack on the nunnery at Coldingham, about the year 870, is described (M.P., 391-2). It is probable that the coasts of Berwick and the Lothians had been subjected to numerous isolated forays before then, but on the whole, the Danes, like the Angles, preferred the richer shores of England where booty was more easily procurable. A note in the chronicle of John of Eversden, purporting to refer to the Anglian invasion of Bernicia, but more probably applying to the period of the Danish raids, // states that the Forth was known as the Frisian sea, “because the Frisians with the Danes were

went to land there with their ships and afterwards to ravage Northumbria along with the Picts and Scots” (Flo Wig, ii, 250). The Frisians may be the *Ambrones*, and the Danes a mere fiction, but it seems more likely that the chronicler mixed his periods rather badly and inserted this piece of gratuitous information somewhat out of its context. The statement, if it applies to the 8th and 9th centuries, can be used to strengthen the contention that the Danes who landed on the northern coasts of England crossed from the shores of Friesland where they had already established colonies. It is very doubtful whether Danes came to settle in Scotland from any part of the Continent. Like the Anglo-Saxons, they probably filtered gradually northwards from the settlements in England. The absence of place-names denoting primary settlement makes this more certain. There are no instances of *þorp*, *bóð* or *þveit* and only one example of *bý* in SE Scotland.

The main centre of Danish activity was York, but in 875 the ASC recounts that “the army” took up winter quarters on the Tyne, conquered the countryside, and often harried the Picts and Strathclyde Britons. Lindkvist points out that these expeditions were */li/* organised with the object neither of plunder nor settlement, but were intended by Halfdan to subdue the territories surrounding York, and so make it safe from attack in the rear (Lindkvist, xxiv).

It is unlikely that any planned settlements were made north of the Tyne such as ASC records for the years 875 and 876 in Northumbria and Mercia, when the land was divided up amongst the military leaders and given over to agriculture. Bernicia must have been in the main unaffected by events further south, for it remained independent and English during the next 200 years apart from brief spells of alliance with Deira, and a few months spent under the rule of Anlaf Sigtryggsson in 941.

In Northumberland, Danish place-names are few and sporadic, and consist mainly of English formations containing Danish words which had early been accepted into the NME dialect, eg Crookham, Newbiggin, Haining, or containing Danish personal names, eg Nafferton, Ouston. There is a slightly larger number of Danish names in Durham but no evidence of intensive settlement such as occurred in Yorkshire.

The Danish names in Berwickshire are appreciably fewer, but they do exist, and a fringe of scattered Danish elements can be traced along the southern shores of the Firth of Forth almost to Stirling.

/lii/ Danish personal names are a marked feature in Berwickshire: *Colbrand* in Cockburnspath, *Arnkell* in *Arkilly, *Ulfkell* in Oxton, and **Lum* in Lumsdaine. *Ketill* in Kettlehiel and *Lí(g)ulfr* in Lyleston, however, look like West Scandinavian names. It is most probable that these names do not belong to the period of Danish settlement at all, but to the late 11th and early 12th centuries. Kettlehiel was certainly formed in the 13th century (v. No XLVIII). Men called *Ulfkill*, *Ulfchillo* and *Ligulf*, *Lyulf* sign charters in the first part of the 12th century and it is very probable that it was then that Oxton and Lyleston were formed. The Danes at this time had intermingled with Celts and Anglo-Saxons to some extent to judge from the signatories to charters, among whom are *Lyulf filio Uhtredi*, 1119-24 (*Kelso*); *Liulfo filio Macus*, 1174 (ib); *Ulkillio filio Meldredi*, 1147 (ib); *Adam filio Arkilli*, 1175-1214 LSMM; *Uhtred Eilaues sune*, 1100 ESC.

Place-names which appear to be Danish in origin are Corsbie (No LXXXI) and the lost **Skaitbie* (ib). Drakemire, for which there are no spellings, might be ODan *drak(a) mýrr* “strip (of) moorland”: cf Drakemire, Cu, and Drakemyre, Ayr.

Other names merely incorporate Danish elements. ODan *klint* (cf ON *klettr*) is seen in Clints (Chan) /liii/ and Clinthill (Mrt). It may also be the first element of a lost **Clinkskailis*, near Coldingham, the terminal of which, however, appears to be Norse.

Danish terms must have been accepted into the Southern Scots dialect at an early date. Newbigging is no doubt a dialect formation rather than of Danish origin. Skaithmuir contains ODan *Skeið* in some dialect sense not yet fully ascertained: cf Skaithmuir (PN WLth., 7). ON *titlingr*, “meadow pipit”, occurs in Titling Cairn.

Such names as Fellcleugh, Scarlaw, Whitemire may have been formed at any date.

That one or two isolated Danish settlements occurred in Dumfriesshire is suggested by the name Denbie (No LXXXI), which denotes “Danes’ village”. These must have been people who crossed from the eastern colonies, following the route by which Halfdan harried the Scots and British.

WEST COAST

The first Norwegian settlements on the west coasts were in the Hebrides, Man, and Ireland where the Norse kingdom of Dublin was established in the latter half of the 9th century. It was from these bases, and not directly from Norway, that the Vikings descended upon North-West England. Intensive settlement may have /liv/ begun in the first years of the 10th century, when King Ingemund, expelled from Dublin, was given land near Chester by Eðelfrida.

By 937 there must have been a considerable Norse population in the area where Brunanburh was fought; and although defeated upon that occasion, the Norwegians were strong enough six years later to drive the English forces as far south as Tamworth. In 945 the Norse in the old Cumbrian area were so troublesome that Eadmund harried *eall Cumbra Land*, and gave it to Malcolm, King of the Scots, in return for a promise of aid when required (ASC, a. 945). *Cumbra land* must have denoted Westmorland and Cumberland, but it is doubtful whether the country around Carlisle and the lowlands of Dumfries were also included as some historians believe. There is no evidence that Strathclyde ever recovered any territory south of the Lowther Hills after 603. The numerous Gaelic names in Dumfriesshire may have been formed during the time of Malcolm’s overlordship of Cumbria, since whether Dumfries was Anglian or British it must have been friendly to Malcolm to allow him free passage south, and considerable Scottish infiltration may have taken place.

The colonisation of North-West England appears to have been carried out mainly by individual companies, /lv/ and was not an organised process as in the Danelaw. There is no evidence of formal division of land. Whether the settlement was peaceable or not is a matter for conjecture. The fact that the Norse and Strathclyde Britons were allied against the English by 937 points to a friendly conquest, but the lines of “Wargraves” at Bromborough, if not marking the site of Brunanburh, attest at least to a local encounter of some magnitude, perhaps between Norse and British.

It is very doubtful whether Dumfries was colonised from Ireland and the Hebrides. It is more probable that there was a gradual penetration from the previously established settlements on the Southern shore of the Solway. The almost complete absence of Irish and Gaelic loan-words in the Norse place-names, especially the absence of ON *erg* from Gael *airidh*, Irish

airge which is extremely common in the Scandinavian districts of England, and the fewness of Inversion Compounds in Dumfriesshire, point to a later colonisation than in NW England, and a further remove from contact with the Goidelic languages. Irish-Gaelic personal names in compounds are prominent in Cumberland but rare in Dumfries.

The chief test for names formed in their own language by Scandinavian settlers is the retention of /*lvi*/ Norse inflectional forms. Examples of this are few although Butterwhat and Butterdales may contain the plural *búðir* of ON *búð*. Early spellings of Annandale show a genitive ending for ON *Qnundr*, while Dryfesdale contains ON *Drífs*, the genitive of the personal name *Drífr*.

Next in importance are compounds containing two Scandinavian elements. These could have been formed only by Norse speakers. The majority of the names in *-by* have Norse first elements, many of them being personal names. Rammerscales is a Norse formation. Eight of the names in *-pveit* have Scandinavian first elements, and one or two names in *-gil*, *-dalr* and *-bekkr* are Norse compounds.

Nevertheless a large number of names with Norse terminals contain English elements. Norse must very rapidly have given place to English in Dumfriesshire, and although the name Tinwald, ON *þing-vǫllr*, “assembly field”, shows that Norse customs were for a period imposed upon the area, the scarcity of pure Norse formations and the abundance of English-Norse hybrids demonstrate that the Scandinavian settlers speedily fused with the Anglian community.

All the pure Norse compounds are to be found within a twenty-mile radius from Annan, and the largest /*lvii*/ number are close to the sea.

Scandinavian-formed hybrids are not very common. The most striking is seen in the early forms of Annandale where a Celtic river-name was equated with a Norse personal-name, given a Norse genitival ending and placed before ON *dalr*. Examples of British or early English elements coupled with a Norse terminal are not to be found in this area, but there are several cases of Gaelic elements suffixed by Norse terminals, e.g. Dunnabie, Enzieholm Glencarholm.

Outwith the chief Scandinavian area of South Central Dumfriesshire, Norse terminals in compounds are still very common, but it is obvious that such elements as *fjall*, *slakki*, *gil*, *grein*, and *mýrr* had been received into local dialect speech before being employed in compounds. Names like Dodd Fell, Tod Slack, Haregills, Black Grain, Whitemire must be late ME or MSc formations.

There is a surprising paucity of English endings prefixed by Norse personal names. In Berwickshire compounds with a Scandinavian name, plus *tun* are common, but in Dumfriesshire fewer are to be found. Ormiston, Dolphinton, Elliston and perhaps Thowliestane in Roxburghshire contain West Scandinavian personal names. In Dumfries the only compound of this kind which can be /*lviii*/ proved to have a Norse name for first element is Arkleton. Davington, Kettletonhead and Dalvingwalls may, however, incorporate ON *Dagfinnr*, *Ketill* and *Dolgfinnr*, while *Rögvaldr* may appear in Rennald Burn.

Scandinavian common nouns attached to English terminals are common but not numerous. They belong to a period when Norse speech was no longer in use, but when the English

dialect had absorbed and still employed a large number of Scandinavian words. Examples are Beckton (Dryfe), Boothfaulds Plantation (H&C), Kelwood (Dmf), Holmshaw (KJ), Myreside (Hlw), Raffles (Msw), Scalehill (Tun), Thwaite Burn (Rth).

This type of semi-hybridism occurs only throughout Dumfries, to a small degree in Selkirk and in the west and south of Roxburgh. Terms which occur in these districts but are lacking in Berwick, Tweeddale and Lower Teviotdale, are *-þveit*, *-grein*, *-gil*, *-garðr*, *-bekkr*, endings which are almost entirely lacking in Northumberland. These are generally assumed to be characteristic of West Scandinavian speech.

/lix/ THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH

So much has been written in various attempts to locate this battlefield that it seems impossible to throw any fresh light on the subject. Nevertheless it will be well to examine the evidence once more, to see whether any credence may rightly be given to those who claim Burnswark as the site of the battle.

Much confusion prevails in the various interpretations of the chroniclers' accounts of the battle and of Æðelstan's campaign in 934.

In 934 Æðelstan made a determined attempt to stop the continual raiding forays by which the Scots had harassed the north of England for the past hundred years. He set out up the east coast, where the Scots were accustomed to obtain help from the Danes, and reached "Dunfother and Wertermor" (SD, H.R., 93). In the *Alia Miracula Sci. Johannis* it is recounted that he paid his respects to St John of Beverley on his way north. The Scots retreated before him and "*transfretaverunt flumen, quod dicitur Scotorum Vadum, ut inter proprios terminos securius se in bello ad resistendum parare possent*" (p.295). A vision of St Cuthbert came to Æðelstan bidding him cross the *Vadum* and conquer, which he obeyed, and returned victorious /lx/ via Dunbar to Beverley. This passage has been taken to refer to the campaign of 937, but it is clearly an east coast affair. The mention of *Scotorum Vadum* has led to the belief that Æðelstan crossed the Solway on this occasion, but this name could apply to either the Forth or the Solway. Fordoun speaks of the "*Flumen de Forth ... quod ... dicitur mare Scoticum; fluvium Esk quod dicitur Scotiswath sive Sulwath*", and in the *Vita Sci. Oswaldi* there is a reference to the "*Scotwad, quod in Scottorum lingua Forth nominatur*". The editor of the Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel notes that both estuaries received their names because Scotland proper began on the far side of them, and quotes the above passages in support of his statement (ASC ii, 267).

On this occasion Constantine, king of the Scots, was put to flight and took refuge with Owen, king of Strathclyde (*Alia Mir*, 297). This led to the formation of the alliance against Æðelstan in 937. Owen and Constantine were then joined by Anlaf Sigtryggsson, Constantine's son-in-law, and Anlaf Guðfriðsson, Norse kings of Dublin. Both had a certain claim to the throne of Northumbria, which was no doubt regarded as valid by their allies. The former, indeed, succeeded in obtaining it in 941.

/lxi/ Anlaf Guðfriðsson came across from Dublin with 625 ships (SD, HDE, 76) and according to Florence of Worcester, entered the mouth of the Humber (*Flo Wig*, i, 132). This seems an impossible journey by sea from Dublin, but it may be that one Anlaf brought a fleet from Dublin to the west coast, while the other led a Scots fleet down the east coast in an attempt to seize the Northumbrian kingdom while a diversion was created on the other side of the country. There is, however, no other evidence to bear out this supposition, and so it must be assumed that Florence was mistaken about the Humber.

Meanwhile Scots, Britons and Norse were massing in the North. The Scots must have joined the Britons about Dumbarton and marched south by the Roman roads into Dumfriesshire. The crucial point is: how far south did they come to meet the Norse fleet?

Anlaf Sigtryggsson advanced far into England and Æðelstan drew back, "*pour mieux sauter*", before meeting him at *Brunefeld* and defeating him (WM, GR, 142).

The battle was fought on Anglian soil, “*tantumque sanguinis quantum catenus in Anglia nullo in bello est fusum*” (Flo Wig i, 132) and Æðelstan finally drove the enemy “*de regno suo*” (SD, HDE, 76). Apart /**lxii**/ from that, all we know of the site is that it was near enough to the coast for the defeated Norse to reach their ships before the end of the day and “*ofer deop wæter Difelin secan*” (ASC, a 937). It must also have been within possible distance of safety for the Britons and Scots. A place on the west coast, some miles from the sea and accessible from Dumbarton and York is indicated.

For the Northumbrian forces the two routes to the west coast were across the Roman Wall to Carlisle, or through the Aire gap to the plain of Northern Lancashire. It seems unlikely that the Scots would be persuaded to cross the massif of the Cumberland Fells to reach the Lancashire area, especially as Cumbria was since 927 under Anglian control. Considering all the factors in the situation, it appears most probable that the site was in the neighbourhood of Carlisle.

The actual topography of the battlefield is minutely described in Egils Saga. Mr W S Angus has gone into this matter very thoroughly and he shows that Dr Neilson practically proved the case for Burnswark from the details provided by the poem. Mr Angus disposes of the difficulty of the date, declaring that the story is so obviously the Icelandic tradition of Brunanburh that the date is irrelevant so far as /**lxiii**/ determining the battle-site is concerned. He demonstrates that the battle could have been fought on the lower slopes of Middlebie Hill between Blatobulgium and Burnswark. None of the other sites which have been suggested for the battle can produce topographical features to agree so completely with the details in Egils Saga.

Burnswark fulfils the other necessary conditions. It was at that time in Anglian territory. Æðelstan had annexed Cumbria in 927 which must have strengthened his control of the Dumfriesshire lowlands. The phrase about Æðelstan withdrawing, the better to spring, seems pointless in this case, however, unless it be that a force did actually enter the Humber and drove him north and west to the waiting armies in Dumfries. Burnswark is on the line of the Roman road from Carlisle to the Firth of Clyde which would afford an excellent retreat for Scots and Strathclyde Britons, and an easy approach for the Northumbrians. The Dublin Norse need not have been more than eight miles from their ships, which could have lain at Annan.

Place-name evidence is inconclusive. Burnswark might be a development of Gaimar’s *Bruneswerc*, and the various other forms, but spellings for the modern name are so late that no connection can be fairly assumed /**lxiv**/ between the two forms (See No XLV).

The variant, (*æt*) *Weondune* (SD, HDE, 76), leads Professor Stenton to believe that the site must have been south of Lancashire since OE *weoh*, “heathen temple”, does not appear in this form further north (Stenton, 15). It seems probable, however, that *Weon-* is merely Symeon of Durham’s attempt to represent the first syllable of the names *Vinheiði við Vinuskoga* which appear in Egils Saga. Bede’s *Winwæd* incorporates the same element. This term may be ON *vin*, “meadow”, a word early obsolete in Norway but found in Shetland place-names, eg **Vinjalok* (PN Sh, 116). *Vinheiði* may mean “meadow-heath” and *vinuskoga* perhaps represents ON *vin(jar)-skógr*, “wood (of the) meadow”. *Vin* appears in the genitive singular in more than one instance in Shetland (ib). *Winwæd* suggests ON *vin-vað*, “meadow-ford”, which might denote the point where the Roman road crosses the Mein Water near **Blatobulgium*.

/lxv/ PERSONAL NAMES IN PLACE-NAMES

OLD ENGLISH (*The Northumbrian forms are given*)

Aldhere	? Halterburn
Aldwine	Addinston, Annelshope, Eldinhope
Alfhere	*Alwardene
Æðelberht	*Ethebredscheillis
Æðelstan, Alfstan or Aldstan	*Elstaneshalche
Beda	? Bedshiel
*Branoc	Branxholme
Brun(a)	Burnswark
Cafhere	Cavers, Caverton
*Ċætt	Chatto
Ceolwulf	? Choicelee
Cola	? Coliforthill
*Cwic	Quixwood
*Dæg(i)sa	*Degsastan
Eada	Edington
Eadmær	Edmond's Dean
Eadred	Adderstoneshiels, *Ederesete
*Earn	Earnslaw
Earnwulf	Arnton Fell
*Ecc(a)	Eckford
Ecghere	Edgerston, Edgarhope Law
Eli	Elibank
Etla	Ettleton
*Haðustan	Hassendean
Hroc	Roxburgh
Ill	Elisheugh Hill
Leodgærd	Legerwood
Leofwine	Lewenshope
Lill	Lilliesleaf
*Mersa	Mersington
*Midele	Middlesknowes
*Pæc(c)	Paxton
*Pyttel	Pittlesheugh
Regenwald	Rennieston
*Regna	Renton
Ricel	Riccaltoun
Richærd	Riccarton
Rimhild (F)	Rumbleton
Scira	Shearington
Seaxa	Cessford
*Sela	Selkirk
*Spott	Spottiswood

SCANDINAVIAN (*The names are Old WSc unless otherwise stated*)

Alli	Albie
Arnketill, (ODan) Arnkell, (ME) Arkil	/lxvi/ Arkleton, Erkinholme, *Arkilly
Bóndi	Bombie Hill
(ODan) Colbrand	Cockburnspath
Dolgfinnr, (ME) Dolfin	Dolphinston
Drífr	Dryfesdale
Eilífr	*Hailisepeth
*Gillan	Gillenbie
Gilli	Gillesbie
Grímr, (ODan) Grím, (ME) Grim	Graham's Law
Gunni, (ME) Gunn	Gungreen
Guðfrøðr, (ME) Godfrey	*Godfraby
Hróðbiartr, -biorg	Robiewhat
Ísleifr, (ME) Iliff	Elliston
Ketill	Kettleshiel
Lí(g)ulfr, (ME) Li(g)ulf	Lyleston
(ODan) *Lum	Lumsdaine
Músi	? Mouswald
*Mylsan	Milsington
Qnundr	Annandale
Ormr, (ME) Orm	Ormiston
Skati	? Skaitbie
Snæbjorn	? Snaberlee Rig
Wóráldr	? Thorlieshope
(ODan) Ulfkell	Oxton
Ulf, (ME) Ulf	Ulston, Usby
Vermundr	Warmanbie

CELTIC

(OGael) Bláán	Blainslie, Kirkblain
(OW) Mabon	Mabonlaw
(OGael) Maccus	Maxpoffle, Maxton, Maxwell
(OGael) *Malcarf	Makerstoun
(OGael) Maldred	Manderston
(OW) Merefín	Mervin's Law
(OW) Pūh	Putton

CONTINENTAL AND MIDDLE ENGLISH

(NFr) Aleyn	Allanton
(ME) Alis (F)	Ellisland
(NFr) Bochard	*Bochardbech
(NFr) Bouche	Butchercoat
(ME) Daniel	Dingleton
(ME) Gerard	Garrogill

/lxvii/ (ME) Grubbe	Grubbit Law
(ME) *Grundi	Groundistone
(ME) John	Johnstone
(NFr) Locard	Lockerbie
(ME) Paul	Polwarth
(NFr) Pier	Pearsby Hall
(NFr) Raoul	Rulesmains
(ME) Robert	Roberton
(NFr) Roland	Rowlestane
(ME) Sibbald	Sibbaldbie

/lxviii/ NOTE ON SOURCES

Place-name study in Scotland is greatly hampered by the grave lack of early original documents. Almost all the earliest material is to be found in late and frequently unreliable transcripts. This extreme paucity of trustworthy evidence makes definitive etymologies practically impossible in very many instances. The loss of the great bulk of the Scottish records by a series of misadventures is described by Mr Henry Paton in his brochure on *The Scottish Records*, published by the Historical Association of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1933).

The earliest material relating to the Border area appears in Bede and in the Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert, but it is very scanty. By the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, when monastic houses were being established in considerable numbers in the North of England and South of Scotland, charters detailing grants of land begin to appear. The earliest of these have been collected in Sir Archibald Lawrie's *Early Scottish Charters*. Unfortunately some of the most important from the place-name point of view are suspected forgeries, and some are printed from very late copies. In one or two cases it has been better /lxix/ to ignore the document given by Lawrie, and apply to one of the later date but existing in an earlier copy. An example of this is No CLXXXIX, King David's foundation charter to Jedburgh Abbey, which is a late 17th or early 18th century transcript made by Sir Lewis Stewart from Robert the Bruce's confirmation of the charter in 1325; a much more reliable document containing the same material can be found in the *National Manuscripts of Scotland*, where there is a facsimile of William the Lion's confirmation.

The chartularies of the abbeys and priories yield the main body of early spellings. Topographical features are often mentioned as boundaries of estates. Only the Melrose collection contains many original documents, but the other registers preserve what appear to be not unfaithful copies. The Kelso compilation was made in the early 14th century, Soutra in 1400, Coldstream in 1434, and Dryburgh in the 16th century. The Coldingham collection contains original documents from the beginning of the 14th century. Other chartularies consulted were those of Glasgow, Dunfermline, St Andrews, Holme Cultram, Durham and Percy. Fresh editions of most of these works would be welcome as it is likely that many errors in transcription have been made by the editors. The recent facsimile edition of /lxx/ the Chronicle of Melrose has demonstrated this.

Next to the chartularies in point of detail is the Register of the Great Seal. Unhappily the forms of place-names in the first volume are not entirely trustworthy, as not only was the

collection compiled from 16th and 17th century transcripts, but the editor has frequently taken the liberty of emending spellings.

Other Scottish records listed below are of less value for detail, but are usually more accurate. Documents written in England or by English scribes are collected in *Documents Illustrating the History of Scotland* and the *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*. Occasional references to Scottish towns are found in the English Pipe Rolls, Close Rolls, etc.

I have made no attempt to consult manuscript sources. Had I been concerned with a single county this would have been necessary, but this study is merely a survey of a large area and does not pretend to be a work of great detail. General sources beyond 1600 have also been avoided although local records of later date have been used. These provide names not previously mentioned in other sources. The forms given must be taken to represent local 17th and 18th century pronunciation rather than historical spellings. The volumes of the Historical Manuscripts Commission **/lxxi/** contain much valuable local detail, but unless actual transcripts of documents are printed, one cannot be certain that the place-name forms have not been modernised. It is here that inspection of the originals would be most important.

Blaeu's Atlas contains a few names not elsewhere recorded, and establishes the position of many "lost" names which passed out of use between the 17th and 20th centuries. The material for the maps was collected by Timothy Pont about 1620 and revised after his death by the Gordons of Straloch and Rothiemay: v. Cash. The spellings are often phonetic, and minor mistakes (probably due to the Dutch engravers) are almost more the rule than the exception.

I have not hesitated to quote Mr T Craig-Brown's History of Selkirkshire for many spellings which are taken from local records to which I had not access.

/lxxii/ LIST OF SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

SOURCES

Alia Mir	<i>Alia Miracula Sancti Johannis</i> in <i>Historians of the Church of York</i> , ed J Raine, Rolls Series
ALC	<i>Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs (1501-54)</i> , ed R K Hannay, 1932
Anon L St C	<i>Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert</i> in <i>Two Lives of St Cuthbert</i> , B Colgrave, 1940
APS	<i>Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland</i> , Vol I, 1834; Vol II, 1814
ASC	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel</i> , Earle and Plummer, 1892
<i>Bede</i>	<i>Opera Historica</i> , ed Charles Plummer, 1896

- H.E.: *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*
H.A: *Historia Abbatum*
L St C: Life of St Cuthbert (in Colgrave)
- BF *Book of Fees (Testa de Nevill)*; 1920, 1923
- Blaeu *Geographiae Blavianaes*, Vol 6, Bks 12 & 13 *Scotia and Hibernia*, 1662
- BM *Index to Charters and Rolls in the British Museum*, ed H J Ellis and F B Bickley, 2 vols, 1900-12
- Boldon* *The Boldon Buke*: Surtees Soc No 25 ii, 1852
- BP Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, Rolls Series
- Brus* *The Bruce* by John Barbour, ed W M Mackenzie, 1909
- /lxxiii/** Bullock *Map of the Debateable Land on the West Borders*, 1552, in National Manuscripts of Scotland
- C-B *History of Selkirkshire*, T Craig-Brown, 1886: contains many original documents
- CBP *Calendar of Border Papers* (1560-1603), ed J Bain, 2 vols, 1894, 1896
- C de M *The Chronicle of Melrose*, Facsimile edition, ed A O and M O Anderson, 1936
- CDS *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland* (1108-1509) ed J Bain, vols I-IV, 1881-8
- Cdstr* *Chartulary of the Cistercian Priory of Coldstream*, ed C Rogers, Grampian Club, 1879
- Ch *Calendar of Charter Rolls*
- Cl *Calendar of Close Rolls*
- Cold* *The Correspondence, Inventories, Account Rolls and Law Proceedings of the Priory of Coldingham*, ed J. Raine: Surtees Soc, 1841
- Colgrave Colgrave, B, *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, 1940
- Com Rec Dmf* *The Commissariat Record of Dumfries*, Scottish Record Society, 1902
- Com Rec Laud* *The Commissariat Record of Lauder*, Scottish Record Society, 1903

- CSP *Calendar of Scottish Papers (1547-95)*, 11 vols
- CSP (Th) *Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland (1509-1603)*, ed M J Thorpe, 2 vols, 1858
- DIHS *Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland (1286-1306)*, ed J Stevenson, 1870, 2 vols
- lxxiv/ Dryb* *Liber Sancti Marie de Dryburgh*, Bannatyne Club, 1847
- Dugd Dugdale, W, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols, 1817-30
- Eddi Eddius Stephanus, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed B Colgrave, 1927
- ESC *Early Scottish Charters*, ed A C Lawrie, 1905
- Fine *Fine Rolls*
- Flo Wig *Chronicon ex Chronicis, Florentii Wigorniensis monachi*, ed B Thorpe, English History Soc, 1848
- GC Gervase of Canterbury, *Chronica*, ed W Stubbs, Rolls Series
- Ham Pap *The Hamilton Papers (1532-90)*, ed J Bain, 2 vols, 1890-2
- HB *Historia Brittonum*, ed T Mommsen, in *Chronica Minora*, vol III, 1898
- HC *Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, ed F Grainger and W G Collingwood, CWAAS, Record Series, 1929
- HMC *Historical Manuscripts Commission*
- (*Drml*) MSS of the Duke of Buccleuch at Drumlanrig, 1897
- (*Home*) MSS of the Earl of Home, 1871
- (*Jhn*) MSS of J J Hope Johnstone, 1897
- (*March*) MSS of Sir H Campbell of Marchmont, 1894
- (*Rxb*) MSS of the Duke of Roxburghe, 1894
- (*Var Coll v*) MSS in Various Collections, Vol v, 1909
- (*Wed*) MSS of Col D Milne Home of Wedderburn, 1902
- lxxv/ Hen VIII* *State Papers of Henry VIII*

- Holyrood* *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, Bannatyne Club, 1840
- Inst Pub* *Instrumenta Publica super Scotorum Factis*, Bannatyne Club, 1834
- JG *John of Gaunt's Register*, Camden 3rd Series LVI, LVII, 1937
- Kelso* *Liber S Marie de Calchou*, Bannatyne, 1846
- L Ch* *The Laing Charters*, ed J Anderson 1899
- LSMM *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, 2 vols, Bannatyne Club, 1837
- LVD *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, Surtees Soc, 1841
- Mel Reg Rec* *Melrose Regality Records*, 3 vols, Scottish History Soc, 1914-17
- MGH *Monumenta Germanica Historica*, 1826-1913
- Morton *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, J Morton, 1832; contains original documents
- MP Matthew Paris, ed, H R Luard, Rolls Series
- NMS *National Manuscripts of Scotland*, ed J Murray-Craig
- Not Dig* *Notitia Dignitatum*, ed A Böcking, 1839-53
- Pat *Patent Rolls*
- Percy* *Percy Chartulary*, Surtees Soc, 1911
- Pont Off St And* *Pontificale Ecclesiae Sancti Andreae*, ed C Wordsworth, 1885
- RC Robertson, Wm, *An Index of Records of Charters*, 1798
- /lxxvi/ Reg Sas Bwk* *Index to the Particular Register of Sasines for the Shire of Berwick and Bailiary of Lauderdale*, 1928
- Reg Sas Dmf* *Index to the Particular Register of Sasines for the Sheriffdom of Dumfries and the Stewartries of Kirkcudbright and Annandale*, 1931
- RH Richard of Hexham, *Historia de Gestis Regis Stephani*, ed R Hewlett, Rolls Series
- RMS *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum* (1306-1668), 11 vols
- Rog Hov Roger Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed W Stubbs, Rolls Series

- Rot Scac* *Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum*, (1264-1487), 9 vols
- RPC *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (1545-1689), Series 1, 2, 3: 36 vols
- RS *Rotuli Scotiae*, 1814, 2 vols
- RSS *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum* (1488-1548), Vols I-III, 1912, 1921, 1936
- St And* *Liber Cartarum Sancte Andree*, Bannatyne Club, 1841
- St B* *Register of the Priory of St Bees*, Surtees Soc, 1915
- S Trin Edin* *Registrum Ecclesie Collegiate S Trinitatis de Edinb.* in *Charters of Collegiate Churches in Midlothian*, Bannatyne Club 1861
- Scal* *Scalacronica*, Sir Thomas Gray, Maitland Club, 1836
- SD Symeon of Durham, Rolls Series
- (HDE) *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*
- (HR) *Historia Regum*
- (HSC) *Historia Sancti Cuthberti*
- /lxxviii/ Soltre* *Registrum Cartarum Domus de Soltre* in *Charters of Collegiate Churches in Midlothian*
- Speed John Speed, Map of Scotland, in *Early Maps of Scotland* by H R G Inglis
- Stitchill* *Records of the Baron Court of Stitchill*, SHS, 1905
- Vita Kentig* *Lives of St Ninian and St Kentigern*, ed Forbes, 1874
- Wallace* *Schir William Wallace*, ed J Moir, STS 6, 7, 17
- Whitby* *Whitby Cartulary*, Surtees Soc, 2 vols, 1879-81
- Wyntoun Andrew of Wyntoun, ed F J Amours, STS, Vols 50, 53, 54, 56, 57, 60
- (C) Cottonian MS
- (W) Wemyss MS

ABBREVIATIONS, and Other Works Consulted

Abd	Aberdeenshire
AHMC (<i>Bwk</i>)	Ancient and Historical Monuments Commission, Berwickshire 1915
AHMC (<i>Dmf</i>)	Dumfriesshire 1920
Allen	Allen, J Romilly, <i>Early Christian Monuments of Scotland</i> , 1903
AN	Anglo-Norman
Anc	Ancrum (Rxb)
Anderson	Anderson, A O, <i>Scottish Annals from English Sources</i> , 1908
Angus	Angus, W S, <i>The Battlefield of Brunanburh</i> , in <i>Antiquity</i> , 1937
/lxxviii/ Ann	Annan (Dmf)
<i>Antiquity</i>	<i>Antiquity: A Quarterly Review of Archaeology</i> , ed O G S Crawford, 1927-
Apl	Applegarth (Dmf)
A St B	Abbey St Bathans (Bwk)
Ask	Ashkirk (Slk)
Ayt	Ayton (Bwk)
Bannockburn	<i>The Battle of Bannockburn</i> , W Mackay Mackenzie, 1913; <i>Bannockburn Myth</i> , 1932
BB	Brown, G Baldwin, <i>The Arts in Early England</i> , Vol VI, part 2; <i>Anglo-Saxon Sculpture</i> , 1937
Bdr	Bedrule (Rxb)
Beds	Bedfordshire
Birley	Birley, Eric, <i>Excavations at Birrens</i> , PSAS, Vol LXII
Bk	Buckinghamshire
BM	British Museum
Bow	Bowden (Rxb)
B & Pr	Buncle and Preston (Bwk)

Brit	British
B-T	<i>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</i> , J Bosworth, ed T N Toller, 1898; Supplement 1921
Bwk	Berwickshire
C	Cambridge
Cad	Caddon (Slk)
Can	Canonbie (Dmf)
/lxxix/ Cash	Cash, Caleb George, <i>The First Topographical Survey of Scotland</i> , Scottish Geographical Magazine 1901
Cav	Cavers (Rxb)
Cdstr	Coldstream (Bwk)
Celt	Celtic
Ch	Cheshire
Chan	Channelkirk (Bwk)
Chrn	Chirnside (Bwk)
Ckb	Cockburnspath (Bwk)
Clb	Closeburn (Dmf)
Cld	Coldingham (Bwk)
Clg	Crailing (Rxb)
Cl-V	<i>Icelandic-English Dictionary</i> , R Cleasby and G Vigfusson, 1874
Collingwood, R G	Collingwood, R G and Myres, J N L, <i>Roman Britain and the English Settlements</i> , 1936. <i>Roman Britain</i>
Collingwood, W G	<i>Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age</i> , 1927
CPNS	Watson, W J, <i>The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland</i> , 1926
CrI	Caerlaverock (Dmf)
Crn	Cranshaws (Bwk)

Cst	Castleton (Rxb)
Cu	Cumberland
Cum	Cummertrees (Dmf)
Curle	Curle, James, <i>A Roman Frontier Post and its People</i> , 1911
/lxxx/ CWAAS	<i>Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society</i>
D	Devonshire
Dan	Danish
Dark Ages	<i>Britain in the Dark Ages</i> , Map: North Sheet, OS, 1938
Dauncey	K D M Dauncey, <i>Strategy of the Anglo-Saxon Invasion</i> , <i>Antiquity</i> , March 1942, p.51 ff
Db	Derbyshire
DB	<i>Domesday Book</i>
DEPN	Ekwall, Eilert, <i>Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names</i> , 1936
Dial	Dialect
Dickins and Ross	<i>The Dream of the Rood</i> , ed Bruce Dickins and A S C Ross, 1934
Dlt	Dalton (Dmf)
Dmf	Dumfries par. Dumfries-shire
Duns	Dunscore (Dmf)
Do	Dorset
Dor	Dornock (Dmf)
DOST	<i>Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue</i> , Vol A-C, W A Craigie, 1937
Dottin	Dottin, Georges, <i>Manuel pour servir à l'étude, de l'Antiquité Celtique</i> , 1906
Drd	Durrisdeer (Dmf)

Dryfe	Dryfesdale (Dmf)
Du	Durham
Duns	Duns (Bwk)
/lxxx/ Earl	Earlston (Bwk)
Eccle	Eccles (Bwk)
Eckf	Eckford (Rxb)
EDD	<i>English Dialect Dictionary</i> , J. Wright, 1898-1905
Edn	Ednam (Rxb)
Edr	Edrom (Bwk)
EETS	<i>Early English Text Society</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
ELth	East Lothian
EPNS	<i>English Place-Name Society</i>
ERN	Ekwall, E, <i>English River-Names</i> , 1928
Esk	Eskdalemuir (Dmf)
Ess	Essex
Ettr	Ettrick (Slk)
Ew	Ewes (Dmf)
Ewen	Ewen, C L'E, <i>A History of the Surnames of the British Isles</i> , 1931
Eym	Eyemouth (Bwk)
Feilitzen	Feilitzen, O von, <i>The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book</i> , in <i>Nomina Germanica</i> , vol 3, 1937
Fick	Fick, August, <i>Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen</i> ; Vol II <i>Urkeltischer Sprachschatz</i> von Whitley Stokes, 1894
Fld	Foulden (Bwk)

Fogo	Fogo (Bwk)
Förstemann	Förstemann, Ernst, <i>Altdeutsches Namenbuch</i> , Band I, <i>Personennamen</i> , 1900
/lxxxii/ Förster	Förster, Max, <i>Keltisches Wortgut im Englischen</i> , 1921
Fritzner	Fritzner, Johan, <i>Ordbog over det Gamle Norske Sprog</i> , 1867
Gael	Gaelic
Gala	Galashiels (Slk)
GAS	<i>Glasgow Archaeological Society, Transactions</i>
Gl	Gloucestershire
Glwy	Galloway
Grd	Gordon (Bwk)
Grn	Greenlaw (Bwk)
Grt	Gretna (Dmf)
Ha	Hampshire
Hardie	Hardie, R P, <i>The Roads of Mediaeval Lauderdale</i> , 1942
Haverfield	Haverfield, F, <i>The Roman Occupation of Britain</i> , revised by G Macdonald, 1924
Hbk	Hobkirk (Rxb)
H & C	Hutton and Corrie (Dmf)
He	Herefordshire
Herts	Hertfordshire
Hfm	Halfmorton (Dmf)
Hlw	Hollywood (Dmf)
Hod	Hoddom (Dmf)
Hodgkin	Hodgkin, R H, <i>A History of the Anglo-Saxons</i> , 2 vols, 1935

Holder	Holder, Alfred, <i>Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz</i> , 3 vols, 1896-1904
/lxxxiii/ How	Hownam (Rxb)
Hu	Huntingdonshire
Hume	Hume (Bwk)
Hut	Hutton (Bwk)
Hwk	Hawick (Rxb)
Inglis	<i>The Early Maps of Scotland</i> , H R G Inglis, J Mathieson, C B Boog Watson, 1934
IPN (i)	English Place-Name Society, Vol I: <i>Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names</i> , 1924
(ii)	<i>Chief Elements in English Place-Names</i> , 1924
Jackson	Jackson, Kenneth, <i>Goddodin of Aneirin in Antiquity</i> , 1939, p.25
Jam	Jamieson, J, <i>An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language</i> , 1879
Jed	Jedburgh (Rxb)
Jhn	Johnstone (Dmf)
Joyce	Joyce, P W, <i>Irish Names of Places</i> , 3 vols, 1910-13
K	Kent
Karlström	Karlström, Sigurd, <i>Old English Compound Place-Names in -Ing</i> , 1927
Kcl	Kirkconnel (Dmf)
Kendrick	Kendrick, T D, <i>Anglo-Saxon Art</i> , 1938
Kermack	W R Kermack, <i>Early English Settlement in South-West Scotland</i> , in <i>Antiquity</i> , 1941
KF	Kirkpatrick-Fleming (Dmf)
KJ	Kirkpatrick-Juxta (Dmf)
Kkm	Kirkmichael (Dmf)

/lxxxiv/ Kmh	Kirkmahoe (Dmf)
Krk	Kirkhope (Slk)
Krkb	Kirkcudbright
Kso	Kelso
L	Lincolnshire
La	Lancashire
Lang	Lang, Andrew, and John, <i>Highways and Byways in the Border</i> , 1914
Lang	Langholm (Dmf)
Lat	Latin
Laud	Lauder (Bwk)
Ldk	Ladykirk (Bwk)
Leg	Legerwood (Bwk)
Lei	Leicestershire
Lgf	Longformacus (Bwk)
Lgt	Langton (Bwk)
Lin	Linton (Rxb)
Lind	Lind, E H, <i>Norsk-Isländska Dopnamn ock fingerade Namn från Medeltiden</i> , 1905-15
Lindisf	<i>Lindisfarne Gospels</i>
Lindkvist	Lindkvist, Harald, <i>Middle-English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin</i> , 1912
Llf	Lilliesleaf (Rxb)
Lmb	Lochmaben (Dmf)
LMS	<i>London Mediaeval Studies</i>
Longnon	Longnon, Auguste, <i>Les Noms de Lieu de la France</i> , 1920-29

/lxxxv/ LVD	<i>Liber Vitae Dunelmensis</i> , in OET
McClure	McClure, Edmund, <i>British Place-Names in their Historical Setting</i> , 1910
Macdonald	Macdonald, James, <i>Notes on the "Roman Roads" of the 1" OS Map of Scotland</i> , in PSAS vol XXIX, p.317
Mackenzie	W Mackay Mackenzie, <i>The Mediaeval Castle in Scotland</i> , 1927
Mak	Makerstoun (Rxb)
Malone	<i>Widsith</i> , ed Kemp Malone, 1936
ME	Middle-English
Mel	Melrose (Rxb)
Mrt	Mertoun (Bwk)
Mid	Middlebie (Dmf)
ModSc	Modern Scots
Mof	Moffat (Dmf)
Mrb	Morebattle (Rxb)
Mrd	Mordington (Bwk)
Mrt	Morton (Dmf)
MSc	Middle Scots
Msw	Mouswald (Dmf)
Mto	Minto (Rxb)
Mx	Middlesex
Mxt	Maxton (Rxb)
Myres	Myres, J N L , and Collingwood, W G, <i>Roman Britain and The English Settlements: The English Settlements</i>
Myres: <i>Teut Sett</i>	Myres, J N L, <i>The Teutonic Settlement of Northern England</i> , in <i>History</i> XX, Dec 1935, p.250-62
/lxxxvi/ Nb	Northumberland, Northumbrian

NCH	<i>Northumberland County History</i> , 10 vols, 1893-1914
NED	<i>New English Dictionary</i>
Neilson (<i>Ann</i>)	Neilson, George, <i>Annals of the Solway until AD 1307</i> , in GAS, No 7, p.245 ff
Neilson (<i>Peel</i>)	Neilson George, <i>Peel: its meaning and derivation</i> , in GAS, No 4, p.121 ff
Nf	Norfolk
NFr	Norman French
Nnt	Nenthorn (Bwk)
NSA	<i>New Statistical Account of Scotland</i> , 1845
Nt	Nottinghamshire
Nth	Northamptonshire
O	Oxfordshire
OBret	Old Breton
OBrit	Old British
OCorn	Old Cornish
ODan	Old Danish
OE	Old English
OET	<i>Oldest English Texts</i> , ed H Sweet, EETS, No 83
OFr	Old French
OGael	Old Gaelic
OGN	<i>Oud Gentsche Naamkunde</i> , J Mansion, 1924
OHG	Old High German
/lxxxvii/ OIr	Old Irish
Oman	Oman, Charles, <i>England Before the Norman Conquest</i> , 1910

ON	Old Norse
ONb	Old Northumbrian
<i>Onom</i>	<i>Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum</i> , Searle, W G, 1897
OW	Old Welsh
OWScand	Old West Scandinavian
Oxn	Oxn (Rxb)
(P)	Place-name used as a personal name
Par	Parish
Pbl	Peeblesshire
Pers.n.	Personal name
PN/ P-n /P.n.	Place-name(s)
Pnp	Penpont (Dmf)
PN BedsHu	<i>Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Hungtindonshire</i> , A Mawer and F M Stenton, 1926. EPNS
PN Bk	<i>P-n's of Buckinghamshire</i> , A Mawer and F M Stenton, 1925, EPNS
PN Bwk	<i>P-n's of Berwickshire</i> , J B Johnston, 1940
PN C	<i>P-n's of Cambridgeshire</i> , W W Skeat, 1911
PN CuWe	<i>P-n's of Cumberland and Westmorland</i> , W J Sedgefield, 1915
PN D	<i>P-n's of Devonshire</i> , J E B Gover, A Mawer and F M Stenton, 1931, EPNS
PN Ess	<i>P-n's of Essex</i> , P H Reaney, 1935, EPNS
/lxxxviii/ PN Glwy	<i>P-n's of Galloway</i> , Sir H Maxwell, 1930
PN Herts	<i>P-n's of Hertfordshire</i> , J E B Gover, A Mawer, FM Stenton, 1938, EPNS
PN -Ing	Ekwall, E, <i>English Place-Names in -Ing</i> , 1923
PN IOM	<i>P-n's of the Isle of Man</i> , J J Kneen, 1925

- PN La *P-n's of Lancashire*, E Ekwall, 1922
- PN Mx *P-n's of Middlesex*, J E B Gover, A Mawer, F M Stenton and S J Madge, 1942, EPNS
- PN NbDu *P-n's of Northumberland and Durham*, Sir A Mawer, 1920
- PN Nt *P-n's of Nottinghamshire*, J E B Gover, A Mawer, F M Stenton, 1940, EPNS
- PN Nth *P-n's of Northamptonshire*, J E B Gover, A Mawer, F M Stenton, 1933, EPNS
- PN R&Cr *P-n's of Ross an Cromarty*, W J Watson, 1904
- PNS *P-n's of Scotland*, J B Johnston, 1934
- PN Sh *P-n's of Shetland*, J Jakobsen 1936
- PN Sr *P-n's of Surrey*, J E B Gover, A Mawer, F M Stenton, A Bonner, 1934, EPNS
- PN Sx *P-n's of Sussex*, A Mawer, F M Stenton, J E B Gover, 1929, EPNS
- PN W *P-n's of Wiltshire*, J E B Gover, A Mawer, F M Stenton, 1939, EPNS
- PN Wa *P-n's of Warwickshire*, J E B Gover, A Mawer, F M Stenton, F T S Houghton, 1936, EPNS
- PN WAbd *P-n's of West Aberdeenshire*, James Macdonald. New Spalding Club, 1899
- ~~/lxxxix/~~ PN WLth *P-n's of West Lothian*, Angus Macdonald, 1941
- PN Wo *P-n's of Worcestershire*, A Mawer, F M Stenton, F T S Houghton, 1927, EPNS
- PN YER *P-n's of the East Riding of Yorkshire*, A H Smith, 1937, EPNS
- PN YNR *P-n's of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, A H Smith, 1928, EPNS
- Pol Polwarth (Bwk)
- PSAS *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*
- R Rutland

Rbt	Roberton (Rxb)
Ritual	Durham Ritual
Rth	Ruthwell (Dmf)
Ru ²	Rushworth ²
Rxb	Roxburghshire; Roxburgh par.
Sa	Shropshire
Scand	Scandinavian
Sc&C	Ekwall, E, <i>Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England</i> , 1918
Sdn	Southdean (Rxb)
Sf	Suffolk
SHS	<i>Scottish History Society</i>
Slk	Selkirkshire; Selkirk par.
Smh	Smailholm (Rxb)
Smith	Smith, A H, <i>The Site of the Battle of Brunanburh</i> , in LMS, Vol I, part i, 1937
/xc/ So	Somerset
Spr	Sprouston (Rxb)
Sqr	Sanquhar (Dmf)
Sr	Surrey
StB	St Boswells (Rxb)
Stenton	Stenton, F M, <i>The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies: Anglo-Saxon Heathenism</i> , in <i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i> , ser IV, vol 23
Stl	Stichill (Rxb)
StM	St Mungo (Dmf)

STS	<i>Scottish Text Society</i>
<i>Studies</i> ²	Ekwall, E, <i>Studies on English Place-Names</i> , 1936
Swt	Swinton (Bwk)
Sx	Sussex
Tnw	Tinwald (Dmf)
Tor	Torthorwald (Dmf)
Tranter	Tranter, N G, <i>The Fortalices and Early Mansions of Southern Scotland</i> , 1935
Tun	Tundergarth (Dmf)
Tvt	Teviothead (Rxb)
Tyn	Tynron (Dmf)
VCH-Cu	<i>History of Cumberland</i> , Victoria County Histories
Vernon	Vernon, J J, <i>The Ecclesiastical Place-Names of Roxburghshire in Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society</i> , Vol II
/xci/ W	Wiltshire
Wa	Warwickshire
Wam	Wamphray (Dmf)
Watson	Watson, George, <i>The Roxburghshire Word-Book</i> , 1923
We	Westmorland
Wht	Whitsome (Bwk)
Wo	Worcestershire
WS	West Saxon
Wst	Westruther (Bwk)
Wstk	Westerkirk (Dmf)
Y	Yorkshire

Yar	Yarrow (Slk)
YER	East Riding of Yorkshire
YNR	North Riding of Yorkshire
Yth	Yetholm (Rxb)
YWR	West Riding of Yorkshire
Zachrisson	Zachrisson, R E, <i>Romans, Kelts and Saxons in Ancient Britian</i> , 1927
Zach, EPN	Zachrisson, R E, <i>English Place-Names and River-Names containing the Primitive Germanic roots, *ris, *rask</i> , 1926
ZEN	Björkman, E, <i>Zur Englischen Namenkunde</i> , 1912.

/1/ IOE -ingas

The OE ending *-ingas* denotes “descendants of, followers of” when attached to a personal name. Formations in *-ingas* were originally community names but came to be applied to places settled by bands of people bearing the name. Occasionally the ending is suffixed to a nature name, in which case it means “settlers at” in the first instance, and later “the settlement at”.

A singular ending in *-ing* also exists but is less common, and apparent examples are often found upon investigation to be corruptions of some other suffix. True *-ing* names are formed from adjectives or common nouns and, in a lesser degree, from personal names (PN *-Ing*, 21).

Names in *-ingas* belong to the earliest period of Anglo-Saxon settlement in England, and are very common on the east coast, diminishing in numbers towards the north. This is to be expected, as other evidence shows that direct settlement from the Continent was unlikely north of the Humber. No OE forms in *-ingas* have been found for names now ending in *-ing* in Northumberland and Durham. None occur for Simprim which is the only probable *-ingas* name in the Scottish Border counties.

/2/ ROXBURGHSHIRE

CRAILING (Clg): (81, 5 G)

Crailing, 1147-50 (17th) ESC; 1301 BM; *-ingis* (plural) 1147-50 (17th) ESC; *Creling*, 1147-52 (Morton) *ib*; 1296 *Inst Pub*; *Craaling*, 1165-1214 NMS; *Treilin* (P) 1180 APS (*T-C*); *Creglinge*, 1256 CDS; *Crelenge*, 1296 *ib*; *Cralyng*, 1456 HMC (*Rxb*).

The spellings *Treilin* and *Creglinge* suggest original OE **Cræg*: cf R. Crai (Brecon), from MW *Crei*, “fresh, clean”, and R. Cray, Kent, which is *Cræges æuuelma*, 798, and Cray Gill, YWR, which is *Creibecke*, 1241 (ERN, 103). The Oxnam Water, on which Crailing is situated, may have had a pre-English name, preserved only in the place-name. In that case the ending would not be *-ing*, but *-ling*: cf **Grenling*, Kent (PN *-Ing*, 7).

An OE **Crā*, cognate with ON *Krá*, “nook, corner” prefixed to OE *hlync*, “ridge, slope”, is more probable. The forms quoted above may be later copies representing the lME fronting of *ā*. Crailing lies in an almost imperceptible hollow in the gradually sloping banks of the Oxnam.

BERWICKSHIRE

SIMPRIM (Swt): (75, 10 M):

Simprinc, 1153-65 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *-rig*, 1159 *ib*; 1246 *Pont Off St And*; *Semprinc*, 1251 (c 1320) /3/ *Kelso*; *Sympring*, c 1280 *ib*; 1370 CDS; *Sempring*, c 1300 *Cold*; 1335-6 CDS; *Sympryng*, c 1415 *Kelso*. *Simp²nge*, 14th *St And*.

The base of the patronymic may be an OE personal name **Simper*, related to the verb “to simper” which Ekwall at first postulated as the source of Sempringham, L (PN *-Ing*, 142), and later rejected in favour of a form without medial *-r-* (DEPN, 393). There is no proof that this was originally a formation in *-ingas*, but neither is there any proof that it was not. In the

Midlands and Northern Counties of England, final *-s* rarely appears in ME sources. The modern ending in *-im* is due to assimilation by the preceding labials *-mp*.

/4/ II OE *-ingaham*

The names in *-ingahām* belong to the same period as those in *-ingas*, or are only very slightly later. Their first elements are mainly personal names of the same type as is found in the *-ingas* formations.

Disyllabics are more common in the northern counties. The distribution of these names is similar to that of the *-ingas* names.

-Ingahām denotes “the settlement of the followers of”, or “the settlement of the colonists at”, according as the first element is a personal- or place-name.

BERWICKSHIRE

COLDINGHAM (Cld): (75, 12 F):

- (a) *Coludesburh*, 679 (c 1120) ASC (E); c 890 (c 1000) OE Bede; *Colodesbyrig*, 699-705 (late 9th – early 10th) *Anon L St C.*; *Colodaesburg*, c 710 (11th) Eddi; *Coludi urbem* (acc) c 730 Bede; *Coludanae urbs*, *ib.*

St Abb’s Head: *Colde-burcheshevet*, 12th *Lib El.*

- (b) *Collingaham*, 1095-1100 ESC; *Cold-* 1097-1107 NMS; 1100 ESC; c 1125 CDS; *Coldingeham*, c 1100 ESC; *Gold-*, 1126 *ib.*; early 13th *Scal* (APP); *Coldingham*, 1176 *C de M.*

/5/ The Celtic fortress on St Abb’s Head which appears in Taliessin as *Caer Golud* (*Antiquity*, 1934, 202) must have been known to the Anglians as *Coludesburh*. Those who took up a position close by called themselves the *Coldingas*, or “settlers near *Colud*”, and their settlement became *Coldinga-ham*.

**Hruringaham*, mentioned in the Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert, has been assigned to this area by various scholars, but may prove to be Risingham Nb. Spellings are: *Hruringaham* 699-705 (late 9th – early 10th) *Anon L St C.*; *hruringaham*, (late 10th – MS.A) *ib.*; *runingaham* (c 1235 – MS.T) *ib.*; *Hruningaham*, c 730 (12th) Bede, *L St C.*; *Runingaham* (*MS Oj*) *ib.*

The forms in *Hrur-* may be authentic since they occur in the earliest manuscripts. Those in *Hrun-* occur in later sources or in continental copies. *Hrur-* is seen in the preterite stem of OE *hrēosan*, “to rush, fall”. Risingham is at the Roman station of *Habitancum*, which suggests “ruins, destruction” as the sense of *hrur-*.

It was at **Hruringaham* that Cuthbert visited the woman who had tended him in his youth. Since he is known to have been a shepherd in the Lammermoors, it has been assumed that **Hruringaham* lay in that area (Colgrave, 323). This is not necessary.

/6/ If Chapters 5, 6, 7 of the Anonymous Life are closely consulted it will be seen that Cuthbert was on a journey which led up the Teviot, and southwards into the Cheviots: “iuxta

flumen Tesgeta tendens in meridiem inter montana” (Bk II, Chap 5: Colgrave 90). It was on this expedition that he visited Hruringaham, which must therefore lie somewhere in the Cheviot Hills. Risingham is some distance south of the Teviot, but it is on the Roman Road which was the main line of communication through the Cheviots and which must have afforded the only possible route to Jarrow from Teviotdale. At Bellingham Nb, about four miles from Risingham is a road known as *Cuddy’s Yett* (Vernon, 371) which points to a tradition, if nothing more, that Cuthbert frequented that district.

Risingham shows little resemblance to *Hruringaham*, but there are no known early forms for Risingham to compare. In the script of the 10th to 12th centuries, *Hrur-* might easily have been miscopied as *Hris*; or an original *Hris-* (from OE *hris* “brushwood”) mistranscribed as *Hrur-*. Long *s* and an elongated *r* might interchange.

/7/ III OE -ingtun

Names ending in *-ingtūn* belong to a later period than those in *-ingas* and *-ingahām*. There is no trace, in the Scottish area, of a genitive plural ending between *-ing* and *-tūn*. The base of most of these formations is an OE personal name. The sense of *-ing* may be simply genitival or possessive.

BERWICKSHIRE

EDINGTON (Chrn): (75, 11 J):

Hadynton, 1095 (15th) ESC; *Hædentun*, 1095-1100 (15th) *ib*; *Edingtonam* (acc), 1095 (15th) *ib*; *-ton*, 1465 HMC (*Var Coll v*); *Edintun* (P), 1165-82 LSMM; *Edynton* (P), 1182 (1434) *Cdstr*, 1296 CDS. The first two spellings are dubious and may have been influenced by Haddington (ELth). A personal name *Ead(d)a* might be the base of the forms in *-ing*; cf Addington Bk (DEPN, 2), Addington Nth (PN Nth, 177).

EDRINGTON (Mrd): (75, 13 K):

Hadryngton, 1095 (15th) ESC; *Hædrinton*, 1095-1100 (15th) *ib*; *Edringtoun*, 1309 RC; 1328 *Rot Scac*; *Ederington*, 1330 *Rot Scac*. The first two spellings are to be compared to the first two above. The vowels are similar. The first element of the compound is OE *ædre*, the original name of the Whiteadder on which Edrington is /8/ situated. OE *ædringtūn* is “the farm of the settlers by the Adder” or “the farm by the Adder”. A similar example of a river-name with *-ingtūn* is Sinnington (PN YNR, 76).

HASSINGTON (Eccl): (81, 7 B):

Assinden, c 1200 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Halsinton* (P), 1230 CDS; c 1248 LSMM; *Halsingtune*, c 1248 LSMM; *-ton*, 1248 APS; *Halsigton*, c 1270 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Halsyngtoun*, 1309 RC; *-ton* 1336-7 CDS; 1406 RMS; *Hawsintoun*, 1516-17 RMS; *Hassintoun*, c 1564 *Mel Reg Rec*. An ONb **hals*, “neck”, cognate with ON *hals*, in the sense of a small valley which broadens at both ends, might be the base of this formation, since Hassington Mains stands not far from such a valley. Otherwise the name must be associated with the *Hælsingas* who appear in “Widsið” (Malone, 153-4). It might be that members of that tribe joined in the migration to Britain, since they were neighbours of the Angles. A descendant of one of the original settlers may have preserved the name *Hælsing*.

MERSINGTON (Eccl): (81, 8 A):

Mersington, 1291 *Inst Pub*; *c* 1390 *L Ch*; *Mersin-*, *c* 1300 *Cold*; *Mersyngtone*, 1336-7 CDS; *Mersintun* 14th C *St And.* /9/ OE *Mærsige*, ONb *Mērsige* in a shortened form, **Mērsa* may be the base of this compound.

RENTON (Cld): (75, 11 G):

Regninton, 1095 (15th) ESC; *c* 1100 *ib*; *Reinintun*, 1095-1100 (15th) *ib*; *Rayntonam* (acc), 1095 (15th) *ib*; *Reningtona*, 1235 *Cold*; *-tone* (P), 1297 DIHS; *Reynton*, 1253 CDS; *Rennyngton*, 1296 *ib*. OE *Regna*, a short form of the personal name *Regenwald*, is the basis of this compound: cf *Rainton*, Du, and *Rennington*, Nb (PN NbDu, 162, 165).

UPSETTLINGTON (Ldk): (75, 11 M):

Upsetintun, 1095-1100 (15th) ESC; *Hupsetligtun* (P), 1153-65 (*c* 1320) *Kelso*; *Upsedilington*, *c* 1240 *ib*; *Hupsetl-*, *c* 1288 HMC (*Var Coll v*). OE *setl*, “seat, bench”, must be used here in a topographical sense, denoting “shelf, ledge”. OE *Setling-tūn* was “the farm or village on or by the ledge”. The prefix *upp(e)-* may have distinguished an upper farm from one on a lower level.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

SHEARINGTON (Crl): (88, 12 G):

Sherington, 1570 CSP; *Shirringtoun*, Blaeu; *Schyrinton*, *ib*; *Shireingtoun*, 1716 *Com Rec Dmf*. Since the spellings are so late, it is open to doubt whether this is truly an original *-ingtūn* formation. If so, the basis may be an OE personal name *Sćira*: /10/ cf *Sherington*, Bk, and *Sheringham*, Nf (DEPN, 397).

ROXBURGHSHIRE

Little Warrington Sike (Cst) is unlikely to have the same history as Warrington, La. It may represent MSc *wardand doun*, “watch hill”.

BERWICKSHIRE

Thirlington (Eccl) might contain an OE personal name ***Byrla* or ***Byrel* but this is doubtful. Compare Thirlmere, Cu, the etymology of which is also obscure (DEPN, 444).

A number of names end in *-ing* plus a terminal. Few can be genuine OE *-ing* formations: most are corruptions. They are probably of late date since no spellings have been found. A list is appended below with suggested etymologies.

(1) Names in *-ing* plus a separate terminal

RXB Belling Hill (Sdn) may be a true *-ing* form based on OE *bell*, “bell-shaped hill”, as in *Bellingham*, Nb (DEPN, 34). *Pudding Law* (Mrb) may be so called from its shape, or may represent ME *podyng lawe*, “muddy hill”: cf *Podyng-lane*, 1439, a street name in Beverley (PN YER, 197).

BWK *Titling Cairn* (Lgf) contains ON *titlingr*, “meadow pipit”.

DMF Palling Burn (Mid) is obscure. Raking Gill (Mof) may be a derivative of ON *rák*, “a path”.

SLK Stantling Craig (Cad) may be OE *stān hlync*: cf /11/ No LXX(S).

(2) Names in *-ing* with terminal attached

RXB Kinninghall (Cav) has been transferred from Norfolk. Millingwood Fell (Cst) perhaps contains ModSc *mailing* “a rented farm”. Runningburn (Stl) is probably OE *runiende burna*, “whispering burn”: cf No LXXV.

BWK Darlingfield (Earl) may contain the surname Darling.

DMF Campingholm (Hfm) is obscure, unless it contains the flower-name “campion”. Cunningholm (Clb) might have the same first element as Cunningham (Ayr) although in rather remote a position to be an early formation. ON *konungr-holmr*, “king holm” would form a parallel to Kingholm Quay (Dmf). Mellingshaw (Mof) probably has the same first element as Millingwood (*supra*).

SLK Shiringscleuch (Krk) is near the shire boundary, and so may represent “shire-end’s-cleuch”.

/12/ IV OE hām,

“Village, estate, manor, homestead”. This element is to be found in some of the earliest English place-names. It may be translated simply as “settlement” in many cases.

There is no indication in any of the spellings below of the OE *hamm* with which this suffix is often confused. It is doubtful if the latter element occurs in Northern England (IPN ii p.32). There is one example of OE *hamm* denoting “a piece of ground shaped like the bend at the back of the knee” in Northumberland (PN NbDu, 231).

It is notable that in four examples – Smailholm, Yetholm, Leitholm and Smallholm – OE hām has become modern *-holm*. Five names in *-hām* have become names of parishes – Ednam, Oxnam, Smailholm, Yetholm and Edrom.

Three of the names are compounded with river-names, three with adjectives, one with the name of a domestic animal, one with a natural feature, one with a structure, and one is doubtful.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

EDNAM (Edn): (81, 7 C):

Ædnam, c 1105 ESC; *Edna-*, 1107-17 *ib*; *Eden-*, 1117-24 *ib*; 1165-1214 LSMM; 1159 (c 1320) *Kelso*; /13/ *Hedin-*, 1147-53 (16th) *Dryb*; *Ednahim*, 1165-77 (c 1500) LSMM;

Hedenham, 1165-1214 (c 1320) *Kelso*. “The *hām* on the River Eden”, which is: *Edene*, 1178-98 (c 1320) *Kelso*; c 1300 *ib*; *Etinn*, *Edna*, Blaeu, from OBrit **Ituna* > **Eodene* > ME *Edene*. Compare Eden We, and Eden Burn Du (ERN, 142-3). Other examples of pre-English river-names with *-hām* are Alnham Nb (PN NbDu, 4), Warenton Nb (*ib*, 207). Cockerham (PN La, 170), Irlam (*ib*, 39). Compare Edrom (*infra*).

MIDLEM (Bow): (80, 13 F):

Middleham, c 1120 (c 1320) *Kelso*; 1159 *ib*; *Medil-*, c 1300 *ib*; *Myddil-*, 1429 HMC (*Drml*). “The middle village”: cf *Middleham* (PN YNR, 252). The reason for the epithet is not obvious, unless it is because Midlem lies in a small valley which is more or less in the middle of a ridge.

OXNAM (Oxn): (81, 5 J):

Oxenham, 1165-1214 NMS: 1354 *Kelso*: *Oxana-*, 1152-3 (15th) *Whitby*; *Oxene-*, *ib*. OE *Oxena hām*, “village or farm of the oxen”.

SMAILHOLM (Smh): (81, 4 C):

Smalham(e), c 1160 (16th) *Dryb*; c 1300 *Cold*; 1248 C de M; *Smailhame*, 1465 *Dryb*. OE *Smæl hām*, “small village”.

/14/

TOWN AND KIRK YETHOLM (Yth): (81, 9 F):

Gatha'n, c 1050 (12th) HSC; *Yetham* (P), 1165-1214 LSMM; 1296 RS; 1296 CDS (Seal); 1335-6 CDS; *Yatheam*, 1214-43 LSMM. OE *ġæt*, “gate”, in the sense of “pass” is used here. *Yetholm* is situated where the Bowmont Water traverses a narrow gap in the hills. For this use of OE *ġæt* (*ġeat*), compare *Yatton He, W*, (DEPN, 518), *Yettington D* (*ib*, 519).

BERWICKSHIRE

BIRGHAM (Eccl): (81, 8 B): [bɪrdʒəm]

Brygham, 1095 (15th) ESC; 1260 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Bricg-*, 1095-1100 (15th) ESC *Birgham(e)*, 1165 (1434) *Cdstr*; c 1200 *ib*; *Briggeham*, c 1300 *Cold*. OE *brycġ* must be the first element although there is now no stream of any size here for a bridge to cross. The modern pronunciation shows that the final consonants of *brycġ* remained palatalised in spite of metathesis. *Birgeane cruk*, c 1490, *Wallace*, may be the land enclosed by the bend in the Tweed, or may be the present farm of Crooks near The Hirsell.

EDROM (Edr): (75, 9 J):

Edrem, 1095 (15th) ESC; *Ederham*, 1095, 1095-1100, 1138 *ib*; *Edir-*, 1248 LSMM; *Heddre-*, 1248 APS; *Heder-*, 1263 C de M. “*Hām* on the Adder”. *Edrom* is near the Whiteadder **/15/** Water: cf *Edrington* (No III).

KIMMERGHAME HOUSE (Edr): (75, 9 L): [kimərdhəm]

Chynbrygham, 1095 (15th) ESC; *Cynebritham*, 1095-1100 *ib*; *Kynbriggeham*, 1296 CDS; *Kymbregam*, *ib*; *Kymbrigham*, *ib*; *Kymbridgeham*, 1330 *Rot Scac*; *Kymbringham*, 1330 *Cold*; *Kymbirgame*, 1332 *Rot Scac*; *Kymmerjame*, 1536 RMS. OE *cȳna-brycġ-hām* “*hām* at the cows’ bridge”, is suggested by the earliest spellings. A patronymic based on OE *Cyneberht* is

possible, as OE *Cyneberhtinga-hām*: cf Habergham La, (PN *-Ing*, 146, 171), for a similar modern form.

LEITHOLM (Eccl): (81, 8 A):

Letham, 1165-1214 LSMM; *c* 1200 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Letam*, *c* 1230 *ib*; *Lethame* (P) *ib*. “*Hām* on the Leet Water”: cf Leet (No XXXVIII).

DUMFRIESSHIRE

SMALLHOLM (Lmb): (88, 14 D):

Smalham, 1304, 1374-5 CDS; *Smalehame*, 1429-30 RMS. OE *Smæl(e) hām*: cf Smailholm (*supra*).

A “lost” name *Wrangham, a little north of Brotherstone (Mert) may be a form in *-hām*:

Wranghame, 1505 HMC (*Home*); *c* 1535, *c* 1540 etc *Dryb*; *Wrangholme*, 1560-70, 1596, 1630 *Dryb*; *-um*, *c* 1620 *ib*; *-umm*, Blaeu. *Wranghomehill*, 1535 RMS is mentioned with lands in the /16/ vicinity of Coldstream. Compare Wrangham (Abd): *Warngham*, 1366, *Wranghame*, 1644, 1696 (PN W Abd, 346).

/17/ V OE *tun*,

“Enclosed homestead, dwelling, village, farm”.

Although place-names now ending in *-ton* may belong to an early period of Anglian history, they continued to be formed down to the 17th century, since OE *tūn* passed into MSc as *toun* and is still in independent dialect use to denote a group of farm-buildings.

Names containing an OE personal name of the monothematic type belong to the earliest period, eg Sprouston, Paxton and perhaps Putton. To this date may also belong some of the names whose first element is an OE topographical term, eg Ayton, Clifton, Hutton, Linton, Merton.

The next category chronologically must include both OE disyllabic personal names and ON personal names. Such names may have been formed at any time between the 10th and 12th centuries. In 12th century charters there are several instances of places held by men whose names form the first element of the place-names, eg Elliston, Swinton.

A later stratum contains Norman and late ME personal names: Allanton, Dingleton, Robertson, Samieston, Rowlestane.

/18/

Quite a large number of Dumfriesshire names came into existence in the 17th century, notably in the parish of Glencairn, where it was customary at the period to call a farm after its owner, with *-toun* or *-ton* suffixed to the surname with or without a genitival *-s*.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

ADDERSTONSHIELS (Cav): (85, 13 C):

ADDERSTONLEE (Cav): (85, 13 B):

Edristona, 1271 (16th) *Dryb*; *Edrystona*, 1378-82 RMS; *Ederstona*, 1378-82 *ib*; *Edgarstoun* 1481 (15th, 16th) APS; *Edyarestoun*, 1492 RMS; *Edgaristoun-scheles*, 1510 RMS. The site of the original Adderston is now lost. This name seems to be similar to Adderstone Nb:

Edredeston 1233 (PN NbDu, 2), from OE *Ēadredes tūn*. The later spellings must be an attempt at substituting a known name for one which had passed out of use.

ARNTON FELL (Cst): (85, 13 G):

Ernilten, Blaeu; *Erniltoun fell*, *ib*. Arnton is now lost. It may have been OE *Ærnwulfes tūn*. One *Earnulf* is a signatory to a charter in 1094 (ESC, 10).

ATTONBURN (How): **ATTON BURN**: (81, 9 G):

Aldetuneburne, 1200-2 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Altonburn*, 1354 HMC (*Rxb*); *Aldtonburne*, 1357-8 *ib*. /19/ The Atton Burn was ME *alde tūn burne*, “burn by the old homestead”, which later became a place-name.

CAMIESTON (St B): (80, 14 E):

Cammayston, 1306 LSMM: *Cambeston*, 1402 *ib*; *Cammestoun*, 1540 RMS; c 1620 *Dryb*. The first element may be Gaelic *camas* < OGAel *cambas*, “a bend”, since Cammieston lies in the bend of a stream where the contours make a sharp curve. Compare Old Cambus (PN Bwk, 19: CPNS 138).

CAVERTON (Eckf): (81, 7 F):

Cauertone, 1296 CDS; *Caverton*, 1328 *Rot Scac*. OE **Cāfhere* as in Caversfield O (DEPN, 87) seems to be the first element: cf Cavers, No LI (v).

CLIFTON (Mrb): (81, 9 F):

Cliftun, c 1050 (12th) HSC: 1165-92 LSMM. OE *Clif-tūn*, “dwelling by a steep hillside”. Clifton lies under the slopes of Shereburgh which are very abrupt.

DINGLETON (Mel): (80, 14 D):

Danyelstona (P), 1343 *Rot Scac*; *Danyellyston*, 1359 *ib*; *Danyelstone* (P) c 1400 (1475-1500) Wyntoun; *Danzietoune*, 1654 *Mel Reg Rec*. “*Daniel’s tūn*”: cf Daniel prior of Jedburgh in 1139 (ESC, 93). The change to Dingleton must have occurred in the early 18th century for in 1682 the form /20/ is still *Danyeltone* (*Mel Reg Rec*). By then the pronunciation must have been [dɛnltən], later [dɛŋltən] or [dɪŋltən].

DOLPHINSTON (Oxn): (81, 5 K):

Dolfinestone, 1296 CDS; *Dolfynston* (P), 1354 *Kelso*; *Dolphington*, 1454, HMC, (*Rxb*); *Dolphingston*, 1475 *ib*. ON *Dolgfinnr* (ZEN, 28), ME *Dolfin* is the first element. Compare Dolphinston Pbl, ELth, WLth.

EDGERSTON (Jed): (86, 5 B):

Edgerstoun, 1541 RSS; 1590 CBP; *Egyrstain Cast.*, Blaeu; *Iedgerton*, 1630 Speed; 1639 Campden. OE *Ecghere’s tun*: cf Edgarhope Law (No XXV). OE *Eadgar* would not yield a palatalised medial consonant group.

ELLISTON (St B): (81, 1 F):

Ylistoun, c 1220 *Dryb*; *Iliuestun*, 1214-49 LSMM; *Ilefestone*, 1315 RMS; *Ileffeston*, 1329-71 LSMM; *Eleistoun*, 1599 *Dryb*. An ON personal name *Ísleifr* (ZEN, 50) is the first element. “Johannes filius *Yliff* de *Ylistoun*” grants land to Dryburgh, c 1220.

ETTLETON CHURCH (Cst): (89, 12 A):

Ettiltoun spa, Blaeu. An OE personal name *Etla* may be the base of this name /21/ but there is not sufficient evidence.

FOUMARTDEAN (Mrb): (81, 8 F):

Fowmertoun, 1590 CBP. Mod Sc *foumart*, “polecat”, plus *toun*.

FULTON (Bdr): (81, 3 K):

Fougheltone, 1296 CDS; *Foultone*, 1296 *ib*; *le Fultoun*, 1432 HMC (Rxb). OE *fugol-tūn*, “bird farm”, perhaps because it was frequented by unusual numbers of them.

GATTONSIDE (Mel): (80, 140):

Galtunesside, c 1136 LSMM; *Galtounsyd*, 1564 *Mel Reg Rec*: cf *Galtuneschalech*, 1143-4 ESC. The first part of both compounds is ME *Galtun*; but if this represents an OE compound in *-tūn*, it is difficult to determine what the first element *gal-* may be. There is no evidence that it might have been OE *gafol*, “tribute”, *gagol*, “bog-myrtle” or *galga*, “gallows”. The place is more than two miles from the mouth of the Gala Water which rules out the possibility of the stream-name.

GROUNDISTONE (Hwk): (80, 12 J):

Grundieston, 1380 CDS; *Groundestoun*, 1535 RSS; *Grundiston*, 1551 HMC (*Home*). ME **Grundi* from OE *Gundred* may be the first element.

/22/

HARPERTOUN (Edn): (81, 7 B): so spelt in Blaeu. “Harper, or minstrel’s farm”: the occupational title may have passed into a surname by the period that this name was formed.

HEITON (Rxb): (81, 6 E):

Hetona, 1152 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Hetun*, c 1230 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Hettun*, 1296 CDS (Seal). ME *heiʒh tūn*, “high farm”. It stands on the edge of a ridge above the Tweed.

HERMISTON (Llf): (80, 13 G):

Hirdmanestun, 1165-88 LSMM: *Hirdemaneston*, 1296 *Inst Pub*; *Hirmaneston*, 1296 *ib*; *Hirdmanstone*, 1305 CDS. “Dwelling of the herdsman”, OE *hiordemann*: cf *Herdmanstown* (ELth): *Hirdmanston*, *Hirdmaneston*, 1296 CDS.

KIRKTON (Cav): (85, 14 A):

Est Manis of the Kirkton, 1470 HMC (*Drml*); *Kirkton-Manis*, 1547 RMS. “Village by the church”. See *Mains* (No LV).

LANTON (Jed): (81, 3 H):

Langton, 1147-52 (Morton) ESC; *Langetun*, 1165-1214 NMS. “Long Village”.

LARRISTON (Cst): (85, 14 G).

/23/

Lareston burne, 1590 CBP. A ME personal name **Lauri* or **Larri*, a diminutive of Lawrence, may be the first element: cf Lauriston (Mdl), (PNS, 235). The church at Morebattle was dedicated to St Lawrence. For a similar misuse of a saint's name compare *Cuddy* for St Cuthbert in Cuddy's Walls, Cuddy's Yett, etc.

LINTON (Lin): (81, 8 F):

Lintun(e), c 1160 *Glas*: c 1175-89 LSMM: *Lyntone*, 1296 CDS. W *Llyn*, "lake", must be the first element, as in Linlithgow (PN WLth, 53-4). A great part of Linton parish was formerly under water.

LONGNEWTON (Anc): (81, 2 F):

Longa neuton, 1296 CDS; *Langnewtown*, 1555 *Reg S Trin*. "Long new village": the houses were probably disposed in a single row.

MAKERSTOUN HOUSE (Mak): (81, 5 E):

Malcarvastun, 1159 *Kelso*: *Malkarwestun*, 1182-1214 LSMM: *Malkarvistoun*, 1200-53 (1400) *Soltre*; *Melcaruiston*, c 1228 (c 1500) LSMM. A form ***Maelcærf* of an OIr personal name may derive from **Maglo-carvos* > **Mail-*, *Mael-carf*: cf *Maelsuithan*, *Maelmuire* (PN YNR p.324).

/24/

MANGERTON MILL (Cst): (89, 12 A):

Mayngertoun, 1531 ALC: *Maungerton*, 1569 CSP; *Mangertoun*, 1583 CBP. Perhaps OE *mangera-tūn*, "hamlet of the merchants". Mangerton is on the road from Carlisle to Tweedside, and so may have been a recognised halting-place of pedlars and chapmen. The name must have been formed before David I, by the Burgh Laws, restricted all buying and selling to places and times established by law.

MAXTON (Mxt): (81, 3 E):

Mackistun, 1187-99 LSMM; *Mackustun*, c 1226 *ib*; *Macston*, 1263 *C de M*. The homestead of *Maccus*, a Celtic name: cf Maxwell.

MILSINGTON (Rbt): (85, 9 B):

Milsintoun, Blaeu. ON *Mylsan* may be the first element. This may be a shortened form of OIr *Maelsuithan* introduced by the Norwegians from Ireland: cf *Melsonby* (PN YNR, 297).

NEWTON (Hwk): (80, 13 J):

Chambrelein-Newton, 1335-6 RMS; *Chambirlaynenewtona*, 1374 *ib*.

"The new village where the chamberlain lived". Whether it was named after a national official, or /25/ whether it was the residence of the chamberlain of the local estate I cannot say.

ORMISTON (Cav): (85, 13 A): **ORMISTON** (Eck) (81, 5 F):

Hormiston (P), 1214-49 LSMM; *Ormistoun*, 1452 RMS; *Ormistoun*, 1567-8 *ib*; *Ormrstoun* (Cav), Blaeu; *Ormistoun* (Clg) *ib*. "The *tūn* of Orme": ON *Ormr* > ME *Orm*. In 1147-50 Crailing is described as *villa Orme* (ESC, 152), perhaps the same person as *Orm* "presbitero de Edenham" who witnessed a Durham charter in 1127 (ESC, 60).

PRIESTON (Bow): (80, 13 F):

Prestowne, 1567 *Kelso*. "Priest's village". Land here was held by Kelso Abbey.

RENNIESTON (Oxn): (81, 6 H):

Rainaldeston, 1296 *Inst Pub*; *Raynaldistoune*, 1390-1 RMS; *Ranaldston* 1468 HMC (*Home*).
OE *Regenwaldes tūn*.

RICCARTON (Cst): (85, 14 G):

Ricardeston, 1296 CDS; *Ricard tona*, 1370 RMS. OE *Richard* must have developed a back medial consonant in passing into ME to account for the modern pronunciation. This must have been due to Scandinavian influence. Compare Riccarton (Mdl) and (Ayr).

/26/

ROBERTON (Rbt): (85, 10 A):

Robertstun (P), 1228 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Roberdeston* (P), 1279 (c 1320) *ib*; *Roberstoun*, Blaeu. ME *Robertes toun*.

SAMIESTON (Oxn): (81, 6 H):

Semanstoun, 1452 RMS; *Simalstoun*, 1471 *ib*; *Sammelstoun*, 1489 RMS; *Symestoun*, 1523 *ib*; *Samestoun*, 1541-2 *ib*; *Samelstoun*, Blaeu. “Samuel’s farm”. The first spelling shows dissimilation *m-l* > *m-n*, or perhaps confusion with *seaman*, but this has not persisted.

SPROUSTON (Spr): (81, 70):

Sprostona, c 1120 *Kelso*; *Sprostune* (P) c 1160 ESC; *Sproustona*, 1175-1214 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Sproueston*, c 1279 LSMM; *Sprowiston*, 1279 *ib*. The first element is an OE personal name *Sprow*: cf *Sprowston Nf* (DEPN 414), and a “lost” *Sprouisdene*, 1204 LSMM in Bowden.

ULSTON (Jed): (81, 5 H):

Ulvestoun, 1147-52 (Morton) ESC; *Uluestona*, 1165-1214 NMS. ON *Ulf*, ME *Ulf* is the first element.

WHITTON (Mrb): (81, 7 H):

Waquirtun, c 1050 (12th) HSC; *Hwitheton* (P), 1165-88 LSMM; *Hwittona*, 1165-1214 *ib*; *Withetun*, 1175-89 *ib*; /27/ *Wichetun*, 1214 *ib* (c – t). In the first spelling, *waqu-* probably represents OE *hw-*. OE *hwīt tūn*, “white homestead”; this is a common place-name in England. Ekwall suggests that the first element may be a personal name *Hwīta* (Whitton Du etc, DEPN, 491).

WILTON (Hwk): (85, 12 A):

Wiltuna, c 1050 (12th) HSC; *Weltoun*, 1511 RMS. Perhaps OE *wilg tūn*, “farm by the willows”.

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ADDINSTON (Oxt): (74, 13 K):

Auldenestun, 1165-77 LSMM; *Aldenistoun*, 1222 *Dryb*; *Aulddynstone*, 1371 RMS. OE *Aldwines tūn* or **Aldenes tūn*.

ALLANTON (Edr): (75, 11 K):

Alenton (P), 1214-49 LSMM; *Alington* (P), c 1248 *ib*; *Alewenton* (P), 1306-29 *ib*. The Norman name *Aleyn*, *Alain*, is no doubt the first element. The third spelling may have been influenced by the contemporary form of the Allan Water (*Alewent*, 1165-1214 LSMM) or may represent a “lost” place on that stream.

ATTON BURN (Cld): (75, 9 F):

Altounburne, 1596, CBP. “The burn by the old village”. Compare Attonburn (Rxb).

/28/

AYTON (Ayt): (75, 12 G):

Eitun, 1095-1100, 1126 *ib*; *Ayton(e)*, 1095 (15th) ESC; 1296 CDS; 1297 DIHS; *c* 1300 *Cold*; (two) *Eytone*s, 1253 CDS; *Eytone*, *Etone*, *Haytone*, *Aiton*, 1296 CDS; *Atone*, 1311-12 CDS; *Aytoun*, 1360 *Rot Scac*. OE *ēġ-tūn* is suggested by the spellings in *ei-*. The meaning of *ēġ-* in this case must be “island of land in the midst of marshes”. Compare the numerous Eatons with forms in *ei* (DEPN, 151).

HALLYBURTON (Grn): (75, 5 L):

Haliburtun (P), *c* 1230 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Halibortone*, *c* 1244 CDS; *Haliburton*, 1296 DIHS. OE *hālig būr* (or *burh*) *tūn* seems to be the origin of this compound. The “supposed site” of a chapel here is mentioned in AHMC (Bwk), p. 96. “Farm by the sacred building”.

HILTON BAY (Mrd): (75, 14 M):

Hilton, 1095 ESC; *Hyltun*, 1095-1100 *ib*. OE *hyll-tūn*, “hill farm”.

HUTTON (Hut): (75, 12 K):

Hotun, 1095-1100 ESC; *Hoton(e)*, 1296 RS; *c* 1300 *Cold*; *Hutoun*, 1426 RMS. OE *hōh-tūn*, “farm on a hill”. Old Hutton Castle stands on a spur of higher ground above the Whiteadder.

/29/

LAMBERTON (Mrd): (75, 14 J):

Lambertun, 1095-1100 ESC; *Lambretone*, 1296 CDS; *Lambirton*, *c* 1300 *Cold*. OE *Lambra-tūn*, “farm of the Lambs”: cf *Lammermoor* (No XL).

LANGTON (Lgt): (75, 7 K):

Langtoun, 1206-53 (1400) *Soltre*; *Langetone*, 1287 DIHS. MSc *Lang toun*, “long village”: cf *Lanton* (Jed).

LEMINGTON (Cld): (75, 10 G):

Lematon, 1296 *Inst Pub*; *Lemontoun* (P) *c* 1304 (*c* 1320) *Kelso*; *Lemonkton*, 1306 LSMM; *Lemminden*, Blaeu. This example shows a blend of the two types of spellings quoted for Lemmington Nb (PN NbDu 133) and no doubt has the same origin, OE *hleomoc-tūn*, “farm where speedwell grows”.

LYLESTON (Laud): (74, 13 K):

Liolfstoun, *c* 1222 *Dryb*; *Lyalstoun*, *c* 1230 *ib*; *Liolleston*, 1296, *Inst Pub*. ON **Li(g)ulfr*, personal-name, is the first element. In *c* 1100 *Ligulf* witnesses a Durham charter (ESC, 17): cf *Lyulf* “filio Uhtredi” 1119-24 (*c* 1320) *Kelso*; *Liulfo* “filio Macus” 1174 *ib*. For the origin of this /30/ name cf *Feilitzen*, 319; ZEN 60 n2; Sc&C, 39.

MANDERSTON (Duns): (75, 9 K):

Mandrestow, 1336-7 RMS; *Mandredestonam*, 1366-7 *ib*; *Manderstoun*, 1329-71 RS, 1494 HMC (*Var Coll v*). The ending of the first spelling is probably an error. It is unlikely that a place-name ending in *-stow* would be constructed with a ME personal name. The latter may be a form **Mandred* from *Maldred*, a Celtic name: cf “Ulkillio filio *Meldredi*”, 1147 *Kelso*.

MERTOUN (Mert): (81, 3 E):

Myrtona, 1221 *Dryb*; *Mertun*, 13th *Reg Dnf*; *Mertona*, 1343 *Rot Scac*; *Meritun*, 14th *St And*. OE *mere-tūn*, “tūn by the lake”. A mention of “*piscaria lacus de Mertoun*” in 1515 RMS proves that there was a lake there at one time, perhaps where Bemersyde Moss is now.

MORDINGTON HOUSE (Mrd): (74, 13 J):

Morttringtonam (acc) 1095 ESC; *Morthintun*, 1095-1100 *ib*: *Morthyngton* 1095 (15th) *ib*; *-ington*, 1214-49 (c 1500) LSMM; *-intona*, 1235 *Cold*; *-intun*, c 1244 CDS; *-ingtoun*, c 1276 HMC (*Wed*). An *-ingtūn* name formed on OE *morð* “murder”, is possible but unlikely. The first spelling suggests OE *morð-hring*, “murder ring”, perhaps an allusion to some stone circle or circular camp not now visible. /31/ The second *-r-* might speedily have been lost.

EAST and WEST MORRISTON (Grd & Leg): (81, 3 A):

Moriston(e), 1335-6 CDS; 1371 RMS. Perhaps OE *mōres-tūn*, “farm of the moor”: cf Mosbrough, Db (DEPN, 316). But a diminutive *Mōri* from OE *Mōrgrim* etc may be the first element.

OXTON (Chan): (74, 12 K):

Ullfkeliston, 1206 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Hulf-*, *ib*; *Ulkilstoun*, c 1220 (16th) *Dryb*; *Ulkes-*, 1273 *ib*; *Ugis-*, 1463-4 RMS; *Ux-*, Blaeu. ODan *Ulfkell* is the first element: cf *Ulfchillo*, 1124-53 LSMM; *Ulkill*, 1147 *Kelso*.

PAXTON (Hut): (75, 13 K):

Paxtun, 1095-1100 ESC; 1100 *ib*; *-tona*, 1235 *Cold*; *Paxiston*, 1296 CDS. A strong form, **Pæc(c)* of the OE personal name *Pac(c)a* suggested as the base of *Packington*, Le, St, Wa (DEPN, 339) may be found here.

PUTTON (Duns): (75, 8 K):

Pewtoun, 1496 RMS; *Putoun*, 1547 *ib*. A long vowel seems to be required by the first spelling: a Celtic personal name *Pūch*, *Pūh* may be indicated.

RESTON (Cld): (75, 11 G):

Ristun, 1095-1100, 1126 ESC; 1214-49 NMS; *Reston*, 1095 (15th) ESC; c 1300 *Cold*; 1345 *ib*; *Ryston(e)*, /32/ 1253 CDS; 1296 *Inst Pub*; 1296 CDS. OE *hrīs-tūn*, “farm by the brushwood”: ME **Rīstun* with the *ī* later lowered to *ě*.

ROWIESTON LODGE (Grn):

Rowiston, 1567 *Kelso*; *Rowenstoun*, Blaeu; *Rowingstoune*, 1654 *Com Rec Laud*. A family name *Rowan* may be contained in this compound. The two latest spellings may show an earlier form of the name.

ROWLESTANE (Eccl):

Rollandston, 1390 *L Ch*; *-toun*, 1451-2 RMS. A NFr name *Roland* is the first element.

SWINTON (Swt): (75, 10 M):

Suinstun, 1095-1100 ESC; *Swintun(a)*, c 1100 *ib*; 1107-24 NMS; *Suinton*, 1165 (1434) *Cdstr*. *Swein*, son of Ulfkill held Swinton in 1100 (ESC, 18) so it is possible that the first element is ON *Sveinn*, ME *Swein*, *Swain*, which has been confused with OE *swīn*, “pig”.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

ALLANTON (Dns): (88, 8 A):

Aleynton, 1304 CDS; *Alayn-*, 1335-6 *ib.* NFr *Aleyn*, *Alain*, is the first element: cf Allanton (Edr).

ARKLETON (Ew): (85, 9 H):

Arkiltoun, 1532 RMS; *Arkyldon*, 1583 CBP; /33/ *Erkiltounfeld*, Blaeu. ME *Arkil* from ON *Arnketill*, ODan *Arkell*, occurs here: cf Arkleby Cu (PN CuWe, 6).

BECKTON (Dryf): (89, 1 B):

Bektoun, 1484 RMS; 1498 *ib.* “Farm by the beck”. Dialect *beck* from ON *bekkr*.

DABTON (Mrt): (84, 7 G):

Dobtoun, Blaeu. *Dob* is a common shortened form of Robert: cf the surname Dobson. But perhaps this may be Sc dialect *dub*, “muddy place”: cf Dubwath Cu (PN CuWe, 45).

DALSWINTON (Kmh): (88, 9 A):

Dalswynton (P), 1290 CDS; *Dalsuyntone* (P) 1292 DIHS; *Dalswingtoun*, 1309 RC; *Dalscuentoun* c 1360 *Scal*; *Dawswyntoun*, c 1490 *Wallace*. The first element may be Gaelic *dail* or ON *dalr* “valley”. The second part of the name is OE *swīn-tūn* “pig farm”.

DALTON (Dlt): (88, 14 E):

Daltun (P), 1165-1214 LSMM; 1215 CDS; *Daltoun*, 1379 *Rot Scac*. Probably OE *dæl-tūn* “farm in a valley”, but the first element may be ON *dalr*.

DAVINGTON (Esk): (85, 4 W):

Davitoun, Blaeu; *Deiwintin*, C-B (a letter heading); /34/ *Davington*, 1770, *Com Rec Dmf*. The forms are so late that no definite conclusion can be reached about the origin of the name. It may be simply “Davy’s farm” or it may incorporate ON *Dagfinnr* (Lind, 190). An *-ingtūn* name based on OE **Dafa* as in Davington K (DEPN, 134) is unlikely.

DEMPSTERTON (Dns): (88, 7 A):

Dempstertoun, 1652 *Reg Sas Dmf*. From the surname Dempster.

DUNGALSTON (Glc): (84, 3 J):

Doungalston, 1583 HMC (*Drml*). Gael *dun* “a hill” plus Galston which is Gaelic *gall* “a stranger” and OE *tūn*: cf Galston (Ayr).

EDGARTON (Dns): (88, 8 B):

Edzertoun, 1629 *Reg Sas Dmf*; *Edgartone*, 1630 *ib.* A family named Edgar was living here at the time these entries were made.

FENTON (H & C): (85, 2 H):

Fentoun, 1583-4 RPC. “Farm by a swamp”.

FIDDLETON (EW): (85, 9 G):

Fiddelton, 1506 RMS, Blaeu. The first element may be OE *fileðe* “hay”, or an OE personal name *Fidela*.

GARRIESTON (Glc): (88, 6 B): /35/

Garristone, 1629 *Reg Sas Dmf*. A name *Garry* may be the first element.

GORDIESTON (Glc): (88, 6 B):

Gordastoun, *Blaeu*. The personal name *Geordie*, Scots diminutive of George, may be the first element. The surname Gordon is possible.

GRANTON (Mof): (84, 13 C):

Grantone, 1633 *Reg Sas Dmf*. Perhaps from an ON personal name *Grani*: cf Granby (PN Nt, 225) but the spelling is so late that it may represent the surname Grant.

HUTTON (H & C): (85, 2 J):

Hotune, 1210-12 CDS; *Hottone*, 1296 (14th) *ib*; *Hutoun*, 1459 RMS. OE *hōh-tūn*: cf Hutton, Bwk (*supra*).

JOHNSTONE (Esk): (85, 4 F):

Jonistune (P), 1194-1214 HMC (*Drml*); *Jonestone*, 1296 CDS. “John’s *tūn*”.

KELTON (Crl): (88, 11 F):

So spelt in 1296 CDS. ON *kelda* “spring” is probably the first element, but cf Kelton (Kirkcudbright) from Gael *cell* (CPNS, 168).

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McCHEYNSTON (Dns): (88, 8 B):

Makchymstoun, 1618 *Reg Sas Dmf*; *Makchynestone*, 1618 *ib*. The farm of the MacCheyne family.

McCUBBINGTON (Dns): (88, 8 B):

Makcubbeintoun, 1645 *Reg Sas Dmf*. A family named MacCubbin owned it at this period.

McMURDOSTOWN (Dns): (88, 8 B):

Macmurdiestoun, 1625 *Reg Sas Dmf*. The farm was owned by John MacMurdie at the above date.

MILTON (KJ): (84, 14 E):

Mylntoun, 1550 RMS. OE *mylen tūn* “farm with, or beside, a mill”.

MORRINGTON (Hlw): (88, 7 C):

Morreintoun, 1628, *Reg Sas Dmf*; *Morringtone*, 1671, *ib*. The first element is the surname *Morin*, a Gaelic name, common in Galloway.

MORTON (Can): (84, 7 F):

Mortoun, 1329-71 RC; *Mortoun-Woddis*, 1510 RMS. OE *mōr-tūn* “farm by the moor”.

PORTERSTOWN (Keir): (84, 7 H)

Pottistoune, 1630, *Reg Sas Dmf*; *Porterstoune*, 1642 *ib*. /37/ The farm was owned by James Porter at this time.

PLUMDON (Ann): (89, 3 G):

Plunton, 1210-12 CDS. “Plum-tree farm”: cf Plumpton, *Pluntune* DB (PN Nth, 43).

STAPLEGORDON (Lang): (85, 8 J):

Stapel..rtune, 1124-40 CDS; *Stabil gortoun*, 1325 RMS; *Stapelgorton*, 1335-6 CDS. The second part of the name is OE *gōr-tūn* “muddy farm”: cf Gorton (PN La, 35). The first element is OE *stapol* “post, staple”. *Gortun* may have become *-gordon* on the analogy of the surname Gordon.

STAPLETON (Dor): (89, 4 F):

Stabiltoun, Blaeu. From the modern form it seems probable that the first element was OE *stapol* rather than ME *stable*.

STEILSTON (Hlw): (88, 8 C):

Steilstoune, 1654 *Reg Sas Dmf*. This name probably incorporates the surname Steil rather than dialect *steil* “precipice” etc.

STEWARTON (Glc): (84, 6 J):

Stewartoun, 1646 *Reg Sas Dmf*; *Stewarton*, 1657 *L Ch*. The farm belonging to the Stewart family.

SELKIRKSHIRE

SYNTON (Ask) (80, 12 H): /38/

Sintun, 1165-1214 LSMM; 1208 APS; 1265 *Rot Scac*; 1296 CDS (Seal). Since there are no alternative spellings, OE *Sin-* or *Syn-* must be assumed as the first element. OE *synn* “sin, transgression” is unlikely as a place-name element. Perhaps to be compared is The Synhams, *Synholms* 1570 (PN Nth, 231), for which no etymology is offered. It may be that OE *Sind-*, the prefix of such names as *Sindwulf*, *Sindbeorht* is in this case used as an independent name. OE *Sind-tūn* might already be *Sintun* in the 12th century.

/39/ VI OE *word*,

originally “an enclosure”, came to denote “an enclosed homestead, a habitation with surrounding land” (B-T, s.v.). The few names containing this element in S. Scotland do not help to define it more clearly.

Jedburgh, Cessford and Polwarth all lie in the main Tweed-Teviot basin. The substitution of *-burgh* and *-ford* in Jedburgh and Cessford, shows that the element *word* passed out of use at an early date and was replaced by better-known elements. This is also noticeable in Northumberland where only five out of eleven examples preserve the ending as *-worth*. There are no instances of the use of this element in Cumberland.

In England *-word* is most often compounded with a personal name. This makes it more probable that Polwarth and Cessford are formations of this kind.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

CESSFORD (Eckf): (81, 7 G):

Cesseworth(e), 1296 CDS; 1309-29 (15th) RC; 1315-21 RMS; *Gesword*, 1341-71 *Cold*; *Sesworth*, 1415-16 HMC (*Rxb*); *Cesforth*, 1547-8 CSP; *Cessiwurthe*, c 1560 RMS (Index); *Cessworthe*, *ib*. The persistent initial C- indicates an OE form with a palatal initial consonant

pronounced [s] under /40/ AN influence: cf Sedgefield Du and other examples quoted (PN NbDu, 173). An OE personal name **Cessa*, a variant of *Cissa* (cf Chisworth Db, DEPN, 101), must be postulated as the first element. It is possible that an early form of English dialect *cess* “peat-bog” may be the first element. There are no instances of the use of the term in ME, but it must be connected with *cess-pool* which is of Latin origin. This would account for the initial sibilant. Cessford stands on moorland soil.

For the change from *-worth* to *-ford*, compare the opposite process in Flatworth Du (PN NbDu, 87; App 268).

JEDBURGH (Jed): (81, 4 H):

Gedwearde, c 1050 (12th) SD; *-wirth*, 1177 (16th) Dryb; *Geddewrd(e)*, c 1130 (12th) SD; 1139 ESC; *-wrth*, 1174 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Jedword*, 1147-50 (17th-18th) ESC; *-worthe*, 1147-52 (Morton) *ib*; *-wortha*, c 1150 *St And*; *Jeddeword*, c 1147-52 (c 1320) *Kelso*; 1165-1214 *ib*; *-werd*, 1153, *Cold*; *-wrth*, 1180-5 LSMM; *Jeddw~*, 1165-1214 NMS; *Jaddeuurd*, c 1150 *Holyrood*; *Chedewurthe*, 1153-65 LSMM; *Gedew~*, 1165 (1175-1200) C de M. The pre-English river-name Jed is the first element. A similar construction is Tamworth, St (ERN, /41/ 390). The first spelling contains the OE variant form *weorð* with NNb substitution of *ea* for *eo* in cases of fracture of *e* before *r* plus consonant.

BONJEDWARD (Jed): (81, 4 G):

Bonjedworth, 1321 RMS; *Bondeidde ford*, 1339; *Boniedworth*, 1342 *ib*; *Bonjeddeworth*, 1356 RS; *Bond Jedworthe*, 1397 CDS; *Bune J^{edworth}*, 1398 RMS. The prefix is Gaelic: cf CPNS, 137.

BERWICKSHIRE

POLWARTH (Plw): (75, 7 L):

Paulewrhe (P), 1182-1214 LSMM; c 1230 *ib*; *-wurth* (P) 13th LSMM; *Pollevrch* (P) c 1200 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Powwurd* (P), c 1230 *ib*; *Powlew~* (P), c 1230 LSMM; *Polwort* (P), c 1250 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Poulesworth* (P) 1296 RS; *Paulyswyrth* (P), 13th *Reg Dnf*; *Poylleworth* (P), 1329 LSMM; *Poulwrd*, 14th *St And*. A personal name, *Paul*, is perhaps the first element. The 12th-13th century pronunciation was no doubt [po:l] which would account for early spellings in *Poll-* and *Pow-*: cf *Polsham So: Paulesham*, 1065 (DEPN, 353).

Two other names end in *-ward*, *Oxward* (Chrn) which may be OE *ox-word*, and *Galloward* (Dmf) which may be OE *galga-word*. *Le Markisworth*, 1542 RMS, in Greenlaw, is described as a “*marcatura*”, so that *-worth* here must have the sense of “value” as in “pennyworth” etc.

/42/ VII OE wīc

An early loan-word from Latin, *wīc* means “dwelling, village, hamlet, farm, especially a dairy-farm”.

In the Scottish names the sense of “farm” is usually implied. *Borthwick*, the *Berwick commemorated in *Berwick Burn*, *Sunwick* and *Birswick* have an agricultural or pastoral significance. In other names, “dwelling” or “hamlet” must be the interpretation of *-wīc*. All the examples are situated on or near large streams and on low-lying ground. They are grouped in *Bwk* and *Rxb*, on the plain of the *Merse* and in the valleys of the *Tweed*, *Teviot* and

Borthwick Water. This terminal is also common in Northumberland. There are parallels for Hawick and *Heatherwick, six names contain OE personal names; two, river-names; one, Goswick, is plainly a farm-name; and the rest contain topographical elements. In Cumberland there are no instances of this type.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

BORTHWICK MAINS (Rbt): (85, 10 A):

Bordewich, 1165-69 LSMM; *Borthewyk*, 1335-6 CDS; 1374 HMC (*Drml*); *Borthwyke*, 1391 HMC (*Rxb*). Cf Borthwickshiels: *Borthwykschelys*, 1374 RMS. *Borthwick (near Duns), Bwk: *Borthwic*, 1501 RMS /43/ -uick, Blaeu. OE *bord wīc*, “home farm”, the farm which supplied the board or table of the lord of the district. Compare the numerous Borelands in Dmf and Galloway: Boreland (H & C): *Bordland*, 1583-4; B~ (Glwy): *Bordland*, 1497 (PN Glwy, 45). The same term, *bord*, is the first element of Borthaugh, near Borthwick Mains: cf No XXIII.

DARNICK (Mel): (80, 13 D):

Dernewic, c 1136 LSMM. OE *derne wīc*, “secret, remote, village”, perhaps because it was hidden in the woods, the presence of which at an early period in this district is proved by the numerous names denoting woodland or clearings.

FENWICK (Hwk): (85, 11 B):

ffenwic (P), c 1280 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Fenwyk* (P), 1374 HMC (*Drml*); *Fynnike*, 1547 RMS. OE *fenn wīc*, “farm by the bog”.

HAWICK (Hwk): (85, 12 A):

Hawic, 1165-69 LSMM; 1214 C *de M*; -wyc, 1264-6 *Rot Scac*; *Havewyk*, 1296 CDS; *Hawwic*, 1296 CDS (Seal). This is probably OE *haga wīc*, “village surrounded by a hedge”: cf Hawick Nb (PN NbDu, 106).

BERWICKSHIRE

FISHWICK (Hut): (75, 12 L): /44/

Fyschewike, 1095 (15th) ESC; *Fiscwic*, c 1100 *ib*; *Fiswiç*, 1126 *ib*; -wihc, 1124-53 NMS. OE *fisc wīc*, “village where fish was obtainable”. *Fiscwic* is mentioned as a “piscatura” in a Durham Charter of c 1135.

A “lost” name is *Hatherwik*, 1509 RMS, in Lauder; cf Heatherwick Nb (PN NbDu, 108) and Hedderwick, ELth, which is *Hatheruich*, 1094 ESC; -vic, 1165-1214 LSMM. All probably represent NME, MSc *hathir*, “heather”.

There are also Sunwick (Hut) which is probably OE *swīn-wīc*, “pig farm”, and Birswick (Clb), which may be OE *býres-wīc*, “cattle-sheds farm”. Berwick Burn (Ckb) contains OE *berewiç*, in the sense of “granary” or “outlying farm”.

/45/ VIII OE burh,

“fortified place”, is applied in England to Roman stations (eg Salisburgh), to Celtic fortresses (eg Bamborough), or to Anglo-Saxon fortified sites (eg Hertingfordbury). A pre-English

camp exists at Scraesburgh, Bede's *Coludesburh* refers to the Celtic fort on St Abb's Head (see No II), but at the other places in S. Scotland whose names end in *-burgh*, there is no trace of early fortification. By the 12th century *burgh* denoted a town in Scotland, when King David established the first "Royal Burghs" and had the table of "Burgh Laws" compiled.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

ROXBURGH (Rxb): (81, 5 E):

Rokesburge, c 1120 LSMM; c 1128 (12th) *Glas*; *-burc*, 1125 (1175-1200) *C de M*; 1147-53 (13th) *APS*; *-burch*, 1127 (12th) *LVD*; *-burgh*, early 13th *Scal* (App); *-burge*, 1289 *DIHS*; *Rochesburg*, c 1126 *St And*; *-burch*, 1137 (13th) *Cold*; *Rochasburgh*, 1138 (13th) *ib*; *-burgh*, *ib*. Old Roxburgh: *Vetus Rokesburgh*, 1214 *BM*; *Alde Roxburgo*, 1342 *Rot Scac*. The first element is an OE personal name *Hrōc*, not on /46/ independent record (Redin), but found in DB for Suffolk (Feilitzen, 295). It is of frequent occurrence in English place-names; eg Rockingham (PN Nth, 171), Roxham, Nf (DEPN 376), Roxholm L (*ib*). The Continental parallel, OLG *Hrōc*, occurs in Roxem, West Flanders and Rokegem, East Flanders (OGN, 29).

SCRAESBURGH (Oxn): (81, 5 J):

Scrauesb~, 1165-1214 *NMS*; *-burghe*, 1147-52 (Morton) *ESC*; *Skreesburgh*, 1296 *CDS*; *Scrasbro* (P), 1296 *CDS* (Seal): *Stresburgh*, 1466-7 *RMS* (*t - c*); *Scraisburgh*, 1510 *RMS*: cf **SCRAESBURGH HOPE** (How): *Screisbrughsheels*, Blaeu. The first element is OE *scræf* in the sense of "hollow, ravine", found in Scafton (PN YNR, 255), Schrawley (PN Wo, 78) etc. A parallel case of *scræf* in the genitive singular with a habitative suffix is seen in Sharlston, YWR: *Scharvestona*, 1180-5, "*tūn* by a *scræf*" (DEPN, 395). As in Scafton and Scriven, YWR, initial *Sc-* [sk] must be due to Scandinavian influence. The ending in *-burh* is on account of the great circular camp on the hillside above: "*Skraysburgh* the greatest towne in all Teviotdale" (Lang, 101). *Burh-* in association with a common noun in the genitive singular is /47/ rare, but cf Mosbrough, Db, from OE *mōres burh* (DEPN, 316). Scraesburgh Hope is on Scraesburgh Fell, the main part of which is in Nb. The ending here may be OE *berg*, "hill".

BERWICKSHIRE

DRYBURGH (Mert): (81, 2 E):

Driburgh, c 1150 (16th) *Dryb*; *Dry-*, *ib*; *Drueburch*, 1150 (1175-1200) *C de M*; *Drieburh*, 1159-61 *LSMM*; *-burc*, 1152 (1175-1200) *C de M*: *Dreyeburgh*, early 13th, *Scal* (App). OE *dryge burh*, "dry fort". The adjective "dry" is usually associated in place-names with streams or valleys; eg Dryburn (Du), Drybeck (Wm), Dry Burn (ELth), Dry Cleuch (Yar), Dryden (Ask). The original *dryge burh*, may have stood on rising ground which escaped the flooding to which the lands on the river banks must have been subject at certain seasons. Drygrange nearby was not the "dry granary", but the *grangia* belonging to Dryburgh Abbey.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

BARBURGH MILL (C1b): (84, 8 J):

Brygburgh, 1409-10 *RMS*, a "baronie"; *Birdburgh*, 1470 *ib*; *Brid-*, c 1560 (Index) *RMS*; *Braid-*, *ib*. It is doubtful whether the spellings refer to Barburgh, but they denote a place in this district. /48/ A form *Birdburgh* with *ī* lowered to *ě* and then becoming *a* before *r* plus consonant, would give **Bardburgh* which might drop the *d* to become Barburgh. The spellings may represent OE *brycġ-burh*, "fort at the bridge", or *Brīd-burh*, "Bride's fort".

JARBRUCK (Glc): (84, 5 J):

Iarburgh, Blaeu; *arcem Jarburgum* (acc), c 1630 Blaeu (Notes). Latin *arx* implies a fortification which may have been the mote at Ingleston, half a mile distant. The first element may be dialect, *yare*, “a fishery”, or a Celtic stream-name: cf R. Yare, Nf (ERN, 477-8). The phonetic change operating in *Yarburgh*, Li, from OE *eorð-burg* is unlikely to occur in this area.

SELKIRKSHIRE

NEWBURGH (Krk): (80, 7H):

is so spelt in 1595 C-B. No “fort” is marked near. The farm may have been named from some other Newburgh.

***WINTERBURGH** was part of the present estate of Crosslee. *Wyntirburgh*, 1456 *Rot Scac*; *Wynter-* 1561-2 HMC (*Drml*); *Winterbrug*, Blaeu. No doubt there was some sort of earthwork here in which cattle were kept in winter. For the use of *winter-* in this sense compare *Wintersett*, YWR (DEPN, 501), *Winterton*, Nf (*ib*).

/49/ IX OE *bōtl*, *bōdl*,

“dwelling, house”, is common in England as a first element in compounds such as Bolton, etc. As a terminal it usually appears as *-bottle*, eg *Shilbottle* Nb. In the Scottish examples, *Newbattle* and *Morebattle*, the *ō* is shortened in ME to *ō* and unrounded to *ǣ*. *Buittle* (Krk) shows the development of the uncompounded term. *Bold* (Pbl) and *Boldside* (Gala) are metathesised forms.

MOREBATTLE (Mrb): (81, 8 G):

? *Scerbedle*, c 1050 (12th) HSC; *Mereboda*, c 1124 (12th) *Glas*; *Merbotl* (P) 1165-92 LSMM; *-botil*, 1174-99 (1500) *ib*; *-botyl*, 1170 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *-botele*, *ib*; *Marbottil*, 1309 RC; *Morbottle*, 1590 CBP; *Moirbottil*, Blaeu. OE *mere-bōtl*, “dwelling by the lake”.

Between this and *Linton* there was a considerable loch which was drained in the 19th century. The *o* of the first element may have developed from the 14th century form *mar-* by rounding, due to the influence of the lip-consonants, *m-* and *-b* on either side. The change from *-bottle* to *-battle* may be ascribed to the late 16th or early 17th centuries. /50/ The first spelling may be a scribal perversion or may contain the first element of *Shereburgh*, a hill three miles east of *Morebattle*.

/51/ X OE (ge)set,

“dwelling, residence”, also “place where animals are kept, fold”.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

PRIMSIDE (Mrb):

Prenwen(e)sete, c 1200 LSMM; 1204 APS; *Promset*, late 13th LSMM; *-side* 1430 HMC (Rxb). The first part of the name is British: cf Introduction. OE *prenwen-(ge)set* is “the house at *Prenwen*”.

“Lost” names are *Ederesete*, 1165-1214 LSMM; *Eddridesete*, c 1190 (c 1320) *Kelso*, in Mow (Rxb). OE *Ēadredes (ge)set*. *Keluesete*, 1165-88, LSMM; *Celfesetestele*, *Kelf*-----, *Chelfe*-----, 1165-88, c 1226 *ib*, near Rutherford (Rxb). OE *cælf geset*, “calf enclosure”. *-Stele* is ModSc *steil*, *steel*, and is preserved in Steelmoor Plantation (Mxt). Several of the names ending in *-side* whose first elements are personal names may contain *(ge)set*.

/52/ XI OE *ċiriċe*,

“church”, was at an early date replaced by ME *kirke* from ON *kirkja*. It is unlikely that the consonants of the English term were affected by Scandinavian influence, since it was never very strong in SE Scotland. Rather the ME development, *chirche*, seen in early spellings of Channelkirk, dropped out of use and was replaced by the dialect *kirke*. Late ME and MSc names in *-kirk* are included below.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

HOBKIRK (Hbk): (86, 2 B):

Hoppkirck, Blaeu. “Church in an enclosed valley”: ME *hope-kirke*.

BERWICKSHIRE

CHANNELKIRK (Can): (74):

Childenchirch, 1153-65 (16th) *Dryb*; *Cheldynkirk*, c 1200 (1400) *Soltre*; *Childyn-*, *ib*, *Childenechirch(e)*, 1242 *Pont Off St And*; 1290 *Dryb*; c 1300 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Childinchurche*, 14th C, *St And*; *Cheindilkirk*, 1566 *Com Rec Laud*; *Chingilkirk*, Blaeu. OE *ċildena ċiriċe*, an irregular genitive plural of OE *ċild*, the sense of which may here be “knight” as in ME usage. From *children(e)*, there was a change by metathesis to *chindil*, and so to *chingil* for which was substituted *channel*, which in MSc was synonymous with /53/ *chingle*, meaning “shingle, gravel”.

LADYKIRK (Ldk): (75, 11 M):

Our Lady Kyrke, 1542 *Ham Pap*; *Our Lady Kerk*, 1585 HMC (*Home*). This church was dedicated to the Virgin in 1500 by James IV in gratitude for an escape from drowning in the Tweed.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

BARNKIRK POINT (Ann): (89, 3 H):

Barmenkirk, 1517 RMS; *Barme-*, 1536 *ib*; *Barmo-*, 1541-2 *ib*; *Barne-*, 1637 *L Ch*. This may be a corruption of MSc *barmkin*, *barnekin*: cf No LI (L). No trace of either church or fortification is noted here by AHMC (Dmf). If the terminal is indeed *-kirk*, the first element may be *Barnie* (*m – ni*), a shortened form of Barnabas.

REDKIRK (Grt): (89, 6 G):

Red Kirke, 1552 Bullock. The church must have been built of the local red sandstone.

SELKIRKSHIRE

ASHKIRK (Ask): (80, 11 H):

Ascheschyr, c 1124 (12th) *Glas*; *Hassechirke*, 1165-1214 LSMM; *Askirk(e)*, 1214-49 *ib*; 1335-6 CDS. OE *æsċ-ċiriċe*, “church by the ash-tree”. Later forms in *As-* represent MSc *asch*: cf *fis* for *fisch* in Fishwick (No VII).

/54/

SELKIRK (Slk): (80, 11 F):

Selechirche, c 1120 (c 1320) *Kelso*; 13th *C de M*; *-chyrca*, c 1120 *Kelso*; *-schirche*, c 1136 LSMM; c 1160-70 BM; *-kirke*, 1165-1214 *ib*; *-kirche*, *ib*; *-krik*, 1265 *Rot Scac*; *Sellekirke*, 1263 *C de M*; *Sel-*, 1296 DIHS. The first element may be OE *sele*, “hall, dwelling”, or a short form, **Sela*, of names in *Sele-*: cf *Selsdon, Sr*, for which a strong form **Seli* is suggested (PN Sr, 54).

There are also Berrykirk (Oxn) and Brydekirk (Ann).

/55/ XII OE helm

Originally denoting “a helmet” this word must here be taken in the wider sense of “covering” (B-T, s.v. III), perhaps in the modern dialect meaning of “shed” (EDD, s.v. – in Y and L). The first elements of the three compounds which have *-helm* for terminal suggest that the names are habitational.

It is not impossible, however, that the term was used originally in a topographical sense, denoting either “helmet-shaped hill” or “hill-top” since both Chisholme and Buckholm are on pronounced hills and Branxholme lies beneath Branxholme Braes and Branxholme Park Hill. The “lost” **Gorkhelm* is actually the name of a hill-top, but may be Norse in origin.

It is unlikely that the English term was used with the meaning of ON *hiálmr* as is suggested for English examples (DEPN, 221). Scandinavian influence was not sufficiently strong for this in our area.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

BRANXHOLME (Hwk): (85, 11 B):

Brankishelme, 1315-21 RMS; *Branxelm*, 1463-4 *ib*; *-haim*, 1479 HMC (*Rxb*); *-helme*, 1540 RMS. Compare Branxton Nb: *Brankeston*, 1249, *Branxston*, 1346, which contains the same first element, evidently a personal name **Bran(n)oc* (PN NbDu, 30). Branxton, **/56/** ELth, is *Brankestun* (P), c 1300 (1434) *Cdstr*.

BUCKHOLM (Mel): (80, 12 C):

Bucchehelm, 1180 APS; *Buc-*, 1189 LSMM; *Buk-*, 1548 RSS. OE *bucca*, “he-goat”, is the first element, later associated with the more common *buck*, “male deer”.

CHISHOLME (Rbt): (85, 10 B):

Chesehelm(e), 1296 *Inst Pub*; 1296 CDS; *Chesolm, ib*; *Cheiselm, ib* (Seal); *Chesholm(e)* (P), c 1300 *Cold*; 1335-6 RS; *-helme* (P), c 1300 (1434) *Cdstr*; 1335-6 *Rot Scac*. ONb *čēse-helm*, “barn or shed where cheese was made”.

“Lost” *Gorkhelm*, c 1485 *Wallace*, has been identified by Craig-Brown as Gorkhum, the traditional name for the top of Galahill near Galashiels (*Wallace*, 429). This may be ON *gauk(r)-hialm*.

Staney Hill (Tvt) is *Stonyhelme*, Blaeu.

/57/ XIII OE *čæster*

ONb *čæster* is borrowed from Lat *castra*, and in England is usually applied to Roman sites. This is not the case in the Scottish Border counties where it appears seventeen times, but does not once denote a Roman site. As a rule it occurs in the names of farms and hamlets near pre-English earthworks. In Northumberland six out of eleven names in *-chester* or *-cester* apply to Roman stations but five denote British forts.

The earliest spellings for names in *-chester* in this area do not occur until the 12th or 13th centuries by which time the form of the element was stabilised as *-chester*. As in Northumberland and Durham the initial *č-* remained palatal, but did not cause mutation in the following vowel. Bernicia, being outwith the most strongly Scandinavianised area of England, was not affected by the Scandinavian substitution of a back consonant for a palatal in this word. In Yorkshire, Lincoln and South-east of Ermine Street to Caistor, Nf, and in Cumberland and Westmorland, the modern form is *-caster*.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

BONCHESTER (Hbk): (86, 2 B):

Bunchester, 1588 *L Ch*; *Bonnechesterr*, Blaeu. /58/ The first element may be the same as appears in Bonjedward (No VI). OE *bune*, “dogweed”, may also be considered: cf Bumpstead (PN ESS, 508) and Bonwick (PN YER, 80). Bonchester Hill bears a large pre-English earthwork.

CHESTERS (Anc): (81, 3 H):

Chesterr, Blaeu. There are several “forts” within a mile.

HIGHCHESTERS (Rbt): (85, 11 A):

Haychester, Blaeu. The hill has a “fort” upon it. The first element is probably ME *heizh* “high”.

ROWCHESTER (Bow): (80, 14 E):

Rughechestre, 1165-1214 NMS; 1325 RMS; *Ruhcestr’* (P) c 1228 (c 1320) *Kelso*. “Rough castle”, so named probably from the type of ground at the “fort”. Compare Rowchester (Grn).

WHITCHESTERS (Hwk): (85, 11 B):

Quhitchestire, 1511 RMS. “White camp”: there is a “fort” on the hill above.

BERWICKSHIRE

BELCHESTER (Eccl): (81, 8 A):

Belchester, c 1269 HMC (*Home*); 1533 RMS. The first element is perhaps OE *belle*, “bell”, in the transferred sense of “bell-shaped hill”. Compare, however, Bellister, Nb (PN NbDu, 17) and /59/ (*Studies*², 160).

BLACKCHESTER (Laud): (74, 12 L):

Blakchester, 1502 HMC (*Wed*). “Black fort”.

CHESTERS (Fogo): (75, 7 M):

Chesteris, 1516-17 RMS. Chesters lies between two “forts” half a mile apart.

DARNCHESTER (Cdstr): (81, 9 A):

Derchester, 1250, (1434) *Cdstr*; *-chestre*, 1296 *Inst Pub*; *-cestria*, 13th (1434) *Cdstr*; *-cestyr*, c 1300 *ib*. OE *dēor*, “wild animal”, is the first element.

HEAD CHESTER (Ckb): (75, 9 E):

Hoechesters, Blaeu. Perhaps OE *hōh-ċæster*, “fort on a hill-spur”.

ROWCHESTER HOUSE (Grn): (81, 6 A):

Rutchester, 1529 RMS; *Row-* 1615 HMC (*Wed*). The first element may be OE *rūh*, “rough”, as in Rowchester (Bow). The medial *-t-* perhaps represents an attempt to reproduce (as *-tch-*) the sound [tʃ].

WHITCHESTER (Lgf): (75, 6 H):

Witechestre, *Witcestyr*, *Witcestyr*, c 1300 (1434) *Cdstr*. “White fort”: cf *Whitcheesters* (Hwk) /60/

“Lost names are: -

Blackchester, Blaeu, near Souden Kirk.

Subcheesters, 1165-1214 LSMM, in *Mow*. *Sub-* may be a scribal mistake for OE *sūð*, “south”.

Abchester, 1596 *L Ch*; 1663 RMS. The first element is the OE feminine personal name *Æbba*. This is another name for *Bastleridge* (Ayt).

Dilchestre, 1095 ESC; *Dilster(halle)*, *ib*; *Dylster-*, 1095-1100 *ib*. OE *dīgol*, “secret, sequestered”, may be represented by *Dil-*, but OE *dile*, “dill, vetch” is possible: cf **Dilwick*, Beds (PN Beds Hu, 45) and *Dilworth* (PN La, 145).

There are also *Blackchester* (Bow) and *Chesters* (Sdn).

/61/ XIV OE Cot,

“cottage, house, dwelling”. This ending is commonest in the English Midlands where it is generally found in the plural. The earliest forms in our area are plural, but the modern forms are almost all singular.

Cot in the Scottish Border country does not appear to belong to the earliest strata of habitation names as in England. Most of the formations here may belong to the ME period.

Mawer notes only four examples of names ending in *cote(s)* in Nb and Du. Saltcoats, the only certain instance in Cu, has a parallel in Dmf.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

GATEHOUSECOTE (Hbk): (86, 2 A):

Gaithouscat, 1566 RMS; *-cott*, 1588 *L Ch*. This may be OE *gāt-hūs-cot*, “dwelling by the goatshed”, but is more likely to be ME *gate-hous-cote*, “cottage by the *gatehouse* or lodge”.

HOSCOTE (Rbt): (85, 9 B):

Thoftcotys, 1410 RMS; *Thoscot*, 1493-4 HMC (*Home*); *Hostcotis*, 1494 C-B; *-cotts*, 1510 *ib*; *Hoscotts*, 1522 HMC (*Home*). The *f* of the first example must be a scribal error for long *s*. This may represent ME *p'ōst-cotes* /62/ “the cots by the knob or hillock”, OE *ōst*. Initial *th-* is occasionally reduced to *h-* in Lowland Scots: cf *hree*, *hing* for “three”, “thing” in the dialect of Edinburgh. There are, however, no other examples of this in the Border area.

STOBITCOTE (Tvt): (85, 11 C):

Stobby cott, Blaeu. OE *stubb* had a dialect variant *stobb* which appears in Stobswood, Stobbilee (PN NbDu, 190). *Stobby cott* was either a cottage built of tree-stumps or one standing on ground covered with them.

BERWICKSHIRE

BUTCHERCOAT (Mert): (81, 3 D):

Bouchecoitis, 1465 *Dryb*; *Buscheourcoit*, 1538 *ib*; *Boutschorcott*, 1574 *ib*; *Bowchacoitts*, 1580 *ib*; *Bautshacott*, Blaeu. The first element is a surname *Bouche* of NFr origin: cf *Sir Alan Bouche*, *Buche*, 1200-40 HC. It was associated with MSc *bucheour* etc, “butcher”.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

SALTCOAT HILLS (Crl): (88, 12 H):

Le Saltcottis, 1517 RMS; *Saltcotts*, Blaeu. There were salt-pans here. See Neilson – *Annals*, 280-7. In Rxb there are also Cliftoncote (How) and South Cote (How).

/63/ XV OE stede,

“place, position, site”. In Northern England the term is found mostly in names of modern origin in the sense of “property, estate” (PN NbDu, 239). *Stead* or *Steading* is a common word for “farm-buildings” in S. Scotland. Names in *-stead*, like those in *-cote*, do not belong to such an early period in this area, as do the examples in SE England.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

NEWSTEAD (Mel): (81, 1 D):

Nusteyd, 1548-9 *Ham Pap*; *Newsteid*, 1568 RMS; *Neu-*, 1682 *L Ch*. “New farm”. It is impossible to say to what period the name belongs: for the local tradition, see Curle, p.7. The field in which the Roman remains were discovered at Newstead was known as the “Redabbeystead”, and perhaps marked the site of Melrose Abbey’s dairy-farm: cf *Abbeystead La* (DEPN, 420).

DUMFRIESSHIRE

MILLSTEAD (Can): (89, 10 B):

Millsteads, Blaeu. “Farm by the mill”, or perhaps “mill place”.

SELKIRKSHIRE

KIRKSTEAD (Yar): (80, 5 G):

“Place of the church”. The site of St Mary’s Chapel is here. /64/ Millstead and Kirkstead are common in England. In these earliest examples *-stede* means “site, place”.

MIDDLESTEAD (Slk): (80, 11 F):

Mydlested of Windidurris, 1510 HMC (*Wed*); *Middilstead*, Blaeu. This must have been the central farm on the estate of Windydoors.

“Lost” names are *Brounstead*, Blaeu, on Hermitage Water; probably a metathesised form of ME *burne-stede*.

Byrsted, Blaeu, near Dawston Burn; MSc *byre-steid*, “cow-shed place”.

Selestede, 1165-1214 LSMM, in Mow; perhaps OE *sele*, “hall” is the first element.

There are also *Newstead* (Cst), *Swanstead Hill* (Tvt), *Byresteads* (Dor) and *Ladyhousesteads* (Can).

/65/ XVI OE heall,

ONb *hall*, “hall, mansion-house”: *Dilsterhalle*, 1095 (15th) ESC, is described as a “*mansio*”. This element is apt to be confused with OE *halh*. The spellings are rarely sufficiently early to determine the correct ending, as MSc *haw* may represent either. Much of the confusion has been caused in modern Scots.

Several names in *-hall* are copied from English models, eg *Kinninghall* (Cav), *Hastings Hall* (Glc), or show modern additions to old forms, eg *Swineside Hall*.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

NEWHALL:

Finlaws called Newhall, 1588 *L Ch*. A recent name, no doubt conferred on a newly-built dwelling-house.

BERWICKSHIRE

TEMPLE HALL (Cld):

Templishalle, 1367 RMS; *Tempil-*, 1368 *ib*. Probably so named from the Priory of Coldingham which stood close by.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

REDHALL (KF):

Redhall, 1583 CBP; *Ryidt-*, Blaeu. House built of red stone.

There are 34 other names ending in *-hall*. In /66/ Bwk and Rxb they are mainly farm-names, and tend to occur in groups.

/67/ XVII OE hūs,

MSc *hous(e)*, “house”. Most of the examples in this class may belong to almost any period. Whitsome alone must be definitely assigned to the OE period since it exhibits an OE grammatical ending. Charterhouse and Sligh Houses belong on historical evidence to the 15th century, and it is probable that several others were constructed about the same time. The majority of the examples have been named from some natural feature beside which the *house* stands. They are all farm-names. The type seems to be less common in Nb and Du where Mawer notes only eleven names ending in *-house*.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

CHARTERHOUSE (Mak): (81, 5 D):

Chartehou (P), 1454 LSMM; *Charterhous*, 1541-2 RSS: *Chartrouse*, Blaeu. In 1433-4 land in this district was granted by Archibald, Duke of Touraine, to the Carthusian monastery at Perth (HMC 14th Report, App 3, p.24). Although there was no building here, the ground was called after the monastery to which it belonged: cf Charterhouse on Mendip (So), which was the site of a priory (DEPN, 92).

CHESTERHOUSE (How), so spelt by Blaeu. “The house by the fort”.

/68/

HILLHOUSE (Cst), so spelt in 1516 HMC (Rxb). “The house by or on the hill”.

MOSSHUSES (Mel): *Moshous*, 1568 *Mel Reg Rec*. “House on the *moss* or moor”.

BERWICKSHIRE

BOWERHOUSE (Chan): (74, 12 L):

Bourehous, 1511 RMS; *Bure-*, 1571 *ib*. Perhaps OE *būr-hūs*, “dwelling house”: cf Bowerhouse (Msw).

BROOMHOUSE (Edr): (75, 9 J):

Brunhus, 1296 CDS; *Burnhous(e)*, 1479 RMS; 1546 HMC (*Var Coll v*); *Burnehowsis*, 1493 *ib*; *Brunnhouse*, Blaeu. ME *burne-hous*, “house by the burn”, became by metathesis *brunhous* and by the influence of the initial labial consonant became *broomhouse* ($b - n > b - m$).

SLIGH HOUSES (B & Pr): (75, 9 H):

Sleichis house(s), 1495 HMC (*Home*); 1497-8 *ib*; 1528 RMS; *Slychthoussis*, 1590 RPC; *Slyichshouses*, Blaeu; *Sleiche houses*, 1623 *Reg Sas Bwk*. The first element is a surname: cf *William Sleich* in a charter concerning the mill of Duns 1494, HMC (*Var Coll v*), and *Patrick Sleich* of Cumlich in the document of 1497-8 quoted above.

WHITSOME (Wht): (75, 10 L):

Wittusme, 1214-49 LSMM; *Whytesum*, 1296 RS; /69/ *Whytehosme*, c 1300, *Cold*; *Quitusum*, 1300 CDS; *Whitousom*, 1336-7 *ib.* OE (*æt þ æm*) *hwīta(n)/hwītum hūsūm*, “at the white houses”. For a similar construction with OE *hūs* in the dative plural compare Newsham Nb and N~ Du, which represent OE (*æt þ æm*) *nīwa(n) hūsūm*. The forms for Whitsome suggest ME *hwite husum* from ONb *hwīta hūsūm*.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

BROOMHOUSE (Dmf):

Brunnhouse, Blaeu. This may be the same as Broomhouse (Edr), but it is possible that the first element in this case is ON *brunnr* “a spring”.

HILLHOUSE (Wam): *Hil house*, 1578 HMC (*Jhn*). “House on, or by, a hill”.

HOLEHOUSE (Can): (89, 9 C):

Holehouse, 1463-4 RMS; *the Holhous*, 1544 HMC (*Drml*); *Hollus*, 1583 CBP; *Hoilhouse*, 1590 RPC; *Hollowes*, 1596 CBP. OE *hol hūs*, “house in, or by, a hole” is most probable. There are two other examples of the name in Dmf, one in Kkm and one in Drd.

MOORHOUSE (KJ):

Morhouses, 1304 CDS; *Murhouse*, 1529 RMS. “House on the moor”. OE *mōr*, MSc *muir*, in an anglicised form. The Scots spelling is preserved in /70/ the modern form of –

MUIRHOUSE (Dor):

Morhuses, post 1275 HMC (*Drml*); *Murhous*, 1505 RMS.

STENHOUSE (Tyn):

Stanehouse, 1637 *Reg Sas Dmf*; *Stenhous ib.* OE *stān-hūs*, “stone house”, becomes MSc *stainhous*. This is not necessarily from ON *steinn*.

“Lost” names:-

Bekhouse, 1484 RMS, in Dmf. “House by the beck or stream”.

Bouhouse, Blaeu (Dmf, S. of Holehouse). OE *bū-hūs*, “dwelling house”: cf Bowerhouse.

Firrhous, Blaeu (Rxb, S. of Edgerston). OE *fyrhǫ*, “woodland”.

There are twenty-eight other names ending in *-house*.

/70(a)/ XVIII OE Lēah,

“clearing in woodland, glade”, sometimes also “wood”, occurs most frequently in English counties which are known to have been at one time thickly wooded (IPN ii, 45). Later the meaning came to be “grassland, pasture, open country, or arable land”, when the terminal was suffixed to elements requiring a specialised sense (DEPN, 278).

In a Dryburgh Charter of c 1160, Colmslie is described as a *planities*, a term evidently to be distinguished from *silva*, which occurs in the same Charter. Mr R P Hardie made a note on this:

“The main characteristic of a ‘plain’ is presumably a piece of ground which is comparatively level, and also comparatively open or clear, not encumbered with wood” (Hardie, 61). This might be taken as the 12th century definition of *lēz*h in the Border area.

Names in *-lee* are grouped in certain definite districts where a tradition of ancient woodland is still maintained. Jedforest and the Forest of Ettrick contain a great number. There is a large group centred about Melrose in the area where the Ettrick, Gala and Leader join the Tweed; and where names ending in /71/ *-wood*, or employing names of trees, are an additional indication of the existence of forest at one time.

In Dumfriesshire and Berwickshire names in *-lee* are more scattered, and perhaps later in date in many cases. The precise interpretation of the ending is often in doubt.

Several of the Northumberland names in *-lee* must belong to the early OE period. As in South Scotland, many of them are formed with OE personal names, but the majority incorporate an adjective, or a common noun denoting a natural feature. They also tend to occur in groups. They are to be found on slightly higher ground than the habitational names in *-hām*, *-worð*, *-wīc*, etc, and farther from the sea, often on the upper reaches of rivers and on the crests of ridges between valleys.

Similar positions are occupied by names in *-lee* on the Scottish side of the Border.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

BLAINSLIE (Mel): (80, 14 A):

Bleineslei, 1178-1204 LSMM; *Blainesleie*, 1175-89 *ib*; *Blanesleye*, 1175-92 *ib*. The first element may be the personal name *Blahanus*, *Bleinus* which is found among the signatures to charters in 1127 and *c* 1130 (ESC, 60, 119). This may represent OGael *Bláán*, which Watson claims as the second element of Dunblane (CPNS, 164).

/72/

BRAIDLEY (Cst):

Braidleis, 1572 HMC (*Jhn*). MSc *braid ley*, “broad open space”, the anglicised form of which is seen in –

BROADLEE (Rbt):

Bradeley(e) (P), 1296 CDS (Seal); 1296 *Inst Pub*; *Braidle*, 1511 RMS.

COLMSLIE (Mel): (80, 13 B):

Cumbesley, *c* 1160 (16th) *Dryb*; 1153-65 (*c* 1280) LSMM; *-leia*, 1189 *ib*; *Colmislie*, 1543 ALC; *Coumsly*, Blaeu. OE *Cumbes-lēah* from OE *cumb*, “valley”, in the genitive singular.

Examples of *cumb-* in this case are rare, although it frequently occurs in the plural when in independent use. In ME, *cumb* was spelt *coumb*, which, after the loss of the final *b*, was represented as *colm* by MSc copyists.

FODDERLEE (Bdr): (81, 2 K):

Fodderlie, 1566 RMS, Blaeu; *Fodderley*, 1588 *L Ch*. “Clearing, or pasture, where *fodder* was obtained”.

HARDLEE (Sdn): (86, 2 D):

Hardley, 1288 *Rot Scac*. There is an area of “rough pasture” marked here in the OS Map, so that “hard” must refer to the poor /ʀ3/ quality of the soil. *Lee* may mean simply “grassland”.

HORSLEYHILL (Mto): (80, 13 J)

Horsleye (P), 1251 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Horsliehill*, 1564 RPC. OE *hors lēah*, “horse pasture”.

HUNDALEE (Jed): (81, 4 J):

Hundole(e), 1491-2 RMS; 1524-5 ALC; *Hundelie*, 1598 CBP; *Hundallie*, 1598 *ib*. OE *Hunda-lēah*, “clearing of the dogs”, probably deer-hounds. Cf Houndalee, Nb.

KEDSLIE (Mel): (80, 14 B):

Caddysleya, 1150-2 (16th) *Dryb*; *Cadesley*, 1208 LSMM; *Caideslie*, 1568 HMC (*Home*); *Keiddsly*, Blaeu. An OE personal name **Cædd*, a strong form of (WS) *Ceadda*, might be the first element. **Ĉæd* is also possible: cf *Cædbæd* and *Cædmon* (*Onom*, 124). The initial back consonant in the modern form suggests, however, Celtic origin, perhaps from a personal name.

LINTALEE (Jed): (81, 4 J):

Lyntoun-le, c 1375 (1487) *Brus*, MS C; *Lyntaile*, c 1375 (1489) *ib*, MS E; *Lintole(y)*, 1457 HMC (*Rxb*); 1553 RMS; *Lyntellie*, 1590 RPC; *Lyntaly*, Blaeu. If the first spelling is trustworthy, this represents /ʀ4/ OE *hlynn-tūn-lēah*, “the clearing at *Linton”, which is “the village by the waterfall or torrent”.

MENSLAWS (Bdr): (81, 2 H):

Mensles, 1516 HMC (*Rxb*); 1541 RSS; *Menslawis*, 1573-4 RMS; *Menssles*, Blaeu. The terminal may be OE *lēas*, the plural of *lēah*, with OE *gemænnes*, “common land”, as the first element.

MUSELEE (Rbt): (85, 9 B):

Meussly, Blaeu. Perhaps OE *mōs-lēah*, containing *mōs*, “sustenance”, in the sense of “fodder”: cf *Fodderlee* (*supra*). OE *mōs* > MSc *muis*. The local pronunciation is [møzli:] which suggests original *ō*.

NOTTYLEES (Spr): (81, 8 C):

Knotty Lees, 1604 *Johnson’s Survey* in NCH iii. *Knotty* may here be used in a dialect sense of “hillocky”. But *knot*, in Upper Liddesdale is the fruit of the cloudberry (Watson, s.v.), and that may be the meaning here.

ROUGHLEE (Sdn): (86, 4 B):

Rowchleis, 1571 RPC; *Roughley*, 1590 CBP. MSc *rouzh ley*, “rough pasture”.

SNABERLEE RIG (Cst): (85, 13 H):

Snebirly, Blaeu.

/ʀ5/ Perhaps an ON personal name *Snaebjǫrn* (Feilitzen, 368), is the first element.

STOUSLIE (Hwk): (80, 12 J):

Stowislie, 1551 HMC (*Home*). This may be ME *stowes lēz* “Church’s pasture”, but the evidence is insufficient.

WHITELEE (St B): (81, 1 E):

Witheleia, 1189 LSMM; *Q Whitlie*, 1568 RMS. “White glade”, probably from the nature of the ground which may have been flinty, daisy-covered, etc.

WOLFELEE (Sdn): (86, 2 C):

Wlleys, 1300-1 CDS; *Wolle*, 1436 HMC (*Home*); *Wofle*, 1528 RMS; *Wowley*, 1590 CBP. OE *wulf-lēah*, “wolf wood”. For loss of medial *-f-*, compare Wooley Hill, Nb (PN NbDu, 220) and Woolley, YWR (DEPN, 507).

BERWICKSHIRE

CHOICELEE (Lgt): (75, 7 L):

Chow(i)slie, 1518 HMC (*Var Coll v*); 1590 RPC; *Schos-*, 1537-8 *Cdstr*; *Schows-* (P), 1572 HMC (*Var Coll v*); *Chaussley*, Blaeu; *Chouslie*, 1664 *Com Rec Laud*. The first recorded spelling is so late that considerable corruption, or, at least, simplification, may already have taken place. The compound might represent OE *Cēolwulfes lēah*: cf *Chollerton*, Nb, /76/ from OE *Cēolferðes-tūn* (PN NbDu, 46). OE *Cēolwulf* would become ME *Chelf*, with a variant *Cholf* (caused by the influence of the *w*), MSc *Chowf*. The final *-f* would disappear before the following *-l*: cf spellings for Wolfelee (*infra*).

CRUNKLAW (Edr): (75, 8 L):

Croncle, 1535 RMS; *Cruinkle*, 1539 *ib*. OE (*ge*)*crunc*, “twisted”, the past participle of *crincan*, “to turn, bend”, is the first element.

HORSELEY (Cld): (75, 9 G):

Horseleye, 1296 CDS. “Horse pasture”: cf *Horsleyhill* (*supra*).

LEES (Cdstr): (81, 10 B):

Leyis, 1576 RMS; *Lies*, Blaeu. “Pastures” or “grasslands”.

OATLEYCLEUCH (Duns): (75, 7 H):

Outlawcleuch, Blaeu. “Outlaw” or “oat lee” is equally possible.

WEDDERLEE (Wst): (75, 4 K):

Wederleie, c 1250 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *-ley* 13th *Reg Dnf*; *Wedderlee*, 1494 HMC (*Var Coll v*). OE *weðer-lēah* “ram pasture”.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

BRANDLEYS (Sqr): (84, 5 B):

Brandley, 1583 CBP. OE, ME *brant*, “steep”, may be the first element: /77/ the place is on a fairly steep hillside.

HOLLEE (KF): (89, 5 F):

Holly, Blaeu. OE *hol-lēah* “clearing in a hollow”.

SELKIRKSHIRE

BROADLEE HILL (Ask):

Braidly, Blaeu. Self-explanatory: cf *Broadlee* (Cst).

CADDONLEE (Cad):

Cadanly, Blaeu. The first element is Caddon, a Celtic river-name (CPNS, 431).

CROSSLEE (Ettr):

Corslie, 1766 C-B. An ancient cross has been found in the vicinity, from which the place no doubt took its name.

FAIRNILEE (Cad): (80, 11 D):

Farnyle(y), 1405 *Rot Scac*; 1455 *ib*; *Fairnilee*, 1599 *L Ch*. OE *færnige-lēah*, “ferny glade”. For the modern spelling of the first element, compare Fairnington (MSc *ai* = [ε]).

INNER and OUTER HUNTLY (Krk): (80, 10 G):

Hunteleghe, 1296 CDS; *Huntlie*, 1494 C-B. “Wood for hunting”: cf Huntley, Glo (DEPN, 246).

SINGLIE (Krk): (80, 8 H): /78/

Senglee, 1368 LSMM; *Seyngillie*, 1494 C-B; *Synglie*, 1511 RMS; *Singill E*, Blaeu. Compare Singdean (Cst): *Singdenn*, Blaeu. The first element may be ModSc *sing*, a form of “singe” (Jam, s.v.).

“Lost” names are:

Arkilly, c 1200 (16th) *Dryb*, described as “longas fossas”, near Fans (Earl), which contains ME *Arkil*, from ODan *Arnkell*.

Blyndle, 1455 *Rot Scac*; *Blindley*, 1543 RSS, in Gala, denotes a clearing in a concealed position.

Eadwardsle, 1165-1214 NMS; *Edwordisley*, 1147-52 (Morton) ESC, is OE *Ēadwærdes lēah*. This may have been the spot where Edward, son of William Rufus, died in 1093 on a Scottish campaign. A field-name, Long Edwardley, SE of Jedburgh preserves this form (Watson, *Jed*, 47).

Flaxillis, c 1220 *Dryb*; *Flexwelleys*, c 1350 *ib*, in Berwickshire, is “flax-well-lees”.

Schotylnle, 1423 RMS; *Schutylnle, ib*; *Schuittingleyes*, 1573 C-B, near Glengaber (Yar), denotes a place where shooting contests were held.

There are forty other names ending in *-lee*.

/79/ XIX OE feld,

“open country, land free from wood, unenclosed land”, is particularly common in old forest districts in England. It probably denoted an open space of larger extent than a *lēah* (DEPN, 169).

In our area *feld* does not appear to be one of the earliest endings; indeed none of the names seems to be earlier than ME. In Nb, however, several may belong to the OE period.

The names in *-feld*, MSc, *-feild*, are not found to any marked extent in the same districts as the names in *-lēah*, but are dispersed throughout the entire area.

Names ending in *-field* of patently modern origin occur in clusters in the Border counties, eg Jeaniefield (Mel), Kittyfield (Mel), Grizziefeld (Earl), Rachelfield (Earl). These must be field-names transferred to farms.

In the earliest names below, the meaning of the terminal may be “stretch of open country”. In the later examples it has already become “enclosed land”, or simply the modern meaning of “field”.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

HENFIELD (Oxn): (86, 7 B):

Hynehousfeild, 1566 RMS; *Henhousfield*, 1588 *L Ch*. It is not certain whether the above spellings /80/ refer to Henfield. They may represent “hind-house-field”, where *hind* denotes a farm-worker. Otherwise the name must be fairly modern.

SORROWLESSFIELD (MAINS) (Mel): (81, 1 C):

Sorulesfeld, 1208 LSMM; *Sorweles-*, 1215 *ib*. This land was held by *Willielmus Sorules* who gave his name to it (LSMM i, 90).

STOTFIELD (Jed):

Stobfold, Blaeu. Blaeu’s spelling must mean “a fold, or pen, made of tree trunks”. The present form means “a field in which *stotts* (3 year old bulls or oxen) are kept”. The name may however be Stotfold, which is common in English place-names: cf Stotfold (PN Beds, Hu, 178) and Stotfold, YWR (DEPN, 426).

BERWICKSHIRE

JARDINEFIELD (Wht):

Jardinfeld, 1476 HMC (*Wed*). In the document quoted, John Jardin of Appilgarth sells his lands of Jardinfield to George Hume of Wedderburn. Plainly the place was named from his family.

NORTHFIELD (Cld), is so spelt in 1621 HMC (*Wed*). “North field”.

SHIELFIELD (Earl):

Scheilfeild, 1537 *Dryb*; *Sheelfield*, Blaeu. ME *Schele feild*, “land with a hut on it”.

/81/

SWANSFIELD (Cld): (75, 10 G):

Swanisfield, 1546 HMC (*Var Coll v*); *Swannisfeild*, 1580 RMS; *Swansfeld*, 1595-6 HMC (*Wed*). A ME personal name *Swan(n)*, from OE *swān*, “herdsman” is the first element.

WHITFIELD (Ayt):

Quhytfield, 1557 HMC (*Home*). “White field”.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

AMISFIELD (Tnw): (88, 11 B):

Amysfeild, 1288 *Rot Scac*; *Amesfeld*, 1335-6 CDS; *Aymisfelde*, 1434 *Rot Scac*; (*H*)*empsfeild*, 1586 CBP; 1592 *ib*; *Hempsfiell* or *Amisfeild*, Blaeu. The first element is a ME personal name, *Ames*, *Amis*. Johnston claims that one *Ames* or *Amyas* de Charteris was an early lord of the manor here (PNS, 82). Spellings in *Emp-* are due to epenthesis: *ms* > *mps*. The initial *H-* was added later by association with the surname Hemp.

CALFIELD RIG (Lang):

Cawfeld, 1583 CBP. ME *Cald feld*, “cold, bleak, exposed stretch of ground”.

SEAFIELD (Ann).

Seyfeild, 1624 *Reg Sas Dmf*. “Field by the sea”: cf Seafield, Edinburgh.

/82/

SPRINGFIELD (Grt):

Springkells, Blaeu. Blaeu may have confused this name with Springkell (KF). In its present form it means “field containing a spring”.

TULLIESFIELD (Dor):

Tuyillgis field, Blaeu. “Field belonging to Tullie”, a family name.

There are 56 other names in *-field*. A few suggest open land, as, Whinfield (Ask), Marlfield (Eckf), Moorfield (Mto), Whinfield (St B), Marlfield (Cdstr), Hartfield (Jhn), Heathfield (Hlw), Huntfield (Glc). Practically all are farm-names.

/83/ XX OE wudu, “wood”.

Names ending in *-wood* are found throughout the whole area, mainly on higher ground than the habitational names. Several may be quite early formations.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

CLINTWOOD CASTLE (Cst): (85, 14 H):

Klintwood, Blaeu. This is a hybrid with ODan *klint*, “rock”, as first element. It must have been formed at a time when *klint* had been accepted into the general Southern Scots dialect, since the site is in the WScand area where ON *klettr* might normally have been expected.

GIRNWOOD (Rbt):

Girnwoode, Blaeu. The first element is perhaps ModSc *girn*, “snare, gin”, a metathesised form of OE *grin*.

HARWOOD (Tvt): (85, 11 C):

Harewode, 1446-7 HMC (*Rxb*); *Uvire-Harwod*, *Nether-Harewod*, *Hardwodhill*, 1511 RMS; *Harwod*, 1542 *Ham Pap*; *Harrwood*, Blaeu.

HARWOOD (Hbk):

Harewood, Blaeu. OE *hara*, “hare”, or OE *hār*, “grey”, may have been the first element. The modern forms with short *a* are due to shortening /84/ in the ME period before the consonants *-rw*: cf Harewood Burn (Esk), Harewood Glen (Slk), where this has not taken place.

THREEPWOOD (Mel): (80, 13 A):

Wrepwude, 1180 APS; *Threpuude*, 1186-1214 (c 1400) LSMM; *Trepewod*, c 1220 Dryb.

“Disputed wood”, from OE *þrēapian*, ME *thrēpen*. The Dryburgh charter quoted above says that this land “erat in litigio”.

BERWICKSHIRE

GLADSWOOD (Mert): (81, 2 D):

Gleddiswod, c 1602 Dryb; *Gladis-* c 1620 *ib*; *Glaidswod(e)*, c 1620 *ib*, Blaeu. ModSc *gled*, “kite or hawk”, from OE *glida* “kite”, is the first element.

GREENWOOD (Cld):

Greinwood, 1621 HMC (*Wed*). “Green wood”.

LEGERWOOD (Leg): (81, 2 A):

Ledgardeswde, 1127 ESC; *Legardsuode*, 1153-65 (16th) APS; *Liggardew(u)de*, 1175-77 (c 1500) LSMM; 1175-1214 *ib*; *Lichardeswode*, 1296 CDS; *Lejartwod*, c 1300 *Cold*. An OE personal name *Leodgeard*, ONb *Leodgård*, in the ME form *Ledgard*, is the base of this name. In the IOE period *-dg-* [dj] became [dʒ].

QUIXWOOD (A St B): (75, 8 G):

/85/

Quykiswod, 1509-10 RMS; *Quikkiswood*, 1565 HMC (*Home*). An OE personal name **Cwic* (cf *Cwicheard*, *Cwichelme* etc) may be the first element.

SPOTTISWOOD (Wst): (75, 2 L):

Spotteswode, 1296 CDS; *Spottswood*, 1380 HMC (*Var Coll v*). An OE personal name **Spott* must be deduced as the basis of these forms. It is impossible that ON *Spotti* “piece of land”, could appear as a ME genitive or plural in *-es*, although the nominative form may be represented in Spott, ELth: (cf PN La, 59). Spotsmains (Smh) and Spots Law (Esk) may have the same origin as Spottiswood. OE *Spot* occurs in *Onom.*, also *Spothild* (f).

STOBSWOOD (Lgt): (75, 6 J):

Stobbis-wod, 1509-10 RMS. MSc *stobb*, “tree-stump”, is a variant of ME *stubb*, from OE *stubb* and may be derived from ON *stobbi*. Compare Stobswood Nb (PN Nb, Du, 189).

SWINEWOOD (Ayt):

Swinewde, 1100 ESC; 1126 *ib*; *Swyne-*, 1253 CDS; *Swynewod*, c 1300 *Cold*. OE *swīna wudu*, “wood of the swine”.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

ARCHWOOD (Jhn): (84, 14 J):

/86/

Erschewod, 1532 RMS; *Airswood*, 1662 *ib*. The same first element seems to appear in Aresgill Sike (Lang): *Ersgillis*, 1516 RMS, and *Archbank* (Mof): *Ersbank* 1542, *Ersh-* 1592. It might be OE *ersc*, “park, warren”, examples of which, however, are mainly to be found in the South of England. ME *ersh* could be represented in MSc by *ers*, ModSc *ars*, *arsh*. Compare *Airswood* (6”) in Eskdalemuir, which is *Esshwood*, Blaeu. This may simply be an

attempt to replace an unknown element by a known one on the part of Timothy Pont, but it looks as if there might have been some confusion between the two places.

BLACKWOOD (Keir):

Blakwod, 1552 HMC (*Drml*). “Black wood”, a common name.

FLASK WOOD (Ew): (85, 8 J):

Cf *Flask*, 1532 RMS, and *Flaskhoome*, Blaeu. *Flask* represents ODan *flaske*, ME *flask*, “pool, marshy place”.

HOLYWOOD (Hlw): (88, 9 C):

is so spelt in 1552 HMC (*Drml*); *Halywood or Sacri nemoris* (genitive), 1574 RMS. ME *haly wude*, “holy wood”, on account of the abbey of *Dercongal*, “Conguall’s oak-wood”, which stood here (CPNS, 169). In the near neighbourhood is a stone /87/ circle known as the Twelve Apostles, and a place called Druid’s Park which indicate Celtic pagan associations (HMC (*Drml*), 69).

KELWOOD (Dmf): (88, 11 E):

Keldwod, 1215 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *-wode*, 1335-6 CDS; *Keldewod*, 1440-1 RMS. ON *kelda*, “spring” > ME *keld*, “marshy place” and ME *wude*.

PRIESTSIDE (Cum): (88, 14 G):

Preistis-wodsyde, 1517 RMS; *Preestwodsyd*, Blaeu. Originally “priest’s wood bank”, the name lost the middle syllable. It was here, according to local tradition, that the Ruthwell Cross was washed ashore.

QUARRELWOOD (Kkm) is so spelt by Blaeu. MSc *quarrel* is a quarry.

TORWOOD (Dryf):

is so spelt in 1484 RMS. Gael *torr* is used so often with English elements that it must be assumed that the word was accepted into the Scots vocabulary at an early date.

SELKIRKSHIRE

HARTWOODBURN (Slk): (80, 11 F):

Hartuodburne, 1504 RMS.

HARTWOODMYRES (Slk): (80, 10 G):

Hartwoodmyirs, Blaeu. “Stag wood”: ME *hart-wude*. The original *Hartwood is lost.

/88/

OAKWOOD (Slk): (80, 10 G):

Aikwod, 1567-8 RMS; *Aickwood*, Blaeu. MSc *aik* “oak” from OE *āc* is the first element.

SHIELSWOOD (Ask):

Sheelswood, Blaeu. “Wood with or by the huts”, ME *scheles*.

TORWOODLEE (Cad): (80, 11 C):

Torwodley, c 1590 ALC: cf *Torwood* (*supra*).

A “lost” name is *Handaxwod*, 1492 RMS; *Handeriswod*, 1535 *ib*. A hunting seat in the Dye valley, Bwk.

There are, further, 25 other names in *-wood*, distributed fairly evenly throughout the four counties. In certain areas they are more common than in others, notably in the parish of Selkirk, in the area around Melrose, and on the upper Teviot. In Dumfriesshire there is no concentration in any one particular district.

/89/ XXI OE *hyrst*,

“wooded knoll, hillock, copse, brushwood”. In South Scotland, the sense seems to be simply “wood”, as it is in the Northumberland place-names Hesleyhurst, Keyhurst, Longhurst and Moralhirst which is OE *mirige-hylde-hyrst*, “pleasant slope wood” (PN NbDu, 144), showing that *hyrst* in this area contained no idea of “hillock”, or “knoll”, since *hylde* would then have been unnecessary.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

FERNIEHIRST CASTLE (Jed): (81, 3 J):

Farnihirst, 1524-5 ALC; *Farnherst*, 1573 CSP; *Fernyhirst*, Blaeu. It is possible that the first two spellings may refer to Ferniehirst, Midl, on the borders of Slk. Both places occupy similar situations on fairly steep wooded river-banks. Neither is on a decided knoll. The meaning is “ferny-wood”.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

BROCKLEHIRST (Msw):

Brokholhirst, Blaeu. OE *brocc-hol-hyrst*, “badger-hole wood”. There is no eminence at this point, but a wood is marked on the OS Map. There are also Hollinhirst (Can) which must be OE *holegn hyrst*, “holly wood”, and Ironhirst (Msw) which Watson claims as Gaelic (CPNS, 99), but which may be MSc /90/ *arn hirst*, “alder wood”, since it stands by the Lochar Moss where alders might grow.

/91/ XXII OE *þyrne*,

“thorn-bush”. The spellings in *-thern* below seem to represent lowering of ME *ȝ* (from OE *ȝ*) to *ě* at a very early date, but these forms may be due to 16th century copyists. Caistron Nb shows endings in *-thern* by 1240 (PN NbDu, 37).

BERWICKSHIRE

NENTHORN (Nnt): (81, 5 C):

Nathanthern, c 1150 (16th) *Dryb*; *Naythin*- 1150-2 *ib*; *Neithanesthyrn*, 1159 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Naythanthirn*, c 1203 *Dryb*; *Neythantherne*, 1296 CDS; *Naithanthurne*, 1380 *ib*. The first element is a personal name, perhaps the same as that borne by *Naitan*, *Nectan*, king of the Picts in the early 8th century.

SELKIRKSHIRE

HAWTHORN (Cad):

Hayrtherne, 1455 *Rot Scac*; *Har-*, 1468 RMS; *Hair-*, 1538 *ib*; *Haw-*, 1563 PS; *Harthorne*, 1571 *ib*. The first element is OE *hār*, meaning “boundary”. A tree was a common boundary-mark in the OE land charters. In the 16th century the name became confused with *hawthorn*. Compare **Har(e)thorn*, 13th century and 1446 (PN Ess, 591). Two other names in *-thorn* may contain OE *þorn* rather than *þyrne*: Jock’s Thorn (Jhn) and Chapman Thorn (Hlw).

/92/ XXIII OE healh, ONb halh,

“corner, nook, recess”. In Northern England a special meaning developed as, “piece of flat alluvial land by the side of the river” (DEPN, 202). This is the sense of ModSc *haugh*. Mawer notes that the nominative form is rare in other parts of England although common in Northumberland (PN NbDu, 232). In the Scottish Border area, apart from a couple of spellings for Lennel, we have no proof that oblique forms of the word were used at all. It is just possible that some of the names now ending in *-hall* may represent a dative case.

The Northumberland names in *-haugh* have personal names or natural features for their first elements in most cases. Beadnell, Bothal, Etal, Tughall, Brainshaugh and *Isehaugh all contain personal names of the monothematic type which belong to an early period in OE history. With this there is nothing to compare in the Scottish names. Only the “lost” *Elstaneshalche* contains an OE personal name and it is of a later type.

None of the Scottish names except Borthaugh, **Galtuneshalech* and perhaps Lennel can be safely assigned to the OE period. The majority have the appearance of much later formations, constructed at a /93/ time when *haugh* was already a dialect word.

In Cumberland OE *halh* appears mainly in the dative case, giving forms in *-hale* or *-hall*. It is found in independent use in Haile and Hale (PN CuWe, 195).

ROXBURGHSHIRE**BORTHAUGH** (Hwk): (85, 12 A):

Bordhauch, 1526 ALC; *Bort-*, Blaeu. OE *bord halh*, “*haugh* which supplies the manorial board”: cf Borthwick (No VII).

BROADHAUGH (Tvt):

Braidhauch, Blaeu. “Broad flat by the riverside”: MSc *braid hauȝh*, later anglicised.

CLEITHAUGH (Sdn): (86, 4 A):

Cleethaugh, 1590 CBP. The first element might be ModSc *cleite*, “penthouse”, of Gaelic origin (Jam, s.v.); or it might be ON *klettr* “cliff, rock”. The latter is preferable, since the land here falls sharply to the Jed Water.

CRUMHAUGH HILL (Hwk): (85, 12 B):

Crumhauch, 1511 RMS. OE *crumb*, or Gael *crom*, “crooked, bent”, is the first element. The Slitrig Water takes a sharp bend at this point. The original **Crumhauch* is now lost.

PRIESTHAUGH (Tvt):

Preesthouch, Blaeu. “Priest *haugh*”.

/94/

WHITHAUGH (Cst):

Wheatoughe towre, 1583 CBP; *Whithaugh*, 1590 *ib*. This may be either “wheat *haugh*” or “white *haugh*”, but the latter is the more likely as wheat is not grown to any extent in this area, and does not occur as a place-name element.

BERWICKSHIRE

LENNEL (Cdstr): (81, 10 B):

Leinhal(e), 1095-1100 ESC; *c* 1200 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Leinhah*, 1243 *Pont Off St And*; *Lenorthtun*, *c* 1250 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Laynal*, *c* 1270 *ib*; *Leynolf*, 14th century *St And*: cf *Laindenn*, Blaeu (the church in L~ churchyard). The first and fourth spellings point to the dative case, *hale*, although the others are in the nominative. The persistence of the diphthong *ei* (*ai*) in the first element denotes either a diphthong in OE, or a ME form *lehen*. ON *leyni*, “hiding place”, would give the forms above, but it is unlikely that an ON word would be coupled with OE *halh*. It is possible that the first element may be a Celtic river-name, applicable to the Leet or to the part of the Tweed on which Lennel stands. Brit **lēian-*, **lēion* might give OE **lein-*: cf last paragraph on R. Leen (ERN, 248).

PURVISHAUGH (Earl):

/95/

Purveshanch, 1611 HMC (*Wed*) (*n = u*). The first element is the family name, Purves.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

ROCKHALL (Msw): (88, 13 D):

Rokkel, 1526 RMS; *Rocol*, Blaeu.

ROCKHALL HEAD:

Rokelheid, 1637 *L Ch*.

ROCKHALL MOTE (Lmb):

Moite of Rockell, 1592 CBP.

***ROCKHALL SKARTH;**

Rokkelskarth, 1516-17 RMS; *Rowl-*, Blaeu. This seems to be OE *hrōc halh*, “rook *haugh*”.

SELKIRKSHIRE

CARTERHAUGH (Slk):

Cartarehauch, 1489-90 RMS. The occupational designation “carter”, was perhaps in use as a surname by the time that this place-name was formed: cf Harperwhat (No LXXXIV).

PHILLIPHAUGH (Slk): See No LX.

“Lost” names are:

Elstaneshalche, 1181 LSMM; *Elstannes halech*, 1175-99 *ib*, the valley of a rivulet between Whitton and Morebattle; an OE personal name *Æðelstān*, *Alfstān*, or *Aldstān*, is the first element. Cf Athelstaneford, ELth: *Elstanesford*, 1153-78 *L Ch*. *Galtuneshalech*, *c* 1136

LSMM; *-chalech*, 1143-4 ESC, near Gattonside (Mel): cf Gattonside (No V). There are also ten names ending in *-haugh* for which there are no spellings.

/96/ XXIV OE *denu*,

“valley”, is still in independent use as ModSc *-dean*, which denotes “a hollow, where the ground slopes on both sides; generally such a one has a rivulet running through it: a small valley” (Jam., s.v.). The Northumbrian form is *dene* (PN NbDu, 227). An unstressed form of the ending occurs as *-den*, which is frequently confused with *-don*, and *-ton*. The places discussed below all lie in or beside valleys varying in conformation from narrow ravines to shallow hollows. It is unlikely that OE *denn*, “pasture, especially swine pasture”, is represented in any of the names. It is doubtful to what extent *denn* was used outside Kent and Sussex (DEPN, 135), although Dr Macdonald claims that it occurs in West Lothian (PN WLth, 128).

ROXBURGHSHIRE

BELLEDEAN (Rbt): (85, 8 A):

Bellingdene, c 1300 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Bellinden*, 1415 LSMM; *Bellenden(n)*, *ib*; Blaeu. OE **belling*, “hill”, is perhaps the first element.

BLAKEDEAN (Mrb):

Blakdene, 1358 HMC (*Rxb*): *Blagdenn*, 1590 CBP. “Black valley”.

/97/

BOWDEN (Bow): (80 14, E):

Bothendenam (acc), 1119-24 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Botheldein*, 1124-53 NMS; *-den(e)*, 1159 *Kelso*; c 1160 ESC; 1165-1214 *Kelso*; *Boulden(e)*, 1204 LSMM; 1204 APS; c 1220 (16th) *Dryb*; *Bouildene* 1204 LSMM; *Bolden*, late 13th century *Kelso*; *Boudene*, 1567 *ib*. OE *bōþl-denu*, “dwelling-house valley”. The first spelling exhibits a form of assimilation, *l – n > n – n*. For loss of medial *-th-*, compare the numerous English Boltons, from OE *bōþl-tūn* (DEPN, 49).

DRYDEN FELL (Tvt):

Dridane, 1511 RMS. “Dry Valley”.

HADDEN (Spr): (81, 8 C):

Hauden, 1165-1214 LSMM; 1190-1230 (1400) *Soltre*; *Hal-*, c 1170 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Hawe* 1214-32 LSMM; *Hawudene*, 1245 CDS. OE *haga-denu*, “valley where haws abound”: cf *Hawden*, Nb (PN NbDu, 106).

HARDEN (Cst):

Hardenhead, Blaeu. Probably OE *hara denu*, “hare valley”. This is a common combination in the area: cf *Harden Burn* (Cst), *Harden Mains* (Oxn), *Hardenside* (Can).

HASSEDEAN (Mto): (80, 14 H): /98/

Hadestandena (P), 1124-53 APS; *Halestonesden* (P), 1153-65 (16th) *ib*; *Hastanedene*, 1193 C de M; *Hastenesden*, 1192-8 LSMM; *Hatstanes-*, 1195-9 *ib*; *Hastanes-*, 1221 Pat; *Hassingdeane*, 1304-5 CDS. The first element is an OE personal name **Heaðustān*, in an early Northumbrian form which exhibits no U-Mutation in the first syllable, *Haðu-*. This name does not occur independently in OE, but both elements appear in other compounds: eg

Heaðurīc, Heaðured; Æðelstān, Wulfstān. The second spelling is a late copy and probably corrupt.

HOLYDEAN (Bow): (80, 13 E):

Halydean, 1557-8 HMC (*March*); *Halydem Cast.*, Blaeu (*m = in*). OE *halig denu*, “holy valley”: there was a chapel here at one time (NSA (Rxb), 38).

HOWDEN (Jed): (81, 4 H):

Holden, 1296 CDS; 1425 RMS; *Houdene*, 1311-12 *ib.* Cf *rivulum de Holdene*, 1206 (*c* 1320) *Kelso*, near Oxton (Chan), and *Holdene*, 1204 LSMM, north of Bowden. OE *hol denu*, “valley like a hole”.

KIRNDEAN (Cst):

Kirdenn, Blaeu. ModSc *kirn*, “churn”, is the first element. /99/ Either the valley was shaped like a churn or was famous for its churning. ON *kirna* no doubt supplanted the OE term in the local dialect.

LITTLEDEAN (Mxt): *Littil dernn*, Blaeu (*r – i ?*). “Small valley”.

MELLEDEAN (Spr):

Meltondene, 1567 *Kelso*. This spelling points to MSc *myln-toun-dene* showing in later forms lowering of *ī* (*ȳ*) to *ě*.

MUIRDEAN, EASTER and WESTER (Kso): (81, 5 D):

Merdene, 1482 RMS; *Mooredenn*, Blaeu. OE *mere denu*, “valley containing a loch” may have been the earliest form, as there are one or two small ponds in the vicinity. There may have been a loch in the valley between Wester M~ and the hill at Stodrig. Otherwise the name is OE *mōr-denu*, “valley on the moor”, MSc *muir*. It is doubtful whether the pronunciation was sufficiently advanced in the 13th century to merit the spelling *mer-*.

OAKENDEAN (Mel): (80, 14 D):

Akedene, 1204 LSMM. The original site seems to have been slightly to the south of Oakendean House. It is possible that this is a recent formation and not an anglicisation of the old name which represented OE *āc denu*, “oak-tree valley”.

/100/

PADDINGTON SIKE (Cst):

Paddowdemi, Blaeu (*mi – nn?*). ModSc *paddow*, “frog, toad”, is from ON *padða* “toad”; “toad valley”.

REDDEN (Spr): (81, 8 C):

Rauendenam (acc) *c* 1145 (*c* 1320) *Kelso*; *Ravedena*, 1159 *ib*; *Revedenna*, 1165-1214 *ib*; *Reveden(e)*, late 13th, *ib*, 1214-49 LSMM; *Ravenysden*, 1275 *Dryb*; *Ravenesden*, 1310 *Percy*. OE *hræfna denu*, “valley of the ravens”.

SINGDEAN (Cst): (86, 2 E):

Singdenn, Blaeu. Perhaps ModSc *sing* “sing” is the first element: cf *Singlee* (No XVIII).

SOUTHDEAN (Sdn): (86, 3 C):

Sudhden, 1291-2 RS; *Soudon* (P) 1296 CDS (Seal); *Souldone*, 1296 CDS; *Sowdon*, 1444 HMC (Rxb); *-dene*, 1488 LSMM; *-down*, 1528 RMS; *Soudann K.* Blaeu. The modern spelling

seems to represent the correct form: OE *sūð-denu*, “southerly valley”. Medial *-thd-* was simplified to *-d-*. The third form is a MSc inverted spelling. Unfortunately the valley at Southdean runs east and west and is blocked to the south by a shoulder of Highlee Hill. It may have received its name from the fact that one of the highways to the south runs through it.

/101/

TIMPENDEAN (Jed):

Tempindene, 1600 HMC (*Rxb*); *Timpendein*, Blaeu. For the first element, compare Timpanheck (Hfm). *Timpan-* is probably Celtic.

WOODEN (Eckf):

Wodden, 1439 RMS; *Vodden*, 1567 *Kelso*. This is probably OE *wudu denu* “wooded valley”; but cf Wooden Nb: *Wulvesdon* 1237, from OE *wulfes dūn* (PN NbDu, 219).

BERWICKSHIRE

BASSENDEAN (Wst): (75, 3 M):

Bastynden, c 1250 (1434) *Cdstr*; *-dane*, c 1300 *ib*; *Bakestaneden*, *ib*; *Baxtanden*, 1335-6 CDS; *Baxtendene*, 1336-7 *ib*. “Valley where ‘bakestones’ were found”: cf *Backstonerigg, Nb (PN NbDu, 9).

BUTTERDEAN (Cld):

Buterden, 1335-6 CDS; *Butterdene*, 1336-7 *ib*. “Valley which yielded plenty of butter” (because the pasture was rich).

EDMOND’S DEAN (Ckb): (75, 8 E, F):

Edmersdun (P), c 1300 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Edmer(i)sden*, *ib*; 1335-6 CDS; *Admersden*, 1541 ALC. OE *Ēadmæres denu*. The personal name was later confused with the more common *Edmund*.

FOULDEN (Fld): (75, 12 J):

/102/

Fugeldene, 1095-1100 ESC; *Fouwel-* 1296 CDS; *Fule-*, 1299 *ib*; *Foul-*, c 1300 *Cold*. OE *fugol denu*, “bird valley”.

HALLIDEAN (Mert): (81, 2 D):

Halidene, 1567 *Kelso*. “Holy valley”, probably so called on account of its proximity to Old Melrose: cf Holydean (Bow).

HALLYDOWN (Cld): (75, 12 F):

Hallyden, 1621 HMC (*Wed*); *Halydeane*, 1622 *ib*; *-down*, 1632 *ib*. This is almost certainly a *-denu* name. Although the farm stands on a hillock it overlooks a valley.

HARDENS (Lgt):

Hardens, 1573-4 HMC (*March*); *-denn*, Blaeu. “Hare valleys”: cf Harden (*supra*).

HORNDEAN (Ldk): (75, 12 L):

Horuerdene, c 1100 ESC; 1198-1214 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Horeuoredane*, c 1118 *ib*; *Hornerden*, 1256 LSMM; *Hornedene*, 1296 CDS. The first part of this name may be identified with a lost place in the same vicinity, *Horford, for which these are spellings: *Hor(e)ford*, 1095 ESC; 1095-1100 *ib*. This represents OE *horh-ford*, “mud, filth, -ford”. *Horeuoredane* is therefore the

valley with the muddy /103/ ford. The change from *Horuer-* to *Horner-* must be due to a scribal error.

LAMB DEN (Grn): (75, 7 N):

Lambeden(e) c 1248 LSMM; late 13th century *Kelso*; 1336-7 CDS. OE *lamb-denu*, “lamb valley”.

LUMSDAINE (Cld): (75, 11 E):

Lum(m)esden(e), 1095-1100 ESC; 1126 *ib*; 1208-10 BF; 1235 *Cold*; c 1300 *ib*. Compare Lumley, Du, which probably contains ODan **Lum* or **Lumi*, personal name (PN NbDu, 137). The same name seems to form the first element here, in a ME form, *Lum(m)* to which a genitive ending in *-es* has been attached.

MILNE GRADEN (Cdstr): (81, 11 A):

Greiden(e), 1095 (15th) ESC; 1095-1100 *ib*; *Grayden(e)*, c 1288 HMC (*Var Coll v*); *Greydene*, 1296 CDS; *-don* 1296 *Inst Pub*. The first element is probably OE **græg*, “badger”, (see *Studies*², 80). “Badger’s valley”, is a more likely explanation than “grey valley”. *Milne* was prefixed to *Graden* about 1845 by David Milne Home (PN Bwk, 40).

NABDEAN (Hut): (75, 12 K):

Cnapadene, c 1100 ESC; *Cnapedane*, c 1118 *ib*; /104/ *Knapptone*, 1292 CDS. The first element is unlikely to be OE *cnæp*, “top of hill, cop”, as there is no pronounced hill near. It may be OE *cnapa*, “servant”.

OXENDEAN (Duns): (75, 8 J):

Oxindene, 1479 RMS; *Oxendein*, 1546 HMC (*Var Coll v*). OE *oxena denu*, “valley of the oxen”.

SLEGDEN (Grn): (75, 6 M):

Slegdan, 1546 ALC; *Sligdene*, 1567 *Kelso*. The first element seems to be an earlier form of the surname *Sleich* found in Sligh Houses (B & Pr) (No XVII). A ME form *slēzh* must be the root of both. This may be a dialectal variation of ME *slag*, “muddy, slippery with mud”, found in the Norfolk Promptorium Parvulorum (NED, s.v.).

DUMFRIESSHIRE

COWDENS (St M):

Pe Coldanis, 1384 (15th, 16th) APS. “Cow valleys”: OE *cū* > ME *cou*, spelt in MSc *col* (an inversion). This may be Gaelic, however: cf CPNS, 139.

HARDENSIDE (Can):

Hardin, 1583 CBP. Compare *Harden* (Cst), (*supra*).

SELKIRKSHIRE

DRYDEN (Ask): /105/

Drydenn, Blaeu. “Dry Valley”: the stream which waters it may run dry in summer.

LINDEAN (Gala): (80, 12 E):

Lynden, 1153-45 (1400) *Soltre*; *Lynnesden*, 1228 *ib.* OE *hlynn*, “torrent, waterfall”, is the first element. *Lindean* stands on the Linn Burn, which falls 500 feet in less than two miles.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

DENHOLM (Cav): (81, 1 J):

Denum, 1296 CDS; 1333-4 RS; *Denhom*, 1304 CDS; *Dennome*, 1473 BM; *Dennwme*, 1489 *ib.* OE (*æt þāem*) *denum*, “at the valleys”. For a similar construction compare *Whitsome* (No XVII).

“Lost” names are:-

Alwardene, 1165-88 LSMM;

Aluerden, c 1226 *ib.*, in Maxton (Rxb), which is perhaps OE *Alfheres denu*.

Harehowedene, 1165-1214 LSMM;

Har(e)hopedene, *ib.*, near Whitton, Mrb (Rxb), is either OE *hara hol denu* or *hara hop denu*.

/106/ XXV OE slæd,

“low flat valley, slope, hollow”; ModSc *slaid*, “hollow between rising grounds, especially with a rivulet”, (Jam, s.v.).

BERWICKSHIRE

WHITSLAID (Leg): (81, 1 A):

Wideslade (P), 1209, 1260 CDS; *Whytslade*, 1371 RMS. The first spelling suggests “wide hollow”: the valley broadens towards its head. But cf *Weedslade*, Nb: *Wideslad*, 1196; *Wyteslad*, 1255; *Whitslad*, 1346; which Mawer interprets as OE *wiðig-slæd*, “willow valley”. Compare *Witslede*, c 1190 (c 1320) *Kelso* in ELth on the borders of Bwk.

SELKIRKSHIRE

WHITSLAID (Ask): (80, 10 J):

Quhitslaid, 1510 C-B; *-sled* 1609 APC. From these forms OE *hwīte slæd* must be deduced, “white hollow”, but the name might have the same history as the one above. There is also *Deepslaids* (Slk).

/107/ XXVI OE dæl,

“valley”, is indistinguishable from ON *dalr* in ME and MSc. Beneath are those names ending in *-dale* which, (a) have an English first element, or (b) are outwith the Norse area.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

RIDDELL (Llf): (80, 13 G):

Ridel (P), 1147 ESC; *Ridale* (P), c 1150 *Glas*; c 1165 LSMM; *Riddale* (P), c 1150 (15th) ESC; *Rydale* (P) DIHS. OE *ryge dæl*, “rye valley”. Since this appears consistently as a personal name, it is probable that the manor of Riddell was so called from its owners, the family of Riddell, who may have derived their name from the Ryedale Wapentake of the North Riding

of Yorkshire (PN YNR, 42). Compare Ryedale Burn (Cst), and for both names see ERN, 349-50 on R. Rye.

TEVIOTDALE:

Teuegetedale, c 1117 ESC; *Teuiethesdale*, c 1128 *Glas*; *Teuiedesdale*, 1147-52 (17th-18th) ESC; *Theuidall*, 1147-50 (15th) *ib*; *Thevietdale*, 1147-52 (Morton) *ib*; *Theuietal*, 1165-1214 NMS; *Tevidal*, 1224 (1300) HC. Spellings for Teviot are: *Teuiet(h)*, 1165-1214 /108/ LSMM; c 1160 (c 1320) *Kelso*. The river-name Teviot is Celtic. An attempt seems to have been made in the 12th century to give the original form a genitival ending before *-dale*, but that was soon discarded.

TWEEDDALE:

Tweddal, 1147-50 ESC, *Twedall*, 1360 *Rot Scac*. Tweed is: *Tveda*, c 1160 (c 1320) *Kelso*; 1165-1214 NMS; *Tweda*, c 1153 (16th) *Dryb*. The river-name Tweed is British (ERN, 421).

BERWICKSHIRE

LAUDERDALE:

Lauuedderdale, 1165-1214 (1500) LSMM; *Lauderdale*, c 1230 (16th) *Dryb*, 1562 *ib*. Lauderdale is the valley of the Leader, but it has taken its name not from the stream but from the town of Lauder.

LAUDER:

Louueder, 1170 *Dryb*; *Louweder*, 1180 APS; 1296 CDS; *Lauueder*, 1288 *Rot Scac*; *Lauweder*, 1288 *ib*.

LEADER:

Ledir, c 700 (late 9th or early 10th) *Anon L St Cuth*; *Leder*, c 1050 (12th) HSC; c 1136 LSMM; 1170 *Dryb*; *Ledre*, 1180 C de M. Ekwall thinks Lauder is O Brit *Lavatres*, identical with the name of a place on the Greta (Y), meaning “bath” (ERN, 266). The River Leader has not the same name as /109/ Lauder in spite of the similarity of the consonants.

LIDDEL WATER (Dmf & Rxb):

Liddale Water, 1552 Bullock; cf Liddel, Cu: *Lidl*, 1165-1214 NMS; *Lidel*, 1216 Cl; *Lydall* 1348 RMS; *Ledall* (P), 1360 *Rot Scac*; *Lydale* (P), 1377 *ib*; *Ledaill*, c 1490 *Wallace*; Liddesdale: *Lidelesdale* (P) 1278-9 CDS; *Ledalisdale*, 1380 *Rot Scac*; *Ledesdale*, 1380 J.G.; *Liddesdaill*, 1389 HMC (*Drml*); *Lydalisdale*, 1392 *Rot Scac*. This name is dealt with by Ekwall (ERN, 254, 273). The first part is evidently OE *hlȳde*, a river-name meaning “noisy”, and denoting a torrent. To this *dæl* was added as *hlȳde-dæl*, “torrent valley”. The modern form which has received the addition of MSc *daill* (from ON *dalr* or OE *dæl*), is tautological. A genitival ending was attached to *Liddale-*, *Lidel-* the final syllable of which had already disappeared in the 14th century, giving the present form Liddesdale.

***GALADALE**, not now in use, was applied to the valley of the Gala: *Gelchedale*, 1329 *Rot Scac*.

Now lost is ***WEDALE**, which was the name given to the land lying between the Gala and the Leader; *Wedale*, 1170 (16th) *Dryb*; 1153-65 (c 1320) *Kelso*; 1165-75 LSMM; 1394 *Rot Scac*; *Wedhale*, 1184 /110/ C de M; *Weddale*, 1296 CDS; *Wedal(l)*, 1329 *Rot Scac*. The second and third spellings point to a form in *-halh*, but earlier evidence is against it. The first element is

doubtful. It might be OE *wēod*, “weed”, but from that one would expect a double medial consonant. ON *vé*, “heathen temple”, is possible. The late Mr Hardie believed that “Wedale... corresponds on the whole to the modern Stow”, that it was a definite place, and not just a district (Hardie, 54). If this is so, a termination in *-halh* is probable. OE *wēod-halh*, “weed-grown river-valley”, may be the original form.

Wacopdaill, 1552-3 CBP, shows MSc *daill* suffixed to an OE compound (cf No LX).

/111/ XXVII OE *hyll*,

“hill”. In this category spellings are very rare for the higher and more remote hills. Early forms are found only where a manor or farm has been named from some nearby eminence, or from a slight rise in the ground which elevated it above its neighbours. The more mountainous districts were avoided by the Anglo-Saxon settlers, and it was not until sheep-rearing became profitable in the Middle Ages that the upland districts received a sprinkling of population. The hills were the refuge of the Celtic peoples whose earthworks are found at strategic points in great numbers throughout our area. It is not surprising that Old British terms are occasionally encountered in hill-names. In one or two cases, the original name was a place-name, eg *Corse*, *Bartann*, from which a hill was named, and then a farm took its name from the new compound, as *Corsehill*, *Bartlehill*.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

BARNHILLS (Anc):

Bernehillis, 1590 RPC. OE *berern*, “barn”, is the first element. This is a common combination in Scotland.

BEWLIE HILL (Anc): /112/

Bewlye, 1590 RPC; *Beduly*, Blaeu (*d – a*). The hill has been named from a place, now lost, known as *beau lieu*, “beautiful spot”, a French name, cf *Beauly* (Ross).

HUNTHILL (Jed):

le Hunthil, 1466-7 RMS; *Hunthylle*, 1570 Lang; *Hundthill*, Blaeu. “Hill where the hunt took place”.

MANORHILL (Mak):

Manerhill, 1541-2 RSS; 1566-7 RMS. “Hill by the manor”.

MID HILL (Rbt):

Middill, 1511 RMS. This is the central peak of a large hill with three summits. There are thirteen examples of the name *Mid Hill* in *Rxb*, *Dmf*, and *Slk*. In many cases the central of three summits is denoted, but there are one or two examples in which the reason for the name is obscure.

SKELFHILL (Tvt): (85, 11 D):

is so spelt in 1569, RPC. OE *scelf*, “rock, crag”, the Anglian form of *scylf*, with the initial consonants influenced by Scandinavian, is the basis of this name: cf *Skelton* (PN YNR, 16). *Skelhill* lies under a very steep hill-face, while /113/ *Skelhill Pen*, which may be the original hill bearing the name, is abrupt and rocky.

SLAIDHILL (Tvt):

Sliddhills, Blaeu. Probably OE *slæd-hyll*, “hill with a hollow in it”.

STANDHILL (Llf):

Standhill, 1553 RPC; Blaeu. Perhaps OE *stān-hyll* with an intrusive *-d-*.

STICHILL (Stl): (81, 6C):

Stichele (P), c 1170 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Stichill(e)*, 1221 C *de M*; c 1300 *Cold*; *Sticheulle*, 1253 *Inst Pub*; *-hill*, 13th *Reg Dnf*; *Stychehull*, 1296 *ib*; *-hill*, c 1300 *Cold*. The first spellings suggest OE **stičele*, “steep place”, formed from the adjective *sticol*: cf Stittenham (PN YNR, 33-4). The ending might easily be confused with *-hyll*. If, however, *Sticheulle* represents the earliest form of the name, the first element may be OE *stičce*, “sticky”, in the sense of “muddy”: cf Stechford, Wo (DEPN, 420).

STITCHEL HILL (Cst):

Stritcher Hills, Blaeu. From the modern form, this name might be expected /114/ to have the same origin and meaning as Stichill. Blaeu’s spelling is difficult to explain. Compare Black Stichel, near Elsdon, Nb.

TRONEYHILL (Anc):

Trannehyll, 1548-9 *Ham Pap*. The first element is obscure. ON *trani*, “crane”, is unlikely.

BERWICKSHIRE**BARTLEHILL** (Eccl):

Bartann, Blaeu. Perhaps OE *beretūn*, ModE *barton*, “corn farm”: (see DEPN, 27).

BLACKHILL (Cld) is so spelt in 1621 HMC (*Wed*). “Black hill”.

HIRSEL (Cdstr): (81, 9 B):

Herishill(e), 1165, c 1200 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Herishill*, c 1200 *ib*; *Hereshille*, 1200 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Hershill*, 1246 *Pont Off St And*; *Hersil*, 1269 HMC (*Home*); *Hershale*, 1292 DIHS; *Hirsale*, c 1443 HMC (*Home*). For the first element, cf Horseham Hall, Ess: *Ersham* 1086, *Hersham*, *Heresham* 1233-54; which may contain OE **herse*, “hill (PN Ess, 509). Later the name has been associated with MSc *hirsale*, *hirsal*, “flock of sheep, ground where a flock of sheep were pastured”.

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LINTHILL (Eym): is so spelt in 1663 RMS. MSc *lint* is “flax” (<OE *līn*).

DUMFRIESSHIRE**BIRRENS HILL** (Mid): (89, 4 C):

Byrrens, Blaeu. ME *byrrens* (plur), from OE *byrg(e)an*, “grave, tumulus, burial-mound”, must refer to the earthworks on the hill. There are several “forts”, both mediaeval and pre-English known as *Birrens* in Dumfriesshire.

BLAZE HILL (Wam): (85, 1 G):

Pe Bleise, 1384 (15th-16th) APS – a beacon. Late OE *blese*, “blaze, torch”, is *bles*, *blese*, *bleise* in MSc. There is no example of its denoting a beacon-fire before the 16th century. (DOST s.v.). This might be ON *blesi*, “blaze, white mark”, which could apply to a scar on the hillside.

CLERK HILL (Esk):

Clerkhill, Blaeu. The ecclesiastic in charge of the chapel close by may have given his name to the hill.

CORSEHILL (H & C):

Corse, 1662 RMS. Welsh *Cors*, “bog”, was the original place-name from which a hill was named.

ELBECKHILL (Wam): (85, 1 H): /116/

Elbackhill, 1762 *Com Rec Dmf*. ModSc *elbock*, “elbow”, is the first element. The place is at an elbow-bend in the road.

GREENHILL (Mof):

Grenhil(cotis), 1317 RMS; *Greinhill*, 1655 *Reg Sas Dmf*. “Green hill”.

HALLIDAYHILL (Lmb):

Holidayhill (P), 1506 HMC (*Drml*). Perhaps a hill to which the local people adjourned on holy days, but more probably named from its first owners: cf *Hallidayhill* (Dns).

KIRKHILL (Wam) is so spelt in 1578 HMC (*Jhn*). “The hill by the *kirk*”.

NAZE HILL (Lang):

Nese, 1463-4 RMS; *Nise*, Blaeu. ON *nes*, “projecting spur”, would give *nes*, *nese*, in MSc.

RAEHILLS (Jhn):

Rahil, 1390 HMC (*Var Coll v*); *Rahillis*, 1439-40 RMS; *Raahill*, 1484 *ib*. OE *rā-hyll*, “roe-deer hill”.

ROCKHILLFLAT (Apl):

Rokhill, 1372 HMC (*Drml*). OE *hrōc-hyll*, “rook hill”, and ON *flōt*, ME *flat*.

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RYEHILL (Cum):

Ryehille, 1215-45 CDS; *Ryell*, Blaeu.

RYEHILL (Sqr):

Ryhill, *ib*. “Hill where rye was grown”: cf *Linthill* (*supra*).

STELL HILL (Esk): (85, 5 D):

Steilhill, 1569 RPC. ModSc *steil*, *steel*, “ridge, point, tongue of land” (EDD, s.v.), “projecting spur”. The modern form shows confusion with ModSc *stell*, “animal shelter”.

WINDY HILL (Clb):

Windyhillis, 1542-3 RSS. “Windy hill(s)”.

SELKIRKSHIRE

BOWHILL (Slk) is so spelt in 1494, C-B, and 1529 RMS. “Bow-shaped hill”.

COSSARS HILL (Ettr):

Cosserhill, 1643 C-B. This name was substituted for Elspyhope in 1577, C-B. It has been fashioned on the surname *Cossar* or *Crosser*: cf *Jacob Crosare*, 1436 HMC (*Wed*).

CRIBS HILL (Slk):

Cribbes, 1296 CDS. This may be a manorial name from a personal name, *Cribb*. /118/ ModSc *Crib* is a “manger” or “wooden box”; it may be that the hill has indentations on its surface resembling mangers in shape. Cf *Crib Law* (Chan).

MID HILL (Ettr):

Middinhill bogg, Blaeu. *Middin-* may represent *middill-*, $l - l > n - l$, by dissimilation.

A “lost” name is **Pyehills* near Slethat (Rth): *Pyhillis*, 1459-60 RMS; *Pihyllis*, 1507-8 *ib*. The first element is ModSc, *pie*, “magpie”. There are over four hundred names in *-hill* or *Hill* for which there are no early spellings. By far the largest proportion of these are purely English formations. A few include Norse or Gaelic elements. Most are of a simple type and the first element tends to be monosyllabic.

/119/ XXVIII OE hlāw,

“rounded hill”, ModSc *law*, is particularly common in the Border area where the hills are almost uniformly green and round. In most cases, those names for which early spellings are obtainable, are farm-names to which the hill-names have been transferred.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

BLOODYLAWS (Oxn):

Bloodylawes, Blaeu. This may have been the scene of a battle.

CLARILAW (Bow): (80, 14 F):

Clarilaw, late 13th *Kelso*; *Claryley*, 1528 RMS. Perhaps *clāfre hlāw*, “clover hill”: cf *Clareton*, YWR (DEPN, 104).

COCKLAW (Hwk):

Koklawis (P), c 1400 (1475-1500) Wyntoun; *Coklaw*, 1481 (16th) APS. There are four other examples of this combination. OE *cocc* must be used in the sense of “gamecock”.

FALLA (Oxn): (86, 6 A):

Fallo, 1426 CDS; *Faulawe*, 1438 *ib*; *Faulohill*, 1497 CBP; *Fallow*, 1590 *ib*; *Fala*, Blaeu. OE *fāg hlāw*, “variegated hill”. The hillside must have presented a mottled appearance: cf *Fawdon*, /120/ Nb (PN NbDu, 82). Compare *Faw Laws* (How): *Fales*, Blaeu, but probably of the same origin. There is a “lost” name, **Faulawe*, 1165-88 LSMM, in Maxton, near Rutherford; also *Fawelaweleche*, *ib*, and c 1226 *ib*. *Fala* (Midl) is *Faulawe* 1250 (PNS, 176).

GALALAW (Kso):

Gallowelawe, 1542 *Ham Pap*; *Gallowla*, Blaeu. “Gallows hill”.

GRAHAM'S LAW (Eckf): (81, 6 F):

Grymeslawe, 1296 CDS; *Grymyslaw*, 1440 RMS; 1456 HMC (*Rxb*); *Grymslo*, Blaeu. A personal name ON *Grīmr*, ODan *Grīm*, is perhaps the first element, but cf Grim's Ditch (DEPN, 196). The nine caves in the cliffs near Grahamslaw House may have been suspected of supernatural origin.

HOSELAW (Lnt): (81, 9 D):

Horslaw, 1569 RMS; *Hoislaw*, 1596 CBP. Hoselaw Loch: *Hoslowelogh*, 1385 Ch. OE *hōs hlāw*, "bramble hill".

KIPPILAW (Bow): (80, 14 F):

Kippitlaw, 1557-8 HMC (*March*); *tippilaw*, 1567 *Kelso* (*t = c*); *Kippelaw*, 1569 RMS. Compare Kippet Law (Lgf). The form of OE *coppede*, "having the summit cut off", may have been wrongly /121/ associated with ModSc *kip*, "peak". The hill at Kippilaw is in no way peaked. Compare also Kippielaw near Traprain, ELth.

LEMPITLAW (Spr): (81, 8 D):

Lempedlav, c 1190 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *-lawe, ib*; *Lempetlaw(e)*, 1190-1220 (1400) *Soltre*; 1596 CBP; *Lympetlaw*, 1235-58 *Soltre*; *Limpedlaue*, c 1250 (c 1320) *Kelso*. OE *lempedu*, "limpet", in the sense of "limpet-shaped", must be the first element. Compare *Lempat furde*, 1580 HMC (*Wed*) in Stirlingshire.

LUNTONLAW (Mak): (81, 5 D):

Langtounlaw, Blaeu. It is doubtful whether Blaeu's version is trustworthy. Gael *lunndan*, "marshy spot", might be the first element (CPNS, 450).

MABONLAW (Rbt):

Mabinlaw, Blaeu. *Mabon* is a personal name of British origin.

MERVIN'S LAW (Sdn):

Mervinslaw, Blaeu. The surname Marvin (from OE *Merefin(e)* < OW *Merefin*), is the first element. Compare the "lost" *Xernwingslawe* etc (*infra*).

MOZIE LAW (How): /122/

Mosyla Hill, Blaeu. OE *mōsig-hlāw*, "mossy hill". To give the present form the *o* must have been shortened in ME and lengthened again in ModSc, otherwise a form comparable to *Muselee* would have developed.

RAPERLAW (Llf): (80, 14 G):

Raperlau, 1147-50 (17th-18th) ESC; *-law*, 1147-52 (Morton) *ib*; *Rapeslawe*, 1165-1214 NMS; *Raperslawe*, 1278-9 CDS. OE *rāpere*, "rope-maker", gives a surname *Raper(e)* in ME which may be contained in this name.

SHARPLAW (Jed):

Shairpla, Blaeu. "Sharp" in the sense of "peaked" or "precipitous", < OE *sċearp*, *sċærp*.

SOFTLAW (Spr): (81, 7 E):

Softlaw (P), c 1290 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *-lawe*, 1296 CDS; *Softelawe*, 1292 RS; *-lowe*, 1311-12 CDS. "Hill where the ground is soft or spongy": cf *Softley*, Du (PN NbDu, 185).

SUNLAWS (Rxb):

Sinlawis, 1476 RMS; 1566 *ib*; *Syndlawis*, 1493 *ib*. Compare Synton (No V) for the first element which may be an OE personal name **Sind*. An early use of ModSc, *sine*, *sind*, “to rinse, swill”, might be seen /123/ here in the sense of “well-watered”.

WHITE LAW (Mrb): *Whitelawe*, 1222 CDS.

WHITLAW (Hwk): *Whitelawe*, 1547-8 CSP. “White hill”.

WILLIAM LAW (Mel):

Williamlaw, 1568 RMS. This must be a MSc formation with the personal name William.

BERWICKSHIRE

BANGLAW (Oxt): is so spelt *c* 1535, *c* 1540, *c* 1545 etc, *Dryb*. Possibly “bank law”, or ON *band*, used in a transferred sense as “long, narrow hill”. The compound may however represent Gael *beinn glo*: cf Ben y Gloe (Perth.). Compare *Bangelaye*, 1153-78 *L Ch*, near Athelstaneford, ELth.

BUTTERLAW (Cld):

Bowtyr law, *c* 1415 *Kelso*. Compare Butterlaw Nb, (PN NbDu, 35), “hill which yielded plenty of butter”.

CHALKIELAW (Duns): (75, 9 K):

Caklaw, 1543 RMS; *Cakylaw*, Blaeu. MSc *Cauk*, from OE *Ĉælc*, with Scandinavian influence seen in the initial back consonant, may be the first element, although there is no trace of *-u-* in either spelling. The substitution of *Chalkie-* in the modern /124/ form makes it probable that this was the original form.

CHEEKLAW (Duns): (75, 8 K):

Cheiklaw, 1546-7 RMS; 1572 HMC (*Var Coll v*). Perhaps a hillside resembling a cheek; OE *ċēce*.

COLLIELAW (Chan): (74, 12 K):

Colilawe, 1206 (*c* 1320) *Kelso*; 1296 *Inst Pub*; *Culi-* (P), 1296 CDS; *Collelaw*, 1571 RMS. The first element is a personal name – either OE *Cola* or ON *Kóli*. *Collie*, “sheep-dog” (of obscure origin: DOST) might be considered.

DOWLAW (Cld): (75, 10 E):

Dowhill, 1547 RPC; *Dula*, 1579 HMC (*March*); *Doula*, Blaeu. OE *dūfe*, ModSc *doo*, “pigeon”, and *law*.

EARNSLAW (Cdstr): (75, 8 M):

Ernislaw, 1533 RMS. This is not a situation in which eagles are likely to be found and so the first element cannot be OE *earn* unless the word is used as a personal name. Its appearance in the genitive case makes this possible.

ELWARTLAW (Gm):

Elwaldlaw, 1542 RMS. This must be a MSc formation: cf *Johannis Elwald*, 1436 HMC (*Wed*). OE *Alfwald* or *Aldwald* is /125/ the origin of the surname.

GREENLAW (Grn): (75, 6M):

Grenlaw (P), c 1170 (c 1320) *Kelso*. “Green Hill”.

HARELAW (Chrn): *Harelaw*, c 1300 (1434) *Cdstr*.

HARELAW (Wst): *Harlaw*, Blaeu.

HARLAW (Eccl): *Harelaw*, Blaeu.

OE *hara* “hare” is probably contained in all three.

HAWKSLAW (Cdstr):

Halksla, Blaeu. MSc *hawk*, from ME *hawk*, OE *hafoc* “hawk”, is here used in the plural.

HIGHLAWS (Eym):

Hielawes, 1621 HMC (*Wed*). “High laws”.

HOWLAWS (Grn):

Hollawis, 1452 RMS; *Howlawis*, 1509-10 *ib*. OE *holh-hlāwas* “hills with a valley” and OE *hōh-hlāwas* “hills with a projecting spur” are equally possible. Neither explanation seems particularly suitable to the topography, for here the ground slopes gently to the Lambden Burn.

HURDLAW (Grn): (75, 4 L):

Ordlaw, 1575 HMC (*Var Coll v*); *Hordlaw*, 1575 /126/ HMC (*March*); *Herdlaw*, Blaeu. OE *hord* “treasure”, ME *hōrd*, MSc *huird*, may be the first element. The idea of a hill covering buried treasure was common in mediaeval times. Compare **Hordlaw*, 1189-99 LSMM, near Whitton (Mrb).

KELLOE (Edr): (75, 10 K):

Kellaw(e), 1300 CDS; 1368 *Cold*; 1325 *Cold*; *Kelhouwe* (P), 1350 *ib*; *Kello*, 1509-10 RMS. The ending in *-law* has been confused with *-how*, from OE *hōh*. OE *cælf-hlāw* “calf-hill”. Compare *Kellah*, Nb; and *Kelloe*, Du (PN NbDu, 125).

LINTLAW (B & Pr):

Lintla, Blaeu. “Flax hill”: cf *Linthill* (Eym) (*supra*).

RYSLAW (Fogo): (75, 8 L):

Ryselawe, c1300 *Cold*; *Rislaw*, 1336-7 CDS; *Ryis-* 1575 HMC (*March*). OE *hrīs-hlāw*, “brushwood-covered hill”.

SCAR LAW (Lgf):

Skarlaw, Blaeu. Perhaps ON *sker* “rock, peak, cliff”, but possibly ModEng *scar* (from Fr *escare*), denoting a bare place on the hillside.

WHITELAW (Edr):

Quhitlaw, 1541 RMS. Cf *Whitlaw* (Hwk), (*supra*).

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WOOPLAW (Mel): (80, 12 A):

Wowpla, 1606 *Mel Reg Rec*; *Vowplaw*, 1654 *ib*; *Wouplaw*, 1680 *ib*. Perhaps OE *wulf-hop-hlāw*, “wolf-hope hill”. The *-l-* is vocalised and the *-f-* disappears before the following labial consonants. Compare *Wooplaw* (Sdn) and *W~ near Oxtun (PN Bwk, 52).

WORMERLAW (Eccl): (81, 7 B):

Wormerlaw, Blaeu. OE *Wulfmǣr*, might be the first element, becoming *Wulmar*, with loss of medial *-f-*, and then by assimilation, *l - r > r - r*, *Wurmar*, *Wurmer*.

WRUNK LAW (Lgf): (75, 5 H):

Wrunckley, Blaeu. Blaeu's ending must be an error as this is plainly a hill. The first element may represent an ablaut grade of OE *wrinclian*, "wrinkle, twist": cf ModSc *runkle*, "to rumple".

DUMFRIESSHIRE**BLACKLAW** (Mof):

Blaclau, 1317 RMS. "Black hill".

CAULD LAW (Esk):

Coldla hill, Blaeu. ModSc *cauld*, "cold", meaning "bleak, exposed".

HARELAW TOWER (Can): /128/

Harlawe, 1583 CBP; *Hair(e)law(e)*, 1590 RPC, 1592 CBP. Cf *Harelaw* (Chrn) etc.

TANLA WHILL (Esk):

Tandlahill, Blaeu. ON *tandr* "fire", and ME *law* > *tandlaw*.

WHITLAWSIDE (Can):

Whetlesyd, 1583 CBP. This is unlikely to be OE *hwǣte-lēah* as the spelling suggests. "White law" is such a common name that it is to be expected here.

SELKIRKSHIRE**COOM LAW** (Ettr): (80, 6 J):

Coumla, Blaeu. OE *cumb*, "valley", is the first element. ModSc *coomb*, *coome*, in this area is "the bosom of a hill of semi-circular form" (Watson, s.v.). Coom Law forms more than one corrie to which this description applies.

SAUCHIE LAW (Ettr):

Sauquhy, 1590-1 CBP. The hill took its name from a "lost" place, **Sauchie*, which may be Gael *sailech*, "place where willows grow" (CPNS, 94).

TUSHIELAW (Ettr): (80, 6 J):

Tushellawe, 1371 CBP; *Torschelelaw*, 1455 *Rot Scac*; *Truschelaw*, 1507 RMS; *Tweshelaw* (P), 1574 *L Ch*; /129/ *Tushilaw*, 1603 HMC (*Jhn*). The second spelling may point to the original form as ME *tor(r)-schele-law*, "rock sheiling law", but it is surprising to find the *-r-* disappearing so speedily. The same objection applies to MSc *throssil*, *thrussil*, "thrush", which in any case was probably **thrishel* in the 14th century.

A "lost" name is *Schorwinglen*, 1147-50 (17th) ESC; *Xernwingslawe*, 1165-1214 NMS; *-lau* 1325 RMS; *Scherwinglawe*, 1295-6 CDS; *Scherwynclawe*, 1296 *Inst Pub*; *Scherwynlaw*, c 1328, 1329 1330 *Kelso*. The place is "super aquam Jedde in saltu nemoris" (ESC, 152), and is the site of the original chapel at Jedburgh. Mr Watson believes it to be the modern Mervin's

Law (Watson, *Jed*, 46). There are also over 120 names in -law, Law, for which no spellings have been obtained. In these English first elements of a simple type predominate. Adjectives and names of animals or birds are most common, eg Black Law, Bleak Law, Scaw'd Law, Wedder Law, Todlaw, Laverock Law. Topographical features and words denoting vegetation are also found.

/130/ XXIX OE *dūn*,

“hill”. This ending is preserved as *-don* in a few modern forms, but in most cases it has been confused with *-ton* or *-den*. Some of the names in this class are very early, and many are very difficult to solve.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

BROWNDEAN LAWS (Jed): (86, 6B):

Brondoune, 1451 RMS; *Broun-*, 1492-3 *ib*; *Broune-*, 1515, *ib*. “Brown hill”. Laws is a tautological addition.

CUNZIERTON FARM (Oxn): (81, 7 J):

Cuniardon, 1468 HMC (*Home*); *Cunyourtounerige*, 1471 RMS. OFr. *conniniere*, “rabbit-warren”, gives parallel forms, *cunyngar*, *cunninger*, and *conigar*, *cunnigar*, in MSc (DOST, s.v.). Here we have the type which omits the *-n-* preceding *-g-*. This form may come direct from French, rather than through ME *conynher*.

EILDON (Mel): (80, 14 D):

A^eLdona, 1119-24 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Eldune*, 1143 LSMM; 1166-70 BM; *-down*, c 1153 (16th) *Dryb*; *-dunum* (acc) 12th SD; *-dun*, c 1208 BM; *Eladune*, c 1150 C de M. The first part of the name may be Celtic. Eldon, Du, is *Elledun*, 1104-8; *Eldona*, 1335; from OE *Ella*, personal name, (PN NbDu, 73), but there is no trace of double *-ll-* in the above spellings.

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FAIRNINGTON HOUSE (Rxb): (81, 4 F):

Faringdun, 1165-1214 LSMM; *Faring-*, 1214-49 (c 1280) *ib*; *Franing-* (P), 1296 CDS (Seal); *Farningdon* (P), 1296 *Inst Pub*; *Farnyng-*, 1354 *Kelso*; 1380 CDS; *Ferringtoun*, 1511 RMS. The first element is probably OE *færniġ*, “ferny”, and the first spelling must contain a minim mistake, *-ing* for *-nig*. The later spellings suggest an *-ing* formation based on OE *færn*, as OE *færningdūn*, “hill by the ferny place”: cf *on Fearniga broce*, *Fearningamere*, *innan Fearniga lege* (Karlström, 38), in which examples of forms in *-ing* or *-inga* have been constructed on the base *fearn*. Several other names in this district, however, have “ferny” as first element: Ferney Hill, Ferniehurst, Fairnieside, and a “lost” name *Pharniparkis*, 1555, *S. Trin. Edin.* close to Fairnington, which makes it probable that Fairnington belongs to the same type. *Færn-* is a Northumbrian form of OE *fearn*, without breaking of *æ* before *-rn*.

GRADEN, OLD GRADEN (Lin):

Graydoune (P), 1347 CDS. “Badger hill”: OE **græġ dūn* (cf *Studies*², 80).

GRINDING BURN (Mto):

Grindoun b, Blaeu. /132/ OE *grēne dūn burna*, “green hill burn”. The Grinding Burn comes down from the Eildon Hills which are notably green.

HOWNAM (How): (81, 8 H):

Hunum, 1165-92, 1185 LSMM; 1221 C de M; *Hunedun(e)*, 1165-74, 1185 LSMM; *-doune*, 1454 *ib*; *Hundum*, 1174-99 *ib*; *Hwnum*, 1174-99 *ib*; *Honum*, 1237 *ib*; *Hownown*, 1443 HMC (*Rxb*); *-um*, 1454 *ib*; 1509-10 RMS; *Hounname*, 1468 HMC (*Rxb*); *Hunnum*, 1542 RMS. The forms in *-dun(e)*, etc, denote an original OE *Hūna dūn*, “*Hūna’s hill*”: cf Hunwick, Du, and Hunworth, Nf (DEPN, 246). The spellings without *-d-*, however, look like dative plurals in *-um*, and are more numerous than those in *-dun(e)* besides giving the modern form. It is unlikely that they represent the corruption of forms in *-hām* in the 12th century.

RICCALTOUN (Oxn): (86, 6 B):

Rykelden, 1296 CDS; *-doun(e)* 1296 *Inst Pub*; 1336-7 CDS; *Rukelton*, 1296 *ib*, *Rekildoun* (P) 1318 (16th) *Dryb*; *Rikelton*, 1335-6 CDS. An OE personal name *Ricola*, *Ricel*, which is the basis of Rickleton, Du, may be the first element (PN NbDu, 165). Compare *Richeldoun*, c 1150 (15th) ESC, near Lilliesleaf.

WINNINGTONRIG (Cav):

/133/ *Windingtounhall*, Blaeu. This is probably OE *windiġ-dūn*, “windy hill”.

BERWICKSHIRE

DIRRINGTON GREAT AND LITTLE LAWS (Lgf): (75, 5 J, K):

Diuringdounes, 1198-1214 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Diuringdon*, 1203 (c 1320) *ib*; *Diuringdon*, late 13th, *ib*; *Deryngton*, c 1350 *ib*; *Derington*, 1478 HMC (*March*); *Deridoun Law*, 1523 ALC. An OE form **Divering*, *Difering* may be a patronymic based on a much simplified form of *Dyćġferð*, *Dyćġfrið*, but compare the River Deerness, Du: *Diuerness*, c 1200 which seems to contain the same base, which is *W dwfr* seen in many other river-names (ERN, 118-9). On this, in the OE form **dyfer*, an *-ing* construction may have been made, so that **Dyferingdūn* is “the hill by the rivers”.

EARLSTON (Earl): (81, 2 C):

Ercheldon, c 1143-4 LSMM; *-dune*, c 1160 ESC; *Hercheldune*, 1208 LSMM; *Erceldoun* (P), 1295-6 CDS; *D’ecrildun* (P), 1296 CDS (Seal); *Ercyldun*, 13th *Reg Dnf*; *Ersildone*, c 1300 *Cold*; *Ersceldon*, 1325 *ib*, *Erssiltoun*, 1489 RMS; *Erlistoun*, 1511, *ib*. Late OE *Ærcel* from ODan *Arkil* might be the first element, but this does not account for the initial *e-*. *Erchel-* may represent an original British place-name: /134/ cf *Ercall*, Sa, *Archelov*, DB; *Ercalewe* 1241 (DEPN, 160); and *Archenfield*, He: *Arcenefeld*, DB; *Erchenefeld*, 1138 (*ib*, 11). The medial *-ch-* of the first spelling must represent a palatalised *ċ*, which later became [s] before metathesis took place.

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GORDON (Grd): (81, 4 A):

Gordun, 1178-88 (c 1320) *Kelso*; c 1250 *ib*; c 1270 *ib*; 1289 DIHS; *-doun*, 1188-1200 *Kelso*; 13th *Reg Dnf*; c 1300 *Kelso*; 1406 HMC (*Var Coll v*); *-done*, c 1300 *Cold*. OE *gor-dūn*, “mud hill”: cf Gorton (PN La, 35).

RUMBLETON (Grd): (75, 5 M):

Rynmyldoun, 1441 (16th) APS; *Remyltoun*, 1469 RMS; *Remilton*, 1471 HMC (*Home*); *Ramilton*, 1481 *ib*; *Rymmiltoun*, 1506 RSS; *Rummiltoun*, Blaeu. Rumbleton Law: *Rymm(i)ltounlaw*, 1506-7 RMS; 1535 RSS; *Rummildounlaw*, Blaeu. An OE feminine

personal name *Rimhild* (*Onom*) may be the first element. By the 15th century original *i* was an unstable vowel in MSc: cf the forms for Riccaltoun (*supra*).

SNAWDON (Laud): (75, 1 L):

Snadown c 1350 *Dryb*. OE *snāw-dūn* “snow hill”.

/135/ XXX OE hōh,

“projecting ridge of land, promontory”. In English place-names the meaning varies from “steep ridge” to “slight rise”. In the Border area many of the places whose names contain this element stand on projecting spurs of higher ground. In the earliest examples, the ending appears as *hou*, which must represent an unaccented form. In an accented form, OE *hōh* > MSc *houȝh*, *huȝh* > ModSc *heugh*: (cf the development of OE *clōh*). In 1165-1214 the term appears independently as *hogus* (LSMM).

ROXBURGHSHIRE

CHATTO (How): (81, 8 J):

Chethou, 1165-92 LSMM; *Chatthov*, 1185-99-*ib*; *Chathou*, 1296 *Inst Pub*; *Chattow*, 1357-8 HMC (*Rxb*). A strong form, **Cætt*, of the OE personal name *Ceatta*, *Ĉætta*, seen in Chatton, Nb (PN NbDu, 43), and Chatburn (PN La, 79) may be the first element: cf Chatsworth Db, and Chattisham, Sf (DEPN, 93). The Northumbrian undiphthongised form of the name is found in Chatto.

ELISHEUGH HILL (Mrb):

Ilshow, late 13th century *Kelso*; *Eleisheuch*, 1569 RMS. OE *Ill*, a strong form of *Illa*, seen in Elilaw, Nb /136/ (PN NbDu, 73) is the first element. In this name the ModSc accented form of OE *hōh* has replaced the unaccented form.

HOWAHILL (Hbk): (86, 1 C):

Hova, 1567 RPC; *Howa*, Blaeu. This seems to represent OE *hōge*, “at the hill”. It may, however, be ON *haugr*, “barrow, tumulus”, plus OE *hōh* contracted to *-a*, as in Gretna. There are tumuli marked on the OS map not far from here.

KELSO (Kso): (81, 6 D):

Kelchehou, 1128 *C de M*; *Calceho*, 1128 (c 1320) *Kelso*; c 1150 *Glas*; *Kelcho(v)*, c 1143 *Kelso*; 1327 *Rot Scac*; c 1144 *Kelso*; 1243-54 *ib*; 1204 APS; 1209 *C de M*; 1247-8 CDS; 1329-71 LSMM; *Calceio*, 1147 (13th) *Cold*; *Chalchehoh*, c 1150 *Kelso*; *Chelchou*, 1159-61 LSMM; *Kelkou*, c 1175 (16th) *Dryb*; c 1330 *Rot Scac*; *Kalch'*, 1165-1214 *Kelso*; *Kelzho(u)*, early 13th century *Scal* (App); 1299 Pat; *Kelzhi*, c 1205 (c 1260) GC (MM); *Kel(e)show(e)*, 1296 CDS; 1390 Pat; *Kelsou*, 1296 Pipe; *Calkow*, c 1330 *Kelso*; 1390-1 RMS; *Calco*, 1557 HMC (*Var Coll v*); *Cailsoo*, Blaeu. OE *ċælc hōh* “chalk hill”: cf the Chalkheugh, a “calcareous eminence” beside the Tweed (CPNS, 343), /137/ which name however must belong to a more recent period. The Welsh name for Kelso was *Calcmynyd* (*ib*). The Celtic form *Calc* [kalk] may have been used as the first element of the English compound, or the English term *ċælc* may have been substituted, being influenced however by the Celtic form to the extent of retaining the initial back consonant. From the spellings it can be seen that the initial *c-* was consistently a velar voiced stop. The forms in *ch-* represent merely a scribal device for this sound, used by Anglo-Normans (IPN i, 113, n 7). By the 13th century a form

with a medial spirant developed. Perhaps the pronunciation was [kɛlxou] which was written *Kelshou*, *Kelzho*. It is notable that these spellings occur first in English documents. Local scribes retained the traditional form as *Kelcho*, *Calco* until the 16th century although the pronunciation must have already become [kɛlso:] by that time. Blaeu's spelling is phonetic.

KERSHEUGH (Jed):

Carisheughe, 1590 CBP. The place was probably named from the family of Ker who held Ferniehurst Castle close by.

MINTO (Mto): (80, 14 H):

Munethov (P), 1166 CDS; *Mynetowe*, 1296 RS; *Minthou*, /138/ 1317 RMS; *Myntow*, 1359 *Rot Scac*; *Myntehowe*, 1380 CDS. OW *mynnyd*, “mount, hill”, is allied with OE *hōh* in this name. Later the first element was associated with ME *mint*, “mint”. See Introduction: Celtic Names.

REDHEUGH (Cst):

Redhuche, 1388 *Rot Scac*; *-hughe* 1583 CBP; *Reidhwitht*, 1572 HMC (*Drml*), (*tht = cht*); *-heuch* (P) 1574 *L Ch*. “Red height”: Redheugh stands on a nub of land projecting into the valley of the Hermitage Water.

BERWICKSHIRE

FOGO (Fogo): (75, 8 L):

Fogko, 1159 (*c* 1320) *Kelso*; *Foghou*, 1165-82 LSMM; 1296 CDS; *Fogo*, *c* 1230 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Fog(g)howe*, *c* 1300 *Cold*; 1336-7 CDS. ModSc *fog* is “rough short grass growing on low hills”, (Bwk). Compare ME *fogge*, a Scandinavian loan, “aftermath”, etc. (PN La, 255 n). The meaning is different in our area.

HUME (Hume): (81, 6 B):

Hom, 1159 (*c* 1320) *Kelso*; 1165-1214 LSMM; 1296 CDS; 13th century, *Reg Dnf*; *Houm*, 12th LVD; *Home*, *c* 1200 (1434) *Cdstr*; *c* 1300 *Cold*; 1478 HMC (*Rxb*); *Holme*, 1348 RS; *Hum(e)*, 1423 HMC (*Home*); *Hewme*, /139/ 1572 CSP. OE (*æt pāem*) *hōhum*, which by loss of intervocalic *-h-* becomes **hōum*, *hōm*. ME *hōm* gives MSc *huim* which accounts for the spellings as *Hume*, *Hewme*, and the pronunciation [hju:m].

PITTLESHEUGH (Eccl): (81, 7 A):

Pettillishugh, 1248 LSMM; *Pithlishouh*, 1263 *ib*; *Pittelsewcht*, 1585 HMC (*Var Coll v*); *-euch*, 1590 HMC (*Wed*); *Pitlsheuch*, 1666 *L Ch*. OE **Pyttel*, personal name is the first element. It does not occur independently, but is found in a place-name *Pyttelesford* (*Onom*).

DUMFRIESSHIRE

GREटना (Grt): (89, 7 G):

Gretenho(u), 1215-45 CDS; 1307 *Ch*; *-howe*, 1374-5 CDS; *Greateney*, 1552 Bullock; *Gretnowe*, 1552-3 CSP; *Gretney*, 1583 CBP. OE *grēoten hōh*, “gravelly hill”. The ending seems to have been confused with ON *ey*, “island, land surrounded by marsh”.

WHITA HILL (Lang):

Whytowe braye, 1552 Bullock; *Whyta hill*, Blaeu. OE *hwīt hōh*, “white hill”.

SELKIRKSHIRE**FASTHEUGH** (Slk):

Fastheuch, 1494 C-B; Blaeu. Compare Fast Castle (Cld). *Fast* does not appear /140/ as a place-name element in the North of England. It may be OE *fæst* (adj) in the sense of “strongly defended”, but it may be a short form of *fæsten*, “fortress”.

“Lost” names are:

Witehou, 1165 (1434) *Cdstr*, which was the site of Coldstream Priory: cf Whita Hill (Lang), (*supra*).

Crookhou, c 1200 LSMM, near Primside; “the hill at the bend”, from ME *crōke* < ON *krókr*.

Ernisheuch, 1509 RMS, in Lauder: cf *Earnsclouch*, (Chan), (No LXI), from OE *earn* “eagle”.

Hesterhoh, c 1050 (12th) HSC, a hill above Yetholm. The first element is probably Celtic: cf PN La, 179 n.

Pilheuch, 1568 (*Var Coll v*), at Ayton, contains ME *pile*, etc. See No LI.

There are, further, Maxwellheugh (Kso), Millheugh (Jed), Coveyheugh (Earl), Heugh (Laud), Seaheugh Burn (Rth), Smedheugh (Slk), and Kelso Hill (Oxn). In Northumberland and Durham there are ten names in *-heugh*, and sixteen in which the ending (from the oblique case) is *-hoe*, or has been disguised under some other termination. There are no examples in Cumberland and Westmorland.

/141/ XXXI OE *clif*,

“cliff”, used of the steep side of a hill, or any steep sloping ground (IPN ii, s.v.).

ROXBURGHSHIRE**LILLIESLEAF** (Lif): (80, 13 G):

Lyllesclefe, *-cleue*, 1147-52 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Lilislive*, c 1150 ESC; *Lillesclive*, 1150 *Glas*; 1159 (c 1320) *Kelso*; 1165-88 LSMM; *-clyfe*, 1296 CDS; *Lyllyscloue*, 1203 *Dryb*. OE *Lilles clif*, containing OE personal name *Lill*. The village lies under a long narrow ridge.

“Lost” names are:

Shollesclif, 1336-7 CDS in Langton, Berwickshire, which seems to contain the same first element as *Choicelee* (No XVIII).

Wyrmsclif, 1367-8 CDS; *Wormecleif*, 1451-2 RMS, in Berwickshire, near Wormerlaw with which there may be some connection. An OE personal name *Wyrm*, later influenced by ON *Ormr*, seems to be the first element of this name.

Alnecliue, 1165-1214 NMS, near Ancrum, must be a cliff on the R. Ale.

/142/ XXXII OE *sīde*,

“slope of a hill or bank, especially one extending for a considerable distance” (NED). In England this element is much more common in Northumberland and Durham than in any other area. In a few cases the ending *-side* may denote “by the side of”, when the first element is a noun rather than an adjective: eg *Woodside*. It is possible that in some of the names the

ending is *sæte*, or *(ge)set*. Earlside, Mackside, Bemerside and Carolside may belong to this class. Compare No X.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

COMMONSIDE (Tvt):

Commonside 1511 RMS; *Comonsyd*, Blaeu. “Place beside the *common*”, which here seems to mean simply “moorland”.

EARLSIDE (Cav): (85, 13 C):

Earlside, 1511 RMS; *Yarlside*, 1576-7 *ib.* OE *eorles-sīde*, “earl’s hillside”, or perhaps *eorles sæte*, “earl’s seat, as in *Earlside Nb (PN NbDu, 69). OE *eorles (ge)set*, “earl’s farmstead”, is also possible.

FALSIDE (Sdn): (86, 4 B):

Faussyde, 1296 CDS; *Falsett*, 1568 RMS; *Fasyde*, Blaeu. /143/ OE *fāg-sīde* “many-coloured hillside”. For endings in *-sett*, *-cett* compare Fawcett Forest, We, (PN CuWe, 146), and Facit (PN La, 60).

LANGSIDE (St B): is so spelt in 1511, RMS. “Long slope or ridge”.

LONGSIDEBRAE (Cav):

Langsyde, 1576-7 RMS. Cf *supra*. Here English *o* is substituted for Scots *a*.

MACKSIDE (Sdn): (86, 3 B):

Maxsy(i)de, 1566 RMS; 1588 *L.Ch*; Blaeu. The first element is the personal name *Maccus*, seen in Maxton, etc. The ending may originally have been *(ge)set*.

SINGINGSIDE BURN (Mrb): (81, 9J):

Senegideside, late 13th century *Kelso*. OE *senged*, “singed, burnt”, may be the first element; “burnt hillside”.

SUNNYSIDE (Mel), (Cav):

Sonnyesyde, 1590 CPB. “Sunny hillside”. The spelling may apply to either place.

TEINDSIDE (Tvt): (85, 10 C):

Tenside, 1446-7 HMC (*Rxb*); *Teneside*, 1511 RMS; *-syde*, 1547 *ib.* /144/ Perhaps Gael *Tigh na suidhe*, “house on the hillside”: cf Tenafield (PN R & Cr, 111). The first element might be a Celtic river name: cf Teign D, from *W taen*, “sprinkling, (ERN, 397). The Teindside Burn might have had originally a Celtic name.

THICKSIDE (Jed):

Thikside, *-syde*, 1571 RPC; Blaeu. A dialect form, *thick*, from OE *þicce*, “thicket”, is the first element. The meaning is “hillside overgrown with brushwood”. Compare Thickside (Esk).

WOODSIDE (Mrb):

Woodside, 1542 *Ham Pap*. “Wooded hill”, or “place beside the wood”.

BERWICKSHIRE

BEMERSYDE (Mert): (81, 2 D):

Bemersyd, c 1220 (16th) *Dryb*; 1326 LSMM; *-side*, 1406-36 LSMM; *Bymersyd(e)*, 1425 (16th) *Dryb*; Blaeu; *Bemyrsyde*, 1502 HMC (*Wed*). ONb *bēmere*, “trumpeter”, seems to be the first element: cf Bemersley, St, and Bemerton, W (DEPN, 35).

BIRKENSIDE (Leg): (81, 1 A):

Birchinside, 1153-65 APS; *Birkenside*, 1165-77 LSMM; c 1170 (16th) *Dryb*. OE *birċene sīde*, “hillside grown with birch-trees”. The second spelling may be due to the influence of /145/ ON *birki*, “birch-grove”. MSc *birk* is derived from the Scandinavian form.

CALDSIDE (Hume):

Caldsyde, 1502 HMC (*Wed*); *Cauldsydis*, 1536 RSS; *-syde*, 1621 HMC (*Wed*). “Cold hillside”.

CAROLSIDE (Earl): (81, 2 A):

Carelside, 1484 HMC (*Home*); *Carrellsyde*, 1535 RSS, 1582 RPC; *-sidis*, 1567 *Dryb*; *Carrilsyd*, 1620 *ib*; *Carolsyde*, Blaeu. Perhaps ON *karla sætr*, “shieling of the freemen”, ME *karlesete*, but this is doubtful. A Gaelic personal name, *Cairell*, may be the first element: cf *Choirell*, *Cairell*, a 6th century king of Ulster (CPNS, 131, 306, 515), and contained in Barnycarroll (Joyce, iii, 129).

CHIRNSIDE (Chrn): (75, 11 J):

Cirneside, 1095-1100 (15th) ESC; *Chirn(e)sid(e)*, 1095 (15th) *ib*; *Scyrneside*, c 1270 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Chirn(e)syde*, *ib*; c 1290 (c 1320) *Kelso*; 1316 *ib*; *Chirenside*, 1296 RS; *Skyrnessede*, c 1300 *Cold*; *Chernesyde* (P), 1316 *Kelso*; *Chyrnesyd*, c 1330 *Cold*. The modern pronunciation is Shirset (SND, xxv). The initial [ʃ] from OE *Ċ*, ME *Ch-* [tʃ], is to be compared with the initial consonant of Chillingham, Nb (PN NbDu, 45). /146/ This may be OE *Ċyrin-sīde*, “hillside shaped like a churn”.

FAIRNIESIDE (Ayt):

Farnesyde, 1588 HMC (*Wed*); *Fairnysyde*, Blaeu. “Ferry Hillside”.

FALLSIDEHILL (Hume):

Fassethill, 1535 RSS; *Fasyde Hill*, Blaeu. “Hill with a speckled side”: cf *Falside* (Sdn). MSc, *fal-* is an inverted spelling for *faw-*, from OE *fāg*.

FAWSIDE (Grd):

Fausyd, c 1170 (16th) *Dryb*; c 1350 *ib*; *Favsyde*, 1330 *Rot Scac*; *Fauside*, 1441 (16th) APS. Compare the example above.

KENNETSIDEHEADS (Eccl):

Kenettsyde Hd, Blaeu. There is no hill here, so *-side* may mean “stream-side”. One of the small streams in the neighbourhood may have been the *Kennet, from OW **cent*, “brilliant white”.

YARLSIDE (Earl): is so spelt in 1368 LSMM. Compare Earlside (Cav), (*supra*). This might be ON *jarlssætr*, but *jarl* is no doubt simply a substitution for OE *eorl*.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

BRECKONSIDE (Glc):

/147/ *Brakensyd*, 1552-3 CSP; *Brekensyd*, 1636, *Reg Sas Dmf*. “Bracken-grown hillside”. The fronting of *a* to *e* in ME *braken* is common in this district and is to be found also in *Breckenbrough* (PN YNR, 275).

CAULDSIDE (Can):

Caldsyde, Blaeu. Compare Caldside (Home).

HARDENSIDE (Can):

Hardin, 1583 CBP; *Hardensyde*, 1590 RPC. For the first part of the name, compare Harden (Rbt), No XXIV. The place is on a hillside overlooking a valley which is the “hare dean”.

LANDSIDE (Wam):

Langsyde, 1555 HMC (*Jhn*). Compare Langside (St B), (*supra*).

WATERSIDE (Pnp):

Wattersyde, 1543 HMC (*Drml*). “Place beside the water, or stream”.

“Lost” names are:

Clortysyd, c 1170 (16th) *Dryb*; *Clottyside*, c 1350 *ib*, near Fawside (Grd). Scots dialect *clorty* means “dirty, muddy”, but this form is confined to North Scotland. In Southern Scots the form is *clarty*: cf the *clairtie burne* at /148/ North Berwick (ELth), 1587 *Glas*. The word may be *clotty*, from ME *clott*, “clod, lump”.

Milchesid, 1189 LSMM; *Milksideburne*, c 1170 (16th) *Dryb*, between Blainslie and Lauder. “Hillside of rich pasture, which produced a good yield of milk”.

Heviside, 1189-99 LSMM; 1590 CBP; *-syd*, 1315 RMS; near Whitton (Mrb). “Hillside where the ground is heavy”, i.e. clayey or very wet.

There are 50 other names ending in *-side*.

/149/ XXXIII OE stān,

MSc *stain*, ModSc, *stane*: very often this ending appears anglicised as *-stone*. In one or two cases this represents an original ending in *-tūn*, as in Groundistone (Llf), Blackerstone (A St B) and Rowlestane (Eccl). Cumstone (H & C) and Inglestone (Drd) may belong to this type. The exact meaning of OE *stān* is difficult to determine in many instances. In hill-names it usually refers to some outcrop of rock, but in names such as Mellerstain its exact meaning is obscure. In a few examples *stān* refers to a definite landmark. Circles of standing stones account for the names of Ninestone Rig (Cst), Girdlestanes (Esk) and the Loupin Stanes (Esk), (see AHMC, Dmf, 78). The Mutiny Stones (Lgf) is a long cairn, known previously as the “Mittenfu’ of Stones”, corrupted to the “Meeting Stones” before assuming its present form (AHMC, Bwk, 130). Boundary stones are represented by Harestanes (Anc) and Harestanes Heights (KJ), from OE *hār-stān*, “grey stone”, used almost invariably of a boundary post.

ROXBURGHSHIRE**GRAYSTONE HILL** (Cst):

Graistounhauch, Blaeu. /150/ The modern form is more likely to be authentic than Blaeu’s, whose spelling refers to a farm at the waterside under Graystone Hill.

GRINDSTONE LAW (Oxn): (86, 8 C):

Grundisdame Law, 1598 CPB (*am = ain*). Grindstones cannot have been quarried here as the hill is in an inaccessible position for transport: cf *Grindstone Law*, Nb (PN NbDu, 96). OE *grund-stān*, “flat paving-stone”, may be the original form, as the hill is less than a mile from the Roman Road and the camp at Chew Green.

SANDYSTONES (Anc): (81, 2F):

Sandystanis, 1499-1500 RMS; *Sandestanis*, 1550 *ib*. “Sandy stones”. The place is on a stream near two fords, the beds of which were no doubt paved with stones.

BERWICKSHIRE**BROTHERSTONE** (Mert): (81, 3 D):

Brothirstanside, c 1230 (16th) *Dryb*; *Britherstanes*, 1296 CDS; *Brutherstanes*, 1296 *Inst Pub*. Cf **UPPER BROTHERSTONE** (Mdl) and **NETHER BR.** (Chan): *Brothirstanys*, 1153-65 (1400) *Soltre*; *Broderstanis*, 1489 RMS. *Brother* may have the meaning of “monk”, since one place is near Dryburgh, and the other near Soutra. The shape of the stones may have suggested cowled /151/ figures. A pair of standing-stones might be known as “Brotherstones”. None are marked at either place.

CRUMSTANE (Duns):

Crumstaine, Blaeu. OE *crumbe stān*, “crooked stone”.

MELLERSTAIN HOUSE (Nnt): (81, 4 B):

Melocstan, c 1200 (c 1320 *Kelso*; *Melokestan*, c 1230 (") *ib*, late 13th (") *ib*; *Molocstan*, c 1230 ("), *ib*, c 1260 (") *ib*, *Meloustan*, c 1250 (") *ib*; *Melnstanes*, 1335-6 CDS; *Melonstanes*, 1336-7 *ib*; *Melvstanys*, 1388-9 *ib*; *Mellorstanis*, 1478 HMC (*Wed*). Perhaps OE *meoloc stān*, “milk stone”. There are no examples of this compound to be found in English place-names. An *-oc* derivative of a name **Mel* is possible: cf *Melkington*, Nb, which may be based on a derivative of **Mil* (PN NbDu, 140).

THIRLESTANE (Laud): (75, 1 M):

Thirlestan, c 1150 (16th) *Dryb*, c 1170 *ib*, 1189-99 CDS; *Thirlestain*, 1175-1214 LSMM; *Thirlstane*, 1509 RMS. OE *þýrel-stān*, “stone with a hole through it”.

WHINKERSTANES (Fogo): (75, 8 M):

/151/ *Quinkerstan*, 1214-49 LSMM; *-stanes*, 1335-6 CDS; *Hinkerstan*, 1296 *Inst Pub*. This may be a compound of *whin*, “gorse, furze” (cf Norwegian *hvine*), and *ker*, “marshland”, from ON *kjarr*, combined with NME *stain*.

DUMFRIESSHIRE**ERICSTANE** (Mof): (84, 13 B):

Ayrickstane, 1309 RC; *Ayrikstan*, 1317 RMS; *Ayrik-stane*, c 1375 (c 1490) *Brus*, 1568 RPC. “Eric’s stone”; ON *Eirikr* and ON *steinn* or OE *stān*; but compare CPNS, 182, for a Gaelic derivation.

WHITESTONES (Kmh):

Quitestanis, 1569 RPC. “White stones”.

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THIRLESTANE (Ettr): (80, 5 K):

Thyrlestangate, Greater Thyrlestane, C-B; Thirrlstaine, Blaeu. Compare Thirlestane (Laud) (*supra*).

There are 30 other names in *-stone(s)*, *-stane(s)*. The first elements of three are names of animals: Yadstone Law (Cad), Buckstone Moss (Cst), Foalfoot stane (Cst). Five have adjectives of colour: Greystone Brae (Oxn), Redstone Bog (Sdn), Whitestone Hill (How), Blackstan Hill (Tun), Greystone rig (Jhn). ME *pike*, “pointed hill” appears in Pikestone Rig (Ettr), P~ Knowe (Yar), and P~ Hill (H & C). A few others /153/ are fairly obvious in meaning: Millstone Edge (Tvt), probably so called because it is serrated; Brae Dunstan (Eccl) which is OE *dūn-stān* with MSc *brae* prefixed; Clatterstanes Burn (Kkm) a common combination in Scotland; Holestane (Drd) which may have the same meaning as Thirlestane; and Round-stonefoot (Mof). More difficult problems requiring early spellings to point to a solution are: Drinkstone (Hwk), Firestone Edge (Rbt), Thowliestane Hill (How), Beltedstane (Ann), Carlinstane Burn (Pnp) and Thirstane Hill (Drd). It is noticeable that only the plainly early names are simple compounds in *-stān*. These are mostly names of habitations. Later names, mostly nature names, nearly all include a detached suffix: *Hill, Brae, Knowe, Rig*, etc.

/154/ XXXIV OE pæð,

NME *peð*, ModNb and ModSc *peth*, “a hollow or deep cutting in a road”, and also “a steep road or path”.

BERWICKSHIRE

COCKBURNSPATH (Ckb): (75, 8 D):

Colbrandespade, c 1130 ESC, 1391 RMS; *-peth*, 1335-6 CDS; *Colbrandspeth* (P), c 1300 Cold; *Cowbrandispeth*, 1443 HMC (*Home*); *Coburnspeth*, c 1485 Wallace; *Cokbrandispeth*, 1529 RMS; *Cokburnispeth*, 1564 *L Ch*. The first element is *Colbrand*, the name of a mythological Danish giant. Cockburnspath is situated at the mouth of a deep ravine, the sides of which require the road to descend steeply and climb again. Just where it emerges on the north side, Blaeu places *Pethhead*.

HEXPATH (Grd): (75, 4 M):

Hextildespeth(e), 1296 *Inst Pub*, 1296 CDS; *Hexteldespehe*, 13th century CDS (Seal); *Hekkispeth*, 1469 RMS; *Hecspeth*, 1471 HMC (*Home*). The first element is OE *hægstald*, “warrior”: cf Hexham-on-Tyne, originally a Celtic river-name corrupted to **Hestild*, and in that form associated with WS *hago-steald*. It is unlikely that a Celtic /155/ name also underlies Hexpath, which must be derived directly from the OE word. The use of the term for “warrior”, and the fact that the main road here runs very straight east and west and is protected on the north by the earthwork known as Herri’s Dyke, suggest that the Anglian population of the Merse may have had a military thoroughfare here leading to Lauderdale to meet the Roman Road from the north, along which marauding parties of Scots may have been accustomed to advance. “Clennel Street”, a mediaeval road across the Cheviots, was known as *Hexpathgate* (Hardie, 26).

REDPATH (Earl): (81, 2 C):

Red(e)peth(e), 1296 CDS, 1494 HMC (*Var Coll v*); *Reidpeth*, 1509-10 RMS; *Ridpeth*, Blaeu. Redpath lies in a deep and fairly narrow valley, which a road crosses.

SISTERPATH (Fogo): (75, 7L):

Sisterpeth, 1335-6 CDS; *Cisterpeth*, 1336-7 *ib*; *Sestirpeth*, 1451-2 RMS; *Susterpeth*, 1509-10 *ib*. OE *sweostor-pæð*: cf Brotherstones, No XXXIII.

“Lost” names are: *Franpath*, 1565 HMC (*Home*) in A St B. With so little evidence, it is impossible to determine the first element.

Hailisepeth, c 1222 (16th) *Dryb*; *Ailinisepeth*, c /156/ 1230 (") *ib* in Lauder. ON *Eilífr* may be the personal name contained in this compound. *Ailin-* may represent *Ailiv-*. Compare Allithwaite La (DEPN, 6); *Hailiuethait*, c 1170.

There are three other names in *-path* for which no spellings have been found.

MERRYPATH RIG (Tvt) may be so named from the deep ravine in which the Wrangway Burn runs at its base. *Merry* in the sense of “pleasant” may have applied to a path or road crossing the ravine.

BENTPATH (Wstk) may denote a transverse crossing of the Esk at this point.

NEIDPATH HILL (Cad) is to be compared with Neidpath Castle (Pbl). In both cases the road runs in a narrow area between a hill and the river. The first element may be OE *nīed*, “difficulty, distress”, used in compounds, chiefly poetical, denoting a road used in time of danger.

/157/ XXXV OE carr,

“rock”, belongs to the Northumbrian area. It is the first element of Carham, Nb (PN NbDu, 39). Its appearance in a *-hām* name shows that it was used at an early period. It is of Celtic origin.

BERWICKSHIRE

HARCARSE (Swt): (75, 9 L):

Har(e)carres, 1165-1214 LSMM; 1214-49 (P) *ib*; 1263 (P) C de M; 1336-7 CDS; *Harcar* (P) 1214-49 LSMM; *Harecarr* (P), 1214-49 *ib*; *Harkarres*, c 1230 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Harekare* (P) 1254 CDS; *Hare(c)kars*, c 1300 *Cold*. ME *hāre-carr(es)*, “grey rock(s)”.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

HARKERS HILL (Oxn):

Harecar, 1165-1214 LSMM; *Harecarre*, 1214-49 *ib*. The place *Harecar is now lost, but the hill retains a plural or genitive form of the name. There is a *Harecarelecche* recorded in 1165-1214 LSMM near Bowden. Compare *Harcus*, near Eddleston (Pbl): *Harkerse*, 1493 HMC (*Var Coll v*); *Herkerse*, 1543 *ib*, which is the same name. It is curious to find this combination recurring in different areas. It may be that there was a term, ME *hārecarr*, denoting a boundary rock, in the Border /158/ area in mediaeval times. Other examples of *carr* are to be

found amongst the rocks on the Berwickshire coast: Mawcarr Stells, Heathery Carr (Cld) and East and West Carr (Ayt).

/159/ XXXVI OE berg,

“hill”, MSc *berȝ*. The distribution of these names points to English rather than Norse origin. ON *berg* is probably the source of the names in North Cumberland: Highberries, Howberry, Berry Hill, etc.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

GORRENBERRY (Cst): (85, 11 F):

Gorrumber(r)y, 1518 ALC, 1569 RPC; *Goranberry*, Blaeu. The first element may be Gaelic: cf Cairngorm (PNS, 120).

BERWICKSHIRE

DEANBERRY HOLE (Ckb):

Denberryholt, Blaeu. “Hill beside a *dean*”, and *hole*. Blaeu may have represented the ending correctly, from OE *holt* “wood”.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

LOWEBERRY (Hlw):

Luberrie, 1637, *Reg Sas Dmf*. This is near a small loch, so the first element may be OW *luch*, “lake”. OE *luh* does occur, but it is rare.

WEE QUEENSBERRY (Clb):

Quenysbery, c 1485 *Wallace*. OE *cwēn*, may refer to some particular queen, or may mean simply “woman”.

There are also Hazelberry (Tun) and Mainberry (Smh). Several names in *-burgh* are probably from OE *-berg*: Blackbrough Hill (How), Shereburgh (Mrb), and Windburgh Hill (Hbk).

/160/ XXXVII OE mōr,

“waste land, barren land”, MSc *muir*. *Moor* and *muir* are equally common in the Border area.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

GREATMOOR HILL (Cav and Cst):

Grittmoore, Blaeu. “Great, or large moor”: cf Greatmoor Hill (Tvt), three miles to the west.

WHITMUIRHAUGH (Spr):

Quhitmuirhall, 1569 RMS. “Hall or haugh by the white moor”. Water-blanching grass or flowering bog-cotton might account for the adjective “white”.

BERWICKSHIRE**LAMMERMUIR:**

Lombormore, c 1050 (12th) HSC; *Lambremor(e)*, 1120, 1150 ESC; c 1160 (c 1320) *Kelso*: 1174 *ib*; *Lambermor(a)*, 1165-1214 LSMM; 1243-54 *Kelso*; *Lambirmor*, 1276 APS; *Lammermuir*, c 1485 Wallace. OE *lambra mōr*, “moorland of the lambs”. The district has always been famed for sheep-rearing. *Mb-* has been assimilated to *-mm-* in the modern forms.

OXMUIR (Hume):

Oxmure, 1535 RSS. “Moor or waste land where oxen were kept”.

/161/ PILMUIR (Cld):

Pylemor, 1296 CDS, *Pylmor*, *Pilmor*, *ib*.

PILMUIR (Laud):

Pilemor, 1170 (16th) Dryb; *Pilmour*, 1222 *ib*. There is also *Pilmuir* (Hwk). The first element seems to be OE *pīl* “pointed stake”, ME *pile* “palisade” etc. (see No LI – *Peel*). Compare *Pilmuir*, WLth, which may contain OE *pyll* “Pool” (PN WLth, 97). This would suit the Coldingham *Pilmuir* which is near a pond, but not the other two. OE *pyll* more often denotes a tidal creek, or a pool at the junction of two streams (IPN ii, s.v.): cf *Pilmour Burn*, ELth.

SKAITHMUIR (Cdstr): (81, 10 A):

Scaith(e)mor, c 1200 (1434) *Cdstr*; c 1360 *Scal*; *Scaymor*, c 1300 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Scaythmore*, 1542 *Ham Pap*; *Skemore*, Blaeu. ON *skeið* has not been exactly defined in its use in place-names, but it contains the idea of separation. In this case it is unlikely to mean “race-course”, as the ground is not sufficiently flat. *Skaithmuir* is some distance from the nearest dwellings on all sides and so the sense of separation is obvious. The moor must have cut off one farm from the others in the district. Compare *Skaithmuir* (PN WLth, 7).

SELKIRKSHIRE**AKERMOOR LOCH** (Krk):

/162/ Akermure L, Blaeu. Perhaps OE *æcer mōr*, “moor with arable land in it”. There are 29 other names in *-moor* or *-muir*. They are almost all compounded with adjectives, eg *Brownmoor* (Slk), (Kkm), (Mid), *Middle Moor* (Sqr), *High Muir* (KF); or with common nouns denoting topographical features, eg *Braemoor Knowe* (How), *Stenmuir* (Hume), *Rig moor* (Grt). A few contain older place-names, eg *Weensmoor* (Hbk), *Libry Moor* (Kcl).

/163/ XXXVIII

Water is the name applied in the Border area of Scotland to all streams other than main rivers, and larger than burns. The majority of the stream-names are Celtic. The oldest names are British, eg *Allan Water*, *Kale Water*, *Eden Water*, etc. In North West Dumfriesshire there is a large number of Gaelic river-names. Only those which do not appear to be Celtic in origin are dealt with below. No mention has been made of names containing a place-name, eg *Borthwick Water*, *Oxnam Water*, *Moffat Water*.

BERWICKSHIRE

BLACKADDER WATER [bl'ak'adər]

WHITEADDER WATER [w'itədər]

The Blackadder joins the Whiteadder about seven miles above its junction with the Tweed. The part between the junction of the two streams and the Tweed was no doubt the original *Adder: *Edre*, c 1050 (12th) HSC; *Edrae*, 1104-8 (late 12th) SD.

BLACKADDER HOUSE (75, 10 K):

Blaccedre, 1095-1100 ESC; *Blakeder*, 1296 CDS; *Blacheder*, 1325 *Cold*; *Blakedre*, 1330 *ib*; *Blacader*, 1541 RMS.

WHITEADDER WATER:

/164/ *Withedre*, 1165-1214 LSMM; *Witedre*, 1214-49 *ib*; *Witeddre*, 1231 *ib*; *Quhitewatter*, 1542 HMC (*Var Coll v*). Watson derives *Adder from OE *ædre*, “vein, water-course” (CPNS, 467), but Ekwall rightly objects that the *Adder is too important a stream for such a name, and suggests instead OE *ǣdre*, “swift”, cognate with OHG *ātar* (ERN, 156). The ONb form *ēdre*, would give the persistent *e* of the early spellings. Later there was confusion with *adder* “snake”.

EYE WATER:

Hay R, 1573 Ortelius; Y.R., Blaeu, *Ey* 1664 RMS. The earliest forms are to be found in the name Ayton (see No V) and in the “lost” *Eiford*, c 1130 ESC, which suggests that the river-name is a back-formation from OE *ēg-tūn*. At a late stage in pronunciation, the river-name was equated with the common noun, *eye*.

LEET WATER:

Let, c 1270 (1434) *Cdstr*; c 1300 *ib*; *Leit*, 1550 RMS. OE (*ge*)*lǣt*, dialect *leat*, “an open water course to conduct water”: ONb *lēt*, NME *lēt*, gives MSc *leit*. It is possible that Leitholm (cf No IV), was originally OE (*ge*)*lēt-hām*, “farm by the water-conduit”, **/165/** and that the first element of the compound was transferred to the stream from which the lade was drawn. The Leet is a small, sluggish stream, which might merit such an unassuming name.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

WATER OF MILK: *Mylk flu.*, 1630 Speed. Cf Castlemilk: *Castelmilc*, 1189 CDS; *Castello-milch*, c 1300 St B; *Castell mylke*, 1552 Bullock. The river is clear, so that the sense cannot be “milky, turgid”, as in Milkwell burn Nb (PN NbDu, 143). Perhaps ME *mielch*, “giving milk”, is the derivation: cf *Melchbourne*, Beds (ERN, 286). A Celtic element might be expected after *Castle-*, cf Castleweary, Castle O’er (Dmf).

STENNIES WATER:

Stanhouse R., Blaeu. This stream must have been named from a place not now in existence, OE *stān-hūs*, “stone house”.

/166/ XXXIX OE strēam,

“rivulet, brook”. This element, although common in England, is very rare in Scotland. Few, if any, examples are to be found in Northumberland. Even in other parts of England it is rare as a terminal in place-names.

COLDSTREAM (Cdstr): (81, 10 B):

Caldestream, c 1210 (c 1260) GC; early 13th *Scal* (App): *Cald(e)strem(e)*, c 1200, c 1250, c 1270 (1434) *Cdstr*; 1291 DIHS; 1296-7 RS; 1409 *Rot Scac*; *Coldestrem*, 1296 DIHS; *Kaldistrem*, 14th *St And*; *Caudstreym*, c 1485 Wallace; *Cauldstreme* 1535 RMS. “Cold stream”. The name may originally have been applied to the Leet Water, or to some small streamlet in the neighbourhood, and later transferred to the settlement beside it. “Cold”, is more commonly found with *well*, eg Coldwell, Nb, Caldwell YNR, meaning “cold spring”; but compare Caldbeck, Cu, originally a stream-name, now a place-name (DEPN, 78; ERN, 59).

Berewiches strem, 1153-65 (c 1280) LSMM is the River Tweed at Berwick: *Berewyckstrem*, 1152 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Berewicstreme* 1165-1214 *ib*. This makes it possible that the “cold stream” above was also the Tweed.

/167/ XL OE wæl,

“a deep pool in a river”, survives as *weel* in ModSc, and Northern English, with the meanings, “whirlpool, eddy; deep still part of a river” (EDD). The meaning of “whirlpool” has no doubt been caused by confusion with the OE *hweol*, “wheel”.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

MAXWELL (Kso): (81, 6 D):

Macch’swel, 1159 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Mackuswel*, 1165-1214 LSMM; *Maccuswelle*, 1215 CDS; *Maccuswel* (P), 1221 Pat; *Maxewelle*, 1296 CDS. The early forms in *-wel* point to ME *wæl*, later confused with *welle* from OE *walla*. The first element is the Celtic personal name *Maccus* found also in Maxton, Longformacus. Maxwell was at one time the name of a parish, but the name now remains only in Maxwellheugh, a suburb of Kelso. “Maxwheel” is the name of a salmon cast below Kelso Bridge (Lang, p.73). Compare the “piscaria” de *Blakewel*, 1217-27 (c 1320) *Kelso*, at Tweedmouth.

/168/ XLI OE mere,

“lake”. There are no names now ending in *-mere*, but two names in *-moor* are almost certainly from OE *-mere*. This change is brought about by the SSc pronunciation of MSc *muir* as [mør].

ROXBURGHSHIRE

ALEMOOR (Rbt): (85, 9 A):

Almere, 1296 CDS; *Alemere*, 1511 RMS; Alemoor Loch: *Ealmoore L*, Blaeu; *Elmoore*, *ib*. Alemoor Loch must have been the original *mere*. The first element is the Ale Water, which is a British river-name. Modern pronunciation is [je:lme:r].

SELKIRKSHIRE

WHITMUIR (Slk): (80, 12 F):

Vithemer, c 1150 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Whitemer*, 1159 *ib*; *Whytemere*, 1165-1214 *ib*, *Wittermer*, late 13th century, *ib*; *Whytmure*, Blaeu. A small unnamed pond at Whitmuir Hall must have been the original “white lake”. “White” is a common adjective in place-names in this area: the reason for its use here is not obvious.

Hellmoor Loch (Krk & Rbt) is probably another *mere*. The first element is OE *hell*, “Hell”, referring to the darkness of the water.

/169/ XLII OE ford,

“a ford”, eME *fōrd*, MSc *fuirđ*. There is no trace of *forth*, which Mawer has found to be common in England from the 14th century (PN NbDu, 230).

ROXBURGHSHIRE

COLIFORTHILL (Cav): (85, 13 B):

Colyfordland, 1380 CDS; *Collefurd*, 1511 RMS: cf Colislinn, close by. A personal name OE *Cola* or ON *Koli* may be the first element, but if the same name occurs in Colislinn the genitive in *-s* is difficult to explain, since it would require a strong form of either name.

CRAIGSFORD (Mel):

Craiksford, Blaeu. A family name *Craik*, or *Craig*, derived from OBrit **craik*, “crag”, is the first element.

ECKFORD (Eckf): (81, 6 F):

Eckeforde, 1165-88 LSMM; *Ek(e)ford*, 1214-32 *ib*, c 1320 RMS; *Hekfurde* (P), c 1400 (1475-1500) Wyntoun C; *Eckfurd* (P), c 1400 (c 1500) Wyntoun W; *Hecfurde*, 1456 HMC (*Rxb*). The basis of this name may be an OE personal name *Ecca* as in *Eccup*, YWR (DEPN, 152), and *Ecton* (PN Nth, 138).

/170/ **MONKSFORD** (Mel):

Munkeford, c 1220 (16th) *Dryb*. “Ford used by the monks”. It is equidistant from Old Melrose and Dryburgh.

RUTHERFORD (Mxt): (81, 4 E)

Ruderforde, 1165-88 LSMM; *Rutheford* (P), 1165-1214, *ib*, *Rutherford(e)* (P) 1165-1214 *ib*; 1214-49 *ib*; *Rudedford* (P) 1214-49 *ib*; *Rotherford*, 1295-6 CDS; 1296 DIHS; 1296 RS; *Rudyrfurd*, c 1485 Wallace. The first part, *Ruther-* may be a British river-name, with Brit. *dubro-* as second element: cf *Rother* (ERN, 348). But the first element cannot be the same as in *Rother*; it may be Brit. *roudo-s*, “red”. A possibility, suggested by the form *Rudedford*, is that the first part is comparable to W *rhodwydd*, “ford”, and that the name is a translation of the same type as *Minto*.

BERWICKSHIRE

ELLEMFORD (Cm): (75, 6 H):

Hellum (P), c 1270 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Ellom*, 1296 CDS; *Ellum*, 13th *Reg Dnf*; *Ellem*, 1494 HMC (*Var Coll v*). OE (*æt þǣm*) *ellenum*, a side-form of *ellernum*, “at the elder-trees”, is possible, with *ellenum* later contracted to *ellum*. *Ford* is a late addition.

SELKIRKSHIRE

HOWFORD (Krk): So spelt in 1494 C-B. “Ford in a hollow”.

There are twelve other names in *-ford*, for which no spellings have been found.

/171/ MIDDLE ENGLISH ENDINGS**XLIII ME *castel*,**

a loan-word from L *castellum*, is used of prehistoric fortifications and mediaeval earthworks as well as of stone buildings. In place-names in this area it usually denotes a pre-English fortification.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

RUECASTLE (Bdr): (81, 3 H):

Rucastel(e), 1296 CDS, and Seal; *Rowcastell*, 1491-2, 1566 RMS; *Rouch-*, 1523 *ib.* ME *ruʒh castel*, “rough castle”: cf Ruchester, Nb (PN NbDu, 169). A “fort” is marked here on the OS Map. “Rough” may refer to the broken appearance of the ground: cf Rowchester, No XIII.

BERWICKSHIRE

BURNCASTLE (Laud): (74, 13 L):

Burn(e)castell, 1222 (16th) Dryb; 1502-3 RMS. A “fort”. “Castle by the burn”. There are also Blackcastle Hill (Ask), Horsecastle Bay (Cld), Oldcastles (Chrn), Ryecastle (Apl), Whitcastles (H & C), all of which are near “forts”. Cockburn’s Castle (Yar) is the ruin of a stone building.

For *Castle* as a first element, compare Castlemilk (StM), No, XXXVIII. There are also Castle O’er (Esk) and Castlewink (Ew) which are Celtic formations.

/172/ XLIV ME *bastel(e)*,

from Fr *bastille*: (a) “wooden siege-tower”, (b) “defensive tower” (DOST, s.v.), must mean here “strong tower”. The MSc form is *bastelʒe*, *baſteilʒie* etc, but in the following examples there is no trace of the final *l-mouillé*. We have here a development of the ME form, and not a return to the French, such as took place in Early ModEng (see NED, s.v.). There are no cases of the use of this word as a place-name element in Northern England.

BERWICKSHIRE

BASTLE (Fld): (75, 12 J):

Foulenbastell, 1614 HMC (*Home*); *Foulden Bastell*, 1615 *ib*; *Bastell*, Blaeu. “The tower at Foulden”. See Foulden (No XXIV). It is not certain whether the structure was stone or not: cf AHMC (Bwk) p.90, para 164.

KELLOE BASTLE (Edr): (75, 9 K):

Bastell, Blaeu. There is now no trace of defensive works here.

Bastleridge (Ayt) may contain the term as a first element although Blaeu's spelling is *Bastenrigg*. The "bastel" may have been Ayton Peel. AHMC (Bwk) records a Bastel House at Carfrae in Channelkirk parish. /172(a)/ These structures must belong to the mid 16th century, when, by an Act of Parliament, every Border householder with £100 a year was required to provide a defensive enclosure for himself and his dependents (AHMC (Bwk), xxiii).

It is notable that the term, which came into currency at so late a date, should continue the ME form, when the MSc 16th century form was *bastailye*, and the English, *bastile*.

/173/ XLV OE *weorc*,

NME *werk(e)*, MSc *wark*, "fort, defensive work": cf Wark Nb (PN NbDu, 207).

DUMFRIESSHIRE

BURNSWARK (Mid): (89, 3 C):

Burniswerkhill, 1541 HMC (*Drml*): *Burnyswarke*, 1542 *Ham Pap*; *Burnswark h*, Blaeu. The first element may be a personal name **Brūn*, in a metathesised form. The name does not occur independently in OE, but is the first part of various compounds, eg *Brūnheard*. It occurs in various English place-names, eg Broomshawbury (PN Ess, 40), Bungdale (PN YNR, 57), etc. These forms recall the *Bruneswerc* of Gaimar and the *Etbrunnanwerc* of S.D., referring to the site of the Battle of Brunanburh. The latter spelling and *Brun(n)anburh*, ASC (A), *Brunanbyrig*, ASC (E), and *Brunandune*, *Ethelw.*, require a weak form, *Brūna*, although *Brunesburh*, H.H., and *Brunfort*, *Bk. of Hyde*, might contain the strong form. It is probable that the name was **Brūna*, which would be given an ending in *-n* in the oblique cases by southern scribes, but which in Scotland was eME *Brune*, later given a genitive ending in *-s*.

For the various sources quoted above see Anderson, /174/ 70. The *weorc* is the pre-English system of fortifications on Burnswark Hill. See Note on the Battle of Brunanburh.

SELKIRKSHIRE

NEWARK CASTLE (Slk): (80, 10 E):

le Newerk, 1439 HMC (*Rxb*); *Newwerk*, 1489-90 RMS; *Newewark*, 1547-8 CSP. The "new wark" replaced the "old wark" in the early 15th century (Tranter, 168). Blaeu gives *Castel of Newoorck*, and, slightly to the east, *Old-worck*.

/175/ XLVI ME *bigging*,

which is formed from the Scandinavian verb *byggja*, "to build", appears solely in the combination Newbigging in this area. The word is no criterion of Scandinavian settlement, as it was adopted into the local dialect in the ME period, and is still in current use in South Scotland. Newbigging is a common surname in E Lothian and Berwickshire.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

NEWBIGGING BIRKS and **NEWBIGGING BUSH** (Oxn): (81, 6 J, 5 K):
Neubiggyng, 1315 RMS; *Newbigging*, *Buss*, the *Birkis*, 1571 RPC.

NEWBIGGING (Laud): is so spelt in 1533 RMS. The name also occurs in Dmf in the parishes of Middlebie, Wamphray and Applegarth.

/176/ XLVII MSc raw,

from OE *rāw*, “a number of houses standing in a line”.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

DYKERAW (Sdn):

Dykra, Blaeu. “Row by the dyke or ditch”. ModSc *dyke* may represent OE *dīc*, “ditch”, or may have the sense of “stone wall”.

LANGRAW (Hbk): is so spelt in 1566 RMS. “Long row of houses”.

BERWICKSHIRE

ANGELROW (Grn) (75, 7M)

Angelraw, 1529 RMS; *-row*, Blaeu. The site of a chapel is marked about half a mile to the east. This may have had some connection with the name. Bagraw ford (Cst) contains *Bagraw*- which appears in *Bagrawod*, 1552-3 CSP, and the “lost” *le Bagraw*, 1451 HMC (*Drml*) in Penpont. Compare Bagraw, Nb (PN NbDu, 10) and Baggrow, Cu (PN CuWe, 9). The frequency with which this compound occurs suggests something other than *Bacga’s raw*, for it is unlikely that the personal name, not elsewhere instanced in the Southern Scottish area, should occur more than once in the same combination. *Bag-* must have some topographical sense, /177/ perhaps as “hollow”. But compare Bagley, Berks (DEPN, 21), in which the first element may be the name of an animal. There are also Boonraw (Hwk), Netherraw (Llf) and Oxnam Row (Oxn).

/178/ XLVIII ME schele

For a discussion on the origin of this word, see *Studies*², 57. The modern Sc form is *shiel*, which Jamieson defines as – (1) A hut for a shepherd; (2) A shed for sheep on the hill during the night. Most of the examples below have been formed late in the ME period, although a few contain OE personal names which must have been in use at a later time. Several have Gaelic elements: Dronshiel (Lgt), Craigshields (Kkm), probably Elshieshields (Lmb), Tomshielburn (Cav). In Penmanshiel (Ckb), ME *schele* has been added to a surviving British place-name. Another British element may be preserved in Kidshiel, although this is very doubtful. Very few of the *-shiel* names are compounded with the name of an animal. Most bear a personal name or a word describing the *shiel*, eg Stoneshiel (Cld), Bruntshields (Tin).

ROXBURGHSHIRE

FOULSHIELS (Cst):

Foulshieles, 1590 CBP. “Foul, filthy *shiels*”.

MIDSHIELS (Hwk):

Myd-schelis, 1516 RMS. “The middle shiels”.

/179/

SHIELSTOCKBRAES (Mrb): (81, 7 G):

Tockesheles, 1165-1214, 1189-99 LSMM.

Scheilstokbrayis, 1570, 1588 RMS. The original form may have been ME *Tocche-scheles*. One *Tocce* signs a charter c 1150 ESC. The name is OE *Tocca*. How the elements came to be inverted in order is obscure: there is no parallel case in this area. *-Braes* is a later addition.

STANESHIEL BURN (Cst):

Stainshill, Blaeu. MSc *stain scheil*, “Sheep-hut built of stone”, the name of a place, not now in existence, from which the burn derived its name. For Blaeu’s spelling of the terminal, compare *Esshystill* for Ashiestiel.

SWANSHIEL (Hbk):

Suamesheels, Blaeu (*am* = *ain*). MSc *swain scheil*, “herdsman’s hut”. Later the first element was confused with Swan, a family name.

BERWICKSHIRE

BEDSHIEL (Grn): (75, 5L):

Bethschele, 1452 RMS; *Betschele*, 1494 *ib*; *-scheill*, 1509-10 *ib*. ME *Bēdschele*, with *e* shortened before the consonant group from a form containing the OE personal name *Bēda* would give forms in *Bet-*, since *d* > *t* before the **/180/** voiceless fricative [ʃ]. Otherwise the first element may be Gael *beath*, *beith*, “birch-tree”, as in Beath (Fife), and Beith (Ayr).

KETTLESHIEL (Lgf):

Ketelschel, c 1269 HMC (*Home*); *Ketilscheles*, 1367-8 CDS; *Kettilschele*, 1492 RMS. “The *shiel* belonging to *Ketill*”, a Scandinavian name. In the first document quoted, the place was held by one *Ketell Dudeman*, who probably gave his name to it.

KIDSHIEL (Duns):

Kaitschelis, 1546-7 RMS. The first element may be Brit *cet* “wood” as in Pencaitland ELth (CPNS, 355).

WINDSHIEL (Duns):

Wyneschelis, 1490 HMC (*Wed*); *Wynsheels*, Blaeu. “Shelter from the wind”: this is a very common combination: cf Windshield Hill (Wam), Windshiel Grain (Esk), Windshielknowe (Cst), Winshields (H & C).

DUMFRIESSHIRE

BRUNTSHIEL HILL and **BOG** (Can): (89, 9 B):

Brintscheillhill, 1590 RPC; *Brunsheillmoore*, 1597 CBP. “Burnt shiel”: MSc *brunt*, a metathesised form.

CRAIGSHIELDS (Kkm):

Cragschellis, 1463-4 RMS. Gael *creag*, MSc *craig* “rock”, is the first /181/ element. For the intrusive *d* in *shields*, compare North and South Shields, Du (PN NbDu, 176, 265).

ELSHIESHIELDS (Lmb): (88, 13 A):

Elscheschelis, 1530 RMS. *Elshie-* may be OGael *ailech* “a stony place”, as in Elshies, Bnf (CPNS, 479), or simply the common ModSc diminutive for Alexander.

WHITSHIELS (Lang):

Quhitschelis, 1532 RMS. “White shiels”.

SELKIRKSHIRE

CAULDSHIELS LOCH (Gala):

Cauldschelis, 1540 RSS. “Cold shiels”, now lost, from which the loch was named. The place was no doubt in an exposed position on the shores of the loch.

GALASHIELS (Gala): (80, 12 C):

Galuschel, c 1360 *Scal*; *Gallowschel*, 1416 LSMM; *Ga(l)loschelis*, 1468 *Rot Scac*, 1503 CDS. “The shiels on the Gala Water”. Spellings for Gala are: *Galche*, 1143-44 ESC; *Galue*, 1143-44 *ib*; *Galhe*, 1180 APS; 1165-1214 LSMM; *Galge*, 1180 *C de M*; *Galwe*, 1214-49 LSMM; 1236 BM; *Galwhe*, 1236 *ib*. OE *galga*, “gallows”, is phonetically possible, but there seems to be no reason why a river should be so called. The name is most likely to be Celtic: /182/ cf PNS, 185.

A “lost” name, *Ethebredscheillis*, 1430 HMC (*Rxb*); *Edibredschelis*, 1433-4 *ib*; *-schele*, 1443 *LCh*, is close to Newark Castle (Slk). The first element is an OE personal name *Ēadberht*, or *Æðelberht*.

There are 28 other names ending in *-shiel*, distributed throughout the four counties.

/183/ XLIX MSc *falde*, *fauld*,

from OE *fālod*, “fold, pen”. The earliest usage in this area is *falda*, c 1170 LSMM.

BERWICKSHIRE

STONEFOLD (Eccl):

Stamfold, Blaeu. This spelling may represent *stainfold*, with *m* a minim mistake for *in*; or it may show the change *nf* > *mf* as in Stamford, L, etc, from OE *stānford*. The modern form has been anglicised.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

MOUSWALD (Msw): (88, 13 E):

Musefauld, 1215-45 CDS; *-fald*, c 1218 HMC (*Drml*); *Mosefald*, 1304 *ib*; *Musfald*, 1317 RMS; *Mousfald*, 1446-7 HMC (*Rxb*). “Mouse-infested fold”: cf Muscoates YNR (DEPN, 318). But A H Smith derives it from ON *Músi*, a personal name (PN YNR, 65). This is possible in Dmf; ME **Mūse-falde* from late OE *Mūsa-fālod*. There are also Cawfaulds (Hwk) and Whitefauld Hill (Kkm) for which no early spellings have been found.

/184/ L ME layer, lair,

“place where animals lie”, from OE *leger* “grave, burial-place”. In this area it is associated solely with the names of domestic animals, and must have denoted spots in which sheep, or cows, were accustomed to spend the night. The majority of the names belong to hills, in the hollows of which the animals must have found shelter.

BERWICKSHIRE

WEDDERLAIRS (Lgf): (75, 2 J):

Wetherlairis, 1628 HMC (*Wed*).

“*Wedders*’ lying-place”. MSc *wedder*, Eng *wether*, is a ram. This is the name of a hill.

Other names are: Couclair Knowe (Rbt), containing ModSc *cout*, “colt”; Ewelair Hill (Rbt); Lamblair Edge (Jed), (Rbt); Lamblair Hill (Cst); Ewelairs Hill (Wam); Lamblair Knowe (Esk); and the “lost” *Niutlairs*, Blaeu, near Newcastleton, which may contain ModSc *nowt* “cattle”, a loan from the Scandinavian equivalent of OE *nēat*.

/185/ LI

Miscellaneous endings denoting habitation.

- (a) OE *croft*, “small enclosed field or pasture”. This must be the sense of Godscroft (A St B): *Goddiscroft*, 1589 HMC (*Wed*); *Godscroft*, Blaeu, which was a piece of ground belonging to the abbey. The ModSc meaning of *croft* is a small-holding, possessing just enough land to support one family independently. This is probably the sense of most of the names in *-croft*.
- (b) ME *toft*, from ON *topt*, is used in Southern Scotland to denote a homestead. It occurs independently in Upper and Lower Tofts (Cav): *Toftes*, 1296 CDS, *Toftis*, 1511 RMS. It is sometimes attached to the name of a farm or manor, as in Edgerston Tofts (Jed).
- (c) ME *demeyne*, in aphetic form gives ModSc *mains*, “farm attached to a mansion house, home farm”. In later Scots, *mains* is used of any farm, but the commonest use is with the name of some manor house, eg *Billie Castle and Billie Mains, Bewlie and Bewlie Mains. *Mains* appears in independent use in Maines House (Chm), Mains (Fld), **/186/** (Duns), East and West Mains (Eccl), North and South Mains (Pxt), but these instances are confined to Bwk. Rulesmains (Duns) is *Rowlis Manys*, 1536 RSS, *Rewlismains* 1587 HMC (*Wed*), perhaps from a personal name, OFr *Raoul*.
- (d) ME *haining*, a loan-word from ODan *hegning*, is found in the dialect of Northern England and Scotland. The Haining (Slk) is *le Hayning*, 1298-9 CDS, *Haning*, 1590-1 CBP: cf Haining, Nb (PN NbDu, 98). The meaning is “enclosure, fenced land”.
- (e) ME *milne*, from OE *mylen*, preserves the final *-n* only in Nethermiln (Grt). The modern form, *-mill*, is found in all the other examples. Boosmill (Llf): *Bwismylne*,

1545 RMS, *Bewes Mill*, Blaeu, is the mill belonging to *Bevis*, a 14th century name (Ewen, 165). Fireburnmill (Cdstr): *Fyreburne-mylne*, 1550 RMS, may contain the name of the burn on which it stands. Perhaps the spelling represents ME *feȝr-burne*, “fair burn”. Waulkmill (Fogo) and *Waulkmill (Laud): *Walkmylhalch*, 1501 RMS, were mills where cloth was *waulked* or fulled. *Clockmill* (Duns): *Clockmilne*, 1730 HMC (*Var Coll v*), is to be compared with Clocksorrow Mill (PN WLth, 114), in which the /187/ first syllable is MSc, *clack*, “the sound of clappers”. Compare also Clackmill Close and “the mill called *clakke*”, 1357 (PN Nth, 285). Cauldmill (Cav) was the mill at the *cauld*, or weir, where water was diverted for its use (DOST, s.v.).

- (f) OE *flōr*, “floor, ground, threshing floor”, in the plural, may be the derivation of Floors Castle (Kso), Floors (Pnp) and Fleurs (Cld). ME *flōres* > MSc *fluirs*, which might be written *Fleurs*, since the pronunciation approximated to French, *fleurs*. The sense of ME *flores* is not obvious. Perhaps varying levels are indicated: the original site may have consisted of two plateaux. An alternative etymology is ON *flórr*, “cow-stall”, but this is not to be expected in the Kelso area. Floors Castle is *le Fluris*, 1490 HMC (*Rxb*); *Fluris*, 1516 RMS. Fleurs (Cld) is *Flemington Flures*, 1614 HMC (*Wed*).
- (g) ModSc *byre*, “cow-shed”, occurs in Housebyres (Mel), and **Netherbyre*, 1614, an alternative name for Fleurs (Cld). Three names no longer in use are found in Blaeu: *Byrs*, near Langton (Bwk); *Langbyre* on the Wrangway Burn (Dmf); and *Yetbyres* /188/ near Castle O’er (Dmf).
- (h) OE *gærd* is seen in Ashyards (*Mid*).
- (i) ME *grange*, from Fr *grange*, “granary”, usually denotes a farm where corn is grown (Jam, s.v.); but there is a form from MedLat, *granagium* which denotes the place at which the tithes and rents of religious houses were paid, usually in kind. This is the source of Drygrange (cf No VIII). Other examples are Grange (Sdn), (Tun), (Sqr), and South Grange (Cld), all of which are names of farms.
- (j) MSc *girnel*, “granary”, is probably the derivation of Girnall (Ckb).
- (k) ME *tower*, from OFr *tour*, is found in Lochtower (Yth); *Loughtowr*, 1542 *Ham Pap*, “the tower by the loch”. There are also Mosstower (Eckf), and Tower (Kel).
- (l) ME (14th century) *barmeken*, *barnekyn*, a form of outer defence round a castle or tower is “of obscure origin, perhaps an alteration of *barbican*”, (DOST, s.v.). It is the source of Bairnkine (Sdn), spelt *Barmkyn* in Blaeu, and of Barnkin of Craigs /189/ (Dmf). Compare “*strengthis*, *barmkynn* and *pelis*”, 1542 *Ham Pap*.
- (m) MSc *pile* is seen in Peelwalls (Ayt), which commemorates the “peel” of Ayton: *pyle*, 1542 *Ham Pap*, *Pile of Ayton*, *ib*. A *peel* was, in the 13th century, an exterior stockade thrown up round a castle enclosing an area in which there might be buildings and even meadow-land. It continued the mote and bailey tradition of the mediaeval castle. Later the term was used more loosely in the sense of “fortification”. After the 16th century it came to denote the plain square stone towers common to the Borders (*v*. Neilson – *Peel*, and Mackenzie, p.90 for discussion of the term). Peel occurs independently as a place-name in Peel (Cad) and (Cst). There are also Peelbraehope (Cav), Peelnick (Oxn), Peelrig (Duns) and Peelson (Glc).

- (n) OFr *ermitage*, MSc (*h*)*ermitage*, is the source of Hermitage (Cst): *Ermitage*, 1300 DIHS; 14th NMS; *Armytage*, 1583 CBP. Tradition tells of a hermit's cell established on this site before the castle.
- (o) MSc *Spital*, an aphetic form of *hospital*, is /190/ seen in Spittal (Cav): *Spittale*, 1481 RMS. A *Spital* was a home for the poor and the sick, and was usually attached to a monastery. Spital Tower (Bdr) must be named from the same institution. There is also Spittalriddinghill (Ann).
- (p) Palace (Clg) commemorates the fact that a residence of the bishops of Glasgow once existed there (Vernon, 374).
- (q) Pleasants (Jed) is MSc *pleasaunce*, “pleasure ground, garden”, from OFr *plaisance*. Compare The Pleasance, Edinburgh.
- (r) *Manor* is contained in Hartmanor (Esk), which may be the same name as Hardmanor on the Black Lyne, Cu.
- (s) Moat (Dns) and Mote Cottage (Jhn) are named from mediaeval motes beside which they stand.
- (t) A few names consist of adjectives or adjectival phrases. Wideopen (Yth): *Wyd(h)oppin*, 1523 RMS, 1596 CDS, may have been so named because it was directly open to attack from England, or simply because it stood in an exposed position. Wide Open Farm, YNR, is, however, a corruption of OE *Wibedstune*, *Wipestune* (PN YNR, 17). Blythe /191/ (Laud): *Blith*, 1509 RMS; *Blyth*, 1537 *ib*, is OE *blīðe*, “pleasant”. It may have taken its name from the Blythe Water: cf R.Blyth, Nb (ERN, 39). Unthank (Ew) is so spelt in 1509-10 RMS. It represents OE *unþances*, “without leave”, and may refer to a squatter's farm (DEPN, 464); or may denote a piece of “ungrateful” soil: cf Unthank, Nb (PN NbDu, 203). Selcoth (Mof) is *Selcouth*, 1569 RPC, from OE *seld-cuð* “little known”, no doubt on account of its remote position. Blinkbonny occurs in Cst, Fld, Nnt and Hfm, as a farm-name. It is also to be found in other parts of Scotland, but not in England. The two elements seem to be ModSc **blink*, “a hurried glance, a glimpse”, and *bonny* “pretty, fair to the view”, but their order suggests a Celtic compound. The name may be a corruption of a Gaelic form.
- (u) Several place-names commemorate saints. Abbey St Bathans (A St B) is *Seint Boyt(h)an*, 1296 CDS; 1297 DIHS; *Sci. Boithani* (gen), 13th century, *Reg Dnf*. A chapel here, no doubt a Celtic foundation, must have been dedicated to St *Baithene*, the successor of St Columba: cf CPNS, 151. St Abbs (Cld): *Sanctabs*, 1621 HMC (*Wed*), is named from *Æbbe* who was prioress at Coldingham /192/ in the 9th century. St Boswells, previously known as Lessudden, a Celtic name, is *Sanct Boswellis*, c 1620 *Dryb*; *St Boswalls*, 1682 *LCh*, and commemorates *Boisil*, a 7th century prior of Old Melrose. St Leonard's (Hwk) is *St Leonard*, Blaeu. There are also St John's (Fld), St Ann's (Jhn) and St Helen's (Slk).
- (v) A “manorial” name may be seen in Cavers (Cav): *Caverum* (acc) 1165-1214 NMS; *Kaveres* 1214-49 LSMM; *Cavres* (P), 1290 DIHS, 1304 Ch: *Kauirs*, 1291 DIHS; *Cavers*, 1296 *ib*; *Caverys*, 1359 *Rot Scac*, which is a genitive form of ME *Caver* (cf *Thomas Caver*, “vicecomes de Roxburgh” in 1264), from OE **Cāfhere*: cf Caversfield and Caversham, O, and Caverswall, St, (DEPN, 87). This name appears in several place-names in Rxb and Slk: Caverton (Eck) (see No V), Caver's Hill and Caverslee (Krk), Cavers Carre (Bow). A “lost” **Caverhill* may

be in Pbl: *Cawerhyll*, 1422 HMC (*Var Coll v*): *Cauerhill*, 1475 *ib*, *Cauir-*, 1546 *ib*.

- (w) Belses (Anc): *Belses* (P), 1470-1 HMC (*Rxb*); 1590 RPC; *Belches*, 1566 RMS; *Belsis*, 1580 HMC (*Wed*); *Belcheis*, 1588 *LCh*; *Belshies*, Blaeu, is to be /193/ compared with Belzies (Tnw). *Belsies*, 1594-5 CBP. These may represent OFr *belasis*, “beautiful seat”: cf Bel(l)asis, Du, (PN NbDu, 16), Bellasize (PN YER, 245), Belsize Fm (PN Nth, 232), Belsize Fm (PN Herts, 107), Belsize Park (PN Mx, 112). The forms for Belses with medial *-sh-*, *-ch-* must be due to MSc substitution of *sch-* for *s-*.

/194/ LII OE, ME land,

“earth, soil, estate”. In the Scottish Border area this ending is most frequently plural, and has the meaning of “estate, grounds, policies”. In OE charter material the first element is never a personal name, but describes the tenure or cultivation of the ground. Most of the names recorded below must belong to a later period, although it is noticeable that personal names do not occur.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

BROOMLANDS (Kso):

Brumelandis, 1569 RMS. “Lands where broom grew”.

CLERKLANDS (Llf):

Clerkislande, 1406-36 LSMM; *Clerkland*, Blaeu. This land belonged to the monks of Melrose: “ecclesiastic’s land”.

COPLAND (Anc): (81, 3 G):

Coupland (P), c 1230 (c 1320) *Kelso*; 1306-29 LSMM; c 1354 HMC (*Rxb*); *Coupland* (P), 1354 *Kelso*. ON *kaupa-land*, “bought land”; perhaps ME *coupland*, a legal term denoting land that had been purchased, rather than a Norse formation. Compare Copland House, Du, Coupland, Nb (PN NbDu, 52).

GOLDIELANDS (Hwk): /195/

Goldelandis, 1590 RPC. The first element may be ME *gold*, referring to the colour of the crops; or ME *golde*, “corn marigold”: cf Goldhanger, Ess (PN Ess, 303: DEPN, 191), Goltho, L (DEPN *ib*).

NEWLANDS (Mto), (Cst):

Neuland, 1321 RMS. It is not certain to which place this spelling applies. “New estate”.

WEENSLAND (Hwk): (86, 2 B):

Weyndis-landis, 1511 RMS; *Wemis-landis*, 1540, 1547 *ib*. “Lands belonging to Weens (Hbk)”. Weens may be Celtic in origin, or it may be MSc *wyindis*, “windings”, as the Rule Water makes a bend there.

BERWICKSHIRE

PLOUGHLANDS (Eccl):

Plewland, 1509-10 RMS; *-is*, 1535 RSS. “Land under plough”: cf *Plewlands* (KJ), and *Ploughlands* (Clg), (Mxt).

DUMFRIESSHIRE**BORELAND** (H & C):

Bordland, 1555 HMC (*Jhn*): 1583-4 RPC. Land which supplied the lord’s table. See *Borthwick* (No VII).

BORELAND (Crl):

Bour(e)landis, 1440-1 RMS; 1517 *ib*; *Bourlands*, Blaeu. /196/ OE *bur*, “cottage, dwelling”, may be the first element.

BORELAND (Glc):

Boirland, Blaeu. This is perhaps the same as the example above.

BROOMLANDS (KJ):

Bruym lands, 1551 HMC (*Jhn*). Compare *Broomlands* (Kso) (*supra*).

ELLISLAND (Hlw): (88, 9 B):

Alizland, 1304 CDS; *Alisland*, 1335-6 *ib*; *Alysland*, 1499-1500 HMC (*Drml*); *Aleisland*, 1623 *Reg Sas Dmf*. Perhaps a late mediaeval formation with a feminine name *Alis*, *Alice*. The initial *a-* has been fronted to *e-* in the modern period.

FINGLAND (Esk): (85, 4 D):

Fingland, 1555 HMC (*Jhn*); *Fyngland* (P), 1573 *ib*; *Finglen b*, Blaeu. This is a very common name in *Dmf*: cf *Fingland* (Wam), *F~ Burn* (Glc), (*Sqr*), *F~ Shoulder* (Pnp). In *Cu* there is *Finglandrigg*. The first element is ON *feng*, “haul, catch, booty”, and the meaning of the compound must be “land taken by force”.

HAPLAND (Drd), is so spelt in Blaeu. Perhaps OE *heap*, in the sense of “hill”, is the first element: cf *Hapton* (PN La, 80).

/197/

HETLANDHILL (Dlt): (88, 14 E):

Hat(e)landhill, 1411 HMC (*Drml*); 1516 RMS; *Hait-* 1544 RMS; *Het-*, Blaeu. The first element may be OE *hæþ*, “wild, uncultivated country”. The ending in *-hill* suggests that the word might be ON *hetta*, “hood”, denoting the shape of the hill: cf *Hett*, *Du* (PN NbDu, 113).

MOSSLANDS (Jhn):

Mosland(i)s, 1550 RMS; 1551 HMC (*Jhn*). “Boggy land” or “land by a *moss*”.

NEWLAND HILL (Tun):

Newlandis, 1542 RMS. Compare *Newlands* (Mto) (*supra*).

PLEWLANDS (KJ):

Plewlandis, 1484 RMS. Compare *Ploughlands* (Eccl) (*supra*).

TEMPLAND (Sqr):

Tomplanmill, Blaeu. This name nearly always indicates land held by the Knights Templars: cf *Templand* (Lmb) and *T~ Mains* (Clb).

There are 16 other names in *-land(s)*.

SELKIRKSHIRE

SUNDERLAND (Slk): (80, 11 E):

Sonderland, 1309 RC; *Sondir-*, 1388-9 CDS; *Sundirlandhall*, 1474 RMS. OE *Sundor-land*, “land set apart”. *Hall* is a later addition.

/198/ LIII ME grēne,

the adjective, used substantivally to denote “a grassy spot”, or the “green” of a village.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

SCHILGREEN (Mrb): (81, 10 H):

Schilgreine, 1309 RC; *Schelgrene*, 1315-21 RMS; *Shelgrene*, 1560 RMS. Schilgreen lies under the hill called The Schil which straddles the Border. Schil may be OE *scylf*, with loss of final *-f*: cf *Shildon*, Du (PN NbDu, 177). That the *-f* may be lost even when this element is used independently is proved by *Shell*, Wo; *Scylfweg* 956; *Scelves* DB (PN Wo, 138).

BERWICKSHIRE

BOGANGREEN: (75, 11 F):

Bogane-grene, 1608 *LCh*; *Boigengrein*, 1672 *Reg Sas Bwk*. This may be “bog-end green”; but cf CPNS, 129, for a Gaelic derivation.

GUNSGREEN (Ayt): (75, 13 G):

Gownisgrein, 1580 RMS; *Gins-*, *ib*; *Gunsgrene*, 1585 HMC (*Var Coll v*); *Gunnis-*, 1590 RPC. “The green belonging to *Gunn*”, ON *Gunni*: cf *Gunshole*, Cu (PN CuWe, 56). There are also *Gildiesgreen* (Krk), *Redfordgreen* (Krk), *Chew Green* (Oxn), *Greens* (Cst), *Corsegreen* (Lmb), *Green* (Grt).

/199/ LIV ME end(e),

“end”, “place at the end of” .

DUMFRIESSHIRE

BANKEND (Crl):

Bankend, 1570 CSP; *Bunken*, Blaeu. “Place at the end of a *bank*, or ridge”.

HOLMAINS (Dlt): (88, 13 D):

Holmendis, 1384 (15th-16th) APS; 1485 HMC (*Drml*); 1542 RMS; 1565-6 RPC; *Holme ende*, 1570 CSP; *Howmains*, 1568 CSP; *Howmains Cas*, Blaeu. “Place at the end of the *holm*”. The

plural form of *end* is surprising since the place could not be at more than one end of a valley. This must be a mediaeval corruption. Compare Holmend (Mof).

Most of the other names in *-end* are of the same type, eg Hewisbridge-end (Cst), Kaimend (Cav), Shankend (Cav), Stripend (Oxn), Woodend (Jed), Bridgend (Mof), Fellend (Clb), Floschend (Grt), Stepends (Pnp), (Clb).

In one or two names, *-end* must mean “corner, spot”, eg Cushat End (How), Greenend (Anc), Highend (Hbk), Nestends (Eym). This usage occurs in English farm-names, often with a family name as first element, eg Bush End, Crook’s End, Swards End (PN Ess, 40, 510, 540).

/200/ LV ME fōt,

“foot”, means usually, “place at the foot of”, in place-names.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

BURNFOOT (Lin):

Bornfoote, 1542 *Ham Pap*. “Place at the foot of the burn”, ie where it enters a larger stream. There are five other examples of this name. Cf Beckfoot (Ann), Waterfoot (Ann), and Leaderfoot (Mel) where the Leader joins the Tweed.

The other names in *-foot* are almost all of the same type, eg Deanfoot (Mto), Glebefoot (Rbt), Shankfoot (Hwk), Woodfoot (Cav), Meadowfoot (Sqr), Rigfoot (Cum), Shawfoot (Kkm).

Four cases of Townfoot are to be compared with the examples of Townhead.

BERWICKSHIRE

WEETFOOT BOG (Grn), is *Vitfute*, 1567 *Kelso*. The name seems to mean a swamp in crossing which one wet one’s feet.

/201/ LVI ME flat,

a loan-word from ON *flot*, “level piece of ground”, is common in field-names in England (IPN ii, 27). It occurs throughout the Border area and is not confined to the Scandinavian districts.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

RAWFLAT (Anc):

Raflett, Blaeu. “Level piece of ground upon which a row of houses was built”.

There are six other names ending in *-flat* in this area: Flatt (Cst), Kaimflat (Edn), Westburnflat (Cst), Ladyflat (Lgt), Dockenflat (Mid), Rockhill flat (Apl).

“Lost” names which may refer to fields rather than to places are:-

Coteplatte, 13th Century (1434) *Cdstr*, in Darnchester. *Crosserigeflat*, c 1220 (16th) *Dryb*, near Bemerside. *Strotherflat*, c 1300 (1434) *Cdstr*.

/202/ LVII

Miscellaneous endings denoting agricultural land, communications, divisions of land, etc.

- (a) OE *æcer* is used only of arable land in charter material. In this area it seems to denote simply “farmland”. Hardacres (Eccl): *Hardaikers*, 1590 RPC, 1597 HMC (*March*); *Hardakers*, Blaeu, is “hard land”, in the sense of “bare, thin, soil”. There are also Whitacres Hill (Cav), and Blackacre (Kkm).
- (b) ME *medwe* from *mædwē*, the dative case of OE *mæd*, “meadow”, occurs in Broadmeadows (Slk): *Brademedow*, 1546 *Rot Scac*; *Fraidmedowes*, Blaeu (*F – B*). The original singular form of the ending has been made plural at a later date. A “lost” name is *Camminesmedu*, c 1250 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Cammesmedu*, c 1300 *ib*, near Thornydykes (Laud): cf Cambridge in the same vicinity which also seems to contain OBrit **Kambo-*, “crooked”. There is also Fostermeadow (Dit).
- (c) ME *parke*, from OFr *parc*, “park”, occurs in seven names for which there are no spellings. Huldies Park (Ayt) contains the name *Hulde*, *Huldie* of /203/ 1557, 1576 HMC (*Wed*). Newpark (Ann) was constructed by *Wm. de Carleolo* in the time of Robert the Bruce, HMC (*Drml*). A “lost” name is *Levedeparc*, 1186-1214 LSMM, in Lauder, probably a field-name, containing ME *levedi*, “lady”.
- (d) Orchard (Cav) is *Orchart* in Blaeu. Orchard (Wam) is the first part of *Orchertbek*, 1590 RPC. No doubt an apple-orchard is indicated by both names: cf Applegarth (Dmf).
- (e) OE *furlang*, “strip of ploughed land”, is seen in the early forms of **Fosterland*, Blaeu, from which the present Fosterland Burn (B & Pr) is named: *Casfurlonger* (P), 1296 CDS (*C = F*); *Fastfurlange*, *ib*; *Fastfurland*, 1507-8 HMC (*Home*); *Fostirland*, 1511 *ib*; *Fastfurdeland*, 1538 *ib*; *Fastfoordland*, 1758 *Reg Sas Bwk*. The meaning of *fast-* must be “bare, starving”; for a similar usage, cf Starveacres (PN Herts, 63, 100). “Lost” names are *Haufurlangdene*, 1165-1214 LSMM, and *Haufurlangburne*, 1214-49 *ib*, in Hownam.
- (f) OE **pofl*, Eng dialect *poffle*, “small piece of land”, is the terminal of Maxpoffle (StB): *Makispofil*, 1214-49 LSMM; *Makepoffel*, 1296 CDS; *Maxpoffle*, 1296 RS; *Moxpoffil*, c 1564 *Mel Reg Rec*. The /204/ first element is the personal name *Maccus*. Ekwall can offer no etymology for **pofl* (DEPN, 353); McClure relates it to Spanish *pueblo*, W *plwf*, derived from Lat *populus*, in the sense of “parish” (McClure, 86n). This meaning would suit *Prestpofill*, 1479 (DEPN *ib*).
- (g) MSc *pendicle*, though French from MedLat *pendiculum*, is “a small piece of land attached to a larger; a small farm or croft” (Jam, s.v.), and is seen in Pinnacle (Anc): *Pendickill*, Blaeu. There is also Pinnacle Wood (Tun). In both cases the term has been confused with *pinnacle*, “turret” etc.

- (h) Eng dialect *pingle*, “small enclosure or croft”, (EDD, s.v.), is not recorded by Jamieson or Watson in this sense, although it appears in Border place-names. In England its use is confined to field and minor names, eg *Swynes pyngel*, 1404 (PN Nth, 268); *the Pingle*, 1572 (PN Mx, 202). *Pingle* (Mid), in *Pyngille* (P), 1315-21 RMS; *Pyngle Bourne*, 1552 Bullock; *Pingle knolle*, *ib*; *Pingleknowe*, 1552 CSP, must mean “croft”. There is also *Pinglehole* (Cst).
- (i) Swinnie (Jed) is *Swyne* (P), 1436 HMC (*Wed*); *Swynny*, /205/ 1528 RMS; *Sownie*, Blaeu. This may be OE *swīnhege*, “swine enclosure”, or ON *sviðningr*, “place cleared by burning”: cf *Swinithwaite* (PN YNR, 256).
- (j) ME *nesebit*, “nose-bit, piece of land resembling a nose in shape” (PN NbDu, 147), is the source of *Nisbet* and *West Nesbit* (Clg): *Nasebith*, 1165-1214 NMS; *Nesbyt*, 1147-52 (Morton) ESC; *-bit*, 1330 *Rot Scac*; *Nysbet*, 1566 RMS. At *Nisbet-hill* a nose-shaped piece of land projects into the R. Teviot. *Nisbet* (Edr): *Nesebite*, 1138 ESC; *-byt*, 1296 RS; *Nessebyte*, 1253 CDS; *Nesbit* (P), c 1300 *Cold*; *Nisbit*, 1585 HMC (*Var Coll v*), is derived from the same source. There is a sharply-pointed spur of higher ground between *Nisbet House* and *Nisbet Rhodes*.
- (k) MSc *cavelling*, a verbal noun from *cavill*, “to divide, share, assign by lot” (DOST, s.v.), is seen in a “lost” name **Cavilling* near *Cavers*: *Cauillyne*, 1368 LSMM; *Cavilling*, 1564 RPC, 1569 *ib*; *Kaveling*, 1573 RPC. The sense is “land which has been acquired by lot”, or, simply, “a share”.
- (l) ME *stile*, from OE *stīgel*, occurs in *Kirkstile* (Ew): /206/ *Kirkstyl*, Blaeu. This is “a commonplace in Scottish villages, referring to the houses at the gate to the church”. In this case, a hamlet beside the church has received the name.
- (m) A few names denote divisions of land.
- *Kersquarter* (Spr) may be the quarter of a larger estate held by a *Ker*, or a quarter share of a *carse* or piece of alluvial land.
 - *Third* occurs in *East and West Third* (Smh), *Third* (Mrt), and *Third* (Kkm) which is *Thrid*, 1555 HMC (*Jhn*).
 - The various *Farthinglands* may denote quarter shares, from OE *feorðung*, rather than land held at a farthing’s rent.
 - In *Dmf*, a large number of holdings have been named from the amount at which they were valued, probably under the “Auld Extent”. *Merkland* occurs four times, *Fourmerkland* twice, and there are single examples of *Two-Merkland* (Glc), and *Halfmerk Hill* (Kel). Other valuations are *Pennyland* (Kmh), *Shillingland* (Dns), *Twentyshilling* (Sqr), and *Poundland* (Glc), (Dns): *Pundland*, 1630 *Reg Sas Dmf*.
 - Such names are common also in *Galloway*. *Fardingjames* (Keir): *Fordiniames*, 1523 HMC (*Drml*), /207/ and *Fardingallan* (Pnp): *Firdenalane*, 1450-1 *ib*; *Ferden-* 1451 *ib*, are Celtic in the order of their elements. They denote the “farthinglands” of *James* and *Allan*.

- (n) MSc, *zett*, ModSc *yett*, from ONb, *ǵæt*, “gate”, has frequently been anglicised in place-names so that it is undistinguishable in origin from ON *gata*, “a road”. Eleven names give no indication of their origin. The Yett (How) and Yett (Jhn) plainly represent the Anglian form: cf Yetholm. Barrasgate (Cum) is *Barresyett*, 1545 HMC (*Jhn*). This is MSc, *barras zet*, *barres yet*, “gate in or beside a barrier” (DOST, s.v.).
- (o) MSc *dyke*, “ditch”, is from OE *dīc*. It can also denote “rampart”, which leads to the ModSc meaning of “wall”. This element is frequently applied to primitive earthworks consisting of a ditch and rampart, eg The Deil’s Dyke in Dumfriesshire. The Scots Dike is a boundary ditch constructed between Scotland and England in the 16th century. Most of the names ending in *-dyke* are near “forts” or earthworks. Broomdikes (Edr): *Bromedykes*, 1621 HMC (*Wed*) is “ditches where broom grows”. Priestdykes (Lmb): /208/ *Preist(e)dikis*, 1507-8 RMS, 1569 RPC, is near the Deil’s Dyke. A “lost” name is *Grueldykes, near Duns: *Growelldykes*, 1572 HMC (*Var Coll v*); *Grevel-*, 1574-5 *ib*; *Gruel-*, 1585 *ib*. This seems to be ON *gróf*, “stream, hollow”, OE *halh*, and OE *dīc*. Compare Grovehill: *Gruuale*, 1156; *Grouale*, 13th, and the parallel forms *Grovaldyke*, 1391; *le Grovaldyk*, 1439, referring to a stream in the vicinity of Grovehill (PN YER, 198).
- (p) ME *lane*, “lane, narrow road”, occurs in Orange Lane (Eccl).
- (q) ModSc *loan*, “an opening between corn fields”, through which cattle were driven to the farm-steading (Jam, s.v.), is the terminal of Fairloans (Cst), (Oxn). The first element means “pleasant, beautiful”.
- (r) OE *brycġ*, “bridge”, is found in the Sc dialect form *brig* in Scotsbrig (Mid): *Godsbrig*, Blaeu; *Godisbrig*, 1631 *Reg Sas Dmf*; *Gottisbrigg*, 1691 *Com Rec Dmf*. The name has evidently been altered during the past two centuries. Cambridge (Leg) must contain Gael *cam* or OBrit **cambo-*, “crooked”. Skewbridge (Msw) crosses a railway at a slanting angle and must be very recent in origin. /209/ Stockbridge (Mid) may represent OE *stocc-brycġ*, “bridge made of tree-stumps”.
- (s) NFr *caucie*, ModSc *causey*, “causeway, paved road”, occurs in the name of a mediaeval road from Teviotdale to Liddesdale: *Weele Causey*, 1568 CSP; *Whele Causey*, 1597 CBP. The first element is seen also in *le Whele*, 1296 CDS; *Quele*, 1307-8 *ib*; and *Whelekirk*, Speed. OE *hweol* is quite common in place-names, although its sense is often obscure. Here it may refer to the circular “camp” behind Wheel Church, or may be derived from the round summit of Wheelrig Head.

/210/ LVIII MSc schaw,

“small wood, copse”, from OE *scaga*. This element is less common in Nb, Du, Cu and We, but appears in La in large numbers.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

***COPSHAW** (the old name for the site of Newcastleton, which was built in the 18th century). *Copshaw(e)*, 1583 CBP; Blaeu. OE *copp*, “top, summit”, is the first element: “hill-top wood”.

CROOKED SHAWS (Mrb): (81, 9 G):

Crokeshaws, 1542 *Ham Pap*; *Crokanshawes ib.* The first element is probably ME *croke*, from ON *krókr*, “crook, bend”. The place lies in a curve of the hillside.

FRIARSHAW (Llf):

Freirschaw, 1568 RMS. This must have been monastic property.

GATESHAW (Mrb): (81, 8 G):

Gatschaw(e), 1454 LSMM; 1553 CSP; *Gaitschaw*, 1568 RMS; 1596 CBP. “Goat wood”: OE *gāt*, MSc *gait*.

HANGINGSHAW HILL (Rbt):

Hanguydeschawe, 1296 CDS. MSc *hangande-schawe*, “wood on a hill-slope”. /211/ For this use of “hanging”, compare Hanging Chadder (PN La, 53), Hanging Leaves Nb (PN NbDu, 100). Some corruption is evident in the spelling.

MEADSHAW (Rbt):

Meedshaw, Blaeu. “Wood by the meadow”: OE *mæd*.

BERWICKSHIRE**CRANSHAWS** (Cm): (75, 5 G):

Cranshawes, 1296 RS; *Craneshaunes*, c 1300 *Cold (un = uu)*; *Cranessawys*, 13th century *Reg Dnf.* OE *cran*, “crane”, must here be used for “heron” which are common the valley of the Whiteadder. Compare Cranshaw (PN La, 107).

HEADSHAW (Chan): (74, 12 J):

Hetschaw(e), 1496 HMC (*Home*), 1496 RMS; *Haitschaw*, 1536 RMS; *Hettshaw*, Blaeu. The first element might be ON *hetta* “hood”, as was suggested for Hetlandhill (No LII). Mawer quotes two Danish examples, both of which refer to woods (PN NbDu, 113).

TROTTINGSHAW (Lgf): (75, 4 H):

Trottandschaw, 1492 RMS; 1535 *ib*; *Trottane-*, 1502 RSS; *Trottan-*, 1542 HMC (*March*); *Trottingshaw*, 1655 *LCh*. If this represents the present participle of the verb “to trot”, the reason for the name is difficult to /212/ find, since the place is not in a suitable position for a race-course. An *-ing* derivative of an OE personal name **Trott*, seen in Trottiscliffe, K, and Trottsworth, Sr (DEPN, 458) is possible, but not very probable in such a remote position.

DUMFRIESSHIRE**BIRKSHAW** (St M):

Brokshaw, Blaeu. Blaeu’s spelling indicates MSc *brock schaw*, “badger wood”, later, in a metathesised form, confused with ModSc *birk*, “birch”.

BLACKSHAW (Crl):

Blackshawe, 1570 CBP; *Blaikschaw*, 1619 *Reg Sas Dmf*. “Black wood”.

BONSHAW TOWER (Ann): (89, 4 E):

Boonshaw, 1544 *Ham Pap*; *Boneschawe*, 1552-3 CSP; *Bonshawe* 1586 CBP. Cf Bonchester (No XIII). The first element may be Gael *bun*, “bottom, or OE *bune*, “a weed”. In both cases original *ū* becomes *ō* before *-n*.

COWSHAW (Tnw):

Cousha, Blaeu. “Cow wood”.

GILLSHAW FLOW (Kf):

Gilshawmoss, Blaeu. /213/ ON *gil*, “ravine”, often means “stream” as ModSc *gill*, which must be the sense here. For *Flow* and *Moss*, see No LXXIV.

HAZELSHAW HILL (Msw):

Hes(s)ilschaw, 1488, 1489 RMS. OE *hæsel* or ON *hesli* is equally possible as first element.

HOLMSHAW (KJ):

Holmeschaw, 1529 RMS. Not “wood in a *holm*” since the place stands high on the hillside, but “wood beside a *holm*”.

MIDDLESRAW (St M):

Myddleschaw, 1510 RMS. “Middle Wood”.

PYATSHAW RIG (H & C):

Piotschawis, 1510 RMS; *Pyetshawes*, 1662 RMS. ModSc *pyot*, *pyat*, “magpie” (Jam, s.v.) is the first element.

TURNSHAWHEAD (Cum) (89, 2 E):

Turnshawe, 1592 CBP. This place is at a wide bend in the Annan, which may be the “turn”.

SELKIRKSHIRE

HANGINGSHAW (Yar):

Hanginshawhill, Blaeu. Compare Hangingshaw Hill (Rbt) (*supra*).

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HEADSHAW (Ask): (80, 11 G):

Edschaw, 1553 RPC; *Eidschaw*, c 1590 APS; *Ittsha*, Blaeu. These spellings must represent an original first element without initial *h-*, probably an OE personal name *Ēada*. The change to Head- is due to popular etymology.

There are 44 other names in *-shaw*, by far the largest proportion of which is found in Rxb and Dmf. These names occur mainly in hilly districts, and very often *-shaw* is part of a hill-name, eg Hareshaw Hill (Cad), Catshawhill (Llf).

In four instances Shaw is used independently singular, and in three instances plural.

Compounds in *-shaw* are mainly English. Gaelic and Norse terms in use are those which had already been absorbed into the local dialect.

Names of animals, birds, trees are most frequent as first elements. Simple adjectives are common. There are no examples of personal names.

/215/ LIX

Miscellaneous endings denoting woods, etc.

- (a) OE *treow*, MSc, *trei*, *tree*, is seen in the plural in Ashtrees (Sdn): *Eschetreis*, 1528 RMS, 1541-2 *ib.* OE *æsc* is the first element. ME *chery* is the first element of Cherrytrees (Yth): *Cheritreis*, 1523 RMS. Sorbietrees (Cst): *Soirbytrees*, Blaeu, seems to be compounded of the Norse name Sorbie (cf No LXXXI) and *-trees*, which is a very unusual combination. Cummertrees (Cum): *Cumbertres*, 1214-45 CDS; *Cummertries*, 1666 RMS, may be a Gaelic-English hybrid containing OGael *cumber* “confluence”, but an OE personal name *Cumbra* is possible: cf Comberbach Ch (DEPN, 113). *Saughtrees* (Wam) and Saughtree Fell (Cst) contain ModSc *saugh* “willow”, from OE *salh*. Rowantree Hill (Tvt), R~ Knowe (Cav), R~ Cove (Ew) contain ModSc *rowan*, “mountain ash”. Bourtree Hill (Keir) is ModSc *bourtrees*, “elder”. Bosstree Hill (Wst) means “hollow-tree hill”, from ModSc *boss*, “empty, hollow”. Welltrees Hill (Pnp) and Firtree Hill (Apl) are self-explanatory.
- (b) Names in *-bush* are mostly of late MSc origin. The **/216/** modern pronunciation is still “buss”: cf MSc *busche*, *busse*. Bush (Lmb) or (Hod) is *Bushe*, 1544 *Ham Pap*; *Buss*, Blaeu. Berrybush (Slk) is *Berybus*, 1455 *Rot Scac*; *Berybusk*, 1474 *ib.* There are ten other names in *-bush*. A clump of trees rather than a thicket is indicated by Hollybush (Gala), Beechbush (Hod) and Roundbush (Dor).
- (c) OE *fryhð(e)*, “wood, wooded country”, appears in Firth (Llf): *Firth*, 1588 *LCh*; Blaeu.
- (d) ModSc *roan*, *rone*, “an unbroken, thickly-covered expanse of weeds” (Watson, s.v.), from ME *rone*, “thicket, undergrowth”, may be the explanation of Roan (Mel) and R~ (Cst) which is *Renn*, Blaeu. Compare Roan, near Catlowely, Cu.
- (e) Stobbs (Cav) is *Stobbis*, 1511 RMS; *Stobs*, 1574 *LCh*, from ModSc *stobb*, “tree-trunk”.
- (f) OE *grāfa*, “grove, copse”, is seen in Hardgrave (Dlt): *Hardgrafe*, 1443 HMC (*Drml*); *Hardgra*, 1452 *ib.*; ~*grai*f, 1498-9 HMC (*Jhn*); 1542-3 RMS. *Hard* may be a corruption of OE *hār* in the sense of “boundary”: cf Hargrave, Ch (DEPN, 209), and Hargrave (PN Nth, 191). OE *harað*, *harad*, “wood”, **/217/** might be the first element: cf Hardres, K (DEPN, 209).
- (g) ME *ridding*, “clearing, place where trees have been felled”, from OE *hryding*, persists in dialect use in England, although not recorded for Scotland. Names in *-ridding* occur only in Dmf. Bellridden (Rth): *Belriddin*, Blaeu, contains OE *bell*, “rounded hill”; it is near a small round hillock. Spittalriddinghill (Ann) is *Spittelriddin*, Blaeu: “the clearing by the *spital*” (see No LI (o)). Riddings (Hod): *The Ryddinis*, 1480 HMC (*Drml*) is simply “the clearings”. Riddingwood (Kmh): *Reddingwood*, Blaeu, shows a dialect variation, seen also in Reddings (Mof), due perhaps to association with ModSc *redd*, *vb*, “to clear up”. There are also Bellridding (Tor); Dockridding Wood (Rth) which may contain ME *docke*, a plant; Lawridding (Tun); Riddingdyke (Cum); Riddings (Mrt); and Ridding Bank (Pnp).

The earliest use of the term (recorded for this area) is in a “lost” name, *Batemanriding*, 1275-1329 HMC (*Drml*), between Annan and Ruthwell.

- (h) OE *hege*, “hedge”, is seen in the “lost” name *Quikehege*, 1165-1214 NMS, in the vicinity of /218/ Jedburgh. The first element is that which occurs in “quickset”, and probably denotes “hawthorn”, although it may have the original meaning of “hedge grown from living slips or cuttings”. Compare Swinnie (No LVII (i)).

/219/ LX OE hope, ME hop(e),

“small enclosed valley, and especially a smaller opening branching out from the main dale; a blind valley”. On the Scottish side of the Border the term seems to be applied indiscriminately to any type of valley. It is most common in Slk, Rxb, and the upland areas of Bwk and Dmf. Some of the names below may belong to the OE period. The occurrence of such personal names as *Ecghere*, *Cūðberht*, *Aldwine*, as first elements points to the IOE or eME period for the formation of the compounds.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

AUCHOPE (Mrb): (81, 10 H):

Aucopswire, 1597 CBP; *Aikapp*, Blaeu. Blaeu’s spelling suggests MSc *aik-hope*, “oak-tree valley”, but it cannot be related to the 1597 spelling and the modern form. An OE personal name *Alca* would give MSc *Auzh-*, *Auch-*. For *swire*, meaning “pass”, cf No LXIII (a).

BILLHOPE BURN (Cst):

Billop b, Blaeu. Perhaps “*Billa*’s valley”: cf *Patricius Bylhope*, 1436 HMC (*Wed*).

CAPEHOPE BURN (How): (81, 8 J, K): /220/

Caphope, 1468 HMC (*Home*); *Cape-*, 1471 RMS; *Kapock*, Blaeu. Compare Capton, Do, and Capland, So, which contain OE **Cape* (cognate with OHG *kapf*, “look-out place”), from OE *capian*, “look, peer” (DEPN, 82). The dwelling of Capehope does not now exist. Blaeu’s spelling is to be compared with his *Kelfock B.* for Kelphope Burn (Chan), where he substitutes *-ock* for *-hope* after a labial consonant. This may be a dialectal distinction in pronunciation although no other examples have appeared. This spelling, however, makes it possible that Blaeu’s form, *Cappock*, for the farm of *Cappuck*, may also represent *Cape-hope*: cf Introduction, Roman Period.

CUTHBERTHOPE RIG (How): (81, 8 K):

Cuithbrithishope, 1185-99 LSMM; *Cudbrihtes-*, 1185-99 (1500) *ib*; *Cuthbertis-* 1471 RMS. Late OE *Cūðberhtes-hop*, named perhaps after St Cuthbert to whom tradition ascribes a chapel in this vicinity.

FAWHOPE (Tvt): (85, 10 E):

Fauhope (P), 1304 CDS; *Fawe-*, 1380 *ib*. Cf *Fawhope Burn (Mel): *burna de Fauhope*, 1153-65 LSMM; *Fachope*, 1165 *ib*, a tributary of the Leader. /221/ ME *faw* < OE *fāg*, “multi-coloured”. Cf Fawhope Burn (Oxn).

HAYHOPE (Yth): (81, 9 F):

Hayhop, 1523 RMS; *-ope*, 1541-2 RSS. “Hope where hay was grown”. It might, however, be ME *he ʒh hope*, “high valley”.

HAZELHOPE BURN (Tvt): (85, 9 D):

E and *W Heslihop*, 1511 RMS. The first element is ON *hesli*, “hazel”. The spelling may apply to Hislop on the Hazelhope Burn which could be derived from this form.

HINDHOPE BURN (Oxn):

Hyndhope, 1479 HMC (*Rxb*). ME *hind*, “female deer”.

KERSHOPE (Cst): (89, 13 A):

Gressehope, 1276 CDS; *Cresope*, 1304 *ib*; *Greshoppa*, *ib*; *Kyrsopp*, 1583 CBP. ME *ressehope*, “valley where cress grew”, but perhaps ME *gress*, “grass”, from OE *græss* is the first element. It was later associated with the family name of Ker, common in this district.

PHILHOPE (Rbt):

Phillippe, Blaeu. Compare Philliphaugh (Slk) (*infra*): this may be the same.

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ROWHOPE BURN (Mrb):

Ruhope, c 1190 (c 1320) *Kelso*. ME *ruʒh*, “rough”, in the sense of “stony”, or “overgrown with brushwood”, is the first element.

STENISHOPE (Cav): (85, 13 D):

Scanehushop, 1368 LSMM (*c = t*); *Stenhoushope*, 1380 CDS; *Stainishope*, 1576-7 RMS. OE *stān-hūs-hop*, “stone-house-valley”.

SUNDHOPE (Cst): (85, 12 F):

Soundhoupp, Blaeu. Cf Sundhope (Slk) (*infra*).

SWEETHOPE (Std):

Swethop(p)e, 1278-9 CDS; 1291 (P) DIHS. Valley where the pasture was sweet: cf Sweethope, Nb (PN NbDu, 193). The opposite meaning is seen in Sourhope (Mrb).

THORLIESHOPE TOWER (Cst): (86, 2 G):

Thorlishoip, 1569 RPC; *Thirlis-*, *ib*; *Thornesope*, 1583 CBP. The first element may be a ME form **Thorli*, of the ON personal name *Þóraldr*, but the spellings are too late to be of value. Cf **Tharlesthorpe* (PN YER, 25): *Toraldestorp*, 1190-3; *Thorlesthorp*, 1259, which contains ODan *Þórald*.

WAUCHOPE (Hbk): (86, 2 C): /223/

Waleuhop (P), 1165-1214 LSMM; *Walchop* (P), 1266, 1373 *Rot Scac*; *Wachop* (P), 1384 *ib*; *Wachope*, Blaeu. OE *walh*, “foreigner, slave”, is the first element: cf *W~* (Lang) (*infra*).

WHITHOPE (Rbt):

Quhithope, 1409 RMS. “White valley”.

WHITTERHOPE BURN (Cst):

Whittroup, Blaeu. MSc *quhettir*, ModSc *whither*, *whuther*, “to buzz”, or, of the wind, “to rage or bluster”, from ON *hviðra*, may be the first element (Watson, s.v.). The wind may be noisy in this valley.

WOLFEHOPELEE (Sdn):

Wolhople, 1436 HMC (*Wed*); *Wolfhoopelie*, Blaeu. “Wolf valley”, plus OE *leah*.

BERWICKSHIRE**BRUNTABURN** (Wst):

Bruntupburne, Blaeu. “Burnt *hope* burn”.

EDGARHOPE LAW (Laud): (75, 1 K):

Egrop(e), (P), c 1170 (16th) *Dryb*; c 1260 *ib*; 1509 RMS; *Egerhope*, 1296 CDS; *Egger-* 1455 (16th) APS; *Ygripp*, Blaeu. OE *Ecġhere* or *Ecġheard* is the first element: /224/ cf Egerton, Ch: *Egerton*, 1260 (DEPN, 154).

HORSEUPCLEUCH (Lgf): (75, 4 H):

Horshop(e), 1336-7 CDS; 1492 RMS; *Horsopcleuch*, 1535 RMS. “Horse valley”. MSc *clouʒh* is a later addition.

KELPHOPE (Chan): (74, 13 H):

Kelfhoope, Blaeu. K~ Burn: *Kelfock B*, *ib*. OE *cælf-hop*, “calf valley”.

PHILIP BURN (the border of Bwk and ELth):

Fulhope, 1190-1203 (c 1320) *Kelso*. “Muddy, filthy valley”.

SOONHOPE (Laud): (74, 13 K):

Swinhop, 1472 RMS. “Swine valley”.

DUMFRIESSHIRE**HARTHOPE BURN** (Mof):

Harthope, 1519 HMC (*Jhn*). “Stag valley”: MSc *harte* < OE *heorot*.

JOCK’S HOPE (Ew):

Jhockshoop, Blaeu. *Jock* is a Scots side-form of John.

WAUCHOPE (Lang): (89, 8 B):

Walghope, 1296 CDS; *Walughop(dale)*, 1333-6 *ib*. Cf *Wauchope* (Sdn) (*supra*). ? OE *wealh* “insipid” > Sc *wauch* “nasty-smelling”.

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WOLFHOPE BURN (Ew):

Woulfhoop, Blaeu. Cf *Wolfehoplee* (Sdn) (*supra*).

SELKIRKSHIRE**ANNELSHOPE** (Ettr): (80, 6 K):

Aldanhop, 1455 *Rot Scac*; *Aldynnishope*, 1544 RMS; *Andis-*, 1573 APC; *Andshop*, Blaeu. The -*d-* in the last two spellings must represent -*el-*. *Anel-*, is from *Andel-*, a metathesised form of *Alden-*. An OE personal name *Aldwine* may be the first element.

BOWERHOPE (Yar):

Bourhop, 1455 *Rot Scac*; *Baurupp*, Blaeu. MSc *bour*, “bower”, must mean “foliage” here.

DRYHOPE (Yar): (80, 5 G):

Dryhop, 1511 RMS; *Drihope*, 1564 APC. The soil here may be drier than in neighbouring valleys, or the hope may be less liable to flooding.

ELDINHOPE (Yar): (80, 6 G):

Eldanehop, 1455, *Rot Scac*; *Aldinhope*, 1492 ALC; *Eldin-* 1499 APS; *Eldeen-*, Blaeu. The second spelling may show confusion with Annelshope. The first part of the compound may be Celtic.

FAULDSHOPE (Slk):

Falshope, Blaeu. /226/ “Valley with folds or sheep-pens”.

HYNDHOPE (Krk):

Hyndhope, 1564 RMS; *Hyind-hoop*, Blaeu. Cf Hindhope Burn (Oxn) (*supra*).

EAST and **WEST KERSHOPE** (Yar):

Kersupp, Blaeu. The surname *Ker* may be the first element, but compare K~ (Cst) (*supra*).

LADHOPE (Yar): (80, 8 F):

Lawdhope, 1507 RMS; *Ladupp*, Blaeu. Perhaps from ME *ladde*, “serving-man”. The first spelling indicates pronunciation as [lɔ:d]. ModSc *ā* is frequently [ɔ:] in the EMid Scots area (SND, xxv), and this peculiarity may have extended to Selkirkshire.

LEWENSHOPE BURN (Yar):

Lewinshoope b, Blaeu. OE *Lēofwines-hop*.

MIDGEHOPE (Ettr):

Mig(e)hope, 1415 LSMM. Perhaps “midge-infested valley”: cf Midge Hall (PN La, 148).

PHAWHOPE (Ettr):

Fauhopschele, 1455 C-B; *Faup*, Blaeu. Compare Fawhope (Tvt) (*supra*).

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PHILLIPHAUGH (Slk): (80, 10 E):

Fulhope, 1265 *Rot Scac*; 1288 *ib*; *Fulhopahalche*, 1317 RMS; *Phillophauch*, 1570-80 RMS. Either Long Philip Burn or the small stream behind Philliphaugh Farm provided the original *fūl hop*, “foul, or muddy, valley”. OE *fūl hop* > ME *fūlop* and the *ū* being later modified to *ī*, according to the local dialect, a form *filop*, associated with the personal name Phillip, arose. The *haugh* is the flat ground by the side of the Ettrick.

SUNDHOPE (Yar): (80, 7 G):

Sundhop, 1433 C-B; *Sandhope*, 1510 RMS; *Sund-hoip*, 1591 APC; *Sound hoope*, Blaeu. An OE form **Sund-* must be the basis of this name, but there are no parallel examples of names employing it. Perhaps a transferred sense of OE *sund*, “swimming”, is possible, with some relation to the Ettrick or the Sundhope Burn.

WHITEHOPE BURN (Yar):

Whytupp, Blaeu. Compare Whithope (Rbt) (*supra*). There are 23 other names in *-hope* in Rxb, 1 in Bwk, 14 in Dmf, and 21 in Slk. These are distributed throughout the more hilly districts,

especially in the parishes of Ettrick, Yarrow, Teviothead, Castleton, /228/ Morebattle, Hownam, Oxnam, Jedburgh, Eskdalemuir, Moffat and Ewes.

/229/ LXI OE clōh,

“ravine”, ME *clouȝh*, ModSc *cleuch*. *Cleuch* is “a gorge or ravine with steep rocky sides, usually the course of a stream” (DOST, s.v.). The pronunciation is [klu:x]. The distribution of names in *-cleuch* is similar to that of the names in *-hope*, since such names occur in the more mountainous districts. It is difficult to determine the age of the majority of the names. A few must belong to the late OE period, but most are MSc formations. The names below all denote dwellings, many of which are no longer in existence.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

CAULDCLEUCH HEAD (Tvt):

Cauldcleuch, 1511 RMS. “Cold, exposed, ravine”.

COLTERSCLEUCH (Tvt):

Cauthirdsclouch, Blaeu. OE *colt-hiorde* > ME *coltherde* > MSc *cowtherd*, “colt-herd”, is the first element. This is the Scots surname Colthart, Coltart.

DOECLEUCH (Tvt):

Dockcleuch, Blaeu. Probably the modern form is to be preferred to /230/ Blaeu’s, and the first element is *doe*, “female fallow deer”.

GIDDENSCLEUCH (Tvt):

Guiddinsclouch, Blaeu. The personal name *Gideon*, although Hebrew in origin, is common in the Border country.

HOWCLEUCH PLANTATION (Rbt):

Howdeuch, Blaeu (*d = cl*). “Ravine in a hollow”.

MARCHCLEUCH (Esk):

Mercheleuch, Blaeu (*e = c*). ME *Merche*, “march, boundary”. The parish boundary crosses the ravine.

BERWICKSHIRE

BYRECLEUCH (Lgf):

Byreclewch, 1492 RMS; *Birecleuch*, 1502 RSS. MSc *byre*, “cowshed”, is the first element.

EARNSCLEUCH (Laud): (74, 14 K):

Ernysclucht, c 1350 Dryb; *Earnesclouch B*, Blaeu. OE *earnesc-lōh*, “eagle’s ravine”.

WYLIECLEUGH (Cdstr):

Wyliecleuch, 1590 RPC. For the first element compare Wyliehole (Tun): this may be the surname Wylie. ME *wilȝ*, “willow”, is possible.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

DUNTERCLEUCH (Sqr):

/231/ *Duntercleugh*, Blaeu; *Dunterclewch*, 1625 *Reg Sas Dmf*. The first part of the word is probably Celtic, cf *Dunterton* (PN D, 182).

FAULDINGCLEUCH (KF):

Foldingcleugh, 1768 *Com Rec Dmf*. “The *cleuch* where sheep were ‘folded’ or placed in pens”. For the use of the present participle, cf “Then a-fauldin’ let us gang” (Burns).

KIRK CLEUCH (Wstk):

Curcleugh, Blaeu. There is no trace of a church here. In the next valley is Corlaw which may contain the same element. It seems to be a hill name: cf *The Curr* (Mrb), perhaps a variant of OE *carr* “rock”.

SELKIRKSHIRE**BUCCLEUCH** (Ettr): (85, 7 A):

Buccluch, 1441 (16th) APS; *Bukclewcht*, 1501 HMC (*Drml*): *Buckclugh*, 1583 CBP. “Buck *cleuch*”: cf *Buck Cleuch* which the castle faces.

CROSSCLEUCH (Yar):

Corsecleuch, 1564 RMS; *Crascleuch*, Blaeu. The first element is probably W *cors*, “bog”.

DRYCLEUCH (Yar):

Drycleuch(sheill), 1564 RMS. There is no stream in this ravine.

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GAMESCLEUCH (Ettr): (85, 6 A):

Gemiliscleuche, 1591 APS; *Gammilsheuch*, Blaeu. Compare *Gamelspath Nb*, the name for a Roman road (PN NbDu, 91). Mawer suggests ME *Gamel*, from ON *gamall*, “old”. This must be the origin of the surname *Gemmell*: cf *Gamelshiel*, *Gemmelshiel*, ELth.

GILMANSCLEUCH (Ettr):

Gilmyiscluche, 1455 *Rot Scac*. This may contain the name *Gilmin*, or *Guillemin*, “the name given to hermits of an order founded in the 12th century by disciples of St William” (Ewen, 163): cf *Gylmyne de Fenis*, c 1375 (c 1490) *Brus*.

RAMSEYCLEUCH (Ettr):

Ramsay-clewis, 1511 RMS; *Rampshycleuch*, Blaeu. The surname *Ramsay* is probably the first element.

SCABCLEUCH (Ettr): (85, 4 A):

Skabocleuch, Blaeu (*o = e?*); *Stobcleuch*, 1643 C-B (*t = c*); *Scabecluche*, 1670 *ib*; *Strableughe*, 1670 *ib* (*t = c*). *Scableuch Hill* perhaps derives its name from the ravine of *Scableuch* which appears like a scar upon it. *Scab-* is from ON *skab*.

“Lost” names are:-

Edwardescloch: *Edwardescloch*, *Edwardesclochs*, c 1190 (c 1320) *Kelso*, from OE *Eadward*; /233/ *Elneclach*, *Helnclow*, from OE *ellen* “elder-tree”; *Morclow*, from OE *mōr* “waste ground”; *Heslingcloh*, perhaps ON *hesli* “hazel-grove”; all of which are 1165-1214

LSMM. They exhibit the early ME forms of *cleuch*. These are valleys in the Lammermoors. The first may be in ELth.

There are no examples of names ending in *-clo*, or *-clow*, in their modern forms, although names in OE *-hōh* frequently have present-day forms in *-ho*, *-how*: cf Fogo, Kelso, Chatto. Forms in *-heugh* are to be found in names of more recent origin, therefore it must be concluded that names in *-cleuch* are unlikely to be pre-Middle English.

There are 22 names in *-cleuch* in Rxb, for which no early spellings have been found, 6 in Bwk, 25 in Dmf, and 17 in Slk.

/234/ LXII OE *hol*,

as an ending, is usually coupled with the name of an animal. *Brock*, “badger”, is the first element in Brockholes (Cld): *Brokholl*, 1415 *Cold*, *Brokholes*, 1426 *ib*; in Brocklehurst (Msw): *Brokholhurst*, Blaeu; in *Brocklerig* (St M): *Brockholrig*, Blaeu. ModSc *tod*, “fox”, occurs in Todholes (Kcl), so spelt in 1586 CBP. ON *refr*, also meaning “fox”, is found in Raffles (Msw): *Refholes*, 1215-45 CDS; *Roffals*, Blaeu; *Raffels*, 1659 *Reg Sas Dmf*: cf Reagill, We (DEPN, 364) and a lost field-name *Refholeslac*, c 1210 (PN YER, 329). In a few cases *hol* denotes “hollow”, as in Pinglehole (Cst): *Pingill Holls*, Blaeu, the first element of which may be ModSc *pingle*, “a small pan” (Watson, s.v.), in the sense of “pot-shaped hollow”; compare, however, No LVII (h). In Bucklerhole (Lmb): *Buklerhol*, Blaeu, the sense is obscure.

Other names in *-hole* are:

Cribbs Hole (Sdn); Muttonhole (Mxt), a common field-name in Southern Scotland; Nickieshole (How); Scrathy Holes (Sdn), which may contain ON *skratti*, “goblin”: cf *Scrathawe*, 1400 (PN Nth, 264); Hawkshole (Can); Paddockhole (Tun); White Hole Burn (Esk); Wyliehole (Tun).

/235/ LXIII

Miscellaneous endings denoting valleys, passes, etc.

- (a) OE *swīra*, “neck”, gives ModSc *swire*, “a pass”. The Redeswire Fray (Sdn), the scene of a battle, is *Rusdwire*, 1343 *Fine* (with metathesis of *s* and *d*); *Redis Swyr*, c 1375 (c 1490) *Brus*; *Reidswyre*, 1576 CSP (Th). The first element might be ON *rauðr*, “red”, later equated with MSc *reid*. There is also Swyre (Dns).
- (b) OE *dor*, “door”, used in the sense of “pass”, is the terminal of Windydoors (Cad): *Windesdores*, c 1155 (16th) *Dryb*; *Wyndiduris*, 1455 *Rot Scac*; *Windidurris*, 1510 HMC (*Wed*). Comparable formations are Windygates (Fife), and Wingate, Wingates, Nb (PN NbDu, 217).
- (c) *Nick*, “a hollow or pass between hills”, is found in Southerly Nick (Cad), Peelnick (Oxn), and Wallacenick (Kso).

- (d) ModSc *hass*, “neck, throat, gap”, from ON *hals*, “neck of land”, occurs independently in Hass (Jed), (Mid). It is coupled with Celtic elements in /236/ Guile Hass (Cst), and Mennock Hass (Sqr). There are five other examples in SW Rxb and Dmf.
- (e) In three instances *bottom* denotes the floor of a valley: Howe Bottom (Slk), Rotten Bottom (Mof), and Bottom (Lmb). Longbedholm (Mof) is *Langbodum*, 1581 RPC, and must represent OE *lange botm*, “long valley”.

/237/ LXIV ME heved,

“head”, from OE *hēafod*, as a place-name ending has two meanings: (a) “height, hill-top”, as in Greenhead, Grubbit Law, and (b) “head of, upper extremity of”, as in Burnhead, Cleuchheads. In one or two names on the Berwickshire coast, Fast Castle Head, St Abb’s Head, Horse Head, the meaning is “rocky promontory”.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

GREENHEAD (Spr): (81, 8 E):

Greneheved, 1296 CDS; *-heid*, 1600 HMC (Rxb). “Green hill”: the place stands on a small mound.

GRUBBIT LAW (Mrb): (81, 8 G):

Grubbeheved, 1165-92 LSMM; *Grubes-* 1181 *ib*; *Grube-*, c 1220 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Grubber-* 1332 *Cold*; *Grubet*, 1426 RMS; Blaeu. Originally the hill was called *Grubbeheved*, then the name was transferred to a dwelling: cf Blaeu’s *Grubethous* in the valley of the Kale Water. Finally, with the addition of *Law*, the name once more passed to the hill, and remained attached to it when the dwelling no longer existed. An OE personal name **Grub(b)*, ME *Grub(b)e*, is the first element. This name is not evidenced independently in OE sources; but compare ON *Grubs* (Lind, 365), and the modern surname, Grubb, seen in Grubbs Hill (PN Ess, 32). /238/ *Grub Hill, Nth, is *Grobihill*, 1337, which may contain an early form of the adjective *grubby*, “grub-infested” (PN Nth, 102).

SWINESIDE HALL (Oxn): (81, 6 J):

Swyneshede, 1335-6 CDS; *Synesheved*, 1336-7 *ib*; *Swynset*, 1424 HMC (*Home*); *Swinset*, 1471 RMS; *Swinsyde*, 1541-2 RSS. OE *swīnes heafod*, “pig’s head”: cf Swineshead, Beds. (PN BedsHu, 20). On *-head* with names of animals, v. PN Sr, 403 ff.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

CLEUCHHEADS (Apl): (85, 1 K):

Cleuchheids, 1662 RMS. The place is at the upper end of a small valley. The reason for the plural ending is not apparent: cf Balgray Cleuchheads 1 mile distant. “Heads” may in this case represent “hillocks, mounds”.

COREHEAD (Mof):

Corheid, c 1485 *Wallace*; 1590 RPC. The first element may be Gael *corr*, “tapered, pointed”: cf Core Hill (CPNS, 423). This may be a formation of the same type.

CROFTHEAD (Mof): *Crofthead*, 1581 RPC.

CROFTHEADS (Ann): *Croft heidis*, 1517 RMS. “Hill with a croft”. Note the plural form of the second example.

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KELHEAD (Cum): (89, 1 F):

Kelheid, 1516-17 RMS. Also Kelhead Flow. Sc dialect *keld*, “marshy place”, from ON *kelda* may be the first element. It is possible that the small burn unnamed on the 1-inch map was the Kell Burn and Kelhead the place at the head of it.

KINNELHEAD (KJ):

Kindalheid, 1529 RMS. Place at the head of the Kinnel Water, a Gaelic name: cf Kinnel, Perth (CPNS, 479).

KIRTLEHEAD HILL (Tun and Mid):

Kirkleheade, 1592 CBP. This is at the source of the Kirtle Water: *Water of Kirtill*, 1542 *Ham Pap*, also a Celtic name.

SCARHEAD (Jhn):

Skairheid, 1630 *Reg Sas Dmf*. ON *sker*, “rock, cliff”, is the first element. Scarhead is at a point where a high bank overhangs the River Annan.

WATERHEAD (H & C): (85, 3 G):

Watterheid, 1569 RPC. This seems to mean “hill by the water”, rather than “place at the head of the water”, as it is not at the source of any stream, but at a point above the **/240/** junction of a tributary with the Dryfe Water.

WOODHEAD (Can):

Woodheid, 1590 RPC. “Place at the head of the wood”, or “wooded hill-top”.

There are 60 other names ending in *-head*. Many are hill-names: Craig Head (Yar), (Cad), Knowes Head (Tvt), Broad Head (Ew), Mucklehead Knowe (Esk). The majority are hill-names transferred to farm names: Harehead (Slk); Scourhead (Slk); Bankhead (Lin); Righead (Jhn). There are a number which denote heads of streams or valleys: Hope Head (Ettr), Burnhead (various), Teviothead (Tvt), Linhead (Ckb), Lakehead (Kkm), Sikehead (Can). These must belong to a later period than the names in which *-head* means “hill-top, promontory,” etc.

A common farm- or hamlet-name in Dmf is Townhead which contrasts with Townfoot. These were dwellings at the extremities of villages.

/241/ LXV MSc knowe,

from OE *cnoll*, “rounded top of a larger hill”, is used of almost any hillock or mound in later farm-names, although in original hill-names it must have had the OE sense. North of the Border the form is regularly *knowe*: in Northumberland *-knowle* and *-knoll* are to be found. This element is not common elsewhere in England except in Somerset and Dorset, where it appears at *knowl(e)*.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

ACREKNOWE (Cav): (85, 12 B):

Akarknowe 1547-8 CSP; *Akerknow*, Blaeu. Perhaps OE *æcer*, “cultivated land”, is the first element, as “hill with a cultivated patch”. Rxb dialect *aiker*, “sharp, keen, pointed”, applied to the face (Watson, s.v.), is possible, since the hill above Acreknowe is sharply pointed to the North. Fr *aigre* must be the source of this word.

HUMMELKNOWES (Cav): (85, 12 B):

Homble Knowes, 1547-8 CSP; *Humilknowis*, 1574 RPC. ModSc *hommyll*, *humble*, “hornless, dodged”, is used of a round hill: cf Humbledon Hill, Du, and Humbleton Hill, Nb (PN NbDu, 120). For Humbleton, YER, OE **humol*, “something rounded”, related to OE *hamel*, “maimed”, is suggested (PN YER, 54).

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MIDDLESKNOWES (Oxn): is so spelt in 1590, CBP. The first element may be an OE personal name **Midele*: cf Middlesborough and Middlesmoor, YWR (PN YNR, 160).

BERWICKSHIRE

COWDENKNOWES (Earl): (81, 2 C):

Coldaneknollis, 1535 RSS; *Coldounknowis*, 1541 ALC; *Coldinknollis*, 1559 LSMM; *Coldenknovis*, 1581 *Dryb*. This may be a hybrid, Gael *colltuinn*, “hazel”, and MSc *knowe*, as Professor Watson argues (CPNS, 139), but it may also be an English formation: OE *col-denu*, “charcoal valley”, with *cnolles*. Compare Great Cowden: *Coledun*, 1086; *Coldun* 12th, from OE *col-dun* (PN YER, 62). Cowdenknowes is in an area previously well wooded, so that charcoal may well have been produced there.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

CROWDIEKNOWE HILL (Mid):

Crowdi(e)know, 1648, 1655, *Reg Sas Dmf*. MSc *crowdie* is a kind of cheese, but this is unlikely to be the first element of a hill-name. An OE personal name *Crūda*, as in Crowdycote, Db, is possible (DEPN, 127).

MOSSKNOW (KF):

Mouseknow, Blaeu. Blaeu’s spelling is perhaps incorrect. OE *mos*, MSc *moss*, “bog, moss”, may be the first element.

A “lost” name is *Brunecnoh*, 1165-75 LSMM, in Hownam, which is “brown hillock”.

/243/ There are 154 other names in *-knowe*. Very few are farm-names: practically all denote hills. They are to be found in more or less equal proportions in the four counties.

/244/ LXVI MSc rigg,

“long narrow hill, ridge”, is a dialect form, either directly borrowed from ON *hryggr*, or representing OE *hrycg* with consonants influenced by the Scandinavian word. Endings in *-ridge* are modern substitutions.

ROXBURGHSHIRE**BENRIG** (St B):

Beene Rig, c 1400 (c 1500) Wyntoun W. “Bean ridge”: cf Benridge, Nb (PN NbDu, 17).

DOD RIG (Tvt):

Dodrig, 1574 RPC; *Doddrigg*, Blaeu. The ridge has a pronounced protuberance at one end, which is the *dod*: v No LXX.

MORRIDGEHALL (Mxt): (81, 3 E):

Morric, 1165-99 LSMM; *Morrig*, *ib.* ME *mōr-rigg* > *mōrrig*, “moorland ridge”. The modern form suggests a palatalised ME pronunciation, since substitution of *-ridge* for *-rigg* seems unlikely in the 1ME form. Final *-c* for *-g* is not uncommon: cf *infra*.

STODRIG (Mak): (81, 5 D):

Stotheryke, 1542 *Ham Pap*; *Statherwyk*, *ib.*; *Steidrig*, 1566-7 RMS; *Stodrik*, 1567 *Kelso*; *Stoddrigg*, Blaeu. The first element is OE *stōd*, “stud”: cf *Stidriggs* /245/ (*infra*). *-Ryke*, *-rik*, for *-rig* is comparable to *-ric* in the example above. For spellings with intervocalic *-d-* as *-th-* before *-r*, cf *Totheryg*, *Thotheryg*, for *Todrig* (v PN NbDu, Phon § 29, 260).

WHITRIGGS (Cav):

Quitrik, 1511 RMS. “White Ridge”.

BERWICKSHIRE**BASTLERIDGE** (Ayt): (75, 13 H):

Bastell rigge, 1542 *Ham Pap*; *Bastelrig*, 1596 *LCh*; *Bastal-* 1663 RMS. There is no evidence of a fortification here, but Peelwalls Farm in the same vicinity points to the presence at one time of a defensive construction of some kind. In 1663 RMS, the place is also known as *Abchester*, so that *-chester* and *bastel-* may both refer to the pre-English workings at Habchester, about 1 ½ miles SE of Bastleridge. For *Bastle*, v No XLIV.

BUGHTRIG (Eccl): (81, 8 A):

Bouchrig 1533 RMS; *Boucht-*, 1585 HMC (*Var Coll* v). MSc *bowcht*, *bucht*, is a sheepfold (DOST, s.v.): cf *Bught Rig* (Yar), (Ew). The term is very common in combination with *-hill* and *-knowe* on the Scottish side of the Border. It does not occur in the place-names of Northern England.

COWRIG (Grn): /246/

Courig, Blaeu. “Cow Ridge”.

CROSSRIG (Hut):

Corsrig, 1580 RMS. Perhaps W *cors*, “bog”, is the first element.

CRUMRIG (Grn): is so spelt in 1533 RMS. OE *crumbe hyrcg*, MSc *crumb-rigg*, “crooked ridge”. The place lies in a bend of the hillside.

FERNYRIG (Eccl):

Farnerig, 1533 RMS; *Farnyrige*, 1542 *Ham Pap*. “Ferny ridge”.

PEELRIG (Duns):

Pilrig, 1628 HMC (*Wed*); *Filrig*, Blaeu (*F = P*). ME *pile*, “fortification”. Compare *Pilmuir*, No XXXVII.

RAMRIG (Ldk): is so spelt in 1575 HMC (*March*). “Ram ridge”: cf *Cowrig*, *Oxenrig* (Cdstr), *Lamb Rig* (Jhn), etc. The names must denote hillsides where these animals grazed.

STAINRIGG (Eccl):

Stanrig, 1533 RMS; 1568 HMC (*Home*). MSc *stain-rigg*, “stone ridge”.

TODRIG (Cdstr): (81, 8 A):

Todderig, c 1300 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Totheryg*, *Thothe-*, *ib*; *Todrig*, *-rik*, 1550 RMS. MSc *tod*, “fox” is the first element.

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WHITRIG (Eccl):

Quhitrig, 1511, 1533 RMS. Cf *Whitriggs* (Cav) (*supra*).

DUMFRIESSHIRE

AIKRIG (Mof): is so spelt in 1662 RMS. “Oak ridge”.

RIGG (Grt): *Rig*, 1532 RMS. The place stands on a slight rise.

STIDRIGGS (H & C): (89, 4 A):

Studeriggis, 1507 RMS. OE *stōd*, “stud” > MSc *stuid*, here spelt *stude*, is the first element: cf *Stodrig* (Mak).

LITTLE WHITRIGGS (H & C):

Quhiteriggis, 1510 RMS; *Quhitriggs*, 1516 *ib*. Cf *Whitriggs* (Cav), (*supra*). These plural forms might refer to ploughed fields, where the crests of the furrows are known as “riggs”. “White riggs” might denote ploughed fields with the turned earth whitened by the sun.

There are 100 other names in *-rig* and two in *-ridge*. The first element is in many cases an adjective, eg *Black Rig* (Yar), *Lang Rig* (Tvt), *Brunt Rig* (Sqr), *Whinnyrig* (Ann). Animal names occur, in *Wolf Rig* (Yar), *Hartrigge* (Jdb), *Houndridge* (Edn). Natural features or vegetation are seen in *Gillrig* (Kkm), *Wellrig Burn* (Lgt & Duns), *Hazel Rig* (Ettr). /248/ The names for which no spellings have been obtained nearly all refer to actual hills, and are not farm-names.

/249/ LXVII ME **banke**,

“bank, ridge or shelf of ground, slope of a hill”, is a loan-word from PrN **banki* (ON *bakki*).

ROXBURGHSHIRE**SCAWD BANK** (Cst):

Scatbanckhill, Blaeu: ModSc *scaw'd*, “scabbed, scurfy”, used of land, means “having bare brown patches”.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

ARCHBANK (Mof): (84, 14 D):

Ersbank, 1542 RMS; *Ersh-*, 1592 HMC (*Jhn*). For the first element compare Archwood (No XX).

CORSEBANK (Kcl):

Corsbanck, Blaeu. W *cors*, “bog”, or ME *crose*, “cross”, may be the first element.

MARJORIEBANKS (Lmb): (88, 13 B):

Mariorybank, 1486-7 HMC (*Drml*); *Marjoribank(s)*, 1529 RMS; 1578 HMC (*Drml*). It is doubtful whether the first element represents the feminine name Marjorie or a corruption of some other name: cf *Margery Wood*, c 1840 (PN Herts, 233).

SUPPLEBANK (Hod): (89, 3 E):

Sowplebanke, 1544 *Ham.Pap*; *Soupilbank*, 1574 HMC (*Jhn*); *-bonck*, Blaeu. This place is at a curve in the hillside above the /250/ Mein Water. The first element might be ModSc *souple*, “the lower part of a flail”, from some resemblance in shape. It is possible that ModSc *souple* (adj), “pliant, flexible”, is used in the sense of “sinuous, twisting”.

SELKIRKSHIRE

ELIBANK (Cad): (80, 9 C):

Elebank alias Eleburne, 1595 RMS; *Eliebank alias Elieburne*, 1601 *ib*; *Elybanck*, Blaeu. A personal name *Eli*, may be the first element.

SCROGBANK RIG (Cad): (80, 9 C):

lie Scrogbank, 1595 RMS; *Scrogbar*, Blaeu. ModSc *scrog* is “stunted bush, brushwood”, and in Rxb is used of the crab-apple tree (Watson, s.v.). In this name, as in the previous example, *-bank* signifies “river-bank”.

There are 33 other names in *-bank*, the largest proportion of which are in Dmf.

MSc *bynk*, cognate with ME *bench*, *benk*, may be represented by *BINKS* (Tvt): *Benks*, 1596 CBP; *Binks*, Blaeu, a plural form. Ledges on a hillside may be indicated.

/251/ LXVIII MSc steil,

has varied meanings. Generally, it is “a precipice, rock, ridge, tongue of land” (EDD). In Liddesdale the meaning is “wooded cleugh or precipice: lower part of a ridge projecting from a hill where the ground declines on each side” (Jam). The origin of the word is OE *stīgol*, “steep, precipitous”.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

THE STEELE (Cst): (85, 13 H):

the Steill, 1572 HMC (*Jhn*); *Steele*, 1583 CBP; *Steell*, Blaeu. In the 16th century this was the name of a house, no doubt transferred from the hill which now bears the name. It fulfils the conditions of a projecting ridge: Jamieson’s definition may be based on this example.

SELKIRKSHIRE

ASHIESTEEL (Cad): (80, 10 D):

Eschesteile, 1455 *Rot Scac*; *Echestele*, 1479 *ib*; *Esch-*, 1487 *ib*; *Esshystill*, Blaeu. Ashiesteel Hill is fairly precipitous and the name may first have applied to the side which descends sharply to the Tweed. MSc *eschy* is, “overgrown with ash-trees”.

LIDLAWSTIEL (Cad): (80, 10 C):

Lodlastesl, Blaeu; *Laidlawsteall*, 1684 *Mel Reg Rec. /252/* The first part of this name must have given the modern surname Laidlaw. ON *hlád*, “heap”, may be coupled with OE *hlāw*, since OE (*ge*)*lād* “watercourse” does not suit the conditions of the site. Blaeu’s *Lod-* must be a mistake for *Lad-*. *Steil* must mean “precipitous hillside”.

Steil occurs also in Steel Burn (Cad), Steel Knowe (Sdn), Steelstrand (Kmh). It tends to become confused with ModSc *stell* (OE *steall*), “sheep shelter”, etc: cf Stell Hill (Esk), which is *Steilhill*, 1569. *Berriesdalehope (Oxn) is *Barrestell*, 1597 CBP; *Berrie steillis*, 1598 *ib*.

Steelmoor Plantation (Mxt) is represented by *Calfesetestele*, etc, 1165-88 LSMM. This is the earliest recorded form of the term in our area: see No X.

/253/ LXIX ME nese,

“nose”, applied to projecting ridges, appears as *-naze*, and *-nize*, and perhaps as *-knees*.

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MERRY NAZE (Tvt): (89, 9 D):

Muryneis, 1547 RMS; *Mirrienyse*, Blaeu. OE *myrge*, ME *mirrie*, “pleasant”, may be the first element, but it is not an adjective which one might expect to be applied to a remote hill: cf Merrypath Rig (No XXXIV) and Merrylaw (Tvt). All three names are in the same parish, within 5 miles of each other.

TANLAW NAZE (Tvt): (85, 9 D):

Tandilnes, 1511 RMS. ModSc *tandle*, “bonfire”, from ON *tandr*, “fire”, is the first element. This hill is just across the valley of a burn from Merry Naze.

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HATCHEDNIZE (Cdstr): (81, 9 B):

Haehatneis, sive *Halkneis*, 1550 RMS; *Hatchettnisse*, Blaeu. A little hill here forms a point which may have resembled a hatchet or a hawk’s beak. *Haehat-* must represent *hachat-*, from ME *hachet*, *hatchet*. *Halk-* is for ME *hawk*, from OE *heafoc*.

There are also Herd Naze (Pnp), Law Kneis (Ettr), Muckle Knees (Yar & Ettr).

Miscellaneous endings relating to hills, rocks, etc.

- (a) MSc *bray*, from ON *brá*, “steep bank, hillside”, ModSc, *brae*, is seen in Redbraes Castle (Pol): *Redebrays*, 1532-3 HMC (*March*); *Redbrease*, 1650 *ib*, “red slopes”. The soil is reddish in this area. Peelbraehope (Cav), is *Peilbray*, 1574 RPC: *peil* must refer to the ditch known as the “Catrail”. Whita Hill (Lang) is *Whytowe braye*, 1552 Bullock (see No XXX). Twenty other names end in *-brae(s)*.
- (b) MSc *kaim*, “long narrow ridge”, is from OE *camb*, “crest, or ridge”. Kames (Cdstr) is *Camis*, 1533 RMS; *Kems*, Blaeu. It stands on a little ridge. The Kaims (Grnl) is the local name for a ridge that may be a primitive earthwork or a natural formation. The name is usually applied to the geological formation known as a drumlin.
- (c) Many hill-names include names for parts of the body. MSc *schank*, from OE *scanca*, “leg”, is used of a narrow spur and occurs in nine instances. *Shoulder*, denoting a subsidiary summit on a higher /255/ hill appears three times. There are four examples of MSc *tae*, “toe”, in the sense of “projecting ridge”. Hightae (Lmb) may contain this element, as it stands on a raised point, but the spellings point to an original ending *-tah*, *-tag*: *Heghetache*, 1304 CDS; *Hauttesche*, 1309 LSMM (French *haut*, represents ME *heghe*, “high”); *Haghtache*, 1360 CDS; *Heytache*, 1366 *ib*; *Heghetaghe ib*.
- (d) OE *brū*, “brow”, means “projecting edge of a cliff; a slope” in place-names. It occurs in Great Brow (Esk) and Lochbrow (Jhn).
- (e) There are a few examples of the use of *snout*, *face* and *horn*. There is a hill called The Haunches in Glc.
- (f) *Dod* is very common, both as first element and as terminal. The earliest notice containing it is *Brunemore super dod*, 1165-75 LSMM, referring to a moor near Dod (Tvt). *Dod* usually signifies “a rounded hill”, from OE *dodd*. Four hills are known as The Dod. There are also Muckle Dod (Ask), Dods (Leg), Little Dod (Ckb), Sowen Dod, Wedder Dod and White Dod (Sqr). /256/
- (g) Eight ridges are known as *Edge*, and three place-names end in *-edge*, from OE *eġg*.
- (h) *Height(s)* is a frequent ending: it is always detached, eg Mossbrae Height (Krk).
- (i) OE *cofa*, “cave, den”, is found in three hill-names in Dmf. White Cove, Black Cove and Rowantree Cove are all on Arkleton Hill, and suit the definition, “a recess with precipitous sides in the steep flank of a mountain”, which applies in the Lake District (DEPN, 110). Cove (KF), is on the banks of the Kirtle Water and may represent the Scots dialect meaning of “worn-out ledge on a river-bank” (Watson, s.v.).
- (j) There is no proof that any names ended in OE *hlync*, “hillside, bank, rising ground”, but it is possible that **Dunling*, Blaeu, near Bigholm (Lang), is OE *dun-hlync*, “hill-slope”; and that Stantling Craig (Cad) is OE *stān-hlync*, with an intrusive *-t-* between *n-* and *-hl-*: cf *nl* > *ndl* (PN NbDu, 265, para 55).

- (k) *Pike* occurs in the area most subject to Norse influence and so may be a loan from ON *pík*, “pointed mountain”, rather than a development of OE *pīc*, “pointed instrument”. The Pike is found in Cav, Esk, and Etrr. There are also Dand’s Pike (Sdn), Unthank Pikes (Cst) and Wilson’s Pike (Cst).
- (l) There is not a single example of G *beinn* prefixing a hill-name east of the Nith, and only a few isolated cases in the westernmost parishes of Dmf. W *penn* is fairly common throughout our area (see Introduction). Gael *creag*, ModSc *craig*, and Gael *carn*, ModSc *cairn* occur on the higher ground in all four counties. These two words must very early have become part of the Southern Scottish dialect for in most instances they appear coupled with English elements. There are 27 examples of *craig* in the sense of “rock, cliff”, as a terminal, usually detached. Gael *cnoc*, ModSc *knock*, and Gael *druim*, ModSc *drum*, are of frequent occurrence in Western and Northern Dumfries, eg Knockbrack (Clb), Drumlanrig (Drd), but are associated as a rule with Gaelic elements.
- (m) Other hill-names, for which there are spellings, but which fall into no particular category, may be noted here. /258/
THREE BRETHREN (Cad): *Thre Brethwen hill*, Blaeu. Triple cairns on the summit are probably the reason for the name.
CARLIN TOOTH (Sdn): *Carlintothe*, 1597 CBP. This is a rock formation. ModSc *carline*, *carlin* is “old woman, witch” (Watson, s.v.). Compare Carlintooh Rig (Cst) which is a very narrow ridge coming to a sharp point between two valleys.
- (n) Six place-names end in *-nest*, with the name of a bird for first element. Raven’s Nest (H & C) is a cliff. Gledsnest (Tvt) contains ModSc *gled* (OE *glida*), “kite or hawk”: cf Hawksnest (Mel). Piet’s Nest (Sdn) contains ModSc *piet* “magpie”. In Dmf there are Blacknest (Mrt), and Hawknest Rig (Ew).

/259/ LXXI ME strother,

“marsh or swamp”, is derived from OE *strōd*, *strōð*, which is not found in this area (PN NbDu, 240).

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STOCKSTRUTHER (Rxb):

Stocksturder, 1548-9 *Ham Pap*. “Marsh with tree-stumps in it”: ME *stocke*.

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BELLSTRUTHER BOG (Ckb):

Bellie Struther, 1611 HMC (*Wed*). Gael *baile*, “farm”, is the first element. The terminal might be Gael *sruthair*, “stream”.

WESTRUTHER (Wst): (75, 3 L):

Weststrother, c 1300 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Wolstruther*, 1441 (16th) APS; 1509-10 RMS; *-struthir*, 1506 RSS; *Wollstruther*, 1678 *Reg Sas Bwk*; *Woolstruther*, 1781 *Com Rec Laud*. Alternative

forms of *west-strother* and *wolf-strother* seem to have existed for this name. There is also Williestrother Loch and Bog (Hwk) which may contain ME *wiliȝ*, “willow”. Lustruther (Sdn) is probably Gaelic.

A “lost” name is *Harastrodar*, 1159 (c 1320) *Kelso*, in Hume: “hare marsh”.

/260/ LXXII ME flasshe, flosshe,

“pool, marshy place”, indicates an OE **flæsc̄*, cognate with ODan *flask(e)*. The Scots form is *floss*, *flosh* or *flass*.

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FLASS (Wst): (75, 3 K):

Flas, 1388-9 CDS; *Flass*, Blaeu. MSc *flas*, from OE **flæsc̄*.

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FLOSH (Rth): (88, 14 G):

Floshe, 1569 RPC. ME *flashe*, *floshe* becomes ModSc *flash*, *flosh*. Forms in final -s(s) occur on the eastern side of our area, as The Floss (Ask) and Flass Well (Lgf). Final -sh appears in Dmf, in Isle of Flosh (Dlt), an island in the moss: cf Isle of Dalton. The Scandinavian form of the word is seen in Flask Wood (Mof).

/261/ LXXIII

THE MERSE comprises all the land “lying between the Whiteadder and Tweed, extending westward to the junction of Tweed and Teviot” (AHMC – Bwk, xviii). Spellings are: *Mersce*, c 1221 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Merskis* (gen), 1335 *St And*; *del Merskys* (gen), 1366 *Rot Scac*; *the Mers*, c 1375 (c 1490) *Brus*; *the Merss*, c 1485 *Wallace*.

OE *mersc̄*, “marsh”, MSc *mers(s)*, (with sibilant *s* for OE -*sc̄*), gives ModSc *merse*, “alluvial land beside a river” (Jam, s.v.). The word has no connection with OE *mearc̄*, “march, boundary”, as Blaeu understood it (Blaeu, 37). The Merse (Crl) is a marshy strip at the edge of the Solway, which has perhaps provided the definition “ground gained from the sea, converted into moss” (Jam, s.v., 3).

/262/ LXXIV

Miscellaneous terms denoting moorland, wasteland, bog, etc.

- (a) OE *mos*, “marshy place, peat bog”, is found as *mussa* in the 12th century monastic charters, but no place-names incorporate it. There are sixteen names ending in -*moss*, which is usually a detached element. Lochar Moss (Dmf) is *Lochyrmos*, c 1485 *Wallace*. The first word is Gaelic.

- (b) ModSc *bog* is Gaelic in origin, but all eight names containing it have English first elements. Howbog (Crn) is so spelt in 1515 RMS: “bog in a hollow”, OE *hol*. Cowbog (Mrb) is *lie Kowbog*, 1570 RMS: “bog where cows pasture”. *Bog* occurs in 1180, LSMM but not as a place-name element.
- (c) ModSc *flow*, from ON *flói*, denotes “a bog or morass”. There are three examples: Hobb’s Flow (Cst), Bell’s Flow (Hfm), and Moat Flow (Jhn).
- (d) ModSc *hag* is derived from ON *hogg*, “cutting in woodland”, but the sense is usually “peat-bog”; or “moss ground that has formerly been broken up” (Jam s.v.). Hag Plantation (Jdb) is represented /263/ by *Speirmanis-landis* vocat. *the Hag*, 1573-4 RMS. Hag (Can) is *Hagg*, Blaeu. There is also Dan’s Hags (Ew) on the shoulder of Frodaw Height.
- (e) ModSc *gair*, from OE *gāra*, or ON *geiri*, probably the latter, since most of the names occur in the Scandinavian area, means “a spot or strip of tender grass on a barren mountain or heath”, or “a stripe or streak” (Jam, s.v.). Either might apply in Gair (KF), Broadgair Hill (Etrr), Yadgair (Tvt).
- (f) OE *fenn*, “fen, marsh”, occurs independently in the plural as Fens (StB). One *Gylmyne de Fenis*, or *the Fynis*, who was warden of Roxburgh Castle in 1314 must have come from here: cf *c* 1375 (*c* 1490) *Brus*.
- (g) Flex (Hwk) is so spelt in 1296 *Inst Pub*, but *Fleckis*, 1511 RMS: cf Fleckedland, Fleckit Hill, F~ Knowe (PN Glwy, 137), containing MSc *fleckit*, “broken, variegated land”. Flecks must be “patches”, probably of broken ground: cf Flecket Hill (Mof). ON *flekk*, “spot” must be the origin of the term.

/264/ LXXV ME burne,

“stream, burn”, from OE *burna*, is the normal term for a streamlet on the Scottish Borders. The examples for which early spellings have been preserved are mainly those in which a habitation or hamlet has taken its name from the stream.

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CADDROUN BURN (Cst): (86, 2 E, F):

Hellcaudron burne, 1597 CBP; *Hellcadrenn b*, Blaeu. The deep ravine through which the stream runs at one point was the “hell cauldron”: cf The Devil’s Beef Tub (Mof).

DOD BURN (Cav and Tvt), **DODBURN**:

Dodburne, 1569 RPC. The farm of Dod, and the Dod Burn take their name from the round hill facing the farm. See note on *dod*, No LXX (f).

HALTER BURN (Yth): **HALTERBURN**: (81, 10 F): *Eltherburna*, *c* 1050 (12th) HSC; *Elterburne*, 1543 Hen. VIII; *Helterborne*, *c* 1576 CSP. The first element is obscure: cf ERN, 189. An OE personal name *Aldhere*, is possible. At a later period the first element has been associated with *halter*.

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OTTERBURN (Mrb):

Otterburne, 1569 RMS. The small stream on which Otterburn stands must have been the original “otter burn”.

RUNNINGBURN (Stl):

Running Burn, 1795 *Stitchill*. Perhaps OE *rūniende burna*, “whispering burn”, MSc *runzande burne*.

BERWICKSHIRE**BLACKBURN** (Chrn):

Blak(e)burn (P), c 1300 *Cold*; 1541-2 RSS. The small stream here must have been the “black burn”.

COCKBURN (Duns): (75, 7 H):

Cokburne (P), 1264, 1362 *Rot Scac*; *Kokeburn* (P), 1266 *ib*. The original “cock burn” must have been the streamlet which comes down from Cockburn Law near Cockburn.

OTTER BURN (A St B, & B & Pr): (75, 8 G):

Otyrburn, c 1300 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Oterburn* (P), 1442 *Cold*; *Otterburne*, Blaeu. The spellings refer to a dwelling not now in existence. Compare Otterburn (Mrb).

RAWBURN (Lgf): (75, 5 J):

Rawchburn(e), c 1300 (1434) *Cdstr*; *Ragburn*, 1335-6 /266/ CDS; *Raughburn*, 1388-9 *ib*; *Raburne*, Blaeu. OE *rāh*, “roe deer”, ME *raʒh*, MSc, *rauʒh*, may be the first element. The word is usually found in the compound *rāh-dēor*, but must occur independently here. Compare the two examples of Rae Burn in Dmf from OE *rā*, “roe”.

WEDDERBURN CASTLE (Duns): (75, 9 K):

Wederburn(e), 1296 CDS; c 1300 *Cold*; *Wedir-*, c 1413 HMC (*Wed*); *Wedder-* 1535 RSS. OE *weðer*, “ram”, is the first element. There is no stream at the Castle, so that the original site cannot have been there.

WHITBURN (Ckb):

Quhytburn, 1611 HMC (*Wed*). “White burn”.

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BYRE BURN (Can): *Byer bourne*, 1552 Bullock. *Byreburn: *Byreburne*, 1590 RPC. “Cowshed burn”.

HALL BURN (Can):

Hawe bourne, 1552 Bullock. OE *heall*, Angl. *hall*, gives MSc *haw(e)*, ModSc *ha*’.

RAEBURN (KF):

Raburn, 1194-1214 CDS. OE *rā*, “roe-deer”, is the first element: cf Rae Burn (Esk). /267/

ROWAN BURN (Can): (89, 10 D):

Rowyn bourne, 1552 Bullock. Rowanburn: *Rowanburne*, 1590 RPC. ModSc *rowan* is the mountain ash.

SELKIRKSHIRE

HELMBURN (Krk): (80, 9 G):

(H)*elmburn*, 1494 C-B; *Hellmburn*, 1510 C-B; *Elmeburn*, Blaeu. There is now no stream here. OE *helm*, “shed, cattle-shelter” etc, may be the first element. See No XII. The initial *h*- seems to be organic.

HUTLERBURN (Krk): (80, 9 G):

Hottrelburne, 1609 C-B; *Hotrelburne*, 1643 *ib*; *Whitriburne*, 1672 APS. The spellings are so late that one can only guess at an original form. Hutlerburn stands on a stream flowing into the Ettrick, but the Hutler Burn is on the other side of a watershed and runs into the Ale Water.

LONG PHILIP BURN (Slk): *Philips b*, Blaeu. Probably “foul hope burn”: cf Philliphaugh, No XXIII.

RANKLE BURN (Ettr), ***RANKLEBURN**: (80, 7 K):

Rankilburne, 1415 LSMM; Blaeu. The first element may be related by ablaut to OE *wrinclian*, “to twist”.

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There are 144 other names of streams or places ending in *-burn*. Most of these are English compounds. The first elements are mainly topographical.

/269/ LXXVI ME *leche*, *lache*,

“a small stream”. ModNb *letch* is used of “a long narrow swamp in which water moves slowly among rushes and grass”. ModSc *latch* is a “dub or mire” (Jam, s.v.), described by Scott in *Guy Mannering* as “a narrow channel through which soaked, rather than flowed, a small stagnant stream”. This meaning compares with the Nb definition. Note the use of *lecch(e)*, 1165-1214 LSMM as a boundary, therefore almost certainly denoting a stream or drain.

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EFFLEDGE (Cav): (81, 1 K):

Elfleche, 1511 RMS; *Elflesche*, 1576-7 *ib*. ME *elf-lecche*, “elf swamp”, perhaps so named from the “will o’ the wisp” lights of marsh gas seen over a bog. No stream is marked here.

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CUMLEDGE (Duns): (75, 8 J):

Cumliche, 1467 HMC (*March*); 1497-8 HMC (*Wed*); *Cumleith*, 1495 *ib*; *-lych*, 1496 *ib*; *-leiche*, 1571 RPC; *-lege*, 1581 *ib*; 1610 HMC (*Var Coll v*); *-litche*, 1590 RPC. The alternation between forms of the ending in *-ei-*, *-i-* and *-e-*, points to a ME form *lēche*. This may, however, be due to the influence of the following **/270/** consonants which would tend to raise the vowel. Compare early spellings for Lechlade – *Lichelad*, 1194, and for Northleach – *Lichia*, 1127 (DEPN, 279, 278). The first element is OE *cumb*, “deep hollow valley”. The

second spelling shows confusion in the ending with ModSc *leth*, “a channel or small run of water” (Jam, s.v.).

“Lost” names are: *Harecarlecche*, 1204 LSMM, near Whitton (Mrb). For the first part of this name compare *Harcarse*, No XXXV. *Threpleche*, 1421 LSMM, near Redparth (Earl), contains ME *thrēpen*, “to dispute”: cf *Threepwood*, No XX. *Witheleche*, c 1250 (c 1320) *Kelso*, near Fans (Earl), has OE *hwīt*, “white”, or OE *wiðig*, “willow”, for first element. There are also *Craiglatch* (Cad) which may be an entirely Gaelic compound, and *Long Latch* (Cld), which is a drain on Coldingham Moor.

/271/ LXXVII ModSc loch,

“lake”, is generally assumed to be Gaelic in origin, but the term was accepted into MSc at a fairly early date. It appears for the first time in Barbour’s *Bruce*, c 1375, as *louch*.

Compounds such as *Lochmaben* and *Loch Skeen*, in which the qualifying element comes second, are plainly Celtic. In most cases in this area, *loch* is a detached suffix following an earlier place-name. The majority of the lochs are names from the nearest settlement, eg *Ashkirk Loch*, *Yetholm Loch*. There is no necessity to cite spellings for these names, since as a rule the forms of the place-names appear long before any reference to the lochs, which for the most part are found first in Blaeu’s *Atlas*.

A few lochs are named from their own characteristics, eg *Pot Loch*, *Goose Loch*, *Crooked Loch*, *Starn Loch*.

The earliest spelling containing *-loch* is for *Hoselaw Loch* (Lin): *Hoslowelogh*, 1385 Ch. For *Hoselaw*, see No XXVIII. Only one place-name employs *-loch* as a terminal, *Reedy Lock* (Edr): *Redelocht*, 1541 HMC (*Wed*); *Redyloch*, 1584-5 *ib*; *Reedyloch*, Blaeu. No loch is there today and none is recorded in Blaeu, /272/ but at one time there may have been marshy ground interspersed with reedy pools. The modern form in *-Lock* may be due to popular unwillingness to speak of a loch where none existed.

St Mary’s Loch and the *Loch of the Lowes* are *Lochs of Lowis* in Blaeu’s map of *Twedia*, while *St Mary’s Loch* is *L of Lowis* in the map of *Teviota*. On p.33, however, the writer of the notes refers to the “lacum occidentalem vulgo *the West-Mary Loh of the Lowes*”. It was named from *St Mary’s Chapel* on its shore. The two lakes were thus originally known simply as the *luhes*, *louzhes* (MSc), later, *lowes*, from ONb *luh*, “lake”: cf the **Forest of Lowes*, Nb (PN NbDu, 137). The larger came to be known by the name of the chapel, and the old plural form was transferred to the smaller lake.

Luh, cannot be the Gaelic form, but must be a development of the British form which is the source of *W llwch*.

Two of the lochs at *Lochmaben* appear as *Goldmur loch*, and *Sondsech loch*, 1455 HMC (Jhn).

/273/ LXXVIII OE pōl,

“pool, deep place in a river”. Scots dialect *pool* often means “a watery or marshy place, a swamp” (EDD, s.v.), cf the Pools, which defended one flank of the Scottish army at Bannockburn: the *Polles*, in Hemingburgh (Bannockburn, 43). See also *Bannockburn Myth*, 24 ff.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

COCKPOOL (Rth): (88, 13 G):

Cokpule, 1487 (16th) APS; 1507-8 RMS; 1592 CBP; *Cockpole*, 1570 CSP; *Cockpowlle*, 1581 CBP. Cockpool is on the edge of an area of swampy land which must have been once a considerable morass. *Cock*- here probably denotes Moorcock or other game fowl.

“Lost” are:-

Hum Pulles, 1198-1214 (c 1320) Kelso; *Pullys*, 1268 *ib*; *Pollys*, *ib*; *Hunpul*, c 1300 (1434) *Cdstr*. This denotes the marshes at Hume.

le Pullis, 1426, in Ewes, Dmf. There are also Doorpool (Sdn); Shiningpool Moss (Lgf) and Stirkpool (Ann). The last contains ModSc *stirk*, “bullock between one and three years old” (Jam, s.v.).

/274/ LXXIX ONb wælla,

(WS *wiella*), “well, spring”, gives ModSc *wall*, which is difficult to distinguish from *wall* (from Lat. *vallum*). Forms in *well* appear quite early and may be due to a dialect tendency to front [æ] to [ɛ]. It is notable that forms in *wall* do not appear in North-East England although they are common in South-East Scotland. EDD gives the dialect area for *wall* as Scotland and the West of England from Cumberland to Shropshire.

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BILLERWELL (Hbk): (86, 2 A):

Bullerwell, 1598 CBP; Blaeu; *Bullarwall*, 1662 *Mel Reg Rec*. ModSc *buller* may be “loud gurgling noise”, or “bubbling circle or whirlpool” (SND, s.v.), denoting either a fiercely-bubbling spring or one with an eddy in it. The source of the term must be Fr *bouillir*, “to boil”. Compare the Bullers of Buchan (Bnf).

WELLS, *OVER* and *NETHER* (Jed):

Walls, Blaeu.

WELLS (Hbk): *Welles*, 1380 CDS. The second spelling shows that a form with medial *-e-* was current as early as the 14th century.

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CRAIGSWALLS (Edr):

Craigiswallis, 1621 HMC (*Wed*).

Craig, in this case, must be a family name.

HOARDWEEL (B & Pr): (75, 8 H):

Hordwell, Blaeu. The first element may be the same as that in Hurdlaw, No XXVIII. It is possible that the ending is OE *wæġl*, ModSc *weel*, “eddy, pool”, as the farm is close to a stream: cf No XL. The meaning may be “treasure well”, or “treasure pool”.

MUNGO’S WALLS (Edr): (75, 9 K):

Mungo(i)swallis, 1476 *Com Rec Laud*; 1497-8 HMC (*Wed*); *Mungoswaes*, Blaeu. “Mungo’s wells”. Wells or springs were often dedicated to a saint, especially if they had a reputation for curative powers: cf St Mungo’s well near Kingside, ELth, and Mungoswells near Drem, ELth.

NINEWELLS (Chrn):

Nynewell(i)s, 1580 RMS; 1585 HMC (*Var Coll v*). There are nine springs here (PN Bwk, 41).

PEELWALLS (Ayt):

Peillwallis, 1603 HMC (*Wed*); *Peelwaes*, Blaeu. This may be “springs by the *peel*”, but the terminal may for once be “walls” as Blaeu’s spelling suggests.

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FARTHINGWELL (Dns): (88, 8 B): /276/

Ferdinwoll, 1633 *Reg Sas Dmf*; *Fardein-*, 1636 *ib*. Either a well into which it was customary to throw farthings, or a well on a “farthing-land”: cf No LVII (m).

A “lost” name is *Mikelkeldwelle*, 1275-1329 HMC (*Drml*). The first part is ON *mikill kelda*, “big spring”.

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Miscellaneous endings relating to streams, etc.

- (a) OE *mūða*, “mouth of a river”, does not occur very often in this area. It is usually found with the name of a river as first element, eg Edenmouth, Kalemouth, at the point where a tributary enters a larger stream. Eyemouth (Eym) is where the Eye Water joins the sea: *Aymuth*, c 1300 *Cold*; *-mouht*, 1345 *ib*; *-mouth(e)*, 1361 RMS; 1547 CSP (Th); *Emoutht*, 1585 HMC (*Var Coll v*). A “lost” name is *Cramsmoo at Burnmouth (Ayt): *Cramesmuthe*, 1095-1100 ESC; *-mudhe*, c 1100 *ib*; *-mutham* (acc), 1126 *ib*. The burn which flows into the sea here may have been the *Cram Burn: cf Crambeck, YRN, which contains OE **cramb*, “crooked”, cognate with *crumb*, *cromb* (PN YNR, sn, Crambe, 38). Burnmouth is a commonplace throughout the area.
- (b) OE *sīc*, ON *sík*, “small stream in marshy ground: gully”, gives MSc *sike*, *syke*, ModSc *sike*, 1. “rill or rivulet, usually dry in summer; 2. marshy bottom with a small stream” (Jam, s.v.). *Sicus*, and a diminutive, *siket*, are used in the Melrose chartulary in the 12th century to denote /278/ small streams, but do not occur as the terminals of place-names. Mackerel Sike (Jhn) is *Makrelsyde*, 1541 *Ham Pap*, and may belong to the class of names in *-side*. The first element is the Gaelic surname Mackerrell: cf *Radulfus Makerel*, 1165-1214 LSMM. There are 31 other names in *-sike*. They occur in Slk, in the parish of Castleton (Rxb), and in the parishes of Ewes and Eskdalemuir (Dmf). In most cases the terminal is detached and denotes a

stream flowing through a narrow valley. Although these names are to be found in the area where Norse influence is felt, they are all compounded with English first elements.

- (c) OE *hlynn*, “torrent, waterfall”, is used mainly of definite falls, as Bell’s Linn (Cst), Colislinn (Cav), Aird Linn (Kkm); but in a few instances it is applied to a stream in a rocky course: in this sense it is generally a first element.
- (d) OE (*ge*)*lād*, “water-course”, is the source of ModSc *lade*, “mill-canal”. No place-names now in use employ it, but in the Dryburgh Chartulary is to be found *Bucslade*, c 1170; *Butheslad*, c 1260, which is described as a *siketus*.

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- (e) OE *lacu*, or ON *lækr*, “stream”, may be the source of *Lake* in Altrieve Lake (Slk). The first word is Gaelic: cf CPNS, 137. The Lake (Keir) and Lakehead (Kmh) probably employ the Norse term.
- (f) OE *trōh*, ModSc *traw*, “sluice or lade leading to a mill”, is the origin of Trows (Kso): *Trowis*, 1511 RMS. The river here runs in narrow channels between shelves of rock, and it has been suggested that this is the meaning here.
- (g) The Stank (Yth), and Stank (Rth), are small streams. ME *stank*, from OFr *estanc* (ModFr) *étang*, “pond”, in MSc denotes a sluggish stream or open ditch. A boundary ditch at Hadden (Spr) is *Hawdanstank*, c 1400 (1475-1500) Wyntoun C.
- (h) ModSc *dub*, “muddy place, morass”, is seen in Drowning Dubs (Yar), a stretch of bogland, Howdub Knowe (Ettr), and Meg’s Dub (Mrd) which is a small creek on the shore. *Dub* in this name must have the meaning of “deep pool”, seen in Dubwath Cu (PN CuWe, 45).
- (i) ME *Croke*, from ON *krókr*, “a bend in a river”, occurs in Atterson’s Crook (Cst). Four other names in *-crook* lie in bends of the hills.

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- (j) Two names end in *-tongues*, and since both are at points where a spit of land is farmed between two streams, they must contain OE **tang*, **twang*, “tongs” (PN La, 18, s.v.). Gilliestongues (Jed) is *Gillistoinges*, 1540 RMS, perhaps representing ME *giles twanges*. Confusion with modern *tongues* is already apparent. There is also Hawklawtongues (Hbk) named from a hill.
- (k) An OE noun meaning “bend”, from *crumb*, “crooked”, must be the terminal of Ancrum: *Alnecrumb(e)*, 1165-1214 NMS; 1262-3 CDS; *Alnecrom*, 1296 CDS; *Allyn-* 1304 *ib*; *Allynecrum*, 1358 *Rot Scac*. The first element is the Celtic river-name Ale. For this use of OE *crumb*, compare Cromford, Db (DEPN, 125).

/281/ SCANDINAVIAN ENDINGS

LXXXI ON býr, ODan bý,

“farm, village, hamlet”. This is quite the most common Scandinavian habitative suffix in England, and is to be found wherever there was Scandinavian settlement. Northumberland

and Durham contain only a sprinkling of Scandinavian names, but these include nine in *-by*. In areas of intensive settlement such as Yorkshire, Cumberland and Westmorland, the number of *by*-names is very large. Ekwall states that “There is reason to believe that all or practically all English place-names in *-by* are Scandinavian in the strictest sense” (IPN i, 57). The element persisted in living use in ME into the 11th and 12th centuries: witness such names as Lockerbie, Pearsby, Dmf, and Botcherby, Cu, which are compounded with Norman personal names. Several names in Dumfriesshire seem to have been formed about this time, when *-by* had become an element in the local ME speech: cf Albie, Canonbie, Mumbie, Sibbaldbie. Lindkvist notes that the term may have been in use in the Northern ME dialect, and that unless the first element of a name ending in *-by* is Scandinavian, the compound may well be of English formation (Lindkvist, lii, ff).

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BERWICKSHIRE

CORSBIE (Grd): (81, 3A):

Crossebie, 1309 RC; *Corsby* (P), 1396 *Rot Scac*; 1441 (16th) APS; *Cros-* 1506-7 RMS; *Corsbie*, 1556 HMC (*March*). This may be ODan *krossa-bý*, “farm of the crosses”, although no tradition of monuments is preserved here.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

ALBIE (Mid): (89, 5 D):

A(u)ldbie, 1631, 1643 *Reg Sas Dmf*. If this is a Scandinavian formation it must represent ON *Alla býr* from the personal name *Alli*: cf Alloby (Lind, 20). It may, however, be a ME compound, *alde-by*, “old hamlet”.

ALBIERIG (Can): (89, 10 C):

Albyrig, 1590 RPC; *Oldby*, Blaeu. See previous example.

BOMBIE HILL (Wstk): (85, 7 J):

Bundeby, 1296 *Inst Pub*; *Bomby*, 1329-71 RC; 1546 RPC; *Bond-* 1500 HMC (*Drml*); *Bonth-* 1560 RMS; *Boun-*, Blaeu. *Bombie does not now exist; the name is preserved in the hill. The first element is an ON personal name *Bóndi*: cf Bomby, We (PN CuWe, 135), and Bonby, L (DEPN, 49).

CANONBIE (Can): (89, 9 D):

Canenby, 1296 DIHS; *Canon-*, 1296 CDS; *Cana-*, 1493 CDS; *Cano-*, 1494 *ib*; 1531 CSP (Th); *Cannabye*, 1552 /283/ Bullock. The present local pronunciation omits the second *n*. ME *canon-by*, “canons’ village”. An Augustinian priory was founded here in the 12th century.

DENBIE (Dlt): (88, 14 E):

Daneby, 1304 CDS; *Dene-*, 1507-8 RMS; *Denvy*, 1542 *ib*; *Danbie*, 1618 *Reg Sas Dmf*; *Deinbee*, Blaeu. ON *Dana-býr*, “settlement of Danes”: cf Danby (PN YNR, 131), Denaby, YWR, Denby, YWR, Denby Db, (DEPN, 135).

DUNNABIE (Mid): (89, 5 B):

Dundoby, 1452 HMC (*Drml*); *Dundonby*, 1511-12 *ib* (*n = u ?*); *Dundoubye*, 1557-8 *ib*; *Tundenby*, c 1620 *ib*. The first part of the compound is doubtful. It may represent Gael *dun dubh*, “black fort”, as the place looks across the valley to the earthwork on Birrens Hill.

ESBIE (Lmb): (88, 13 A):

Esseby, 1296 DIHS; *Eske-* 1296 *Inst Pub*; *Es-* 1530 RSS. ON *eski-býr*, “ash-grove village”.

GILLENBIE (Apl): (89, 2 A):

Gillonby, 1296 *Inst Pub*; *Gillenbye*, 1485-6 HMC (Jhn). /284/ *Gillon-* may represent a diminutive of ON *Gilli* (from Irish names in *Gilla-*, etc: cf Sc & C, 68), as *Gillan*. Compare *Glassan*, a diminutive based on Gael *glas*, “grey” (*ib*, 69), seen in *Glassonby*, Cu (DEPN, 186).

GILLESBIE (H & C): (85, 2 H):

Gillisby, 1530 GMC (Jhn); 1590 *ib*; *-be*, 1572 *ib*; *Gyllsbye*, 1552-3 CSP; *Gillesby*, 1569 RPC. ON *Gilli* (*supra*) is the first element: cf *Gilsland*, Cu (PN CuWe, 53; DEPN, 187).

LOCKERBIE (Dryf): (89, 1 B):

Locardebi, 1194-1214 HMC (*Drml*); *Lok(k)ertby*, 1510 RMS; 1552-3 CSP. A Norman name, *Locard*, is the first element, later the Scots surname Lockhart.

MIDDLEBIE (Mid): (89, 3 D):

Middelby, 1296 *Inst Pub*; *Myddilby*, 1517 RMS. “Middle village”. It is roughly half-way between two other names in *-by*, *Albie* and *Gimmenbie*, which may be the reason for the epithet. This may be a ME compound, or may represent ON *meðal býr*.

MUMBIE (Can): (89, 9 C):

Monkeby, 1552 Bullock.

MUMBIEHIRST (Can):

Monkbehirst, 1596 RPC; *Mungbirstwood*, Blaeu. /285/ “Monks’ farm”, and “Wood at the monks’ farm”: ME *monke-by*. The canons of Canonbie must have held land here.

NEWBIE COTTAGES, etc (Ann): (89, 2 H):

Neuby, 13th HMC (*Drml*); 1304 CDS; *Newby*, 1517 RMS. The original Newbie is no longer in existence. ON *ný býr*, or ME *neue-by*, “new village”.

PEARSBY HALL (Tun): (89, 4 A):

Perisby, 1285 (*c* 1320) *Kelso*; *c* 1294 LSMM; *-behalvis*, 1542 RMS; *-behawes*, 1555 HMC (*Jhn*); *Peirsbie-halls*, 1662 RMS. OFr *Pierre*, ME *Pier*, *Peir*, *Pere* is the first element. *Hall*, represents MSc, *halzhes*, *halwes*, “river haughs”: cf No XVI.

SIBBALDBIE (Apl): 85, 1 J): cf **SIBBALDBIESIDE**:

Sibbilbesyd, 1648 *Reg Sas Dmf*; *Sibel-*, *ib*. ME *Sibbald*, *Sibbeld* from OE *Sigebald* is perhaps the first element.

SORBIE (Ew): (85, 8 J):

Sourbi, 1426 RMS; *-by*, Blaeu. ON *saurr-býr*, “village in the mud or swamp”. The place is in the river-valley which was probably boggy. Compare *Sowerby* (PN La, 161), **Sowerby*, etc (PN YNR, 128, 132, 212), *Castle Sowerby*, Cu, *Temply Sowerby*, /286/ We (PN CuWe, 105, 178). A modern form in *Sor-* is unique, but compare *Copeland Ho*, Du (PN NbDu, 52), and *Copeland*, Cu (PN CuWe, 37), from ON *kaupa-*, and the modern Scots surname *Copland* which omits the medial *-e-*.

WARMANBIE (Ann): (89, 3 F):

Weremundeby, 1194-1214 CDS; *Wormonby*, 1541 HMC (*Drml*); *Wormanbie*, 1659 *Com Rec Dmf*. ON *Vermundr* (Lind, 1083), is the first element.

WYSEBY (KF): (89, 4 E):

Wyisby, Blaeu. ON **Vísi*, usually found as an ending, eg *Guðrvísi*, (Lind, 1114), may here be used as a personal name. There are also Barraby (Clb) and Gimmenbie Mains (Hod).

“Lost” names are:

Godfraby, 1505 RMS, in Applegarth, containing ON *Guðfrøðr*, ME *Godfrey*. *Lamanby*, 1505 *ib*, in Applegarth. *Millebi*, 1194-1214 HMC (*Drml*), *Melebie*, 1662 RMS, near *Newbie. *Williambi*, *ib*. *Ouseby*, 1360 CDS; *Us-*, 1374-5 *ib*; *Usebyfeld*, 1429-30 RMS; *Usbyfield*, *ib*, in Lochmaben, may have ON *Ulfr* as first element. /287/ *Schatteby*, c 1300 *Cold*; *Ska(i)tbieburn*, 1578, 1604 *LCh*; *Sketbieburne*, 1638 *ib*, near Coldingham Priory, Bwk, may have ON *skata*, “skate”, or ON *Skati*, personal name, as first element.

/288/ LXXXII ON skáli,

“hut, shed, temporary building”.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

RAMMERSCALES (Dlt): (88, 13 D):

Ramyrscals, 1374-5 CDS; *Raymorscalis*, 1484 HMC (*Drml*); *Rammer-*, 1542 RMS; *Rammirskailis*, 1562 *ib*. *Rammer-* may represent ON *hrafn-mýrr* or *hrafn-mór*, “raven marsh or moor”.

WATSCALES (Dryfe):

Watskails, 1662 RMS. ON *vað*, “a ford”, is the first element.

WEST SCALES (Grt): (89, 5 G):

West Scalis, 1512 HMC (*Drml*); *West-skalis*, 1544 RSS; *Skells*, Blaeu. This must be a ME formation.

A “lost” name is *Clinkskailis*, 1556 HMC (*March*), near Coldingham, Bwk, which must be the origin of the Scots surname *Clinkscals*. If the first element is ODan *klint*, “rock”, this must be a Danish-Norse hybrid made at the time when both terms had passed into the current Scots dialect.

/289/ LXXXIII ON garðr,

“enclosure”: cf OE *gærd*. Most of the examples show confusion with ModSc *girth*, “sanctuary”. All may be mediaeval formations.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

APPLEGARTH: (85, 1, 2K etc – a parish).

Apilgirth, 1505 RMS; *-gairth*, 1513 RSS; *-gyrth*, 1543 HMC (*Drml*); *Aplegarthe*, 1586 CBP. ME *appel-garth*, “apple-enclosure, orchard”: cf A~ , (PN YNR, 293).

AULDGIRTH (Clb): (88, 8 A):

Algarth, 1531 RMS; *Auld-*, 1536-7 *ib*; *Aldgirth*, Blaeu. ME *ald(e) garth*, “old enclosure”.

There are also Cowgarth Flow (Grt), no doubt ON *kú garðr*, Foregirth (Kmh), Howgarth Scar (Cum). Biggarts (KJ) is perhaps ON *bygg-garðr*, “barley field”. Tundergarth (Tun) has received its present ending by analogy: *Thonergayth*, 1215-45; *Tonner-*, c 1294 LSMM; *Tunnergath* (P), 1349 HMC (*Drml*); *-garthe*, 1592 CBP; *Tolnagargh*, 1510 RMS. This is probably a Gaelic compound: cf Tunregaith, Ayr, (CPNS, 200).

/290/ LXXXIV ON *ðveit*,

“piece of cleared land, paddock”, appears in greater numbers than any other Norse element in the area: there are 21 examples.

Lindkvist notes that the majority of such names in England do not appear until the 13th or 14th centuries (Lindkvist, 99). Although there is one “lost” example in Dmf belonging to the end of the 12th Century, and a few to the early 13th Century, the greatest number is not recorded before the 15th Century.

It is noticeable that in their modern forms the Scottish examples nearly all end in a short syllable, *-that* or *-what*, while the majority of English *þveit-* names retain the form *-thwaite*, a long syllable. Pronunciation in England however is often [θæt] (IPN ii, 60). In the earliest recorded spellings, the Dmf endings are similar to those in Cumberland and Westmorland. Compare the 13th Century spellings with *Appelthweit*, Cu, 1222; *Applethwayt*, We, 1271; *Bastonthwait*, Cu, 1303; *Hermithwwait*, Cu, c 1250; *Corntheit*, *Cornthwait*, We, 1190-1220. By the 15th Century most Dumfriesshire examples appear in *-thwat* or *-quhat*, whilst the majority of English ones remain as *-thwaite*.

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Shortening of the vowel or diphthong in a final unstressed syllable is normal, and the progress of ON *þveit* in the Scottish area must have been from [θvait] in the 13th and 14th Centuries, to [θwe:it] and so to [θwɛ:t], shortened to [θwɛt] in the 15th Century when MSc *ě* frequently became *ǣ* after *w-*.

In the 16th Century, the spelling was regularly *-quhat* representing a pronunciation [ʌt] which omitted the initial *t-* of the consonant group *thw-*. Those names which now end in *-what* remained at this stage, but others changed in the 17th Century to a form in *-that*. The spellings for Slethat point to a return to *-thwat* followed by the omission of the *-w-*, but there is not sufficient evidence to show exactly what happened in each case.

Fourteen of the names in *-þveit* describe the nature of the ground or the vegetation, two contain personal names, one contains a word for a building, and one the name of an animal pastured upon the land. Twathats seem to be a MSc formation.

The *pveit*- names in Dumfriesshire are to be found in an area further west than those in *-by*. It will be observed that the majority of *by*- names are on sheets 89 and 85 of the OS map, while the *-pveit* names are mainly on sheet 88.

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- Names in which the ending, in the modern form, retains the initial *b*, but drops the *v* as *-that*, *-thet*, *-teth*.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

BRANTETH (Hfm): (89, 6 D):

Brandthwaite stile, 1516-17 RMS; *Branthet*, Blaeu. ON **brant* (>*brattr*), ME *brant*, “steep”, is the first element. Branteth is situated on the slope of a hill.

NORTH and SOUTH CARTHAT (Lmb): (88, 12, 13 D):

Karhet, Blaeu; *Carthat*, 1637 LCh. ON *kjarr*, “copsewood, brushwood”, was used in ME of swampy ground.

HOWTHAT (Msw): (88, 13 F):

Holthuayt, c 1218 HMC (*Drml*); *Houthwate*, 1446-7 *ib*; *-thuat*, 1449 *ib*; *Howthuat*, 1516 RMS; *-quhat*, 1544 *ib*; *Houthet*, Blaeu. OE or ON *hol*, “hollow”, is perhaps the first element: cf Hoathwaite: *Holtwayt*, 1272-80 (PN La, 215).

LAIRTHAT (Rth): (88, 14 G):

Lerthett, Blaeu. ON *leirr-pveit*, “field where clay was obtained”.

MURTHAT (KJ): (84, 14 F):

Murquhat, 1550 RMS; *Marthat*, 1662 RMS. ON *mór pveit*, “paddock by the moor”.

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SLETHAT (Rth): (88, 13 F):

Slachquhat, 1459-60 RMS; *Slaithwait*, 1516-17 *ib*; *Slaithwattes*, 1637, LCh. Compare *Slaithwaite*, YWR (DEPN, 406), “clearing where sloes grew”.

TWATHATS (Rth): (88, 14 F):

Twathweytes, 1304 CDS; *-thtwatis*, 1450 RMS; *-thwatis*, 1498-9 HMC (*Drml*). MSc *twa thwaytes*, “two clearings”.

- Names in which the ending was MSc *-hwat*, *-quhat*, ModSc *-what*.

BUTTERWHAT (Dlt): (88, 13 E):

Buttirthuat, 1507-8 RMS; *-quhat*, 1542 *ib*; *Butterquhat*, 1645 *Reg Sas Dmf*. Perhaps ON *búðar-pveit*, “dairy-farm’s *pveit*”: cf Butterilket, Cu (Sc & C, 21).

DALWHAT (Glc): (84, 3 H):

Dalquhat, c 1544 HMC (*Drml*). ON *dalr-pveit*, “thwaite in a valley”.

HARPERWHAT (Wstk): (85, 6 H): “Harper’s paddock”. Harper may here be a surname. Gilbert the Harper is referred to as *Gib Harper* in *The Brus* as if the title was then passing into a surname.

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RAGGIEWHATE (Dryfe): (89, 2 B):

Ragaquhat, 1657 *Com Rec Dmf*. The first element is obscure. It might be ON *rakki*, “dog” or ModSc *raggy* (from OE *ragu*, “lichen”), “mossy”.

ROBIEWHAT (Msw): (88, 14 F):

Roberquhat, 1542 RMS; *Robie-*, 1632 *Reg Sas Dmf*; *Robiewhat*, 1737 *Com Rec Dmf*. A Norse personal name *Hróðbjartr* or *Hróðbjörg* is the first element.

THORNIETHATS (Can): (89, 9 C):

Thornythaite, 1583 CBP; *-quhat*, 1590 RPC. ME *Thorn thwaite*, “thorny clearing”.

3. Names now ending in *-thwaite*.

MURRAYTHWAITE HOUSE (Cum): (89, 1 E):

Mourithweyt, 1304 CDS; *Mourythrowt*, *ib*; *Patrick of Murray of the Morithwait*, 1498-9 HMC (*Jhn*); *Morayquhat*, 1569 RPC; *Moriwhat*, Blaeu; *Murraywhat-town*, 1750 *Com Rec Dmf*. ON *mór*, ME *mōre*, is the first element: cf Moorthwaite, Cu: *Moreqwate*, 1470 (Lindkvist, 118). When the site was occupied by Patrick de Murray, *More-* was associated with his surname.

THORNIETHWAITE (Lmb): (88, 13 C): /295/

Thornthuayt, c 1218 HMC (*Drml*); *the Thorniequhat*, 1534 HMC (*Jhn*); *Thornequhat*, 1542-3 RMS. OE or ON *þorn*, “thorn-bush” plus *þveit*: cf *Thorniewhats* (*supra*).

“Lost” names are:-

Appiltretwayt, 1317 RMS; *Appulthrethwate*, 1411 HMC (*Drml*), in Carruthers (Mid), containing ME *appel-tre*.

Blindethuayt, c 1218 HMC (*Drml*), in Lmb or Dlt: perhaps from ME *blind*, “dark, obscure”: cf *Blindhurst*, (PN La, 166).

Brakanepheit, 1194-1214 HMC (*Drml*); *Brakansweit*, post 1275 *ib* (near Annan), containing ME *braken*, “bracken”.

Langesweit, post 1275 *ib*: ME *lange-thwayte*.

Litelweit, post 1275 *ib*: *Litlewhat*, Blaeu, between Slethat and Comlongon; “little clearing”.

Panthawat, 1516 RMS; *Panthuat*, 1516 HMC (*Drml*); *Panthehill*, Blaeu, near Powhillon (Rth), may contain OW *pen* “hill-top”.

There are also *Cowthat* (Hod), *Crawthat Cottage* (Lmb), *Heithat* (H & C), *Howthat Burn* (Apl), *Murthat Burn* (H & C).

/296/ LXXXV ON dalr,

“valley”. As this ending is indistinguishable even in its MSc form from OE *dæl*, only those names are noted below which appear to have a Norse first element, or which occur in the Southern parishes of Dmf where the Norse influence was strongest. Compare names in OE *dæl*, No XXVI.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

BUTTERDALES (Dor): (89, 4 G):

Butterdalls, Blaeu. Probably ON *búðar dalr*, “dairy farms valley”, but perhaps OE *butere dæl*, “valley where butter is made”. *Dale* has been made plural at a later date.

HURKLEDALE (Cum): (89, 1 G):

Hurderdale, 1304 CDS; *Hurkildale* (P), 1573 HMC (*Jhn*); *-dall*, Blaeu. Sc dialect *hurkle*, “to crouch, cower”, which can mean “to wrinkle into folds” (Jam, s.v.) may be the first element. The low hills beside which Hurkledale is situated may have suggested the idea of “crumpled”. The first spelling however presents a difficulty, for *-der-* cannot be a misspelling of *-kil-*.

MEIKLEDALE BURN (Ew):

Mikkildale, 1426 RMS; *Mekildaill*, 1532 *ib*. ON *mikill dalr*, “large valley”. /297/ The valleys of most of the main rivers are known as *dales*. In each case this element is suffixed to the stream-name, but in certain examples a genitival ending has been interposed, as in Nithsdale, Liddesdale. In some instances, this *dale* must be derived from OE *dæl*, as the same construction is to be found in NE England in Coquetdale, Glendale, Redesdale. Mawer believes this usage to be “almost certainly, if not entirely due to Scandinavian influence” (PN NbDu, 227).

ANNANDALE:

Anandredalle, c 1360 *Scal*; *Anandyrdale* (P), c 1375 (c 1490) *Brus*; *Annandredale*, 1381 JG; *Anandirdale*, 1414 *Cold*; 1493 HMC (*Drml*); *Anander-*, 1501 RSS; 1504 *ib*; 1572-3 HMC (*Drml*); *Annandir-*, 1508-9 *ib*; *Annander-*, 1510 RMS. Annandale was a *praefectura* or sheriffdom, and as such was generally known as Strath Annan, or the Valley of the Annan: *Estrahanent*, 1124 ESC; *vallum de Anant*, 1147-53 *ib*, etc. The spellings above denote “*Qnundr*’s valley”, ON *Qnundar-dalr*: cf Ennerdale Cu (DEPN, 160). The original Celtic river-name must have been identified by the Norsemen with a Scandinavian personal name. It is strange that these forms do not appear until the 14th Century. It may be that at that time the name /298/ became confused with Ennerdale.

DRYFESDALE:

Drivesdale, c 1124 *Glas*; 1189 CDS; *Drivis-*, 1249 *ib*; 1452 HMC (*Drml*); *Driffisdaill*, 1501 *ib*; *Drysdale* (P), 1541 *ib*; *Drisdail*, 1552-3 CSP. ON *Drífsdalr*, from a personal name *Drífr* (Lind, 203). The river-name must be a back-formation from this. Dryfe is also recorded independently as a place-name: in 1372 the lands of *Over Driff* are mentioned in HMC (*Jhn*). *Dryf*, 1572 HMC (*Drml*), is a place or district, probably in the vicinity of the present Dryfe Lodge (H & C). The Scots surname Drysdale comes from the 16th Century spellings of Dryfesdale.

NITHSDALE:

Nyddisdaill, c 1400 (c 1500) Wyntoun (w); *Nithsdale*, 1408 HMC (*Jhn*); *Nethis-*, 1440-1 RMS; 1553 HMC (*Drml*); *Nid(d)is-* 1544-5 *ib*; Blaeu. Compare Redesdale, Nb, for a Celtic river-name with a genitival ending before *-dale*. Clydesdale is of the same type: *Cliddisdaile*, c 1400 (1475-1500) Wyntoun (C); *Clyddysdaill*, c 1485 *Wallace*.

EWESDALE may also belong to this group: *Ewytesdale*, 1296 CDS; *Ewithes-*, 1333-6 *ib*; *Ewis-* 1485 (16th) APS; *Housdaill*, c 1485 *Wallace*; *Ews-*, /299/ 1552-3 CSP. The first element is obscure.

ESKDALE:

Eschedale, 1153-65 LSMM; *Heske-*, 1185 *C de M*; *Esce-* (P), 1269 (c 1320) *Kelso*; *Eske-*, c 1375 (c 1490) *Brus*. This may be ON *eski-dalr*, “ash-tree valley”, from which the river-name *Esk* is a back-formation on the analogy of the numerous other *Esks*; for which see ERN, 154.

***EVANDALE:**

Evindail, 1592 HMC (*Jhn*). A pre-English river-name plus ON *dalr* or OE *dæl*: cf *Coquetdale*, Nb.

***MOFFATDALE:**

Moffetdal, 1334 *Percy*, a Celtic town-name with *-dale* is comparable to *Lauderdale*, No XXVI.

/300/ LXXXVI ON *gil*,

“ravine”. Dialect *gill* can also mean “a stream”. *Gil* is recognised as a WScand term: it does not appear in Nb or Du, but is common in Y. In Dmf it appears in greatest numbers in the south and in the eastern districts adjacent to Rxb, where there are several examples in the parish of Castleton.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

STANYGILL BURN (Cst):

Stainygil, Blaeu. “Burn in the stony ravine”; not an early formation.

WHISGILLS (Cst): (89, 11 B):

Whisgills, 1590 CBP; *Whissgils*, Blaeu. The first element is obscure. It might be ON *hvísl*, “whisper”.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

ALMAGILL (Dlt): (88, 14 D):

Almygill, 1590 RPC; *Amy-*, Blaeu; *Almi-*, 1648 *Reg Sas Dmf*. Perhaps ON *almenni*, “common land” is the first element, but this is very doubtful.

ARESGILL SIKE (Lang): (89, 6 A):

Ersgillis, 1516 RMS. OE *ersc*, “pasture, stubble”, may be represented: cf *Archwood*, No XX. /301/

CADGILL (Hfm):

Catgill(e), 1552 *Bullock*; 1590 RPC; Blaeu. ON *katt-gil*, “wild cat ravine”. Note *t* voiced to *d* before *g*.

CARLESGILL (Wstk):

Cairlgill b., Blaeu. ON *karl*, “freeman”, is the first element.

CASSOCK HILL (Esk), also Over and Nether Cassock: (85, 4 D):

Cowsowgill, 1481-2 HMC (*Drml*); *Coschogill*, 1526, 1538 HMC (*Drml*); 1590 RPC; 1619 HMC (*Var Coll v*); *Cashogill*, Blaeu; *Cowshogill*, 1646 *Reg Sas Dmf*. MSc *cow-schaw-gil*, became **Coshog-hill*, and by popular etymology, *Cassockhill*. From this the farms of Cassock took their name.

EFFGILL (Wstk): (85, 6 H):

Eggill, Blaeu. ON *efja*, “mud, ooze”, may be the first element. The sides of the ravine, on which the place stands, were no doubt swampy.

GARROGILL (Wam):

Gerardgille, 1372 HMC (*Drml*). Either ON *Geirarðr* (Lind, 312), or mediaeval *Gerard*, is the personal name in this compound.

/302/

HAREGILLS (Hod):

Hairgills, 1637 *LCh*. The modern form seems to be literally correct: “gills frequented by hares”.

HOGHILL (Ew): **HOWGILL** (Wam):

Howgill, 1532 RMS; Blaeu; *Hou-*, 1578 HMC (*Drml*). “Gill in a hollow”. For the introduction of *-h-* after the initial *g-* of *gil* compare Cassockhill.

RAEGILL BURN and **RIG** (Can): (89, 9 B):

Ragill, 1552 Bullock; *Rey-*, 1597 CBP; *Rea-*, *ib*; *Re-*, Blaeu. Probably MSc *rae gill*, “roe-deer gill”: cf Raegill Bogs (Cst).

There are also four names in *-gill* in Rxb, all of which have an English first element which shows that they were mediaeval or later dialect formations. In Dumfries there are twenty-four other examples many of which are no doubt of fairly recent origin.

/303/ LXXXVII ON **slakki**,

“shallow valley”.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

GATESLACK (Drd): (84, 7 E):

Gaitslake, 1638 *Reg Sas Dmf*; *-slacht*, 1658 *ib*. ON *geit-slakki*, “goat valley”.

MITCHELLSLACKS (Clb):

Michalslacks, 1655 *Reg Sas Dmf*. The first element seems to be an earlier form of the surname Mitchell.

There are also 4 names in *-slack* in Slk, 3 in Rxb and 3 in Dmf. They do not appear to belong to the Norse period.

Slack is not found in Bwk, Nb or Du, in place-names, although it is contained in the dialect of Northumberland. It occurs frequently in the place-names of Y, La, Cu and We.

/304/ LXXXVIII ON **holmr**,

OE *holm*, “a piece of dry land in a fen, a piece of land surrounded by streams” (DEPN, 235). Dialect *holm*, “a piece of low-lying ground by a river or stream” (IPN ii, s.v.). This is usually the sense in Dmf and Rxb: cf “the dowie houms o’ Yarrow”.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

BAHOLM TOWER (Cst):

Bourhooms, Blaeu. If Blaeu’s spelling is authentic, MSc *bour*, perhaps in the sense of “place overgrown with foliage”, is the first element.

DEMAINHOLM (Cst): (89, 11 B):

Demayne Holme, 1583 CBP; *Damain Hoo*, Blaeu. “*Holm* with an estate in it”: ME *demeyne* from OFr *demeine*.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

BEARHOLMS (KJ):

Beirholme, 1630 *Reg Sas Dmf*. Perhaps “barley *holm*”, from OE *bere*; but perhaps *beir-* represents MSc *bair*, *bare*, “bare”.

BIGHOLM (Lang): (89, 7 B)

Bygams, 1583 CBP; *Biggiemms*, Blaeu. Perhaps ON *bygg-holmr*, “barley *holm*”.

BILLHOLM (Wstk):

Billum, Blaeu. /305/ ON *Bili*, personal name, may be the first element, as *Bila-holmr*.

BROOMHOLM (Lang):

Brumholme, 1532 RMS; *Brume-*, 1569 RPC. “Broom valley”.

CALVERTS HOLM (KF): (89, 6 F):

Caversholme, 1509 RMS; *Cavarthoom*, Blaeu; *Cavetholm*, 1662 RMS. The first spelling may be merely an attempt to equate the first element with a known name. *Cavart-* is seen again in Glencartholm and is probably Gaelic. In this case the name has finally been associated with the surname Calvert.

ENZIE HOLM (Wstk): (85, 6 H):

Eynze, 1532 RMS; *Aynze*, 1532 *ib*; *Ainziehoom*, Blaeu. Watson claims Enzie- as Gaelic, from *eang*, “nook, triangular piece of land” (CPNS, 180). This fits the topography of the site.

ERKINHOLME (Lang): (89, 8 A):

Arkinholme, 1532 RMS; *Erkinhoom*, Blaeu. Perhaps from ON *Arnkell* > ME *Arkel* > *Arken* by dissimilation. MSc *Erkin-* is an inverted spelling.

GLENCARTHOLM (Can):

Glencawartisholme, 1590 RPC. /306/ Glencawart must have been the original place-name to which *-holm* was added.

KINGHOLM QUAY (Dmf): (88, 10 E):

Kyngesholm, 1335-6 CDS; *Kingisholme*, 1528 RSS. “King’s *holm*” or perhaps “*holm* belonging to a person with the surname King”.

LANGHOLM (Lang): (89, 8 A):

Langholme, 1532 RMS. “Long *holm*”, perhaps originally what is now the grounds of Langholm Lodge which form a long strip of low-lying ground beside the River Esk.

LYNEHOLM (Wstk): (85, 5 H):

Lymholm, 1532 RMS (*m = nn?*); *Lynumm*, Blaeu. Perhaps OE *hlynn*, “waterfall, torrent” and *holm*.

MEIKLEHOLM (Kkm):

Mikkilholme, 1439-40 RMS.

MEIKLEHOLMSIDE (Mof): *Meikle Holmside*, 1309 RC; *Mikylholmesyde*, 1317 RMS. ON *mikill holmr*, “big river-valley”.

MURTHOLM (Lang):

Murthumhooome, Blaeu. Blaeu’s spelling suggests a form *Murthum*, a dative plural, to which *-holm* has been added. An OE **murtum*, from **murt*, meaning “stump” (cf MHG *murz*), might be a place-name forming the base of the compound: cf *Mortehoe*, D (DEPN, 316).

/307/

“Lost” names are *Bellisholme*, 1590 RPC, perhaps represented by Bell’s Flow, with a family name for the first element.

Dimpleholm, *Wynholm*, *Caldholm*, *Cassieholm*, *Blackdubholm*, occur in 1662 RMS.

/308/ LXXXIX ON *grein*,

“fork, branch”, used of a small valley opening from another. It is unlikely that any of these names belong to an early period. They are all nature-names, and must have been constructed at a time when *grain* had become an element in the current local speech.

ROXBURGHSHIRE

HAREGRAIN RIG (Cst):

Haregrame, Blaeu (*am = ain*). MSc *hare*, *hair*, “hare” is the first element.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

GRAINS (Hod):

Graines, 1635 *Reg Sas Dmf*. The place commands a view of one or two small valleys.

SELKIRKSHIRE

BLACK GRAIN (Ettr):

Blakgrane, 1510 RMS.

BLACK GRAIN RIG (Yar):

Blackgrams, Blaeu (*am = ain*).

There are also nine names in *-grain* in Rxb (in the parishes of Cst and Tvt), sixteen in Dmf, and eleven in Slk. In most cases the first element is English. There are no obviously Norse compounds although *-grain* appears exclusively in the WScand area. There are no instances of its use in Bwk, Tweeddale, Nb (except in upper Tynedale) or Du, but it is to be found in Y, La, Cu and We. In South Scotland it does not occur as the first element of compounds.

/309/ XC ON bekk,

“stream”.

DUMFRIESSHIRE

ALLERBECK (KF): (89, 4 E):

Elrebec, c 1218 HMC (*Drml*); *Ellirbek*, 1517 RMS; *Ellerbeck*, Blaeu; *Aller-*, 1637 LCh. ON *elri bekk*, “alder-grove stream”: cf *Ellerbeck* (PN YNR, 212). ModSc *aller* has been substituted later.

ARCHER BECK (Can) (89, 10 C):

is so spelt, 1552 Bullock. *Archer* may be a surname: cf *Patrick le Archer*, a Scot, 1292 HC. Compare Archer Cleugh on the Kielder Burn, Nb.

BODESBECK (Mof): (85, 1 C):

Bodsbeck, 1457 HMC (*Jhn*); *Bodisbek*, 1535 *ib*; *-byke*, 1581 RPC; *-beik*, 1590 *ib*; *Bodsbek*, 1658 *Reg Sas Dmf*. ModSc *bod*, “person of small size” (SND, s.v.), perhaps in the sense of “brownie, gnome”, may be the first element: cf Gaelic *bodach*, “old man”. Hogg’s tale of the Brownie may have been based on a very old tradition.

WINTERSEUGH (Cum): (89, 2 F):

Winterbeck scok, 1194-1214 HMC (*Drml*). /310/ *Scok* is ON *skógr*, “wood”. The “winter beck” would be a watercourse, full only in winter: cf the numerous Winterbournes in England (DEPN, 500).

“Lost” names are:

Aykesbec, 1194-1214 CDS, which falls into the Sark. The first element may be ON *eik*, “oak”, although the genitive ending is unusual.

Blakebec, c 1218 HMC (*Drml*) near Howthat; “black burn”.

Bochardbech, 1306-29 *ib*; the first element is the Norman name *Bochard* seen in Botcherby, Cu (DEPN, 51).

Castelbec, 1275-1306 *ib*; ME *castel*, “castle, fortification”, plus *bekkr*.

Gillemartinebech, 1194-1214 *ib*. Gael *Gillamartain* (Sc & C, 69), personal name, is the first element.

There is one other name in *-beck* in Rxb, and there are nine in Dmf. Muckle Hind Beck (Cst), Mere Beck (Mof), Muirbeck (Cum), Trout Beck (H & C) and Water Beck (Mid) are almost certainly dialect formations. Fishbeck (Apl) and Greenbeck (Jhn) may have been originally *fisk-bekkr* and *græn bekk*. Beck (Dryf) and Becks (Lang) may belong to the Norse period. *Craigbeck* (Mof) contains a Gaelic element.

Beck does not appear in Bwk, Slk or the greater part of Rxb. There are no examples recorded for Nb /311/ and Du. The single Rxb name is in Castleton parish while the Dmf names are mostly in the east and south. The distribution of this element is very similar to that of ON *gil*.

/312/ XCI ON *vað*,

“a ford”, is the terminal in *SOLWAY*, the name now applied to the firth, but originally to a ford across the mouth of the Esk (Neilson – *Annals*, 256-261).

Sulewad, 1218 CDS; *-wat*, 1249 APS; *-waht*, c 1275 *ib*; *Solewathe*, 1274-80 CDS; 1315-20 *ib*; *Sulwat*, 1292 DIHS; *-wath*, 1300 Neilson; *-waythe*, 1340 CDS; *-way*, c 1485 *Wallace*; 1510 RMS; *Soulwadz*, 1307 CDS. The ON form seems to have had a short vowel in the first element. This might have been due to eME shortening before a consonant group: *Súlvað* > *Sūlwath*, in which case Ekwall’s suggestion of ON *súl*, or *súla*, can be upheld (DEPN, 410). If the original vowel was short, however, an ON **sūl-r*, an ablaut grade of a term cognate with OE *sol*, “muddy, pool”, may be postulated. A derivative of ON *sulla*, “to swill”, is also possible: the inrush of the Solway tides might suggest the idea of “flushing”: cf a stream-name, Swilgate, G1, which contains the same basic idea although the name is English and probably denoted a floodgate (ERN, 387). The various *Swales* belong to the same root (*ib*, 385). It is possible that the name was originally English, /313/ as OE *sol-wæd*, later Scandinavianised.

A “lost” name is **Blaatwood*, which is placed near Torduff Point (Grt) in Blaeu’s map of Annandale. It is described as a fishing. According to the Register of Holme Cultram, the fishing at Blawath was in the water of Esk, but a charter of Robert Bruce, c 1190, makes a grant of land “*inter piscariam de Blawad et aquam de Hesch*”, which indicates that it was beyond the mouth of the river.

Blawath, 1175-1214 (15th) RStB; 1194-1200 (1300) HC; *-wad*, c 1190 HMC (*Drml*); *-wat* (P), 1573 *ib*; *Blawetwod* (P), 1552-3 CSP; *Blawatwod*, 1583 RPC; *Blaat-*, Blaeu; *Blaet-*, 1630 *Reg Sas Dmf*.

ON *blá vað*, “blue or grey ford”: cf Blawath Beck (PN YNR, 82). Stragglingswath Plantation (Rth) may also contain *vað*.

/314/ XCII ON *mýrr*,

“swampy moorland”.

BERWICKSHIRE

BILLIEMIRE BURN (Chrn and Cold): (75, 10, 11 H):

Bilymyre, 1383 CDS. The place-name Billie (cf Billie Castle), is the first element. The origin may be Gael *baile*, “farm”; but compare Billy Mill, Nb, which is *molendinum de Billing*, 1320 (PN NbDu, 22).

WHITEMIRE (Edr): (75, 10 J):

Whytmyre, 1621 HMC (Wed). “White bog”.

SELKIRKSHIRE

HARTWOODMYRES (Slk):

Hartwoodmyrs: cf No XX.

A “lost” name is *The Carsmyir*, 1535 *Dryb*, in A St B. This may be Gael *cars*, MSc *carse*, “ground in a river-valley” and *mire*.

There are four other names in *-mire*: Foulmire Heights (Cst), Queen’s Mire (Cst), Drakemire (B & Pr) which has a parallel in Cu near Catlowdy, and Skipmyre (Tnw). None of these names is likely to belong to the ON period. They are all MSc formations, made when *mire* was already an element in the Southern Scots speech.

/315/ XCIII

Miscellaneous terms for hills, rocks, etc.

- (a) ON *ffall*, “fell, hill”, occurs sixteen times, but there are no early spellings. It is coupled with diverse first elements. Capell Fell (Etrr and Dmf) contains ME *kapall*, “horse” a Norse loan from Irish. Loch Fell (Esk) and Craig Fell (Wam) are Gaelic. English terms appear in Dod Fell (Cst) and (Wstk), Black Fell (Mof) and perhaps Cowan Fell (H & C). Scaw’d Fell (Wam) contains a Scots dialect word, Norse in origin: see No XXXI. Several first elements now English have been Norse words anglicised: Berryfell (Cav) from ON *berg*, Birny Fell (Cst) from ON *brynja*, Pike Fell (Hbk) and (Ew) from ON *pík*, Hart Fell (Mof) and (H & C) from ON *hjörtr*, and Wind Fell (Etrr) from ON *vindr*. All may nevertheless be simply dialect formations. Swatte Fell (Mof) might contain ON *svæði*, “open, exposed space”. Names in *Fell* occur south and east of the Teviot in Rxb, in the southern part of Slk, and east of the Annan in Dmf. The few examples in /316/ Nb are in Upper Tynedale. The term is in most common use in Cu and We. It is also found in La, Y and Shetland.
- (b) ON *brekka*, “a slope”, is the terminal of Torbeckhill (Mid): *Thorbrek*, 1194-1214 HMC (*Drml*); *Torbrack hilles*, 1552 Bullock; *Torbok hill*, *Torbackhills*, Blaeu. Gael *torr*, “rock”, as in Torthorwald, may be the first element: both exhibit spellings with initial *th-*. But cf Tarbock, La: *Torboc* DB; *Thorbok*, 1243; originally *Thorn-brook* (PN La 113, 263), which makes *þorn* a possible first element here.
- (c) ON *hreysi*, “cairn”, “heap of stones”, is probably the latter element of Clenries (Sqr), Stenries (Cum) and Stenrieshill House (Wam). Clenries is *Clenry*, Blaeu, and may have some other etymology. Stenries is *Steinreis(bech)*, 1194-1214 HMC (*Drml*); *Stanrase*, 1446-7 *ib*, *Stanyris*, 1450 RMS; *Stanereis*, 1544 *ib*, from ON *stein-hreysi* “cairn of stones”.
- (d) ON *sker*, “rock, cliff”, appears as the ending of six names for which there are no early forms. Redscar Law (Cad) may have *scar* (from Fr *escare*), /317/ in the sense of “gash” as may Red Scar (Glc). The other examples may be Norse compounds: Kidd’s Scar (Rbt) from ON *kið* “kid”, Berryscaur (H & C) from ON *berg*, and Hallscar (Pnp) from ON *hallr* “slope”, or “big stone”. Whan Scar (Dor) is a rock on a sandbank in the

Solway: the first element is perhaps ON *hvammr*, “marshy hollow”, in which case the rock must have taken its name from a place on the shore. There are several “lost” names in *-scar* denoting rocks in the Solway. “A low-lying rock cluster which rises and no more than rises above the level of the sands is always called a *scar*” (Neilson – *Annals*, 266). Compare *Clutesker*, c 1304 HMC (*Drml*); *Brewin Skar*, 1516 HMC (*Drml*); *Halskar*, 1565 *ib*.

- (e) ON *gnípa*, “hill, peak”, must occur in High Knypes (Kel).
- (f) ON *skarð*, “notch, cleft, mountain pass”, seems to be the second element of Hartsgarth (Cst), Rxb: *Harskarth*, 1583 CBP; *Harth scarth*, 1590 RPC. The first element may be ON *hjörtr*, “stag”, MSc *harte. Rokkelskarth*, 1516-17 RMS, and *Rowlskarth*, Blaeu, seem to mark a small stream-valley at Rock Hall (Msw): cf No XXIII.
- /318/**
- (g) ON *vrá*, “nook, corner”, is used of a remote or secluded spot. Breconrae (Msw) is *Brakanwra*, 1309 RC; *Bracanewra*, 1532 RMS; *Brakinwra*, c 1560 RMS; *Brecken-wrae*, Blaeu, from ME *braken wrā*, “bracken-grown spot”. The *a* of *braken* is fronted to *e* in several names in this area, cf Breckenrig (Lmb), Breckenshank (Ew), Breckenny Knowe (Lang), Breckonside (Glc). Wrae (Ew), is *Wra*, 1532 RMS, “nook, secluded place”. There is also Greenwrae (Hfm).
- (h) ON *leikr*, originally “sport, play”, came to mean “a place for sport”. Cocklicks (Rth): *Coklakis*, 1507-8 RMS; 1509 APS; *Cocklaikes*, 1637 *LCh*, may be a place where cock-fighting was carried on, or simply a place where wild fowl disported themselves. Compare Cockplay (Rbt), and C~ Hill (Cst), (Ew), which may have the same meaning.

/319/ XCIV

Miscellaneous terms denoting streams, springs, etc.

- (a) ON *á*, “river, stream”, is no doubt the base of the Water of Ae, although there are no early forms to prove it.
- (b) The Scar Water (Pnp and Tyn), is *Scharre*, 1374 HMC (*Drml*); *Scair*, 1554 *ib*; *Water of Skar*, 1581 *ib*, which is perhaps ON *sker*, “rock”. The river may have been named from some outstanding rock in its course.
- (c) ON *kelda*, “spring”, is the terminal in Springkell Kell (KF): *Springkayl(l)*, 1485 HMC (*Jhn*). For a similar construction compare Blaeu’s *Springkells* for Springfield (Grt).
- (d) ON *eyrr*, “sandbank”, seems to be the second part of Woodcock Air, a hill on the banks of the Annan near Hoddom Castle: *Wodecok Heyr*, 1333-4 RS; *Wodecokheir*, 1360 CDS; *Wodcokkar(e)*, 1504 RSS; 1508-9 *ib*. The first element is English. There are, however, no sandbanks in the river at this point.

/320/ XCV

Miscellaneous Norse Names.

TINWALD (Tnw): (88, 11 B):

Tynwald, 1335-6 CDS. ON *þing-völlr*, “field where the assembly meets”. The presence of such a name indicates a large Norse population in the immediate vicinity, and the persistence of Norse customs and speech for a considerable period. Cf Tingwall (PN Sh, 125), Dingwall, Ross (PNS, 156), Tynwald (PN IoM, 416), Thingwall (PN La, 112), Thingwall, Ch (DEPN, 444).

BROATS (KF): (89, 5 F):

Brotis, 1543 RPS; *Brottis*, 1619 *Reg Sas Dmf*; *Broits*, 1662 RMS. ME *brotas*, “clearings”, from ON *bróti*, “heap of trees felled in a wood”: cf Broates (PN YNR, 86).

HODDOM (Cum): (89, 2 E):

This is a difficult problem, and is as likely to be Celtic as Norse. I include it here as a Norse solution seems to be the most plausible.

Holdelm, 12th century *Vita Kentig*; *Hodelm(e)*, c 1124 (12th) *Glas*; 1189, 1199 CDS; 1194-1214 HC; *-elmia*, 1179 CDS; c 1190 HMC (*Drml*); *-olm(e)*, 1194-1212 CDS; 1296 *ib*; *-olmia*, 1194-1212 *ib*; *-almia, ib*; /321/ *-holm(e)*, 1215-41 HC; c 1294 LSMM; 1296 CDS; 1317 RMS; 1544 *Ham Pap*; *Odoum*, 1210 CDS. The ending may be ON *hjálmr*, “helmet”, or perhaps, in the transferred sense, “hay-rick”. The first element may possibly be an ON poetic term *hodd*, usually meaning “hoard, treasure”, but used on one recorded occasion to denote “holy place, temple, sanctuary” (C-V, s.v., 2). *Hjálmr* might refer to the shape of the hill behind Hoddom Castle, and the meaning of the compound *hodd-hjálmr* could be “temple beside the helmet-shaped hill”.

/322/ XCVI

“INVERSION COMPOUNDS”

Ekwall devotes the greater part of his work “Scandinavians and Celts in North-West England” to the discussion of this type of compound. There are only a handful of examples in our area, but they are worth noting.

These names are modelled on the common Celtic type, both Gaelic and British, which abound in the Border Counties, in which the second element determines the first, eg Glendinning, Carruthers, Kilblain, Dumbretton. In the Inversion Compounds, however, the first element is usually Norse, and the second may be Norse also. The terminal in most often a personal name denoting an early owner of the site, or a saint to whom a church is dedicated. It is supposed that these names were formed by Norse settlers on the analogy of the Celtic names they found already in existence. At first Celtic-Norse hybrids appeared but later all-Norse compounds were formed and so we have examples of names in NW England such as Becsnari (Sc & C, 18), Butterilket (*ib*, 21), and Chelduspat (*ib*, 21).

The Scottish Inversion Compounds are to be found /323/ almost solely in Dumfries and Galloway. The commonest type is that composed of *kirk-* followed by the name of the saint to whom the church was dedicated. In such names, *Kirk-* is plainly ON *kirkja*. In some of the names this sometimes exchanges with *Kil-*, which shows that these compounds were equally acceptable to Norse and Gaelic speakers.

Similar in form is the “lost” *Rainpatrick, which is marked on Blaeu’s Atlas on Redkirk Point (Gr). Spellings are: *Renpatric*, 1165-1214 LSMM; *Rein-*, 1214 *ib*; *Reyn-*, *Raynpatrik*, 1304 CDS; *Royn-*, c 1305 HMC (*Drml*), to which can be added Ekwall’s *Rein-*, *Raynpatrik*, *Reyn-*, *Rainpatrick*, c 1200 (Sc & C, 92-3). These forms indicate a long vowel or diphthong in the first element which does not agree with Watson’s derivation from OBrit **rindo*, W *rhynn*, “promontory” (CPNS, 496), and makes Ekwall’s suggestion of OIr *rainn*, “part, share”, preferable. This term must have been brought from Ireland by the Norse settlers, unless the whole formation is Irish, and has merely been transplanted in Dumfries.

Torthorwald may be another construction of the same type: *Torthorald*, 1214-18 LSMM; 1215-45 CDS; *Thor-*, 1215-45 CDS, from OCelt **torr*, “rock”, and the ON personal name *Þóraldr*: cf Torvean, Inverness, a /**324**/ Gaelic formation from *torr Beathain* (PNS, 313).

A possible example is Watcarrick (Esk) (85, 4 G): *Weitkerroc*, 1165-1214 LSMM; *Weid-*, *ib*; *Wat-* 1214-49 *ib*; *Watkerroch*, *ib*; *Wathkerrock*, 1249-96 *ib*. The first element is ON *veiðr*, “place for fishing or hunting”, later confused with ON *vað*. The terminal seems to be OIr *carric*, OW *carrec*, “rock”, for which cf Blindcrake, Cu: *Blankeryk*, 1237 (SC & C, 105).

There is only one example of two Norse words combining to form an Inversion Compound in this area, Westerkirk, the name of a parish in Dumfries: *Westerkerk*, 1298 (probably a late copy) DIHS; *Wathstirkir*, 1304 LSMM; *Wastirker*, 1309 *ib*, *Wadsterker*, 1316 *ib*; *Westirker*, c 1316 *ib*; *Wathstirker(e)*, 1319 CDS; 1347 RS. Ekwall interprets this satisfactorily as ON *vað*, “ford” and the personal name *Stryrkárr* (Sc & C, 59). ME *vaðst-* > MSc *wast-* with loss of medial *ð*, and this was equated with MSc *wast* for ME *west*. *Westerker Rig* (Wstk) retains the original ending which was early associated with *-kirk*.

Compounds with *Kirk-* plus a personal name:

KIRKBLAIN (Crl): *Kirkeblan*, 1264-6 *Rot Scac*. The ruins of an ancient church here are known as Kilblain: *Kilblein*, Blaeu, which shows that the Celtic form of the name was equally common. Compare Kilblane /**325**/ (Kmh). For *Bláán* who is commemorated in the name, see Watson (CPNS, 164-5).

KIRKBRIDE (Keir): *Kirkbridis*, 1556 HMC (*Drml*). Church of St Bride: cf *Kirkbride*, Cu (Sc & C, 54).

KIRKCONNEL (Kcl), (Hod) or (Tyn): *Kirconnel*, 1296 CDS; *Kirk Coneval*, 1303-4 *ib*; *Kirkconevel*, 1304 *ib*; *Kirkconwel*, 1335-6 *ib*. Church of St Convallus: cf CPNS, 169.

NETHER KIRKCUDBRIGHT (Glc): *Kirkcudbrecht*, 1549 RMS. Church of St Cuthbert, OE *Cūðberht*.

KIRKMAHOE (Kmh): *Kirkemaho*, 1257 (c 1500) LSMM; *-mogho*, 1319 CDS; *K Maho*, Blaeu. Church of St *Mochoe*: cf CPNS, 162.

KIRKMICHAEL (Kkm): *Kermyghkel*, 1296 CDS. Church of St Michael.

KIRKPATRICK (KF): *Kirkepatric*, 1189 CDS; *Kilpatrick*, 1296 CDS; *Kyrkepatrik*, 1306-29 HMC (*Drml*). Church of St Patrick. Note that the Celtic prefix *Kil-* interchanges with the Norse *Kirke-*. This is seen in the double form of the surname today.

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