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**The migration of Old English to Scotland:  
place-name evidence for early Northumbrian settlement in Berwickshire<sup>1</sup>  
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1. Introduction

As is well known, the Scots language originated through the migration of speakers of English – first to the south-east, which formed part of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria from the seventh to the eleventh centuries, and later to the burghs, where further groups of incomers arrived from the twelfth century onwards (see e.g. Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith 2003). Historical records for the early period are sparse, so the initial stage of migration is poorly documented, as is the Northumbrian variety of the Old English language spoken by the Anglo-Saxon incomers. The origins of Scots can therefore only be pieced together from fragmentary evidence.

This paper investigates evidence provided by the place-names created by the seventh-century settlers and their successors, with a focus on south-east Scotland. The importance of this material has long been recognised, but in the absence of systematic place-name survey, it has been largely inaccessible. The situation is being addressed through a major research project funded by the Leverhulme Trust at the University of Glasgow from 2016 to 2019. The project, *Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: evidence from place-names* (REELS), is undertaking place-name survey of the historical county of Berwickshire in the Scottish Borders in order to investigate the poorly-attested Northumbrian dialect of Old English and its equally poorly-attested development into Older Scots. The project team comprises Carole Hough (Principal Investigator), Simon Taylor (Co-Investigator), Eila Williamson (Research Associate), Brian Aitken (Systems Developer) and Dàibhidh Grannd (PhD student), supported by a team of advisors who are listed, together with further information about the project, on the REELS website at <https://berwickshire-placenames.glasgow.ac.uk/>.

2. Why place-names?

Settlers in a new area need to find their way around, so one of the first things they tend to do is to create a nexus of place-names – sometimes by adopting or adapting existing ones, sometimes by creating new ones in their own language, but usually through a mixture of both

practices. We can therefore hypothesise that the Old English place-names of Scotland will tell us both where the speakers of Old English were located, and what variety of the language they spoke. Like Present-Day Scots, Old English was not a uniform language but a series of overlapping dialects, some of which are better attested than others. Most literary and documentary evidence for Old English has been preserved through the medium of the West Saxon dialect, which functioned to some extent as a literary standard. Place-names are characteristically created and transmitted orally, and we can therefore also hypothesise that they will provide additional evidence for the more elusive Northumbrian dialect.

In terms of levels of language, place-names provide a fairly full range of phonetic contexts, so we aim to use this evidence for a study of the phonology of Old Northumbrian after the conclusion of the project itself. The range of morphological contexts is more limited, mainly comprising noun, adjective and personal name inflections. Most place-names contain a defining element or ‘generic’, which identifies the type of feature described and is usually a singular or plural noun in the nominative or dative case. Many also contain a qualifying element or ‘specific’, which identifies the individual feature more precisely and is often an inflected adjective or a noun or personal name in the genitive case. Since place-name structures are highly repetitive, these too will provide a data bank for future study. As regards vocabulary, previous work on place-names has been extraordinarily fruitful in bringing to light words and meanings of words that were not otherwise on record, as well as in providing many significant predatings of literary evidence (see e.g. Scott 2004, Grant 2016). Because place-names characteristically describe places, certain types of vocabulary predominate – particularly terms relating to the natural or built environment and to the people who inhabited it – but others also occur, particularly among qualifying elements.

The REELS project will conclude at the end of September 2019, so at the time of writing (November 2018), the research is well advanced but not yet complete. The purpose of this paper is to set out some of the results to date, with a focus on methodologies for identifying place-names that are attributable to an early phase of Northumbrian settlement in the Berwickshire study area. Two main groups will be discussed. The first comprises types of place-name formation that became obsolete early in the Anglo-Saxon period and are therefore likely to represent an early stratum in Scotland as well as in England. The second comprises morphological inflections that became obsolete earlier in the Northumbrian dialect than in other varieties of Old English, and are therefore likely to represent an early stratum in Scotland although not necessarily in England. The following sections will deal with each in turn.

### 3. Early types of place-name formation

The tried and tested method for any place-name survey is to compile a comprehensive collection of historical spellings for each place-name, in order to trace the origins back through time. Alongside that, we collect local pronunciations, which often throw further light. This is a lengthy process, and it explains why it is only now, during the final year of the project, that key patterns are starting to emerge. As an example, Figure 1 is a screenshot from the REELS database, showing the earliest eleven historical spellings for the parish name Edrom in Berwickshire. In the database itself, these are followed by another eleven spellings tracing the development of the place-name through the later thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries.

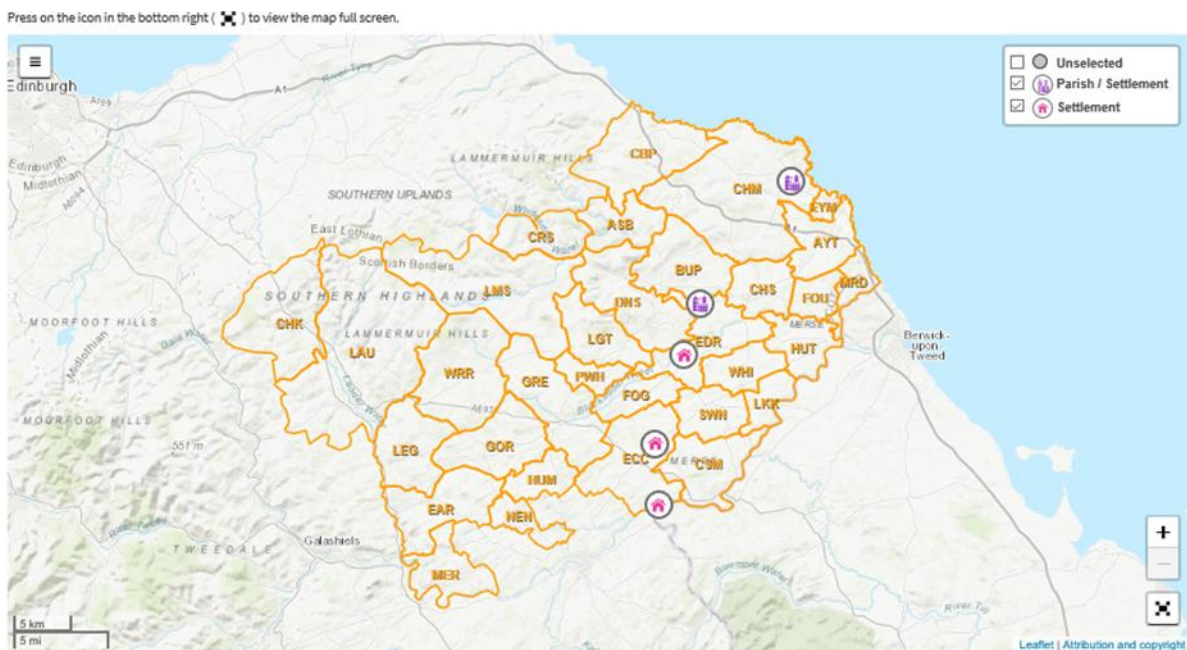
Figure 1. Earliest historical spellings of Edrom

Historical form (s):		Edit	Delete
<i>(mansio of) Edrem</i> 1095 Durham MC 559 [15th-c. paper copy; printed <i>ESC</i> no. XV and Raine, <i>ND</i> , App. no. VII. For full discussion, see <i>ESC</i> , p. 246 and Duncan 1999, 16–22; one of the 20 <i>mansiones</i> given with the <i>mansio</i> of Berwick ( <i>Berwic</i> ) to the church of Durham (bishop and monks) and to St Cuthbert by King Edgar; at start Edgar is said to possess 'all the land of Lothian' (totam terram de <i>Iodoneio</i> ) by gift of William II; 5th in list.]			
<i>(mansio of) ederha[m]</i> 1095 Durham MC 558a [Original document; printed <i>ESC</i> no. XVI; King William II (Rufus) of England's confirmation of King Edgar's grant (Durham MC559) to Durham of lands in Lothian (in <i>Iodoneio</i> ). The lands granted include the <i>mansio</i> of Berwick ( <i>Berwic</i> ) and 20 (associated) <i>mansiones</i> listed in the same order as in Durham MC559; 5th in list.]			
villam de <i>Ederham</i> 1124 x 1138 <i>ESC</i> no. CXVII [Original document; printed also Raine, <i>ND</i> , App. no. CXI. Earl Cospatrick grants to God and to St Cuthbert and to his monks the vill of Edrom and the church of the same vill 'with all its chapels' (cum omnibus capellis suis) and the other vill which is called Nisbet EDR ... for the soul of King Malcolm and his sons kings Edgar and Alexander and for King David and his son Henry and for me and my wife and my sons etc; Earl Cospatric seems to have died in 1138 (see Barrow <i>David</i> , Index).]			
de <i>Hederham</i> 1138 x 1141 <i>David I Chrs.</i> no. 78 [Original document; Durham MC753; <i>ESC</i> no. CXXX; Henry commands Earl Cospatric (II) to all the charitable gift (terram de Elemosina patris tui . Uidelicet de <i>Hederham</i> et <i>Nesbita</i> ). There had been a hearing before David I and Robert de Brus the previous year; earl is to restore (the monks') oxen (boues); NB 'until King David returns' (presumably from the Battle of the Standard fought on 22 August 1138).]			
<i>Ederham</i> 1139 <i>David I Chrs.</i> no. 68 [Original document; Durham MC571; not printed in <i>ESC</i> ; see Barrow notes; <i>Ederham</i> et <i>Nesebitam</i> ; dated 16 August 1139 at Roxburgh; Barrow notes that: 'The grant of Edrom and Nisbet gave rise to more documentation than any other Scottish benefaction to Durham in the reign of David I', namely nos. 69, 75, 78, 102, 158, 160 [I].]			
<i>Ederham</i> 1139 <i>David I Chrs.</i> no. 69 [Original document; Durham MC571; <i>ESC</i> no. CXXI; dated 16 August 1139 at Roxburgh; <i>Ederham</i> et <i>Nesebitam</i> ; dated 16 August 1139 at Roxburgh.]			
<i>Hederham</i> 1147 x 1152 <i>David I Chrs.</i> no. 160 [Original document; Durham MC752; <i>ESC</i> no. CLXXXIII; Raine, <i>ND</i> , App. no. CV; (Barrow: 'probably 1147'); Earl Henry confirms to the church of St Mary and of St Cuthbert of <i>Coldingham</i> and to the monks serving God there the gift which Cospatric brother of Dolfin gave to them, namely Edrom and Nisbet EDR ( <i>Hederham</i> et <i>Nesebitam</i> ), in perpetual alms with churches (cum ecclesiis) etc to be held by the same marches as those by which they held them on the day of Earl Cospatric's death.]			
<i>Ederham</i> 1189 x 1213 Raine, <i>ND</i> , App. no. CLXIII [Everard of Pencaitland renounces his claim 'over the land between Edrom and Blanerne' (super terre inter <i>Ederham</i> et <i>Blanerne</i> ).]			
in curia nostra de <i>Eddirham</i> ' 1248 <i>Melrose Liber</i> i no. 237 [Patrick, earl of Dunbar's court; 14 April 1248, king present (?).]			
(ecclesia) De <i>Edinham</i> c.1250 <i>St A. Lib.</i> 31 [Valued at 100 merks; after Chirnside and before Duns; error for <i>Edirham</i> .]			
Ecclesia de <i>Ederham</i> ' c.1250 <i>Dunf. Reg.</i> no. 313 [Valued at 100 merks.]			

From the sequence as a whole, it is possible to see which spellings are anomalous, and which reflect a consistent pattern. The final syllable of the first spelling *Edrem* is out of line with the main thrust of the evidence, and the same applies to the initial letter of the fourth spelling *Hederham* and to the middle syllable of the tenth spelling *Edinham*. The second, generic, element is evidently Old English (OE) *hām* ‘settlement’, in combination with the name of the River Adder as the first, specific, element.<sup>2</sup>

Comparative evidence from south of the border, where the Survey of English Place-Names has been underway since the 1920s, has established that certain types of place-name formation are datable to the earliest stages of Anglo-Saxon settlement, as they contain generic elements that subsequently went out of use. Foremost among them are place-names from OE *hām* ‘settlement’, OE *-ingahām* ‘settlement of the followers of’ or ‘settlement of the people at’, and OE *-ingas*, a suffix denoting groups of people, especially the family or dependants of a leader. The first two are created as place-names; the third originates as the name of a tribe or group of people, subsequently used of the place where they live (see e.g. Cameron 1996: 66–72). Previous discussions of these formations in a Scottish context have broadly supported their significance as indicators of early Northumbrian settlement, potentially even dating from the first quarter of the seventh century (Hough 1997), but with the possibility that OE *hām* may have continued in use for naming monastic land-holdings in the Borders into the ninth (James 2010).

Figure 2. Berwickshire place-names from OE *hām* and OE *-ingahām*



In addition to the parish name Edrom, there are three more place-names from OE *hām* in Berwickshire. Birgham and Leitholm are both in the parish of Eccles, while Kimmerghame is in Edrom.<sup>3</sup> It is unlikely to be a coincidence that the four names cluster in just two parishes, both in the south-east corner of Berwickshire where incomers from northern England would have arrived first. Their location is shown in Figure 2, together with that of Coldingham in the north-east of the county, the only *-inghām* name in Berwickshire.<sup>4</sup> Neither is it likely to be a coincidence that all four refer to water, a key priority for all settlers in a new area. Like Edrom, Leitholm has a river name (Leet) as the specific, whereas Birgham contains OE *brycg* ‘bridge, causeway’ and Kimmerghame contains a compound specific OE *cūna-brycg* ‘cows’ bridge’, possibly to distinguish it from Birgham. As shown in Figure 3, early spellings of Kimmerghame are inconsistent, and the second in particular appears to point to the Old English personal name Cyneberht, in the metathesised form <Cynebriht>. This has been considered the likely origin in previous scholarship. Nicolaisen, for instance, discusses the name twice in his influential book *Scottish Place-Names*, first appearing to favour the ‘cows’ bridge’ interpretation (2001: 29), but subsequently only mentioning the personal name (2001: 98). The next two paragraphs will make a case against the derivation from a personal name.

Figure 3. Historical spellings of Kimmerghame

Historical form(s):		Edit	Delete
	( <i>mansio</i> of) <i>Chynbrygh[am]</i> 1095 Durham MC 559 [15th-c. paper copy; printed ESC no. XV and Raine, ND, App. no. VII. For full discussion, see ESC, p. 246 and Duncan 1999, 16–22; one of the 20 <i>mansiones</i> given with the <i>mansio</i> of Berwick ( <i>Berwic</i> ) to the church of Durham (bishop and monks) and to St Cuthbert by King Edgar; at start Edgar is said to possess ‘all the land of Lothian’ (totam terram de <i>Iodoneio</i> ) by gift of William II; 9th in list. Interlineated after <i>Blakedir</i> , with the insertion indicated by a caret mark, probably in the same hand as the main hand; <i>-ham</i> represented <i>hm</i> with superscript <i>a</i> .]		
	( <i>mansio</i> of) <i>cynebrihtha[m]</i> 1095 Durham MC 558a [Original document; printed ESC no. XVI (erroneously as <i>cynebritham</i> ; King William II (Rufus) of England’s confirmation of King Edgar’s grant (Durham MC559) to Durham of lands in Lothian (in <i>Iodoneio</i> ). The lands granted include the <i>mansio</i> of Berwick ( <i>Berwic</i> ) and 20 (associated) <i>mansiones</i> listed in the same order as in Durham MC559; 9th in list.]		
	Robert de <i>Kynbriggeham</i> 1296 Ragman Roll 146 [French text; ‘of the county of Berwick’ ( <i>del Counte de Berewyk</i> ); the ‘a’ is written as superscript.]		
	Dauidem de <i>Kynbridgeham</i> 1330 ER i, 278		
	<i>lie Kymmerghame</i> 1528 RMS iii no. 641 [Among lands granted by king to George Hume of Wedderburn, son and heir of the late David Hume of Wedderburn are: ‘half of the lands and mill of the Kimmerghame, sheriffdom of Berwick’ ( <i>dimediatatem terrarum et molendini de lie Kymmerghame, vic. Berwic</i> ).]		
	<i>dimediatetem terrarum de Kymmerghame</i> 1532 RMS iii no. 1232		
	<i>Kymmerjame</i> 1536 RMS iii no. 1623 [Sixteen husbandlands in.]		
	<i>Kimmergham</i> c.1636 x 1652 <a href="#">Gordon</a>		
	<i>Kymmerjemm</i> 1654 <a href="#">Blaeu (Mercia)</a>		
	<i>Cimergem</i> 1752 x 1755 <a href="#">Roy</a>		
	<i>Kimmergham</i> 1771 <a href="#">Armstrong</a>		
	<i>Kimmergham</i> 1797 <a href="#">Blackadder</a>		



Two of the key online resources for the REELS project are the Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England database (PASE), which covers all the recorded inhabitants of England from the late sixth to the late eleventh centuries, and the People of Medieval Scotland database (PoMS), which covers all the recorded inhabitants of Scotland between 1093 and 1314 mentioned in over 8600 contemporary documents, as well as all people mentioned in royal charters between 1314 and 1371. In addition, the Durham *Liber Vitae* is a key source document for Northumbrian personal names, with over 3,120 names in what Chetwood (2018) describes as the “Original Core”, the oldest section dating from the 830s or 840s, and with later names added in stints up to the sixteenth century. Whereas PASE records twelve occurrences of the personal name Cyneberht, there are no examples of such a name in the PoMS database, suggesting that it may not have been current in Scotland. Moreover, a topographical qualifier is more consistent with the other *hām* formations mentioned above, and indeed James (2010: 104) points out that none of the other *hām* names in the lower Tweed contains a personal name.

The main problem with the personal name, though, is its spelling. The early Anglo-Saxon spelling was <Cyneberht>, which is used as the headform in PASE and was current during the *hām*-naming period. It corresponds to the usual spelling of the Old English adjective *berht* ‘bright’, which became <berht> by the late tenth century and underwent metathesis to become <briht> by the early eleventh. Even on the most flexible dating of *hām* formations, this is much too late. Neither is it a Northumbrian spelling. Rollason and Rollason’s (2007) edition of the Durham *Liber Vitae* has eighteen occurrences grouped under the headname *Cynebeorht*, of which three have the spelling <bercht> dating from the ninth to early eleventh centuries, and the remaining fifteen have <berct> across the same period. The same pattern is seen in other personal names containing this common element, which Chetwood (2018: 533) identifies as the most frequent second element or ‘deuterotheme’ within the names of the Original Core. Looking across the entirety of the Durham *Liber Vitae* (Rollason and Rollason 2007: ii, 81–187), *beorht* also appears in 78 other Old English headnames, with a total of 574 occurrences between them. Of those 574, only 24 have the vowel <i> rather than <e>, and these are also the only 24 to show metathesis: <briht> rather than <berht>. All 24 date from the twelfth century. It therefore seems vanishingly unlikely that the form <Cynebriht> would have been current in Northumbria when *hām* names were being created. Like the minority spellings in Figure 1 discussed above, the second spelling in Figure 3 is simply anomalous.

Personal names are also crucial to the interpretation of the former parish name Simprim, now in Swinton parish (see Figure 4). Again, this is in the south-east of the county.

Figure 4. Earliest historical forms of Simprim

Historical form(s):		Edit	Delete
Ecclesiam de Symprinc' 1153 x 1160 Kelso Liber i no. 273 [Rubric to charter]		Edit	Delete
Hye de Simprinc' 1153 x 1160 Kelso Liber i no. 273 [And his son Peter (Petro). Hye occurs only here in the Scottish record, and POMS gives no suggestion as to its origin. Might it be Old Gaelic Aed (later Aodh)?]		Edit	Delete
Ecclesiam de Simprinc' 1153 x 1160 Kelso Liber i no. 273 [with toft and croft, with 18 acres of land etc ... except for the holding of Thor the archdeacon during his life-time' (cum tofto et crofto cum decem et octo acris terre etc ... salua tenura Thor Archid' in vita sua) ]		Edit	Delete
ecclesiam de Simprinc' 1160 x 1162 Kelso Liber ii no. 439 [= SEA I no. 149.]		Edit	Delete
ecclesiam de Simpr[n]c' 1198 x 1199 Kelso Liber ii no. 425		Edit	Delete
Eccl. de Simprnc' 1247 Pontificale xix.		Edit	Delete
(ecclesia) De Simpr[n]c' c. 1250 St A. Lib. 32 [Valued at 15 marks.]		Edit	Delete
Ecclesia de Sympr[n]c' c. 1250 Dunf. Reg. no. 313 [Valued at 15 marks.]		Edit	Delete
Ecclesia de symprinc' c. 1250 Arb. Lib. i no. 300 [Valued at 15 marks.]		Edit	Delete
ecclesiam de Symprinc' 1251 Kelso Liber i no. 277 [Rubric to charter; word for word Kelso Liber ii no. 432.]		Edit	Delete
eccles[a] de Semprinc' 1251 Kelso Liber i no. 277 [Word for word Kelso Liber ii no. 432.]		Edit	Delete

As the only Berwickshire place-name potentially from OE *-ingas*, the third type of early formation mentioned above, it has been much discussed. In his early work, Nicolaisen supported an interpretation as an *-ingas* name, but he drew back from that later, going on to draw major conclusions relating to the dating of the Anglo-Saxon settlements in Scotland:

The safe conclusion therefore has to be that names in *-ingas*, just like those in singular *-ing* are totally lacking in Scotland. In this connection it is also of interest that there is no trace whatever in Scottish place-names of ... the whole vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon heathen worship. The absence both of this terminology and of names in singular *-ing* and plural *-ingas* taken together surely implies that the Angles cannot have occupied much ground in the Border Counties before their official conversion to Christianity in 627 (Nicolaisen 2001: 92–93)

This approach has been critiqued both by Smith (1990: i, 205–211) in an archaeological context, and by myself (Hough 1997) from a toponymic perspective, but one point that has always been problematic is the derivation of the underlying personal name. To the best of my knowledge, the only candidate that has been put forward is a formation related to the English verb *simper*, which, as Nicolaisen (2001: 91) acknowledges, is not plausible semantically:



It is tempting to think of the first element in the English name *Sempringham* LIN as an identical parallel, but as the oldest recorded spelling of the English name is *Sempingaham* in 852, the *-r-* appears to be intrusive. The Berwickshire name could, of course, quite independently be based on a potential personal name, such as a nickname belonging to the stem of the English verb to *simper*, for which Scandinavian parallels exist in Norwegian *semper*, Swedish *simper*, *semper* ‘affected, prudish’. Although this might not be a particularly suitable name for a hero or leader, it is not impossible ...

Neither, indeed, is it plausible chronologically. According to the *OED* (s.v. *simper* v.<sup>2</sup>), the verb *simper* is not recorded until c.1563; it is of obscure origin, but perhaps related to the continental words mentioned by Nicolaisen. Nothing resembling the first element of Simprim is attested in Old English, nor among the personal names in PASE, PoMS or the Durham *Liber Vitae*. The closest parallel still appears to be Sempringham, but the latest work on Lincolnshire place-names has confirmed the absence of a medial <r>, as a dozen or so spellings without <r> precede the earliest appearance of medial <r> in 1202 (Cameron 1998: 109). The only other comparable name that I have been able to find is Shimpling in Norfolk and Suffolk. Neither has yet been covered by the Survey of English Place-Names, but the entry in Ekwall (1960: 417–418) reads as follows:<sup>5</sup>

**Shimpling** Nf [*Simplingham* c1035 Wills, *Simplinga*, *-ham* DB, *Scimplinge*, *Scimplingeham* c1095 Bury], S~ Sf [*Simplinga* DB, *Simpling* 1236 Fees, *Scimpling* 1275 RH]. ‘The people of *Scimpe*.’ This unrecorded pers.n. is a nickname formed from a word corresponding to OHG *scimph* ‘joke’.

Clearly Simprim does not derive from the same personal name as either Sempringham or Shimpling. Nevertheless I think they deserve comparison, because all three begin with the string <semp> or <simp>. The significance of this only emerges when we realise that not only does the element not correspond to a recorded Old English name or word, but neither does it correspond to an Old English syllable or letter string.

A search through the online Old English Corpus for the string <semp> returns 713 results. Five are forms of the Lincolnshire place-name Sempringham, nine are forms of the Latin name Sempronius (all in the Old English *Orosius*), and the rest are Latin words. A

search for the string <simp> returns 89 results, of which one is a form of the Suffolk place-name Shimpling, thirteen are forms of the Latin names Simpronius, Simplicio and Simphonia, 74 are Latin words, and one is a fictitious Old English word in a forged charter. A search for the string <symp> returns six results: the Latin name Sympronius in the context of a saint's life, and five Latin words. In short, there is no evidence for this string of letters or for the sound sequence that they represent in either the Old English lexicon or the Old English onomasticon. The first elements of Sempringham, Shimpling and Simprim clearly did not have their roots in Old English. The only reasonable conclusion is that all three names were imported from the continent, and that Simprim, like Sempringham and Shimpling, originates as an early *-ingas* formation.

As regards the place-names from OE *hām* discussed above, our findings mainly serve to confirm the four occurrences already known, and to support an interpretation of the first element of Kimmerghame as 'cows' bridge' rather than as a personal name. As regards place-names from OE *-ingas*, our findings serve to establish Simprim as a more secure example than was previously thought. As regards the final early type of place-name formation to be discussed in this section, however, the project has made an entirely new discovery. This concerns the Old English generic *word* 'enclosure'. The current position is set out by Nicolaisen (2001: 99–100):

In Scotland three names contain or contained this element, all of them in the most 'Northumbrian' counties of Berwickshire and Roxburghshire, two of them in fact south of the Tweed ... There is *Polwarth* BWK (*Paulewrhe* [p] 1182–1214, *Paulewurth* [p] [13th]) probably compounded with a personal name *Paul*. This is the only one which has preserved its original generic, for in *Cessford* ROX (*Cesseworth* 1296) 'Cessa's enclosure', *word* has been replaced by *ford*, and in *Jedburgh* ROX (*Gedwearde* c. 1050 [12th], *Gedwirth* 1177 [16th] 'enclosed village on the river Jed', *burh* has taken its place. This shows that *word* must have gone out of use at an early date when a better-known element was substituted. This process of substitution is closely paralleled in the neighbouring county of Northumberland, where in at least five cases *wood* has replaced *word* ...

The derivation of the parish name Polwarth is confirmed by the more extensive range of historical spellings compiled for the REELS project, although it is worth noting that the qualifier *Paul* is not only a very rare name in Anglo-Saxon and medieval England, with only

two occurrences in PASE (one of which refers to the pope) and eight in PoMS, but is the only Biblical personal name within the medieval toponyms of our study area. More excitingly, though, the same substitution of *wood* for *worð* has also been identified in a Berwickshire place-name. The earliest historical spellings of Quixwood in the parish of Abbey St Bathans are shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5. Earliest historical forms of Quixwood

Historical form(s):		Edit	Delete
D[au]id d[e] <i>qecheswrh</i> c.1198 x c.1208 Raine, ND, App. no. CLXXX [Grants land in Oldcambus. ]		Edit	Delete
Dauid de <i>quicheswd</i> c.1201 x c.1225 Raine, ND, App. no. CLXXIX [Grants land in Oldcambus. NB. Raine reads <i>quichesyf</i> . Date is early 13th cent.] OE <i>wudu</i> or Sc <i>wuid</i>		Edit	Delete
Dauid filius Ærnaldj de <i>Quikiswde</i> c.1201 x c.1225 Raine, ND, App. no. CLXXXI [Grants land in Oldcambus. Date is early 1200s.]		Edit	Delete
Dauid de <i>Q[ui]keswde</i> c.1203 x 1213 Raine, ND, App. no. DXXXII [Charter concerns grant of land in Coldingham previously bought from him.]		Edit	Delete
d[au]id de <i>q[ui]cheswode</i> c.1204 x 1214 Raine, ND, App. no. CLXXXVI [Grants land to hospital of Oldcambus. Date is x 6.5.1214.]		Edit	Delete
Dauid de <i>Q[ui]cheswde</i> c.1204 x 1214 Raine, ND, App. no. CLXXXVI [Grants land to hospital of Oldcambus. Date is x 6.5.1214.]		Edit	Delete
D[au]id de <i>quikeswde</i> 1207 x 1211 Raine, ND, App. no. CLXXX [Resigns claim to wood in Oldcambus.]		Edit	Delete
Dauid de <i>Quikeswude</i> 1207 x 1211 Raine, ND, App. no. CLXXXV [Resigns claim to wood in Oldcambus.]		Edit	Delete
Dauid de <i>Quicheswde</i> 1212 x 1214 RRS ii no. 521 [Confirmation of earlier grant by him of land in Oldcambus. Date is poss 1214.]		Edit	Delete
D[au]id de <i>Q[ui]ckeswd[e]</i> 1212 x 1234 Raine, ND, App. no. CCLIX [Grants ten acres of land in Coldingham to Durham. Date is 1212 x 1221 or 1229 x 1234 (prob latter).]		Edit	Delete
Dauid de <i>Quikeswde</i> 1212 x 1234 Raine, ND, App. no. CCLX [Confirms grant of land in ND no.259. Date is 1212 x 1221 or 1229 x 1234 (prob latter).]		Edit	Delete
v s. terre de <i>Quhikkiswod</i> 1451 ER v, 487 [‘5 s. (castleward) of the land of Quixwood’, part of the earldom of March.]		Edit	Delete

The first element is an Old English personal name \**Cwic*, with the Old English masculine genitive singular <es> inflection. Although unattested as a monothematic (single-component) name, this is found four times as the initial component of dithematic (compound) names, three of them from the seventh century and the other from ninth-century Northumbria, and it has plausibly been derived from OE *cuic* ‘alive’ (Rollason and Rollason 2007: ii, 101, s.n. *Cwicweald*). All spellings except the first reflect the generic OE *wudu* ‘wood’, and the place-name has previously been explained as ‘\**Cwic*’s wood’ (e.g. Johnston 1940: 45; Williamson 1942: 45). However, the first and only pre-thirteenth-century form, from Durham Cathedral, Miscellaneous Charter 5923, demonstrates an origin from OE *worð* ‘enclosure’.<sup>6</sup> As reflected by Polwarth, Cessford and Jedburgh, it is characteristic of *worð* to combine with names as qualifiers, and indeed about three-quarters of all *worð* names in England contain personal

names (Cameron 1996: 150). Quixwood therefore fits an established pattern, both in terms of its original composition, and as regards the later substitution of *wudu* ‘wood’.

The date of Quixwood remains to be considered. OE *word* ‘enclosure’ belongs to a later stratum of Anglo-Saxon naming than OE *hām* or *-ingas*: it is first attested in English place-names from the eighth century, although Cameron (1996: 151) considers that it is likely to have been in use during the seventh. Unlike *hām* or *-ingas*, however, it had not become obsolete by the later Anglo-Saxon period, and indeed continued to be used in England after the Norman Conquest of 1066 (Cameron 1996: 151). Like most Scottish place-names, Polwarth and Quixwood appear late in the record, so it is difficult to establish dating parameters. However, several factors point towards a date early in the period of Northumbrian settlement. One is the fact that, whereas OE *word* survived into later English (*OED*, s.v. *worth*, *sb.*<sup>2</sup>), it does not appear to have survived into Older Scots, having no entry in the Dictionary of the Scots Language (DSL). Combined with the fact that it has been replaced in three of the four occurrences now identified in Scotland, this supports Nicolaisen’s contention quoted above that it “must have gone out of use at an early date when a better-known element was substituted”. Significantly, all three substituted elements are also from Old English, suggesting that the obsolescence took place during the Old Northumbrian period. Also suggestive is the fact that monothematic personal names tend to be associated with the early Anglo-Saxon period, while the rare personal name component *cwic* is, as noted above, attested only once in the ninth century and three times in the seventh. The most plausible conclusion therefore seems to be that Polwarth and Quixwood represent Northumbrian settlements dating from only a little later than those represented by Birgham, Edrom, Kimmerghame, Leitholm and Simprim.

#### 4. Early morphological inflections

Particularly characteristic of Old Northumbrian is the early onset of the morphosyntactic developments that later affected other varieties of Old English. One such is loss of grammatical gender. In Old English, as in other languages like Present-Day German, all nouns took masculine, feminine or neuter gender, and the inflectional forms both of the nouns themselves and of associated adjectives and determiners varied accordingly. This system has been completely lost in Present-Day English, and began to break down earlier in Northumbrian than in the southern dialects of Old English. This is apparent in the parish name Duns from OE *dūn* ‘hill’, a grammatically feminine noun which would be expected to take a plural inflection in <a>. Instead, here it has the <s> plural associated historically with

masculine nouns, but which took over as the standard plural marker in later Scots and English. As Figure 6 shows, final <s> is not an anomalous spelling representing an occasional variant, but appears consistently throughout the recorded forms.

Figure 6. Historical forms of Duns

Historical form(s):		Edit	Delete
Hug[one] de <i>Duns</i> c.1150 <i>Kelso Liber</i> no. 138 [= ESC no. CXCII; date from Cowan 1967, 127; witness to charter.]		Edit	Delete
Patricio persona de <i>Duns</i> 1203 x 1209 <i>Coldstream Cart.</i> no. 15 [Witness to charter.]		Edit	Delete
Roberto de <i>Duns</i> 1203 x 1211 <i>Kelso Liber</i> ii no. 371 [Chaplain; witness to charter.]		Edit	Delete
(ecclesia) De <i>Duns</i> c.1250 <i>St A. Lib.</i> 31 [Valued at 110 merks.]		Edit	Delete
Hospitale de <i>Dons</i> 1274 x 1275 Bagimond's Roll 33 [et ecclesia de Ellom]		Edit	Delete
villa de <i>Duns</i> 1363 <i>RMS</i> i no. 152 [with a husbandland in the same vill of <i>Duns</i> , the land which is called <i>Binniesland</i> (cum terra unius husbandi in eadem villa de <i>Duns</i> que terra dicitur <i>Binniesland</i> ); in this charter there is also mention of a half ploughland which is called <i>Machuland</i> which belonged to the late John Harper in the vill of <i>Duns</i> (terram dimidii aratri que dicitur <i>Machuland</i> que fuit quondam Johannis Harper in villa de <i>Duns</i> ).]		Edit	Delete
(lands of) <i>Duns</i> 1447 <i>RMS</i> ii no. 289		Edit	Delete
in villa et territorio de <i>Dunse</i> 1542 <i>RMS</i> iii no. 2532 [Two husbandlands (duarum terrarum husb.) in the vill and territory of <i>Duns</i> .]		Edit	Delete
in villa et terris dominicalibus de <i>Duns</i> 1542 <i>RMS</i> iii no. 2792 [One husbandland 'in the vill and mains lands of <i>Duns</i> ']		Edit	Delete
<i>Newtoun de Duns</i> 1548 <i>RMS</i> iv no. 263 [2 husbandlands of <i>Newton</i> of <i>Duns</i> , then otherwise called <i>Grueldykes</i> (2 terras husbandias de <i>Newtoun de Duns</i> , tunc aliter <i>Greweldykis</i> nuncupat.).]		Edit	Delete
<i>Dunce</i> c.1636 x 1652 <a href="#">Gordon</a>		Edit	Delete
<i>K. of Duns</i> 1654 <a href="#">Blaeu (Mercia)</a> [Full name is <i>Cast. and K. of Duns</i> .]		Edit	Delete
<i>Dunse</i> 1752 x 1755 <a href="#">Roy</a>		Edit	Delete
<i>Dunse</i> 1771 <a href="#">Armstrong</a>		Edit	Delete
<i>Dunse</i> 1862 <a href="#">OS 6 inch 1st edn BWK sheet XVI</a>		Edit	Delete

An alternative derivation from Gaelic *dùn* '(fortified) hill' has been suggested (e.g. Johnston 1940: 28), but this would also presuppose an English plural. Doctoral research by Dàibhidh Grand as part of the REELS project is focusing on the names of relief features in Berwickshire, and will confirm whether or not *Duns* fits the very precise topographical profile identified for place-names from OE *dūn* by Gelling and Cole (2000: 164–173).

Whereas *Duns* may or may not date from the earliest phase of Anglo-Saxon settlement in Berwickshire, the morphological breakdown characteristic of Old Northumbrian makes it possible to identify other place-names as early, despite appearing late in the record. One of the most distinctive Old English inflectional endings is the dative plural in <um>, which is reflected in the present-day forms of English place-names from OE *dūnum* 'at the hills', such as *Downham* in Lincolnshire and Northumberland, and *Downholme* in the North Riding of Yorkshire (Gelling and Cole 2000: 167). During the Middle English period, it merged with other endings to become <an>. However, that merger took place earlier in the Northumbrian dialect than others, so place-names within our study area that preserve traces

of the <um> inflection can again be associated with the early stages of migration. Figures 7, 8 and 9 show historical forms for Ellem in Cranshaws and for the parish names Hume and Whitsome. Although first recorded towards the end of the twelfth century, all are from Old English, and show a consistent pattern of spellings representing the early Northumbrian dative plural.

Figure 7. Historical forms of Ellem

Historical form(s):		Edit	Delete
de <i>Ellum</i> 1190 <i>Kelso Liber</i> i no. 248 [Part of marches of Innerwick ELO; '... sicut <i>Bothkil</i> descendit vsque ad buccam de <i>fulhope</i> et per <i>fulhope</i> in transuersum per diuisas de <i>Inuenic</i> et de <i>Ellum</i> ...']		Edit	Delete
iuxta diuisas de <i>ell'n</i> 1236 <i>Melrose Liber</i> i no. 298 [See <i>Kelso Liber</i> i no. 247; 'towards the west beside the marches of Ellem and R.' (versus occidentem iuxta diuisas de <i>ell'n</i> et de <i>risibrigg</i> ).]		Edit	Delete
iuxta diuisas de <i>Ellum</i> 1236 x 1241 <i>Kelso Liber</i> i no. 247 [Part of the marches of Innerwick; 'towards the west beside the marches of Ellem and R.' (versus occidentem iuxta diuisas de <i>Ellum</i> et de <i>Risibrigg</i> ) – for <i>Risibrigg</i> , see Johnston under <i>Riselaw</i> FOG + cf OE <i>hr̥s</i> 'shrubs, brushwood', so a bridge made of brushwood?]		Edit	Delete
Eccl. de <i>Ellum</i> 1244 <i>Pontificale</i> xvii [Date is v. idus Martij. 1243, which is 11 March 1244 (n.s.).]		Edit	Delete
(ecclesia) De <i>Ellum</i> c.1250 <i>St A. Lib.</i> 31 [Valued at 26 merks.]		Edit	Delete
ecclesia de <i>Ellom</i> 1274 x 1275 <i>Bagimond's Roll</i> 33 [Hospitale de Dons et ecclesia de <i>Ellom</i> ']		Edit	Delete
Ecclesia de <i>Elum</i> 1275 x 1276 <i>Bagimond's Roll</i> 59		Edit	Delete
Ecclesia de <i>Ellum</i> 1275 x 1276 <i>Bagimond's Roll</i> 59		Edit	Delete
heredes quondam Henrici de <i>Ellame</i> 1363 <i>RMS</i> i no. 137 ['heirs of the late Henry of Ellem'.]		Edit	Delete
xx s. terre de <i>Elhame</i> 1451 <i>ER</i> v, 487 [20 s. (castleward) of the land of Ellem', part of the earldom of March.]		Edit	Delete
terras de <i>Ellem</i> 1486 <i>RMS</i> ii no. 1643 [James III grants to Robert Erskine 'the lands of Ellem and Windshiel ( <i>Winschelis</i> ).]		Edit	Delete
rectoria de <i>Ellem</i> 1527 <i>RMS</i> iii no. 493 [James V gives special licence for the union of the rectory of Ellem to the collegiate church of Restalrig.]		Edit	Delete
terras ecclesiasticas ecclesie parochialis de <i>Ellem</i> 1624 <i>RMS</i> viii no. 65 ['the kirklands of the parish kirk of Ellem,' namely <i>Birkinside</i> and <i>Peilheuch</i> , 'except for 4 acres around the chapel of St Magdalene within <i>Birkinside</i> ...' (exceptis 4 acris circa sacellum Dive Magdalene intra <i>Birkinside</i> ...); NB these are <i>Kirkensyde</i> et <i>Pontheugh</i> 1698 <i>Retours</i> BWK no. 474.]		Edit	Delete
<i>Allem</i> c.1636 x 1652 <a href="#">Gordon</a>		Edit	Delete
<i>W. K. of Alam</i> 1654 <a href="#">Blaeu (Mercia)</a>		Edit	Delete
<i>Kirk in ruins</i> 1771 <a href="#">Armstrong</a>		Edit	Delete
<i>Ellem Church (Remains of)</i> 1862 <a href="#">QS 6 inch 1st edn BWK sheet IX</a> SSE church		Edit	Delete

The pattern is clearest for Ellem, which derives from OE *ellum* '(at the) elder trees' (Figure 7). Here the original <um> inflection appears in no less than six of the eight earliest spellings, with only the 1236 *Melrose Liber* form reflecting the merger with <an> mentioned above. The first *Bagimond's Roll* spelling <Ellom> shows the merger of vowels in unstressed syllables which leads gradually to the present-day spelling in <em>, while the 1451 spelling <Elhame> is influenced by analogy with place-names from OE *hām* but, unlike with Downham in Lincolnshire mentioned above, does not affect the long-term development of the name.



Also of interest is the fact that the dative plural form <ellum> is not otherwise attested in Old English. OE *ellen* ‘elder-tree’ is known from around 40 occurrences according to the *Dictionary of Old English (DOE, s.v. ellen noun<sup>2</sup>, ellern)*, which gives the dative plural form *ellenum* among the attested spellings. The form <ellum> in the place-name Ellem does not appear. On the one hand, it is possible that an unstressed medial syllable has been elided before the date of the earliest record. Similar developments are common in place-names, as reflected in the reduction of Quixwood from an original tri-syllabic name, and whereas a sibilant tends to survive, nasals often do not. However, the consistency of the recorded spellings for Ellem makes this explanation unlikely. Moreover, the attested dative plural <ellenum> appears only twice in the full Old English Corpus – both times in versions of the same passage from *Canons of Edgar* – so it may be possible that <ellum> was the Old Northumbrian form. Perhaps more likely than either solution, however, is a formation on a variant form of the base noun. The headword used in the main dictionary of English place-name vocabulary is *ellern, ellen, elle* (Smith 1956: i, 150), and the occurrences cited may suggest that whereas – as reflected in the choice of headword by *DOE* – the first and second are most common in the lexicon, the third is more common in the toponymicon. Of the five place-names cited, only one (Ellenbrook in Lancashire) reflects the form ending in a nasal consonant, whereas the other four all point to its omission. These are Elstead in Surrey and Elsted in Sussex,<sup>7</sup> both from OE *stede* ‘place’, Elstob in Durham from OE *stubb* ‘tree-stump’, and Elwicks in the West Riding of Yorkshire, from OE *wīc* ‘specialised farm’. Recorded spellings of Elstead in the Survey of English Place-Names include none with <n> (Gover et al 1934: 167), and the same applies to Elstob (Watts 2007: 202). Those for Elsted, on the other hand, show alternative spelling traditions with and without <n> (Mawer and Stenton 1929: i, 34), as do those for Elwicks (Smith 1961–1963: v, 6). Since Elstob and Elwicks are in the north of England, whereas Elstead and Elsted are in the south, this means that there is no clear geographical pattern, so the evidence for the distribution of variant forms of the word, either within different registers of language or in different dialect areas, remains inconclusive. What is clear, however, is that the Berwickshire place-name Ellem preserves a dative plural form of the Old English word for ‘elder-tree’ that differs from the only form of the dative plural attested in literary sources.

Like Ellem, Hume is a simplex (uncompounded) place-name in the dative plural. Here the etymon is OE *hōh* ‘heel’, characteristically used in place-names in a transferred sense ‘hill-spur’ (Gelling and Cole 2000: 186–190. The reference is to a feature resembling the shape of a heel, drawing on the ubiquitous LANDSCAPE IS A BODY metaphor (see e.g. Hough

2016: 13–20). The earliest recorded spellings are shown in Figure 8, and unambiguously point to the interpretation ‘(at the) hill-spurs’.

Figure 8. Earliest historical forms of Hume

Historical form(s):	
ecclesi[a] sancti Nicholai de <i>Houm</i> 1127 x 1139 <i>Kelso Liber i</i> no. 288 [Date from <i>Syll.</i> ; Earl Gospatrick grants to the church of St Nicholas of Hume in honour of Our Lord Jesus Christ and St Mary the Virgin and St Nicholas and all the saints on the day of its dedication one carucate of land and the parish 'namely that same vill and half Gordon for the redemption of sins and the salvation of the soul 23 March' (scilicet eandem uillam . et dimidium Gordune . ad redemptionem peccaminum . et salutem anime . in . x . kl' . April'); witnesses are Roberto Episcopo / Thora decano . deldredo presbitero . de Dalwenside . Hugone de Tingheha<m> . Vlillo filio meldredi.]	<a href="#">Edit</a> <a href="#">Delete</a>
Ecclesiam de <i>Home</i> 1139 x 1152 <i>Kelso Liber i</i> no. 71 [Earl Gospatrick grants to Kelso various churches including 'the church of Hume with two carucates of land and with the meadow which is called <i>Harastrodar</i> in the territory of the same vill' (cum duabus carucatis terre . et cum prato quod uocatur <i>Harastrodar</i> in territorio eiusdem ville).]	<a href="#">Edit</a> <a href="#">Delete</a>
Ecclesiam de <i>Home</i> 1153 x 1165 <i>Kelso Liber i</i> no. 287 ['by the tenure by which Orm the priest freely, quit and fully possessed it' (eo tenore quo Horm sacerdos liberius quiecius et plenarius possedit).]	<a href="#">Edit</a> <a href="#">Delete</a>
Ecclesiam de <i>Home</i> 1160 x 1162 <i>Kelso Liber ii</i> no. 439 [= <i>SEA I</i> no. 149; part of the parish of Hume ( <i>Home</i> ), one of the churches confirmed to Kelso by Bishop Arnald of St Andrews: 'the church of Hume with the parish of that vill (of Hume) and of one Gordon' (Ecclesiam de <i>Home</i> cum parochia ipsius uille . et unius <i>Gordun</i> ).]	<a href="#">Edit</a> <a href="#">Delete</a>
ecclesiam de <i>Home</i> 1165 x 1166 <i>RRS ii</i> no. 63 [With 2 carucates of land.]	<a href="#">Edit</a> <a href="#">Delete</a>
ecclesiam de <i>Hom</i> 1166 x 1182 <i>Kelso Liber i</i> no. 73 [Earl Waldeve grants to Kelso various churches including 'the church of Hume with two carucates of land and with the meadow which is called <i>Harastrodar</i> in the territory of the same vill' (cum duabus carrucatis terre . et cum prato quod uocatur <i>Harastrodar</i> in territorio eiusdem uille).]	<a href="#">Edit</a> <a href="#">Delete</a>
ad matricem ecclesiam suam de <i>Hom</i> 1171 x 1178 <i>Kelso Liber ii</i> no. 420 [= <i>SEA I</i> no. 176; 'to their mother church of Hume'.]	<a href="#">Edit</a> <a href="#">Delete</a>
Gilebertum filium Alden de <i>Hom</i> 1173 x 1194 <i>Kelso Liber i</i> no. 300	<a href="#">Edit</a> <a href="#">Delete</a>
ecclesiam suam de <i>Home</i> 1173 x 1194 <i>Kelso Liber i</i> no. 300 [anent the ecclesiastical benefices of Wedderlie WRR which Kelso [literally 'the Kelsoites' (pl.) or whatever the correct noun is] was claiming, saying that they belonged to their church of Hume' (de beneficiis ecclesiasticis de <i>Wederleye</i> que petebant Kelchoenses dicentes ea pertinere ad ecclesiam suam de <i>Home</i> ).]	<a href="#">Edit</a> <a href="#">Delete</a>
Ecclesiam de <i>Home</i> 1178 x 1188 <i>Kelso Liber i</i> no. 84 [One of the churches confirmed to Kelso by Bishop Hugh of St Andrews 'with the integrity of its parish both of that vill and of one Gordon' (cum parochie sue integritate tam ipsius uille quam vnus <i>Gordun</i> ).]	<a href="#">Edit</a> <a href="#">Delete</a>
<i>Adaccus</i> de <i>Home</i> 1182 x c.1211 <i>Coldstream Cart.</i> no. 7 [Witness to charter.]	<a href="#">Edit</a> <a href="#">Delete</a>
Patricio persona de <i>homa</i> 1194 <i>SEA I</i> no. 232 [Original document; Durham MC 1309; <i>ND</i> no. CCCCLXII; 'Patrick parson of Hume'.]	<a href="#">Edit</a> <a href="#">Delete</a>
ecclesiam de <i>Home</i> 1198 x 1199 <i>Kelso Liber ii</i> no. 425 [= <i>SEA I</i> no. 247; as in <i>Kelso Liber i</i> no. 84, namely 'with the integrity of its parish both of that vill and of one Gordon' (cum parochie sue integritate tam ipsius uille quam vnus <i>gordun</i> ).]	<a href="#">Edit</a> <a href="#">Delete</a>
Ecclesiam de <i>Home</i> 1198 x 1202 <i>Kelso Liber i</i> no. 83 [One of the churches confirmed to Kelso by Bishop Roger of St Andrews 'with the integrity of its parish both of that vill and of one Gordon' (cum parochie sue integritate . tam ipsius uille quam vnus <i>Gordoun</i> ).]	<a href="#">Edit</a> <a href="#">Delete</a>

Like a small number of other words containing a back vowel followed by a fricative, such as OE *scōh* ‘shoe’, OE *slōh* ‘mire’ and OE *brūh* ‘trough’, OE *hōh* ‘heel’ characteristically exhibits contraction in inflected forms (Campbell 1959 §236.3). Of the thirteen simplex place-names from OE *hōh* ‘hill-spur’ in England, none is dative plural (Gelling and Cole 2000: 186–188), so direct comparison is precluded. However, *DOE* (s.v. *hōh*) identifies two dative plural forms in the literary record, each attested only once. The Harley Glossary contains a nonce occurrence of <houm>, the standard dative plural for a noun of this type. This is identical to the earliest spelling of Hume shown in Figure 8, which

thus provides only the second known occurrence. In addition to this, however, is a nonce form <hon> in the second series of Catholic Homilies by the late West Saxon writer Ælfric (c.950–c.1010), written between 990 and 995 and presented in the *DOE* entry as the sole example of sense 1.a.ii. *æt þæm hon* ‘at (someone’s) heels, close behind / in close pursuit’. Here the merger of <um> with <an> mentioned towards the beginning of this section has already occurred, and indeed the vowel preceding the nasal consonant has been lost entirely. The significance of this is to show that the merger was well underway by the late tenth century, even in the conservative West Saxon literary dialect of Old English. It is likely to have begun much earlier in the more forward-looking Northumbrian variety, so the <um> inflection seen in Hume is indicative of a particularly early date. Moreover, final <m> is retained not only in the earliest fourteen spellings of the place-name shown in Figure 8, but throughout the full run of 37 historical forms in the REELS database. This suggests that the pronunciation of Hume was firmly established prior to the breakdown of grammatical inflections in the Northumbrian dialect, providing key evidence that the place-name dates from the early period of Anglo-Saxon settlement in Berwickshire.

Turning to Whitsome, this is a compound place-name which derives from OE *hwīt* ‘white’ and *hūs* ‘house’ in the dative plural form *hūsum*, and means ‘(at the) white houses’. The development from <husum> to <some> can be traced through the full sequence of historical spellings shown in Figure 9. It is also paralleled in a number of English place-names from OE *hūsum*, including Windersome ‘(at the) windy, exposed houses’ in the East Riding of Yorkshire (Smith 1937: 95) and Wothersome ‘(at the) houses in the wood’ in the West Riding (Smith 1961–1963: iv, 179). The second spelling shows the influence of analogy with Scots *holm* ‘a stretch of low-lying land beside a river, a haugh’, a term for which much of the early evidence comes from place-names (*CSD2*, s.v. *howm*, *holm*), while the sixth shows an anomalous spelling <sine>. Otherwise, the sequence is fairly consistent. The orthography of forms from the fourteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries reflect Scots *quhite* ‘white’, the reflex of OE *hwīt*, indicating that the first element of the place-name was still lexically transparent. The second element, on the other hand, clearly was not, and it is of course this very loss of transparency, and the conservative spelling traditions resulting from it, that help to make place-names so important to historical linguistics. From the mid-seventeenth century onwards, Scots <Quh> is replaced by English <Wh>, illustrating what Scott (2003: 25) describes as “the relatively sudden impact of anglicisation and standardisation” in her discussion of Whitebaulks ‘white ridges’ in West Lothian, a place-name that exhibits the same spelling change from almost exactly the same date (1656).

Figure 9. Historical forms of Whitsome

Historical form(s):		Edit	Delete
Patricio filio Adam de <i>Witthusme</i> 1182 x 1232 <i>Melrose Liber</i> i no. 221 [Witness to charter, date from POMS. 'Patrick son of Adam of Whitsome' is a witness to charter of Philip of Pitcox ELO; another witness is Adam cellarer of Melrose.]		Edit	Delete
(ecclesia) De <i>Wytholme</i> c.1250 <i>St A. Lib.</i> 32 [Valued at 45 merks.]		Edit	Delete
Ecclesia de <i>Wytosem</i> c.1250 <i>Dunf. Reg.</i> no. 313 [Valued at 45 merks.]		Edit	Delete
Ecclesia de <i>Whytusum</i> c.1250 <i>Arb. Lib.</i> i no. 300 [Valued at 45 merks.]		Edit	Delete
(church of) <i>Wichosem</i> 1274 x 1275 Bagimond's Roll 35 [Rector ecclesiarum de Chirnissede et de Wichosem']		Edit	Delete
Ecclesia de <i>Withosine</i> 1275 x 1276 Bagimond's Roll 60		Edit	Delete
Rad[ulfu]s de Hauden persona ecclesie de <i>Whytesum</i> 1296 <i>Rot. Scot.</i> i, 25 [(vic' de <i>Berewyk</i> .)]		Edit	Delete
in villa de <i>Qwyttosum</i> 1365 <i>RMS</i> i no. 187 [a certain tenancy in the vill of Whitsome' (quadam tenandia).]		Edit	Delete
(lands of) <i>Quhitsu[m]</i> 1451 <i>RMS</i> ii no. 513 [James II grants to Patrick Hepburn of Hailes ELO (Patricio de Hepburne de <i>Halīs</i> ) various lands throughout Berwickshire including the lands of Whitsome 'with advowson of the church of Whitsome' (cum advocacione ecclesie de <i>Quhitsu[m]</i> .)]		Edit	Delete
baroniam et terras de <i>Quhitsu[m]</i> 1511 <i>RMS</i> ii no. 3635 [the barony and lands of Whitsome with their church' (cum ecclesia earundem).]		Edit	Delete
<i>lie Newtoun de Quhitsu[m]</i> 1568 <i>RMS</i> iv no. 1813 [7 husbandlands in (7 terras husbandias in) the Newton of Whitsome'.]		Edit	Delete
<i>Qwhytsome</i> c.1636 x 1652 <a href="#">Gordon</a>		Edit	Delete
<i>Whittshoome K.</i> 1654 <a href="#">Blaeu (Mercia)</a>		Edit	Delete
<i>Whutsom</i> 1752 x 1755 <a href="#">Roy</a> [ <i>Kirk</i> is also shown.]		Edit	Delete
<i>Whitsome</i> 1771 <a href="#">Armstrong</a>		Edit	Delete
<i>Whitsome</i> 1862 <a href="#">OS 6 inch 1st edn BWK sheet XVII</a>		Edit	Delete

In short, although Ellem ‘(at the) elder trees’, Hume ‘(at the) hill-spurs’ and Whitsome ‘(at) the white houses’ all exhibit different patterns of development, the preservation of the Old English dative plural <m>, both in the main body of recorded spellings and through to the modern pronunciation, suggests that like the place-names discussed in Section 3, they were created early within the period of Northumbrian settlement in Berwickshire.

## 5. Conclusion

As explained above, the REELS project is still in progress, and not all the results are yet available. The aim of this paper has been to outline some of the ways in which the place-name evidence being compiled, analysed and interpreted can contribute to the understanding of early settlement in the northern part of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria. Through examining archaic types of place-name formation, alongside comparative evidence from English place-names and from the Old English lexicon and anthroponymicon, names

such as Birgham, Edrom, Kimmerghame, Leitholm and Simprim can be attributed to the earliest phase of Northumbrian settlement, and those such as Polwarth and Quixwood to an only slightly later phase. Because of the early breakdown of morphology in the Northumbrian variety of Old English, place-names that preserve the historical dative plural inflection <um>, such as Ellem, Hume and Whitsome, can also be used to identify areas of early settlement.

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<sup>1</sup> Some of the material from this paper was presented at conferences of the Forum for Research on Languages of Scotland and Ulster (Glasgow, 23-25 August 2018) and the Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature (Glasgow, 27 October 2018). I am grateful to those present for much useful feedback.

<sup>2</sup> In the place-names of southern England, it is often difficult to differentiate OE *hām* ‘settlement’ from OE *hamm* ‘land hemmed in by water or marsh; wet land hemmed in by higher ground; river-meadow; cultivated plot on the edge of woodland or moor’. However, the geographical distribution of the latter element does not extend further north than Shropshire and possibly Cheshire (Gelling and Cole 2000: 46–47).

<sup>3</sup> Another possibility is a lost \**Wrangham* in the parish of Eccles. As this is unattested until 1633, an Old English derivation cannot securely be established, although it may represent a name-type also found elsewhere in Scotland and northern England (see Hough 2018).

<sup>4</sup> The screenshot was generated from the freely available *Berwickshire Place-Name Resource* launched in November 2018 as one of the main outputs of the REELS project (<https://berwickshire-placenames.glasgow.ac.uk/>).

<sup>5</sup> A typo attributing the Norfolk name to Suffolk has been silently emended.

<sup>6</sup> The reading in the published edition cited in the database is in fact <qecheswrth>, but the manuscript itself – kindly made available to us in digitised format by the AHRC-funded *Models of Authority: Scottish Charters and the Emergence of Government* project (PI Dauvit Broun) – reads <qecheswrh>. Either reading is in fact equally consistent with a derivation from OE *word*.

<sup>7</sup> Mistakenly attributed to Suffolk by Smith (1956: i, 150).