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**Scandinavian Place-Names in Northern Britain
as Evidence for Language Contact and
Interaction**

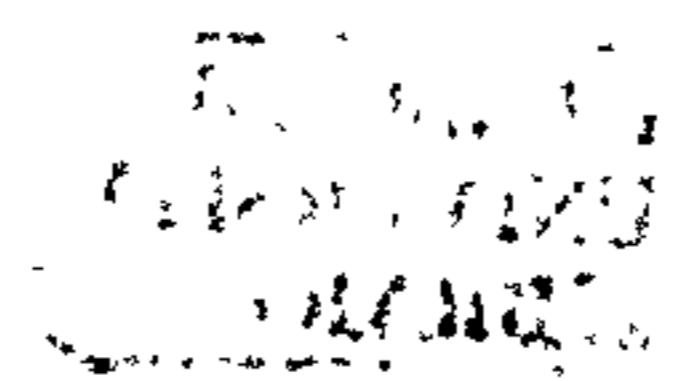
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Abstract

My thesis consists of an examination of various types of place-name formations, as evidence of the linguistic contact and interaction which occurred between incoming Scandinavian speakers and the native population of northern Britain, in light of current theories of language contact. The first chapter analyses the nature of the relationship between Scandinavian and Celtic speakers in areas of primary settlement in Scotland, and considers how this relationship is likely to have affected the language and, more specifically, the toponymy in regions of secondary settlement such as the North-West of England, the South-West of Scotland and the Isle of Man.

The subsequent chapters examine four different types of place-name formation which are found chiefly in these secondary Scandinavian settlements: inversion-compound names, *áergi* names, *kirk-* compound names and *bý* names. Each chapter looks at the nature and distribution of one of these groups, and investigates how language contact phenomena including bilingualism, lexical borrowing and substratum transfer may have influenced the form and development of such name-types. I have concluded that differing types of linguistic contact, occurring both in primary and secondary settlement areas, may account for the differing usage and distribution of the four categories of place-names. The inception of the inversion-compounds has been re-evaluated and it is argued that rather than having been coined by Scandinavians who were influenced by Celtic word-order, these names were instead created by Gaelic-speakers who had shifted to the Scandinavian language. It is also argued that the more widespread distribution of names in *áergi* in comparison with the inversion names is not due to the two groups of names being coined by different groups of immigrants, nor because of the secondary dissemination of the

element *érgi* amongst non-Scandinavian speakers, as had previously been suggested. Rather, the disparity in distribution is likely to reflect the fact that the *érgi* names result from the straightforward lexical transfer of a Gaelic element into the Scandinavian language, whereas the inversion names were created by a specific bilingual substrate element amongst the Scandinavian settlers. In the case of inversion-compounds with the initial element *kirk-* it is argued that rather than representing partial translations of English *cirice-* or Gaelic *cill-* names, the names were coined as *kirk-* compounds within a Gaelic-Scandinavian context. The predominantly Scottish distribution of this toponymic group reflects secondary dissemination of the name-type amongst monolingual Gaelic-speakers in the South-West. In the case of names in *bý*, it is argued that this group do not represent a purely Danish wave of settlement throughout the Irish seaboard, as has previously been suggested. Rather, linguistic contact between Danes and Norwegians, and later English-speakers, led to the more widespread utilisation of this element.

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Preface

The thesis is structured as five self-contained chapters, each with its own introduction and conclusion. As such, there are no separate introductory or concluding chapters, although Chapter One is intended as a general introduction to the topics discussed in the later chapters. Since the geographical distribution of the place-names discussed is central to the thesis, I have also drawn twelve distribution maps, which are gathered together in the map section after chapter five. There are also four appendices, divided into sections, containing detailed information on the corpus of place-names under investigation, including complete lists of all the instances of each type of name occurring in the relevant areas, together with etymological information and lists of historical forms.

As so many of the reference works I have used in the course of my research make use of the pre-1974 county demarcation system, I have followed this convention, both in the text of my thesis and in the drawing of distribution maps.

I would like to thank my supervisor Carole Hough for all her help with both the form and content of the thesis, and for her valuable advice and support during its production. My research into the place-names of the North-West of England has also been greatly aided by previous work done on this region by Gillian Fellows-Jensen, particularly her book *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, but also many other articles which are listed in the bibliography. Many of the theories put forward in these works have helped to shape my own views on the nomenclature of northern England and also southern Scotland.

Additionally, I would thank Richard Cox, Arne Kruse, W. F. H. Nicolaisen, Tom Schmidt and Jeremy Smith for their help and discussions whilst the ideas presented in the thesis were taking shape, although of course, any errors within the

text are entirely my own. I would also like to thank the organisers of the conferences held by the Scottish Place-Name Society and the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland for allowing me to present parts of the thesis as conference papers at an early stage of their development.

Chapter One: Language Contact in the British Isles

1. Introduction

In this chapter I will examine the issue of language contact between incoming Scandinavians and the native population in areas of primary Scandinavian settlement. The main focus will be on the Norwegian settlement of the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland, as an understanding of the types of language contact which occurred in these regions is necessary before going on to examine how this contact manifested itself in the place-names in areas of secondary Scandinavian settlement such as the South-West of Scotland and the North-West of England.

Firstly, the nature and extent of the island settlements will be analysed, and it will be argued that despite the lack of extant Celtic place-names, the indigenous population were not expelled or exterminated. These early settlements will be examined in the light of Scandinavian settlement in England, for which detailed models of linguistic contact between the Scandinavians and the English-speakers have been devised. Using these models as a guideline, the various types of language contact occurring in the Northern and Western Isles will be explored. Additionally, Scandinavian loan-words into both Gaelic and English will be examined, and it will be argued that the two groups are representative of differing types of language contact. Finally, the Scandinavian settlements in the Northern and Western Isles will be compared with the Anglo-Saxon settlement in England, where large-scale Germanic replacement of Celtic toponyms also occurred, with a view to explaining the lack of place-name survival in the Scottish settlements.

2. Early Scandinavian Contact in the Northern and Western Isles

2(a) Pre-Scandinavian Settlement

The nature and extent of pre-Scandinavian settlement in the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland has been the subject of considerable debate. This is largely due to the paucity of surviving place-names which can be clearly dated to the pre-Scandinavian era. Early scholars, such as MacBain, considered that this must have been due to the violence of the Viking invasions, with the native population being killed or driven out,

[i]n Shetland, as in the Faroes, they were probably the first colonists. Orkney they subdued completely, and swept the Celts out of the Hebrides.¹

Later, Brøgger argued for a more peaceful Scandinavian settlement, and suggested that the lack of surviving names was due to a lack of people, with only a 'scanty native population at the beginning of the Norse settlement', the majority of which were 'for the greater part limited to the mainland of Scotland'.² Brøgger suggested that the Northern Isles would have been largely depopulated by the time of Scandinavian settlement, and that the incoming Scandinavians would have found only 'traces of old houses and farms, ruins and foundations'.³ Similarly, with regard to the Western Isles, Scott considered that only the southern Hebrides were populated, and that 'the Northern Hebrides were relatively empty'.⁴

¹ MacBain, 'The Norse Element in the Topography of the Highlands and Islands', p. 218.

² Brøgger, *Ancient Emigrants*, pp. 66 and 58.

³ *Ibid*, p. 67.

⁴ Scott, 'The Norse in the Hebrides', p. 212.

Like Brøgger, Shetelig considered the Northern Isles to have been very thinly populated prior to the arrival of the Scandinavians, with only

a few Irish monks and hermits, possibly scattered Celtic elements, but no densely settled districts, not a solid local community into which the Norse forced their way.⁵

In the case of the Western Isles, however, Shetelig considered ‘the Norwegians...mingled with a native people’, who were ‘a Celtic – Gaelic – population already settled there’.⁶

In 1962, Wainwright argued that the Northern Isles must also have had a native population at the time of the Scandinavian invasions. He pointed out that there are Ogam inscriptions found in both Orkney and Shetland which are datable to the eighth or ninth centuries.⁷ This would suggest the survival of a non-Scandinavian group at least into the early Scandinavian period.⁸ Wainwright noted that the Bressay Stone in Shetland may even contain the Old Norse word for daughter,⁹ which would appear to indicate not only the survival of the native population, but the occurrence of linguistic contact between this group and the incoming Scandinavians. Additionally, Wainwright argued that Scandinavian place-names incorporating the elements ON *Pettr* ‘Pict’ and ON *papi* ‘monk, hermit’ (< OIr *papa*) pointed to the presence of an indigenous population.¹⁰

It is now generally accepted, based on Wainwright’s arguments, that the Isles did have some type of native population at the time of the initial Scandinavian settlements. However, the linguistic makeup of these people remains unclear. In the case of the

⁵ Shetelig, *An Introduction to the Viking History of Western Europe*, p. 21.

⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 21 and 31.

⁷ Wainwright, ‘Picts and Scots’, pp. 96-98.

⁸ Cox has in fact suggested that these Ogam scripts may have been written in Old Norse. However, this theory has not met with widespread acceptance. See Barnes, ‘“The Language of the Ogam Inscriptions of Scotland” by Richard Cox: A Review Article’, pp. 129-139.

⁹ Wainwright, ‘Picts and Scots’, p. 98.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 100.

Northern Isles, Wainwright has argued that the natives were Pictish, based on the presence of recognizably Pictish symbol stones, together with the Ogam inscriptions.¹¹ Based on earlier work done by Jackson,¹² Wainwright asserted that the ‘Picts were an agglomeration of several different peoples’ who spoke at least two languages, ‘one Celtic and one non-Indo European’.¹³ He argued that ‘the great majority of the Picts in Orkney and Shetland were pre-Celtic peoples who spoke a non-Indo-European language now lost to us.’¹⁴ It is noteworthy, however, that more recent scholarship rejects this theory in favour of the view that there was a single Pictish language, which was a form of P-Celtic.¹⁵

Although Wainwright argued that the Northern Isles were primarily inhabited by Picts, he also considered that there was a clear Goidelic influence in the islands. He noted that there were sculptured stones ‘which are markedly Irish in style and decoration’,¹⁶ and pointed out the apparent presence of the Old Irish words *macc* and *cros* among the Pictish Ogam inscriptions.¹⁷ He also considered that *papa* names indicate the presence of Goidelic priests in the Isles,¹⁸ although MacDonald has since argued that Pictish priests may also have been referred to as *papar* by the Scandinavians.¹⁹

In the case of the Southern Hebrides, it is generally accepted that Goidelic was the prevalent language.²⁰ The situation in the Northern Hebrides is less clear, however. As

¹¹ Wainwright, ‘Picts and Scots’, pp. 93 and 96.

¹² Jackson, ‘The Pictish Language’, p. 152.

¹³ Wainwright, ‘Picts and Scots’, pp. 108 and 104.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 104.

¹⁵ See Nicolaisen, *The Picts and Their Place-Names*, pp. 6 and 32, f.n. 18.

¹⁶ Wainwright, ‘Picts and Scots’, p. 96.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 98-99.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 99.

¹⁹ MacDonald, ‘On *Papar* Names in N. and W. Scotland’, p. 29.

²⁰ See, for example, Ritchie, *Viking Scotland*, p. 21, Graham-Campbell and Batey, *Vikings in Scotland*, p. 74, Crawford, ‘Scot (?), Norseman and Gael’, p. 3, etc.

stated above, Shetelig considered the Western Isles to be Gaelic-speaking, and based on the archaeological evidence, Crawford has argued for an Irish-influenced Gaelic settlement.²¹ More recently, Dumville has suggested that the Outer Hebrides may have been Pictish rather than Gaelic,²² whilst Ritchie considers it likely that both Pictish and Gaelic speakers may have been present.²³

2(b) The Nature of Early Scandinavian Settlement

Regardless of whether the natives of the Northern and Western Isles spoke a Goidelic or Brythonic form of Celtic, the question remains as to their relationship with the incoming Scandinavians. Wainwright considered it unlikely that these people were violently disposed of: 'there is no evidence that the Picts were a vanishing race and no evidence that they or their churches were destroyed'.²⁴ It is noteworthy, however, that in other areas of primary Scandinavian settlement, such as the Danelaw in England, Old Norse place-names are found alongside the Old English place-names of the indigenous population, suggesting linguistic and cultural co-operation between the two speech communities. It might be expected, if there was a sizeable native population in the Scottish Isles at the time of the Scandinavian colonisation, that there would be a similar type of cultural and linguistic contact, and a similar corpus of surviving native place-names. Yet, as mentioned above, evidence of such survival is clearly lacking.

With regard to the paucity of pre-Scandinavian names, Nicolaisen has concluded that

²¹ Crawford, 'Scot (?), Norseman and Gael', p. 14.

²² Dumville, *The Churches of Northern Britain in the First Viking-Age*, p. 16.

²³ Ritchie, *Viking Scotland*, p. 21.

²⁴ Wainwright, 'Picts and Scots', p. 115.

once the Scandinavians had arrived there cannot have been a protracted period of bilingualism and close bicultural contact; and the social status of any previous population under Scandinavian over-lordship and extensive settlement cannot have amounted to much.²⁵

He also suggests that

Onomastically relevant contact between the new settlers and the old population must have been so minimal that none of the place-name types which normally emerge from languages and cultures in contact can be expected to have arisen,²⁶

so that '[t]o all intents and purposes the Norse incomers were from their point of view confronted with a virtually nameless cultural landscape'.²⁷

In support of this theory, Nicolaisen cites Oftedal's 1954 findings that 99 out of 126 village names on Lewis are of Norse origin.²⁸ Much has been made more generally of the early ratio figures given for the Western Isles, with the Norse to Gaelic ratio reckoned at 4 to 1 in Lewis, 3 to 2 in North Uist and Skye, 1 to 2 in Islay, 1 to 4 in Kintyre, and 1 to 8 in Arran.²⁹ These figures suggest an overwhelming Scandinavian presence in the Northern Hebrides, and a strong pattern of settlement in the more southerly islands. However, more recent studies of the Western Isles reveal that these early figures are in many cases inaccurate or misleading. Gordon has pointed out that although the majority of settlement names in northern Skye were of Scandinavian origin, the names of 'natural features are in the ratio approximately five Gaelic to one Norse'.³⁰

In 1972, MacAulay pointed out that in Bernera in western Lewis, of the 600 names he

²⁵ Nicolaisen, 'Early Scandinavian Naming in the Western and Northern Isles', p. 109.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

²⁹ MacBain, 'The Norse Element in the Topography of the Highlands and Islands', p. 218, and Scott, 'The Norse in the Hebrides', pp. 189-90.

³⁰ Gordon, 'Some Norse Place-Names in Trotternish', p. 82.

had collected, 450 were Gaelic and 150 were Norse, so that it is the Gaelic names which outnumber the Scandinavian ones 4 to 1, not the other way around.³¹ He suggests that the Ordnance Survey maps may be to blame for the inaccuracies of the ratios, as they only record settlement sites and major topographical features. In the Western Isles, these features are usually Scandinavian, and the more minor Gaelic names never appear on the maps.³² This point is reiterated by Stahl, whose recent survey of Barra names reveals that ‘the strong influence of ON as observed in place-names on large scale maps is not paralleled at a detailed level. The overwhelming majority of microtoponymics are of G[aelic] origin’.³³ Additionally, Oftedal himself has noted that despite the fact that the majority of Lewis village names are Scandinavian, names of topographical features, such as lakes, have a much higher proportion of Gaelic designations, with only 18% of lake names on Lewis being of purely Scandinavian origin.³⁴ This suggests that Scandinavian settlement in the Northern Hebrides may not have been as dense as was once suggested, and that here, at least, the Scandinavians may not have met a ‘virtually nameless cultural landscape’ which needed to be quickly filled up with Scandinavian names. It would appear that Scandinavian influence in the Southern Isles may also have been over estimated, as Fraser has recently indicated that Old Norse names on Arran are more limited in number than was originally suggested by MacBain.³⁵

In the case of Orkney and Shetland, it has been estimated that ‘Scandinavian toponymy accounts for 99% of place names’.³⁶ Figures such as these have prompted

³¹ MacAulay, ‘Studying the Place-Names of Bernera’, p. 315.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Stahl, ‘Norse in the Place-Names of Barra’, p. 110.

³⁴ Oftedal, ‘Names of Lakes on the Isle of Lewis’, pp. 183 and 187.

³⁵ Fraser, *The Place-Names of Arran*, p. 59.

³⁶ Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of a Kingdom*, p. 82.

Brian Smith to argue, as MacBain had done a century before, that rather than just indicating limited contact between Picts and Scandinavians, this overwhelming ratio of Old Norse names points to the immediate annihilation of the native population.³⁷ However, Sandnes has pointed out this high percentage rate may be misleading, as many Old Norse elements such as *breck* 'slope', *quoy* 'enclosure' and *geo* 'narrow inlet' were subsequently borrowed into Scots and used to form new place-names.³⁸ She suggests that '[t]he onomasticon should not be seen as a static unit...[i]f we include field-names, they have been coined continuously until this century'.³⁹ Thus, although Scandinavian settlement in the Isles does appear to have been extremely dense, it would be imprudent to ascribe all of the names containing Scandinavian elements to the initial period of immigration. Sandnes postulates that during the long period of Scandinavian-based coinage in the islands any surviving Pictish names are likely to have become adapted or corrupted beyond recognition.⁴⁰

In addition to the unreliability of early estimates of Scandinavian nomenclature, there is further evidence which appears to contradict both Smith's assertion that the native population of the Northern Isles was wiped out, and also Nicolaisen's less drastic assertion that cultural contact between Scandinavians and natives of the Northern and Western Isles was minimal. Primarily, there is the issue of Christianity. It might be expected that if the Scandinavian language and culture became completely dominant in the Isles, then the native religion, Christianity, would disappear. Yet there is evidence that the Scandinavian immigrants were quickly converted to Christianity. Cant suggests

³⁷ Smith, 'The Picts and the Martyrs', p. 8.

³⁸ Sandnes, 'Place-Names in Orkney as Evidence for Language Contact', p. 26.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 24.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 32.

that in Shetland paganism was dying out by 900, and that at the same time in Orkney the Scandinavians ‘were turning towards the Christian faith’.⁴¹ Additionally, he argues, ‘it is likely that something similar occurred...between the Norse and Scots in the western areas’.⁴² The fact that the Scandinavians were converted at such an early date would appear to suggest that the Christian faith persisted in the Isles during the early Scandinavian period. This seems to be supported by Cant’s assertion that many of the chapels in the Northern Isles have Celtic dedications, as is the case in the Isle of Man, suggesting that they may ‘have originated in the pre-Norse period’.⁴³

The archaeological evidence also suggests the early adoption of Christianity by Scandinavians in the Isles. Graham-Campbell and Batey note that pagan burial practices probably died out within a hundred years,⁴⁴ and ‘that a tradition of Christianity continued unbroken in Orkney, even if in an attenuated way, despite the paganism of the Norse ruling elite’.⁴⁵ It has also been suggested that there was ‘continuation of Christian sculpture...in Shetland in the period 800-1050’.⁴⁶ Additionally, Duncan suggests that ‘Viking artefacts in churchyards argue an acceptance of Christian burial sites’,⁴⁷ and he agrees that ‘Christian worship by native peasants may have continued and been adopted by the Norse at an earlier date than the saga tale which attributed it to the behest of Olaf Tryggvason about 995’.⁴⁸ The situation appears to have been similar in the Western Isles, and Cant argues that despite an initial period of disruption, ‘[b]y 870 x 900...a Celtic bishop – probably at Iona, where Episcopal as well as abbatial authority had been

⁴¹ Cant, ‘Norse Influences in the Organisation of the Medieval Church in the Western Isles’, p. 3.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Graham-Campbell and Batey, *Vikings in Scotland*, pp. 61 and 65.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁴⁶ R. Stevenson, cited in Graham-Campbell and Batey, p. 65.

⁴⁷ Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of a Kingdom*, p. 82.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

exercised in the seventh and eighth centuries – seems to have secured a measure of Norse recognition'.⁴⁹ Additionally, Crawford notes that although both inhumation and cremation were practised in Scandinavia, cremation was rare in the Scandinavian colonies.⁵⁰ She concludes that

[t]he predominance of inhumation may have been a result of conformity to practices existing among the Christian population of the Scottish islands and mainland, as also may the use of stone-lined rectangular cists for pagan burials.⁵¹

Further evidence of the survival of Christianity is found at a markedly pagan grave on Colonsay, where '[t]wo of the stone slabs surrounding the grave enclosure had scratched on them representations of a cross' which Crawford interprets as being 'a feature suggesting clear Christian influence'.⁵²

Additionally, evidence that Christianity persisted in the Isles survives in Icelandic sources. As Smyth points out, *Laxdæla Saga* and *Eyrbyggja Saga* describe how Scandinavian settlers in the Hebrides 'had come under strong Celtic Christian influence'.⁵³ Some of them became Christians and took their new religion to Iceland during the period of settlement.⁵⁴ Finally, there is place-name evidence in support of Christian prominence. Graham-Campbell and Batey note that 'the survival of certain Christian communities seems to be indicated by Norse place-names incorporating the word *papa* (or 'priest'), of which there are some sixteen in the Northern Isles and a

⁴⁹ Cant, 'Norse Influences in the Organisation of the Medieval Church in the Western Isles', p. 6.

⁵⁰ Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland*, p. 159.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*, p. 155.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* See also Chapter Four, Section 6.

couple in Caithness, with a further nine from the Northern Hebrides'.⁵⁵ These names include Papil, Papa Stour, Papa Westray, Papdale and Papa Stronsay in the Northern Isles, and Paible, Papadil and various Pab(b)ay names in the Western Isles.⁵⁶ The corpus of names in *papa* has been utilised in the debate regarding the density of pre-Scandinavian settlement in the Isles, with early scholars such as Scott contending that the *Pabbay* islands in the Hebrides indicated nothing more than the presence of isolated groups of Christian ascetics.⁵⁷ More recently, Crawford has argued that it is unlikely 'that such islands were devoted entirely to the support of small numbers of hermits but probable that tribal-monastic communities would have served the needs of local secular society'.⁵⁸ It has also been suggested that Scandinavian immigrants used the element to refer to church sites of all kinds which had been (temporarily) abandoned.⁵⁹ However, Graham-Campbell and Batey point out that

[a] factor in favour of the survival interpretation, rather than the naming of abandoned sites from their previous occupants, is that no pagan Norse graves have so far been found on any of the 'Priests' Islands', although there is always a danger in arguing from negative archaeological evidence.⁶⁰

Similarly, Crawford notes that the physical descriptions given of the *papar* in later texts such as the *Historia Norvegiae* imply the physical presence of these people at the time of the first Scandinavian settlements. She also suggests that, as islands such as Papa

⁵⁵ Graham-Campbell and Batey, *Vikings in Scotland*, p. 39.

⁵⁶ A full list of names is given in MacDonald, 'On *Papar* Names in N. and W. Scotland', pp. 27-28.

⁵⁷ Scott, 'The Norse in the Hebrides', pp. 194-195.

⁵⁸ Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland*, p. 166.

⁵⁹ MacDonald, 'On *Papar* Names in N. and W. Scotland', p. 30.

⁶⁰ Graham-Campbell and Batey, *Vikings in Scotland*, p. 39.

Westray have no early Scandinavian settlement names, 'the *papar* may have been left undisturbed'.⁶¹ Further, Crawford asserts that

[s]uch tolerance might have allowed the persistence and transmission of Christian beliefs in some of the islands, and another feature which points in the direction of continuity of Christian tradition is the eventual re-use of some of the earlier church sites by the Norse when they themselves adopted Christianity.⁶²

Additional onomastic evidence of the survival of Christianity is found in the *Kirkju-bólstaðr* names, which are frequent throughout the Northern and Western Isles. Duncan argues that *bólstaðr* 'is a name-element for "farm" thought to be in use in the ninth century and not later', from which he concludes that 'the acceptance of Christianity would seem to fall well before 900'.⁶³ More recently, Nicolaisen has suggested that, owing to the wide distribution of names containing *bólstaðr*, the element 'seems to have remained a creative name-forming element for a considerable time'.⁶⁴ Yet he does concur that the majority of the *bólstaðr* names in Orkney are likely to be 'earlier than the tenth century'.⁶⁵ Fellows-Jensen disputes Nicolaisen's suggestion that a wide distribution must equate with a lengthy period of creative usage, noting that '[m]any of the places with *bólstaðr*-names have extremely favourable situations and seem to have been large and well-established farms in the early period'.⁶⁶ However, she offers an alternative interpretation of the *Kirkju-bólstaðr* names. She suggests that, rather than representing early Scandinavian churches, 'the **Kirkju-bólstaðr* names may have been given by

⁶¹ Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland*, p. 166.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁶³ Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of a Kingdom*, p. 82.

⁶⁴ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 119.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Fellows-Jensen, 'Viking Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles', p. 160.

Vikings to pre-existing settlements with Celtic chapels', in parallel with the *Kirkby* names in England.⁶⁷ In either case, these names appear to be evidence of the survival of Christianity, demonstrating either that the Scandinavians were building their own churches, or that they were living amongst Christian people.

The continuing presence of Christianity in the Northern and Western Isles, and its subsequent spread to the Scandinavian immigrants, seems to imply a degree of linguistic interaction between the two groups. It would arguably be difficult to make a large-scale religious conversion unless the people involved could understand each other. Additionally, it seems that the natives must have had some degree of social status, or the Scandinavians would never have considered their religion worthy of adoption.

In addition to the evidence of Christianity, there are other suggestions of early cultural and linguistic contact between the Scandinavians and the native Celtic people. There is archaeological evidence suggesting peaceful co-existence, at sites such as Buckquoy in Orkney, where 'the Vikings adopted many everyday objects that had been in use among the native population'.⁶⁸ These objects include bone pins and decorated combs, and imply 'that the Viking newcomers were able to obtain domestic equipment from a native population which had not been exterminated'.⁶⁹ Similarly, 'finds of Pictish-style bone objects and pottery from the nearby Brough of Birsay show that elements of native culture still persisted locally into the early Norse period'.⁷⁰

There is also evidence that the Scandinavians utilised Gaelic personal names and that in some cases this may have been the result of intermarriage. A prime example is

⁶⁷ Fellows-Jensen, 'The Vikings' relationship with Christianity in the British Isles', p. 300.

⁶⁸ Fellows-Jensen, 'Viking Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles', p. 151.

⁶⁹ Ritchie, *Viking Scotland*, p. 27.

⁷⁰ Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland*, p. 146.

found in the case of Godfrey MacFergus, a Hebridean chief who lived in the mid ninth century, who Crawford suggests may well have had a Gaelic father and a Norse mother.⁷¹ There appears to have been a similar situation in the Isle of Man, where there are thirteen Celtic personal names among the forty-six names in total that survive in Runic inscriptions from the Viking period, from which Gelling has concluded that at least some people with Celtic names survived.⁷² Likewise, Barrow notes that Gaelic personal names ‘preponderated among [the] Hebridean rulers’ during this period.⁷³ Additionally, some of the Icelandic settlers also had Gaelic personal names, including Cormac, Gilli, Patrick, Kilan, and Nel (Njal).⁷⁴ Other Icelandic settlers with Scandinavian personal names are recorded as having Gaelic nicknames, such as Helgi Beolan and Olaf Feilan.⁷⁵

This indicates the survival of Celtic-speaking people in areas of Scandinavian settlement, and names such as Godfrey MacFergus presumably imply actual cultural contact and intermarriage. Additionally, Sawyer has argued that the administrative divisions of the Western Isles ‘for taxation purposes had not been introduced by the Scandinavians, but were an adoption of arrangements that already existed before their arrival’.⁷⁶ He also suggests that ‘in the Northern Isles, as elsewhere, the Scandinavians took over and adapted a native system of assessment’.⁷⁷ It is argued elsewhere, however, that the Scandinavians could perhaps have been responsible for the introduction of the tax system.⁷⁸ Yet if Sawyer is correct, then this would imply that the Scandinavians

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p. 47.

⁷² Gelling, ‘Celtic Continuity in the Isle of Man’, p. 80.

⁷³ Barrow, *Kingship and Unity*, p. 107.

⁷⁴ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*, vol. 1, pp. 82 and 91.

⁷⁵ Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles*, p. 123.

⁷⁶ Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings*, p. 110.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 111.

⁷⁸ For example, in Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland*, p. 89.

integrated themselves into an existing culture, rather than obliterating it, and also implies continuity between the pre-Scandinavian and Scandinavian eras.

These findings are important when considering the development of inversion-compound place-names, which will be the subject of Chapter Two, and also the development of place-names containing the element *áergi*, which will be the subject of Chapter Three. It will be argued that both groups of names evolved as a result of linguistic contact between incoming Scandinavians and native Gaelic-speakers. In the case of the *áergi* names, it has been suggested that the most likely source of the word in Old Norse is Gaelic *airigh*.⁷⁹ Duncan notes that if the Scandinavians took elements such as *áergi* with them to secondary settlements in Southern Scotland and Northern England in the early tenth century, then the Scandinavian names containing *áergi* in the Western Isles are likely to have been coined prior to that, at some point during the ninth century.⁸⁰ Thus the word must have been borrowed from Gaelic before this first group of names were coined. In the case of the inversion-compounds, which are constructed with Celtic word-order and in some cases Goidelic personal names, it will be argued that these names must also have arisen due to early contact between Scandinavians and Gaelic-speakers in the Western Isles, prior to the tenth century settlements in the North-West of England.

If Nicolaisen were correct in his assertion that there was little linguistic contact between Scandinavians and natives in the Western Isles, then this would cast considerable doubt on the possibility that the inversion-compounds are a linguistic phenomenon caused by Gaelic-Scandinavian contact in the Hebrides. It might also be necessary to look elsewhere for the source of *áergi* as a loan-word into Old Norse.

⁷⁹ See Chapter Three, Section 3.

⁸⁰ Duncan, *Scotland: The Making of a Kingdom*, p. 85.

However, the evidence discussed above points to a considerable degree of Scandinavian interaction with the native peoples of the Northern and Western Isles. The Scandinavians adopted the native religion, together with words to describe the trappings of that religion, such as *cross*, meaning ‘cross as a religious symbol’.⁸¹ They also made use of native objects, such as combs, pins and pottery, and may have adapted the native system of taxation. Similarly, they adopted Gaelic personal names and nicknames, and some of their place-name elements. It is also noteworthy that archaeological remains, such as those found at Udal in North Uist, point to the existence of small villages at the time of the Scandinavian invasions.⁸² All of this would appear to support Dumville’s theory that the Isles were inhabited ‘at the end of the eighth century by indigenous populations of laypeople, in addition to ecclesiastics’.⁸³

However, despite the evidence that a reasonably-sized pre-Scandinavian population existed in the Isles, who presumably had their own established place-nomenclature, and despite the evidence that there appears to have been a considerable degree of linguistic and cultural contact between these people and the Scandinavians, the fact remains that there are very few demonstrably pre-Scandinavian place-names. It is therefore necessary to look more closely at the issue of why the Scandinavians adopted so few existing names in comparison with the practice in their colonies in England.

3. Language Contact in England

The Scandinavian settlements in Northern and Eastern England have been the focus of substantial discussion throughout the course of the last century. Historically,

⁸¹ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 28.

⁸² Ritchie, *Viking Scotland*, p. 21.

⁸³ Dumville, *The Churches of Northern Britain in the First Viking-Age*, p. 7.

the study of linguistic relations between Old English speakers and Scandinavian immigrants to England has revolved around issues such as the number of Scandinavian settlers involved, the duration of time Old Norse continued to be spoken in England, and the extent to which Old English and Old Norse were mutually intelligible. In the case of the number of Scandinavian settlers, early scholars such as Ekwall considered that 'to judge by numerous place-names...[they] must have been very numerous'.⁸⁴ Similarly, Jespersen concluded that the 'numbers of Danish and Norwegian settlers must have been considerable, else they would have disappeared without leaving such traces in the language'.⁸⁵ Later work done by Sawyer questioned the size of the Scandinavian immigration to England, suggesting it was unlikely that 'the ninth-century Danish armies numbered more than a few hundred men at the very most'.⁸⁶ He dismissed the evidence of the large number of Scandinavian settlement names, arguing that it would be 'a mistake to consider that all Scandinavian place-names were formed, or transformed, by Scandinavians or their descendants,' as the English language had become 'heavily Scandinavianised'⁸⁷ in the post-Norse period. This argument was refuted by Cameron, whose study of names in *-by* demonstrated that these names were likely to have a Scandinavian origin.⁸⁸ From this he concluded that the size of the Scandinavian armies should be estimated in thousands rather than hundreds.⁸⁹ However, he considered that even an army of that size could not have been responsible

⁸⁴ Ekwall, 'How Long Did the Scandinavian Language Survive in England?', p. 17.

⁸⁵ Jespersen, *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, pp. 71-72. (1940 ed.)

⁸⁶ Sawyer, 'The Density of the Danish Settlement in England', p. 5.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 12 and 13.

⁸⁸ Cameron, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: the Place-Name Evidence', p. 10.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*.

for settlement on the scale suggested by the place-name evidence.⁹⁰ Yet he did not concur with Sawyer that these names should be ascribed to English speakers using elements borrowed from Old Norse, on the grounds that the massive grammatical, lexical and phonological influence exerted by Old Norse upon the English language could not have been achieved by such a small group of Danish soldiers.⁹¹ Instead, he proposed that the settlement of the Danelaw should not be 'looked upon simply and solely as military in character', composed entirely of members of the settling army.⁹² Based on close examination of place-name patterns, he proposed a secondary immigration of colonists from Scandinavia, which 'took place behind the protection provided for at least two generations by the armies of the Five Boroughs'.⁹³ This view is reaffirmed by more recent work done by Cameron, studying the considerable Scandinavian lexical presence in minor and field names in Lincolnshire, from which he concludes that 'Danish settlement here must have been the result of colonisation on a large scale'.⁹⁴ There is a general acceptance of Cameron's view by scholars such as Mills and Fellows-Jensen,⁹⁵ although the reliability of place-names as evidence regarding the size of the Scandinavian settlement is still occasionally called into question.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 10-11.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 11.

⁹² Cameron, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: the Place-Name Evidence (Part Three, the Grimston-Hybrids)', p. 162.

⁹³ Cameron, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Territory of the Five Boroughs: the Place-Name Evidence', p. 11.

⁹⁴ Cameron, 'The Scandinavian Element in the Minor Names and Field Names in North-East Lincolnshire', p. 26.

⁹⁵ Mills, *Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. xvii, and Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in Yorkshire – Through the Rear-View Mirror', pp. 170-171.

⁹⁶ E.g. in Hadley, '“And They Proceeded to Plough and to Support Themselves”: The Scandinavian Settlement of England', pp. 70-74.

The length of time during which the Scandinavian language persisted in England was first examined in detail by Ekwall in 1930. He suggested that it 'is evident that the Scandinavians in England must have continued to speak their old language for some considerable time after the settlement',⁹⁷ stating that the 'immense number of Scandinavian place-names in England and the considerable influence Scandinavians have exerted upon English are sufficient to prove this'.⁹⁸ He considered that '[t]here is nothing improbable in the theory that a Scandinavian language was still spoken in some parts of England so late as the eleventh or even the early twelfth century.'⁹⁹ Page's much later article on the same topic argues that Ekwall's analysis of contemporary inscriptions is flawed. He considers that the surviving material 'shows little use of the Scandinavian tongues',¹⁰⁰ and argues that it is impossible to use the inscriptions as evidence either for or against the survival of the Scandinavian language, given their limited nature.¹⁰¹ Geipel, writing at approximately the same time as Page, considered that in the case of Old Norse in the southern Danelaw, 'the process of its absorption by English may have begun very soon after the initial landnam of Guthrum's demobilised Danes in the second half of the ninth century'.¹⁰² Further north, in Yorkshire and the Five Boroughs, 'the density of Danish place-names suggests that the Scandinavian settlers must have preserved their language...in *bygds* (villages, hamlets or homesteads), where they outnumbered, or were at least equal in number to,

⁹⁷ Ekwall, 'How Long Did the Scandinavian Language Survive in England?', p. 18.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Page, 'How Long Did the Scandinavian Language Survive in England? The Epigraphical Evidence', p. 181.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² Geipel, *The Viking Legacy: The Scandinavian Influence On the English and Gaelic Languages*, p. 56.

Anglians.’¹⁰³ Geipel argues that the Scandinavian language survived longest in the North-West,¹⁰⁴ although the basis of his argument appears to be the same inscriptions that Ekwall utilised. Subsequent work tends to find in favour of the continued survival of Old Norse, with Kisbye concluding that ‘Norse lasted into the eleventh century’,¹⁰⁵ and Hansen arguing that there must have been a large number of settlers, ensuring the ‘long survival of the Scandinavian language in England’.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, in a recent article, Parsons concurs with Ekwall’s theory that a form of Scandinavian may have been spoken in the North-West into the twelfth century.¹⁰⁷

The issue of the degree of mutual intelligibility between Old English and Old Norse has also been the subject of considerable debate. Jespersen stressed the importance of remembering ‘how great the similarity was between Old English and Old Norse’,¹⁰⁸ and considered that the

consequence was that an Englishman would have no great difficulty in understanding a Viking, nay we have positive evidence that Norse people looked upon the English language as one with their own.¹⁰⁹

Sawyer, on the other hand, suggests that ‘[t]he fact that English and Danish are closely related does not mean that in the ninth century Danes and Englishmen could communicate with each other immediately and without difficulty’.¹¹⁰ He also refers to Olof von Feilitzen’s doubts as to ‘whether the English and the Vikings really could have communicated with each other except by means of ribald gestures and uncouth

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, pp. 56-57.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 58.

¹⁰⁵ Kisbye is cited in Barnes, ‘Norse in the British Isles’, p. 70.

¹⁰⁶ Hansen is cited in Barnes, ‘Norse in the British Isles’, p. 70.

¹⁰⁷ Parsons, ‘How Long Did the Scandinavian Language Survive in England? Again’, p. 305.

¹⁰⁸ Jespersen, *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, p. 60.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*.

¹¹⁰ Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings: Scandinavia and Europe AD 700-1100*, p. 101.

noises.’¹¹¹ Most scholars have adopted a position somewhere between these two extremes, with Barber describing the two languages as being ‘reasonably similar’,¹¹² and Baugh and Cable suggesting that they may have been ‘mutually intelligible to a limited extent’.¹¹³ Geipel refers to the need ‘for the Scandinavians living in Britain to have become bilingual as soon as possible’,¹¹⁴ which would suggest that he did not consider the two languages to be mutually intelligible to any great degree.

Whatever the conclusions reached by scholars on the issue of mutual intelligibility, or on the issues of the size of the immigration and the persistence of the Scandinavian language, it appears that one or more of these three factors form the basis of most theories regarding the seemingly considerable influence of Old Norse on the English language. Thus, Scandinavian influence occurred because the speakers of Old Norse were so numerous, or because Old Norse was spoken in England for such a long time, or because Old English and Old Norse were so similar that borrowing was easily facilitated, or all of the above. However, more recent work, such as Hines (1991), has highlighted the shortcomings in these descriptions of Scandinavian influence on the English language, in that they lack an in-depth examination of the precise linguistic processes involved.¹¹⁵ It is certainly true that traditional references to linguistic contact and interaction between the two languages are often somewhat vague. Jespersen describes the two languages as being ‘woven intimately together’ in a ‘fusion of the two nations’.¹¹⁶ Gordon mentions the ‘blending of Norse and English’,¹¹⁷ and Geipel refers

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Barber, *The English Language: A Historical Introduction*, p. 130.

¹¹³ Baugh and Cable, *A History of the English Language*, p. 94.

¹¹⁴ Geipel, *The Viking Legacy: The Scandinavian Influence On the English and Gaelic Languages*, p. 57.

¹¹⁵ Hines, ‘Scandinavian English: A Creole in Context’, pp. 403-405.

¹¹⁶ Jespersen, *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, p. 60.

¹¹⁷ Gordon, *An Introduction to Old Norse*, p. 327.

to the 'symbiosis that grew up on English soil between the resident population and the immigrants' which was 'so intimate that a complete fusion' of the languages occurred.¹¹⁸ However, it is not clear whether this 'fusion' or 'blending' involved widespread bilingualism leading to large-scale lexical transference, or whether true language mixing, such as pidginisation, is implied. A somewhat more detailed view is offered in more up-to-date studies, such as Barber:

There would be Englishmen speaking Old Norse, and Danes speaking Old English, and when they didn't know a word in the other language they would use a word from their own, perhaps giving it a pronunciation and inflections that they thought appropriate to the other language. And no doubt there were children of mixed marriages who spoke an intermediate dialect. Thus great mixing took place between the two languages.¹¹⁹

This description is not based on any definite theoretical model, however, whereas Hines, as well as Thomason and Kaufman, have developed detailed models of how contact-induced language change could have occurred.

Hines approaches the issue from a sociolinguistic perspective, attacking the traditional scenario he considers Jespersen, among others, to have put forward, that the 'Scandinavian language in Britain was worn down by the dominant English language'.¹²⁰ In this interpretation of English-Scandinavian relations,

basic vocabulary could be expected to survive longest from the disappearing language and in this case would be capable of being preserved in a final amalgam of the dominant and subordinate languages because the similarity of the two languages rendered it syntactically adaptable and relatively unmarked.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Geipel, *The Viking Legacy: The Scandinavian Influence On the English and Gaelic Languages*, p. 14.

¹¹⁹ Barber, *The English Language: A Historical Introduction*, p. 130.

¹²⁰ Hines, 'Scandinavian English: A Creole in Context', p. 406.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

Hines argues that this model is unlikely, since Scandinavian influence was ‘not...restricted to basic vocabulary’,¹²² and also because many Scandinavian words appear to have entered the English language at ‘a relatively early date of borrowing, as early even as the 9th century rather than the 10th’.¹²³ He proposes an alternative, two-part model of Scandinavian-English relations, based on the results of his examination of tenth- to twelfth-century texts. He suggests that the ‘Scandinavian element within basic vocabulary could have arisen from the Scandinavian colonists exercising a linguistic dominance commensurate with their military success in the earliest decades of the settlement’.¹²⁴ He continues:

[i]t would certainly appear improbable that these items of basic vocabulary were carried by originally Scandinavian-speaking folk into an interlanguage in which English was the target language; in such cases one would expect basic vocabulary to be the first elements of the target language to be mastered, so that in this specific case the data would imply that Scandinavian were [sic] the target for originally English-speaking folk.¹²⁵

In the second phase of the model, Hines proposes that ‘subsequently the linguistic tide could have been turned, in the context of a rather less widely recognised process of Anglo-Scandinavian acculturation’¹²⁶ and that the ‘general shape of this process is the extensive adoption of Anglo-Saxon culture in the settled areas, within which cultural process we find the careful preservation of elements of Scandinavian character.’¹²⁷

¹²² Hines, ‘Scandinavian English: A Creole in Context’, p. 407.

¹²³ *Ibid*, p. 405.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 407.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 408.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, p. 417.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*.

In this model, Old Norse and Old English are deliberately mixed, rather than being merely ‘the thoughtless confusion of languages in contact’.¹²⁸ Hines proposes that this acculturation would have come about as settlers tried to distance themselves from their violent past, and also as they tried to ‘feel better adjusted to their environment’, and to ‘assert that they belonged there’.¹²⁹ Although Hines suggests that this process may have begun with offspring of the first generation of settlers, as they were raised on English soil,¹³⁰ I would suggest that this model would also correspond to the conditions implied by Cameron’s ‘second-wave’ theory. According to Cameron’s model, the initial Scandinavian settlement was made by soldiers from the Great Army, who are likely to have been politically and linguistically dominant. This land-taking was reinforced by subsequent waves of immigrants from Scandinavia, who were colonists rather than invaders, and may have felt the need to adapt to the existing native culture to a greater extent than the original military invaders.

Hines is less clear in detailing the particulars of his envisaged mixed language. He suggests that the Scandinavian pronouns, conjunctions and basic vocabulary are ‘identifiable with the limited lexis of a primary pidgin language’,¹³¹ yet admits that ‘a model sequence of pidginization, creolization and decreolization does not fit the observable impact of Scandinavian language upon English at all well, or the development of Old into Middle English’.¹³² He also notes that the structural simplifications which normally characterise pidgins ‘cannot be found in the history of English in this period at a sufficiently substantial volume which is definitely attributable to Scandinavian

¹²⁸ Hines, ‘Scandinavian English: A Creole in Context’. p. 417.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 418.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 419.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, p. 407.

¹³² *Ibid*, p. 408.

influence', and in fact, 'the intrinsic similarity of Scandinavian and English may have preserved certain complexities such as a dative plural morpheme in *-um*, which was reducing to [-ən] in the south and south-west'.¹³³ It seems, therefore, that although deliberate social acculturation may have occurred, there is no real evidence to support Hines' contention that Scandinavian English 'is a mixed language, readily distinguishable from its parents, and becomes naturalized as a first language'.¹³⁴

Thomason and Kaufman's model of Scandinavian-English linguistic relations focuses more on the spread of Scandinavian linguistic features within the English language than on the precise social relationship between the two groups. They argue that the structures of English and Scandinavian are too closely related for language-mixing to occur, and that 'a creolization hypothesis is not required to explain the facts of Northern Middle English, nor is it even likely'.¹³⁵ They propose a general five-stage scale of linguistic borrowing. Stage One would involve small numbers of non-basic vocabulary loans brought about through casual contact, such as the borrowing of Modern French words like *ballet* and *pâté* into Modern English.¹³⁶ In Stage Two, minor phonological, syntactic and lexical semantic features are also transferred, and in Stage Three, further structural borrowing is expected, together with prepositions, pronouns, numerals and derivational affixes. At Stage Four, borrowing would include extensive word-order changes and the addition of new case structures to native words. Stage Five is characterised by both heavy lexical and structural borrowing, to the extent that a language may become almost entirely unrecognisable, as in the case of Wutun, which is in fact a

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

¹³⁵ Thomason and Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*, p. 265.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

Chinese language, but is easily mistaken for a Tibetan dialect.¹³⁷ Based on this scale, Thomason and Kaufman propose that Scandinavian elements in English such as basic vocabulary, pronouns and auxiliaries point to a stage three borrowing situation, with fairly heavy lexical- and a lesser degree of structural-borrowing 'or considerable influence through shift, or (more likely) both'.¹³⁸

This suggestion of both lexical borrowing and influence through shift is not entirely at odds with Hines' model, as it is possible to conceive of an initial period of heavy borrowing from Old Norse into English, as English speakers tried to learn the more dominant language. Then as English became linguistically and culturally dominant, Norse speakers shifting to the English language introduced various structural alternatives as a substratum into their form of English, such as their more clearly marked pronominal system. These variants would later have spread to the rest of the English speaking population.

Thomason and Kaufman's model is based on a lengthy comparison of the linguistic features of the various Middle English dialects. From their study of the Scandinavian influence on the grammar and lexicon of texts from the period, they conclude that the 'Middle English of the Danelaw, in spite of its Norse component, its greater phonological and morphological simplicity, and its other regional peculiarities neither simple nor Norse, is **English**. It is part of the network of ME dialects'.¹³⁹ They argue that 'Norsified English arose in the Midlands, and not in the North, because NME has Midland elements at its very heart', at a time 'when Norse was still spoken but going

¹³⁷ Thomason and Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*, pp. 91-92.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 281.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 280.

out of use in its area'.¹⁴⁰ This 'Norsification Package' then spread among the other Middle English dialects, to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the extent of the existing Norse influence in each region.¹⁴¹ This northern dialect of Middle English which made up the 'Norsification Package' contained essentially Midland phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon, with '45 Norse-origin grammatical traits, some morphological and some lexical; and several hundred Norse-origin lexical items, in basic vocabulary, tending to displace native equivalents'.¹⁴²

Like Hines, Thomason and Kaufman do not consider this Norse-influenced dialect of English to have arisen as a result of Scandinavians trying to speak English (as has been suggested by scholars such as Kisbye).¹⁴³ As an alternative to the theory that a mixed language arose, they suggest instead two-way borrowing, involving both lexical transfer and substratum transfer. Elsewhere in their book, they describe parallel cases where they consider both borrowing and transfer through shift to have occurred, including the situation with French and Middle English:

In cases like these, lexical and even structural borrowing may have been going on before and during the process of shift: that is, English speakers were probably borrowing from French while French speakers were shifting to English.¹⁴⁴

It is perhaps possible to envisage a parallel situation between English and Old Norse, as the once dominant Norse language of the initial settlers gave way to English.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 284.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 285.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, p. 284.

¹⁴³ Kisbye is cited in Barnes, 'Norse in the British Isles', p. 70.

¹⁴⁴ Thomason and Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*, p. 69. A similar point is made by Cecily Clark, in 'Towards a Reassessment of "Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-Names"', p. 277.

Both of the models discussed above provide insights into the precise cultural relationship between the Scandinavians and the English, and describe in detail the process of linguistic interaction and change that occurred in England. What remains to be established is whether these linguistic models can shed any light on Scandinavian and native interaction in Scotland.

4. Language Contact in Scotland

In the case of the Northern and Western Isles, there is of course no comparable textual evidence surviving from these regions, and it is therefore necessary to use other evidence, such as place-names and Old Norse loan-words, when examining language contact in this part of Scotland. It is also important to note the different parameters involved in Scottish-Scandinavian contact. In the Danelaw, Scandinavians would have encountered only English speakers, whereas in Scotland there were Gaelic, Pictish and Cumbric speakers. Additionally, the Scandinavian language appears to have survived much longer in Scotland than it did in England (see below). Thus, there were secondary language-contact situations, such as the Scots-Norse contact in the Northern Isles and North-East Mainland. Also, some scholars argue that Gaelic was introduced or reintroduced to the Western Isles during the course of the Scandinavian occupation (see below). Finally, it is clear that unlike the situation with Old English and Old Norse, the P-Celtic and Q-Celtic languages were dissimilar enough from Old Norse for any degree of mutual intelligibility to have been extremely unlikely.¹⁴⁵

In the case of Hines' model, it is clear that it cannot be applied directly to Scottish-Scandinavian contact, owing to its lack of diatopic variation. It is difficult to

¹⁴⁵ Sommerfelt, 'The Norse Influence on Irish and Scottish Gaelic', p. 74.

judge if Hines considers his acculturation process to have occurred in all areas of Danish settlement in England to an equal degree, as the focus of the model is on diachronic language development. When dealing with the issue of Scottish-Scandinavian contact, however, the issue of diatopic variation becomes more pressing. Initially, it is necessary to distinguish between the Northern Isles and the Western Isles, where two different Celtic languages appear to have been spoken,¹⁴⁶ and where there are also differences in the nature and the density of Scandinavian settlement.¹⁴⁷ Additionally, Crawford has used linguistic evidence such as the development of patronymic-types in the later medieval period to suggest that the Western Isles should be subdivided into three separate regions of Gaelic-Norse contact. He argues

that the region south of Ardnamurchan remained the basis for a persisting Gaelic Scot political unit, albeit with close Norse contact, that the middle region at first overwhelmed by Norse intrusion experienced a re-assertion of Gaelic language and population from the south, and that the north remained Norse in overtone until the later-mediaeval period, with the proviso in the last case that Gaelic may never have completely died out and did become the hierarchical language again.¹⁴⁸

Thus, for example, Pictish-Norse contact in Orkney, where the Scandinavians established an Earldom and virtually no pre-Norse place-names survive, must clearly be of a different nature to Gaelic-Norse contact in a southern Island like Arran, where the absence of habitative generics in place-names suggests there may not have been permanent Scandinavian settlement.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ See Section 2.

¹⁴⁷ See, for example, Scott, 'The Norse in the Hebrides', pp. 189-191, and Fellows-Jensen, 'Viking Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles', p. 151.

¹⁴⁸ Crawford, 'Scot(?), Norseman and Gael', p. 3.

¹⁴⁹ Fraser, *The Place-Names of Arran*, p. 53. See Chapter Five, Section 4, for a discussion of permanent settlement on the island.

Yet aside from this, it seems that Hines' acculturation model clearly has some relevance to the study of Scottish-Scandinavian contact. One important factor is his focus on the importance of the prestige of the languages in contact. Elsewhere, there has been comparatively little discussion of the issue of the relative status of Old English and Old Norse speakers in the Danelaw. This is perhaps because the opinion of early scholars such as Jespersen, that the English and Scandinavians had more-or-less equal status,¹⁵⁰ has been widely accepted. Jespersen argues that

the culture or civilisation of the Scandinavian settlers cannot have been of a higher order than that of the English, for then we should have seen in the loan-words special groups of technical terms indicative of this superiority. Neither can their state of culture have been much inferior to that of the English, for in that case they would have adopted the language of the natives without appreciably influencing it.¹⁵¹

Yet, Jespersen himself notes that the earliest Old Norse loans into English are military, administrative and legal terms.¹⁵² A more comprehensive study of these loans is made by Geipel, who lists types of

vessel (*barða, cnearr, floege, scegð*), units of currency (*ōran, marc*), social grades (*dreng* = warrior, *hold* = a high-ranking Danelaw official, *liesing* = a freedman, *bonda* = a farmer), administrative divisions (*wæpentæc* = a unit corresponding to the native hundred, and *socn* = a type of estate) and, most frequent of all, legal terms (*hamsocn* = housebreaking, *saclēas* = innocent, *withermal* = defence, and *stefnan* = to summon).¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Jespersen, *The Growth and Structure of the English Language*, p. 73.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁵³ Geipel, *The Viking Legacy*, p. 62. It is noteworthy, however, that Fellows-Jensen has suggested that *sōcn* and *hamsōcn* could be independent OE cognates of these Scandinavian terms, in 'Old English *sōcn* 'soke' and the Parish in Scandinavia', p. 90.

This would appear to suggest that the earliest settlers (the soldiers of the Great Army) did indeed have greater social and political prestige, as Hines argues, and that they imposed their own legal and administrative systems upon the natives, in a manner similar to the French domination after the Norman Conquest. This early political dominance is accepted by Jespersen,¹⁵⁴ and yet he still concludes that the two groups were of equal status, owing to the ‘ordinariness’ of Scandinavian loan-words. However, as Hines points out, the very basic nature of Scandinavian loans into English points to the higher prestige of the Old Norse language: why replace basic vocabulary items with those of a foreign language unless that language had greater prestige, and English speakers wished to imitate it? Recently, scholars have begun again to address the issue of prestige, with both Kisbye and Hansen concluding, as Jespersen did, that Scandinavian settlers did not have greater prestige because of the everyday nature of the loans.¹⁵⁵ Hansen suggests that if Old Norse was not prestigious, then in order to account for the widespread Scandinavian influence on English, there must have been ‘a considerable number of Danish settlers’.¹⁵⁶ Yet although Cameron’s ‘second wave’ theory suggests that there were considerably more immigrants than the few hundred proposed by Sawyer, it seems that these immigrants cannot have had a numerical advantage over the English natives. If this were the case, then it might be postulated that Old Norse would eventually have become the dominant language of England, as it appears to have done in the Northern and Western Isles.

Thus, in ruling out numerical dominance, we are left with the possibility, as Hines suggests, that the Scandinavian language had initially greater prestige than English in the

¹⁵⁴ Jespersen, *The Growth and Structure of the English Language*, p. 68.

¹⁵⁵ Kisbye and Hansen are cited in Barnes, ‘Norse in the British Isles’, p. 70.

¹⁵⁶ Hansen, ‘The Historical Implications of the Scandinavian Linguistic Element in English’, p. 79.

Danelaw, and that the Scandinavian influence on English occurring at this time was the result of English speakers trying to speak Old Norse.¹⁵⁷

It would appear that this model of initial Scandinavian prestige eventually giving way to the native language owing to cultural pressures also fits the situation in the Western and Northern Isles, although in Scotland this occurred over a far greater length of time. As discussed in Section 2, scholars such as Brøgger, Nicolaisen and Smith have argued that there can have been little contact between incoming Scandinavians and native Gaelic and Pictish speakers, who must have been driven out or were numerically insignificant to begin with, although, as established in Section 2, there is considerable evidence to the contrary. Nicolaisen's conclusions are based on the absence of pre-Scandinavian place-names in the Isles, but more recent work undertaken by Cox has uncovered a number of names in the Western Isles which he considers likely to have been coined either before or during the period of Scandinavian dominance. These include 'noun or adjective + suffix constructions' such as *Beannan* 'the peaked place', and *Maoilean* 'the exposed place', which he gives a '*terminus ante quem* of c.1200'.¹⁵⁸ Additionally, there are names such as *Lagaigh* and **Slodhaigh* which 'by virtue of their endings must be pre c.1100, before EIr /ð/ > /ɣ/ ... indeed they may be extremely archaic dative forms'.¹⁵⁹ Cox also states that '[s]urvivals of neuter forms we can safely date to before the end of the 9th century ... e.g. *An Dun* 'the fort', *Slag na Galltanaich* 'the hollow of the foreigner', *Beinn Cloich* 'stone mountain' etc.'.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Hines, 'Scandinavian English – A Creole in Context?', p. 408.

¹⁵⁸ Cox, 'Norse-Gaelic Contact in the West of Lewis: the Place-Name Evidence', p. 481.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 482.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*.

Thus, it appears that although in the majority of cases the Scandinavian speakers rejected existing place-names and replaced them with their own, this does not mean that the native peoples were driven out, or that their languages were entirely lost. Fraser draws attention to an interesting parallel case in the islands of the Firth of Clyde, where the Gaelic-speaking settlers who arrived from Ireland in the sixth century appear to have rejected practically all the place-names coined by the existing population, who were 'presumably p-Celtic speaking British folk' and appear to have been 'rapidly Gaelicised by their absorption into a Gaelic tribal society'.¹⁶¹

On the basis of place-name evidence from the Isle of Lewis, Cox also identifies several Old Norse loans into Gaelic which he ascribes to the eighth century, on the basis of their forms e.g. *aiodh* 'ford, isthmus' from ON **aið* later *eið*; **Rostainn* with ON **stainn* later *stein* 'rock, stone'; the personal name *Uisdean* from ON **Aystein* acc. later *Øystein*, and *Amhlaigh* from ON **Áleif* acc. later *Ólaf*.¹⁶² This seems to confirm the theory that Gaelic was being spoken in the Western Isles prior to the Scandinavian invasion, and continued to be spoken (as Crawford suggests, see above) even in the more northerly islands of the Hebrides throughout the period of Scandinavian rule. As in England, although more gradually, there appears to have been a process of acculturation, involving the acceptance of the Celtic religion and eventually their language. This process of language shift may have been connected to political events such as the Treaty of Perth in 1266, in which Norway renounced its rule over the Hebrides in return for the payment of a lump sum of 4,000 merks and an annuity of 100 merks.¹⁶³ However, it has been suggested that in the Outer Hebrides Norse was giving way to Gaelic by the

¹⁶¹ Fraser, *The Place-Names of Arran*, p. 12.

¹⁶² Cox, 'Norse-Gaelic Contact in the West of Lewis: the Place-Name Evidence', p. 485.

¹⁶³ Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, p. 90.

beginning of the thirteenth century,¹⁶⁴ so it seems possible that this political development may have been the result of a previous cultural and linguistic shift, rather than the cause of it.

In the case of the Northern Isles, where the Scandinavians appear to have been even more numerically and politically dominant than in the West, it seems that the Pictish population must have shifted to the Old Norse language. However, as established in Section 2 above, the survival of Ogam inscriptions datable to the eighth or ninth centuries (one of which may possibly contain a Norse loan-word) suggests that this language shift did not occur immediately. Similarly, the relatively speedy Scandinavian conversion to Christianity implies that there may have been bilingualism at least during the first century of settlement, and that only the native language rather than the native culture was lost. It seems that here, too, a process of acculturation occurred, with deliberate cultural mixing of the immigrant language and laws with the native religion, art, and everyday objects.

One aspect of Hines' model which remains uncertain is whether or not cultural mixing must necessitate some form of language mixing. In the case of the Western Isles, there is no extant evidence of a Norse-Gaelic pidgin or creole language.¹⁶⁵ Cox has suggested that 'contact between Norse and Gael initially meant the borrowing of individual lexical items on the part of the latter and ultimately, we may assume, at least a modicum of bilingualism. Greater interaction and closer linguistic and cultural contact is however inferred by other loans of a more specialised nature'.¹⁶⁶ It is therefore perhaps worth turning to Thomason and Kaufman's model of linguistic borrowing, and considering which 'stage' Gaelic-Norse contact appears to belong to. This is problematic

¹⁶⁴ Stahl, 'The Place-Names of Barra', p. 96.

¹⁶⁵ See Chapter Two, Section 4(b).

¹⁶⁶ Cox, 'Norse-Gaelic Contact in the West of Lewis: the Place-Name Evidence', p. 488.

because there is disagreement over the extent to which the two languages influenced one another. Early scholars such as Henderson proposed that ‘the development from *sr-* to *str-* in the North Highland dialects (...also regular throughout the Outer Hebrides), the substitution of *l* for *r* on St Kilda, the Sutherland and Lewis pronunciation of the cluster *-rd* as a cerebral [d], and the Lewis pronunciation (also found occasionally as far south as North Uist) of palatized lenited *r* as an interdental fricative [ð] or [ðʲ],¹⁶⁷ were all the result of Scandinavian influence on Gaelic. These theories were attacked in later work by Oftedal.¹⁶⁸ However, Oftedal agreed with Henderson’s assertion that there was a considerable similarity ‘in intonational patterns between the Gaelic of Lewis and Sutherland on the one hand and Norse dialects on the other’.¹⁶⁹ Additionally, he agreed with Marstrander that the ‘Gaelic pronunciation of occlusives (stops)...preaspirated after vowels’¹⁷⁰ is due to Norse influence. Yet Oftedal argued that ‘Norse has influenced Scottish-Gaelic vocabulary far less than Latin or English, in spite of five centuries of close contact’, estimating that ‘the number of Norse loanwords in the narrower sense hardly exceeds three hundred in present day Gaelic’.¹⁷¹ He concluded that ‘Norse words have not penetrated the semantic centre of Scottish Gaelic as have Latin and English words’.¹⁷²

At around the same time, Jackson suggested that the Scandinavian language may have influenced Gaelic to a much greater degree than the transfer of loan-words and pronunciation. He postulated that the morphological simplifications which occurred in

¹⁶⁷ Henderson is cited in Oftedal, ‘On the frequency of Norse Loan Words in Scottish Gaelic’, p. 116.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Ibid.* See Section 5 for a more detailed discussion of this theory.

the Irish language between the tenth and the twelfth centuries may have been the result of Scandinavian influence, although there is no direct evidence for this.¹⁷³ He also noted that the Eastern Gaelic branch of the language, spoken in Scotland and the Isle of Man, became 'very much more simplified and "corrupted" than the "Western Gaelic" of Ireland',¹⁷⁴ and suggested that this may be 'the consequence of the much greater Scandinavian penetration in Scotland and in Man'.¹⁷⁵ However, Jackson could produce no direct evidence for this hypothesis either.

Later work by Borgstrom finds in favour of Oftedal's theory that Scandinavian influence on Scottish Gaelic, apart from loan-words, was limited to the pre-aspiration of stops and the unusual pitch pattern.¹⁷⁶ He concludes that 'there was no long period of extensive Gaelic-Norse bilingualism, in other words, the Norsemen and Gaels lived in relative isolation from each other until the time when the Norsemen finally adopted Gaelic'.¹⁷⁷ More recently, Cox suggested that a closer contact situation must have eventually developed 'after a period in which Norse and Gaelic communities had remained relatively isolated from each other'.¹⁷⁸ He mentions the possibility that both Norse and Gaelic word-order may have been influenced by this contact, citing examples such as *Dubh Sgeir* where *An Sgeir Dubh* would be expected, and *Steinn Langa* where *Langa Steinn* would be expected.¹⁷⁹ However, he prefers to explain these names as being the result of the survival of the original Celtic 'qualifier + noun' structure in the case of the Gaelic instances, and the survival of the Proto-Scandinavian 'noun + qualifier'

¹⁷³ Jackson, 'The Celtic Languages During the Viking Period', p. 7.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 7.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 8-9.

¹⁷⁶ Borgstrom, 'On the Influence of Norse on Scottish Gaelic', pp. 102-103.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 92.

¹⁷⁸ Cox, 'Norse-Gaelic Contact in the West of Lewis: the Place-Name Evidence', p. 488.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 489.

structure in the case of the Old Norse instances.¹⁸⁰ Regardless of whether or not influence upon word-order took place, Cox is probably correct in suggesting that a closer contact situation must have developed between Scandinavian and Gaelic speakers. This is because of the lack of substratum transfer when Old Norse speakers shifted to Gaelic. As Borgstrom states, only the pre-aspiration and the pitch pattern were carried across to Gaelic during the period of language shift. Given that the Scandinavian speakers seem to have greatly outnumbered the Gaelic speakers, at least in the Northern Hebrides, the fact that the Scandinavians learnt the Gaelic language perfectly, with little interference, suggests that ‘the shifting group ha[d] become fully bilingual in the T[arget] L[anguage] speech community’.¹⁸¹

It seems therefore that Norse-Gaelic contact must be located either at Stage One or Stage Two on Thomason and Kaufman’s scale. Certainly, the Gaelic influence on Old Norse involves only Stage One borrowing, with no obvious structural borrowing¹⁸² and only a handful of non-basic lexical loans, such as *buaile* ‘enclosure’, *àirigh* ‘milking-place’, *crò* ‘fold, pen’, *àth* ‘ford’ and *creag* ‘rock’.¹⁸³ These loans into Scandinavian are only attested in surviving place-names, and it is of course possible that the Scandinavians borrowed a larger number of loan-words from Gaelic, for which no evidence survives. However, given that the Norse were the dominant political and linguistic group in the Hebrides, it seems unlikely that they would have felt the need to borrow a great deal of vocabulary from Gaelic speakers.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* The issue of the influence of language contact upon word-order will be discussed in Chapter 2.

¹⁸¹ Thomason and Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*, p. 47.

¹⁸² Except possibly in the case of word-order. A full discussion of the potential influence of Celtic word-order on the Scandinavian language is presented in Chapter 2.

¹⁸³ Cox, ‘Norse-Gaelic Contact in the West of Lewis: the Place-Name Evidence’, p. 486.

In the case of Gaelic borrowing from Old Norse, there is slightly greater influence. The types of vocabulary words borrowed into the Gaelic language will be discussed in more detail in the next section. It is sufficient here to note that they include personal names such as *Iomhar* (ON *Ivar*), *Tormod* (ON **Þormund*), *Leòd* (ON *Ljót*) and *Allghar* (ON *Hallgeir*), as well as topographical vocabulary such as *bàgh* ‘bay’, *lèig* ‘brook’, *lòn* ‘marsh’, *stiogha* ‘path’, *cleite* ‘hill’, *beirghe* ‘point’ and *fadhail* ‘ford’.¹⁸⁴ Additionally, there is vocabulary of a more everyday nature, *boc* ‘he-goat’, *càl* ‘cabbage’, *bròg* ‘shoe’, *sgadan* ‘herring’, as well as verbs such as *spara* ‘save’ and adjectives such as *starr* ‘hard, obstinate’.¹⁸⁵ This borrowing should perhaps be located somewhere between Stage One and Stage Two.

In the case of the Northern Isles, there is no surviving linguistic evidence for Pictish-Scandinavian contact.¹⁸⁶ However, from approximately the fourteenth century, there was linguistic contact between Scandinavian speakers and speakers of Scots. The two languages appear to have co-existed side by side in the Isles until around the seventeenth century in the case of Orkney, and the eighteenth century in the case of Shetland.¹⁸⁷ As with the situation in the Danelaw, there has been considerable discussion as to whether a bilingual community existed, or whether language mixing occurred. Early scholars such as Jakobsen appear to have believed that a stage was ‘reached in this development where the grammatical structure of the language spoken in Shetland was entirely Scots, while large areas of the vocabulary were still of Scandinavian origin’.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 492.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 492-493.

¹⁸⁶ Barnes, ‘Reflections on the Structure and the Demise of Orkney and Shetland Norn’, p. 431.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁸⁸ Jakobsen is cited in Barnes, ‘Reflections on the Structure and the Demise of Orkney and Shetland Norn’, p. 431.

This description of the grammar from one language and the vocabulary from another is essentially that of a pidgin or creole language. More recently, Rendboe has argued that ‘as long as Norn continued to be used by native speakers it survived in a pure form, unadulterated by Scots pronunciation, grammar or lexicon’.¹⁸⁹ Barnes makes a study of the extant texts from the later period in the Northern Isles, and notes that ‘there is nothing suggestive of a mixed language – part Norn, part Scots – prior to the early eighteenth century’.¹⁹⁰ He does suggest that as Norn began to die out, it may have begun to exhibit ‘symptoms of interference and decay’,¹⁹¹ but prior to this, bilingualism rather than language mixing seems to have occurred. As mentioned in Section 2(b), Sandnes notes that in Orkney ‘[a] lot of Norse words were borrowed into the dialect, and these loan-words have been used to coin names a long time after Norn died out’.¹⁹² Norse words borrowed into Scots include *skyle* ‘to shade or shelter’, *scroo* ‘a small stack of corn’, *glaep* ‘to gulp’, *scorie* ‘a young gull’, *cassie* ‘a basket made of twisted straw’, and *elt* ‘to kneed dough’.¹⁹³ It is almost impossible to tell if Norse had any structural influence on Northern Scots, however, due to the fact that ‘Norn itself is for the most part irrecoverable. We do not have sufficient relative information to establish in any detail what either Orkney or Shetland Norn was like as a living language’.¹⁹⁴ It is therefore very difficult to assign a ‘stage’ to Norse-Scots contact, although it appears to belong to a similar stage to Norse-Gaelic contact.

¹⁸⁹ Rendboe is cited in Barnes, *ibid*, p. 431.

¹⁹⁰ Barnes, ‘Reflections on the Structure and the Demise of Orkney and Shetland Norn’, p. 452.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*.

¹⁹² Sandnes, ‘Place-Names in Orkney as Evidence for Language Contact’, p. 26.

¹⁹³ Geipel, *The Viking Legacy*, p. 86.

¹⁹⁴ Barnes, ‘Reflections on the Structure and the Demise of Orkney and Shetland Norn’, p. 456.

Overall, it appears that Old Norse has had less visible impact on the languages of Scotland than it has in England, despite the fact that it survived in the Scottish Isles for a greater period of time than in the Danelaw. This may be because Old Norse and Old English were far more similar than Old Norse and Gaelic, so that the transfer of lexical and structural features would have been more easily accomplished. However, it might be expected that Norse should have influenced Northern Scots to a similar degree. One likely explanation why this did not apparently occur is that Norse ceased to be a prestigious language at the time when Scots was spreading through the Northern Isles, and thus Scots was influencing Norse, rather than the other way around. This would correspond with Barnes' assertion that 'Norn' was becoming corrupted and decayed as it began to die out.

5. Scandinavian Loan-Words into Gaelic and English

One of the main difficulties in establishing the precise nature of the language contact which occurred between Scandinavian speakers and the indigenous population of Scotland is the lack of surviving textual evidence. However, evidence of Scottish-Scandinavian contact does survive in the form of Old Norse loan-words into the Gaelic language. In order to investigate how this Scandinavian-Gaelic contact differed from the Old Norse and Old English contact which occurred within the Danelaw, it is necessary to examine the Norse loan-words into both English and Gaelic. It is outwith the remit of this study to attempt to produce comprehensive lists of all the Norse words which were borrowed into these languages. Instead, in the case of Norse loans into English, I have

made use of Geipel's list of Norse words which have survived into Modern English,¹⁹⁵ together with the supplementary lists in Baugh and Cable.¹⁹⁶ In the case of Norse loans into Gaelic, I have principally referred to Henderson's lists of loans,¹⁹⁷ together with MacLennan's Etymological Dictionary.¹⁹⁸ Both these works are now somewhat dated (1910 and 1925 respectively), however I have been unable to trace any comprehensive lists produced since that time. The two sets of loan-words are not identical, but both scholars agree in the majority of cases, and I have confined myself to using examples upon which they concur, unless otherwise stated.¹⁹⁹

Comparison of the lists of Norse loans into English with those into Gaelic reveals striking differences between the two groups. Very rarely does a Norse word appear to have been borrowed into both English and Gaelic, and even some of the few apparent instances may be open to challenge. Possible examples include ON *rannsaka* which becomes English *ransack* and Gaelic *rannsaich*, and ON *þræll* which becomes English *thrall* and Gaelic *tràill*. Similarly, ON *mugga* gives English *muggy*, *mugginess* and the parallel Gaelic *mùganach*. ON *skata* becomes English *skate* (the fish), and possibly Gaelic *sgait*, although MacLennan suggests that the Gaelic form may have come instead from the English. Additionally, ON *hrukka* may be the source of English *ruck*, as well as having been borrowed into Gaelic as *roc* and *rug*. Gaelic *ealbhar* 'good-for-nothing person' might be connected to ON *álfr* 'elf', which is generally considered to be the

¹⁹⁵ Geipel, *The Viking Legacy*, Appendix 1, pp. 182-196.

¹⁹⁶ Baugh and Cable, *A History of the English Language*, pp. 94-102. As both these lists are now somewhat dated, their etymologies were checked against the most recent edition of Hoad's *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*.

¹⁹⁷ Henderson, *The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland*, chapter 5.

¹⁹⁸ MacLennan, *A Pronouncing and Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*.

¹⁹⁹ There are approximately 200 words in MacLennan's dictionary to which he ascribes an Old Norse origin. Henderson's examples are rather more numerous, but from these I have omitted words which occur only in place-names of wholly Scandinavian origin, as there is no evidence to suggest that these terms were ever actually borrowed into the Gaelic language. This leaves somewhere in the region of 300 loan-words.

source of English *oaf*.²⁰⁰ ON *vindaugr* has produced English *window*, and may well be the source of Gaelic *uinneag* ‘window’.²⁰¹ Finally, ON *krókr* gives English *crook* (in the sense of ‘hook’) and Gaelic *cròcan* ‘a crook’.

There are a few other apparent instances of parallel loans, such as ON *álka* ‘auk’ (a sea bird) which is English *auk* and Gaelic *alc* or *falc*. However, this word appears to have entered English as a late loan from the Scots dialect,²⁰² and it is thus possible that its origin may be the Norse loan into Gaelic which was then transferred into Scots, or even a Norse loan directly into Scots. In either case it could not be considered as a true instance of a parallel English and Gaelic formation directly from Old Norse. Also in this category are English *fulmar* and Gaelic *fulmair* from ON *fúlmár* ‘foul gull’, which appears to have come to English via the Hebrides rather than directly from Old Norse,²⁰³ together with English *scull* ‘a type of oar’ and Gaelic *sguìl* ‘a basket for fishing lines’, both ultimately from ON *skjóla* ‘a bucket’. In this case too, *scull* entered English via Scots *scull* ‘basket’, which may originally have come from the Old Norse loan into Gaelic.²⁰⁴

It is possible that there may be one or two other parallel formations, as neither Geipel’s list nor those of Henderson and MacLennan are exhaustive, but it appears that in most cases the Norse language supplied different types of words to English and Gaelic.

One of the most noticeable differences between the two groups of loan-words is that, although in both cases the loans are of an ‘everyday’ nature, the Norse loans into

²⁰⁰ However, Peter Kitson has suggested that *oaf* derived from *elfe*, the plural form of the West Saxon term for elf, rather than ON *álfr*. Kitson, ‘How Anglo-Saxon Personal Names Work’, unpublished Conference Paper, given at the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland’s One Day Conference at York, 24th November 2001.

²⁰¹ A discussion of the etymology of Gaelic *uinneag* appears in Cox, ‘The Phonological Development of Scottish Gaelic *uinneag* ‘Window’ and Related Questions’.

²⁰² Geipel, *The Viking Legacy*, p. 182.

²⁰³ Henderson, however, makes no mention of a Norse origin for the Gaelic word.

²⁰⁴ It is noteworthy that Hoad considers the etymology of English *scull* to be unknown. See *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, p. 425.

Gaelic appear to have less of a fundamental quality than the Norse loans into English. Both Henderson's and MacLennan's works reveal that the Norse loans into Gaelic mainly comprise words relating to fishing, carpentry, birds, agriculture, landscape and the sea. However, many of these loans must represent what Thomason and Kaufman refer to on their Borrowing Scale as 'non-basic' rather than 'basic' vocabulary.²⁰⁵ Typical examples include

acarsaid 'harbour, anchorage, haven' < ON *akkar-sæti*, *akkeris-sæti* 'anchor-seat'
arspag 'large species of seagull' < ON *svart-bakr* 'black back, swarthy back'
bodha 'sunken rock over which the sea breaks' < ON *boði* 'breaker, boding a sunken rock or bank, landing place'
clobha 'pair of tongs' < ON *klofi*, *klof* 'cloven, cleft, fork of the legs'
eilaeán 'island' < ON *eyland* 'island'
gàrradh 'enclosure, garden, fence or dyke, yard' < ON *garðr* 'yard'
glamair 'smith's, carpenter's vice' < ON *klömbr* 'smith's vice'
lobhta 'loft, gallery' < ON *lopt* 'loft'
òb 'creek, haven' < ON *hóp* 'small land-locked bay'
risteal 'surface plough, with a sickle-shaped coulter, drawn by one horse' < ON *ristill* 'ploughshare' < ON *rista* 'to cut'
rùghan, *rùthan* 'group of peats set up to dry' < ON *hrúga* 'heap'
sgor 'chink, cleft, rift (in a rock)' < ON *skor* 'notch, rift in a rock'
sgrùthan 'stook of corn' < ON *skrúf* 'hay-cock, corn-rick'
stracair 'troublesome fellow, gossip, wanderer' < ON *strákr* 'vagabond'
sùlaire 'gannet, the solan goose' < ON *súla*, *súlan* 'gannet, solan goose'.

Whilst these words do reflect 'ordinary' vocabulary words, they are less fundamental than the type of Norse words borrowed into English. These include, for example, nouns such as *dirt*, *egg*, *leg*, *root*, *skin*, *skirt*, *sky*, *slaughter* and *want*, adjectives like *flat*, *ill*, *loose*, *odd*, *rugged*, *sly*, *tight* and *weak*, and verbs such as *cast*, *crawl*, *die*, *gasp*, *get*, *raise*, *rid*, *scare*, *take*, *thrive* and *thrust*.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ Thomason and Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*, p. 74.

²⁰⁶ See Geipel, Appendix 1, and Baugh and Cable, p. 98.

It is also notable that, of the Norse loans into Gaelic which have survived to the present day, most are nouns. It is well known that Old Norse loans into English include not only large numbers of nouns, adjectives and common verbs, but also ‘pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, and even a part of the verb *to be*’.²⁰⁷ In the case of Norse loans into Gaelic, the loans are restricted to the open classes of word, with only a few adjectives and verbs in among the nouns. MacLennan’s dictionary identifies examples such as

starcach ‘firm’ < ON *sterkr* ‘strong’
sliogach ‘sleeky, sly; emaciated, slim’ < ON *slikr* ‘sleek’
durga, durganta ‘surly, sour’ < ON *durgr* ‘sulky fellow’
sgol ‘to wash, rinse, scull’ < ON *skola* ‘to wash’
plod ‘float, cause to float’ < ON *flota* ‘to float, launch’
sgiot ‘to scatter, disperse’ < ON *skjóta* ‘to shoot’
toinn ‘to twist, wreath; spin, twine’ < ON *tvinna* ‘to twine, twist’
snaoidh ‘to move, turn’ < ON *snúa* ‘to turn (oneself)’.

Given that the majority of the words are appellatives, I would suggest that this may constitute evidence of words having been deliberately transferred into the Gaelic language not to replace existing vocabulary, but to augment Gaelic vocabulary where lexical gaps existed. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that many of the Norse loans into Gaelic are names for specialised types of tools, receptacles and topographic features, together with specific types of animals and fish. Examples include

àbh ‘nose-net, hand net’ < ON *háfr* ‘pock net’
biota ‘churn, wooden pail’ < ON *bytta* ‘pail, tub’
cilean ‘large cod’ < ON *keila* ‘long cod’
dorbh, dorgh ‘hand-line (for deep sea fishing)’ < ON *dorg* ‘fishing-tackle’
lonn ‘roller put under boat in launching’ < ON *hlunnr* ‘roller for launching ships’
meilearach ‘long sea-side grass’ < ON *melr* ‘bent’

²⁰⁷ Baugh and Cable, *A History of the English Language*, p. 98.

mol, mul ‘shingly beach’ < ON *möl* ‘pebbles, worn stones, bed of pebbles on the beach or in a river’
òs ‘outlet of a lake or river, sandbar’ < ON *óss* ‘outlet of river or lake’
sgàireag ‘one-year-old gull, young scart’ < ON *skári* ‘young seamew’
sgridhinn ‘rocky side of hill’ < ON *skriða* ‘land-slip on a hill-side’
ùidh ‘isthmus, stream joining two lochs; stream; mouth of a river’ < ON *eið* ‘isthmus’.

This is in clear contrast to the situation with Old Norse loans into English, where many of the loan-words are linguistically unnecessary and yet replaced existing Old English words. These include the Scandinavian terms which developed the Modern English reflexes *take, cast, egg, window, sister, cut, sky, wing*, replacing OE *niman, weorpan, ey, ēagþ·rel, sweostor, snīðan, ūprodor, feþra* respectively.²⁰⁸ Alternatively, the Old Norse words entered the vocabulary despite the continuing presence of an English synonym, as is demonstrated by the Modern English reflexes *nay, hale, raise, fro, skill, skin, ill* and *no, whole, rear, from, craft, hide, sick*, from Old Norse and Old English respectively.²⁰⁹ Borrowing of this type caused a redundancy that necessitated the development of subtle differences in meaning between the terms.

These differing types of Old Norse loan-words may throw light on the differing types of linguistic contact which occurred. The loans into English appear to be the result of sustained contact between the two speech communities in the North East of England. This gave rise to a situation where both Old English and Old Norse forms were available as variant linguistic options within these speech communities. Jeremy Smith has demonstrated that in this type of contact situation, the existence of these variant forms within the so-called ‘variational pool’ of speech is fundamental to this kind of large-scale linguistic development:

²⁰⁸ Examples from Baugh and Cable, *A History of the English Language*, p. 99.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

[t]he potential for change exists when a particular speaker or group of speakers makes a particular linguistic choice at a particular time; implementation takes place when that choice becomes selected as part of a linguistic system; and diffusion takes place when the change is imitated beyond its site of origin, whether in terms of geographical or of social distribution.²¹⁰

In the case of Old Norse loan-words entering into English, this may well have been facilitated by the clear similarities between the two languages.

There is far less similarity between Old Norse and Gaelic, however, and in the Gaelic speaking regions of Scotland contact between the two speech communities does not appear to have created a parallel variational pool of alternative forms of basic vocabulary items.

Yet neither do the Norse loans into Gaelic appear to represent a linguistically prestigious and/or politically dominant force of Scandinavian incomers imposing their language upon a subordinate Gaelic-speaking people. There are few similarities with the French loans occurring in English in the post-Conquest period, which included words such as *government, minister, justice, combat, gown, embroidery, sculpture, music* and *surgeon*.²¹¹ These are clearly indicative of Norman political and cultural dominance, and of the prestige of the French language. Henderson's section of loan-words entitled 'Government' contains only a few items, and MacLennan concurs on the Norse origins of only five of these: *īarla* 'earl' < ON *jarl* 'earl', *trāill* 'slave, thrall' < ON *þræll* 'serf, slave', *ārmunn* 'hero' < ON *ārmaðr* 'steward', *borg* 'fort' < ON *borg*, and *mōd* 'court' < ON *mót*.²¹² Similarly lacking are significant numbers of terms for food, clothing,

²¹⁰ Smith, *An Historical Study of English*, p. 7.

²¹¹ Examples from Baugh and Cable, *A History of the English Language*, pp. 165-170.

²¹² Henderson himself admits, however, that this term may well have been adopted in the pre-Norse period. See *The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland*, p. 135.

medicine, law, measurement, religious practices or any other sign of cultural dominance. Possible instances include *rómag* ‘mixture of meal and whisky’ and *marag* ‘pudding’, which Henderson derives from ON *rjómi* ‘cream’ and ON *mörr*, dative *mörvi* ‘suet of an animal’, although MacLennan does not ascribe a Norse origin to either of these words. Another possibility is Gaelic *bròg* ‘shoe’ (but originally meaning a garment covering both legs and feet), from ON *brókr*, although Henderson suggests that the Old English cognate form *bróc*, plural *bréc* ‘breech, breeks’ should perhaps also be considered as a source.²¹³ Gaelic *isbean* ‘sausage’ may be from ON *ispen* (*i* + *spen*) ‘sausage of lard and suet’, and Henderson mentions a Gaelic word *raob*, *raobag* ‘stitch, bit of clothing’ which he considers to derive possibly from ON *reip* ‘rope’.²¹⁴ Additional loans in this category include *peighinn* ‘penny, coin’ from ON *penningr* ‘penny’, *ocar* ‘interest, usury’ from ON *ókr* ‘usury’, *sgàlain* ‘scales of balance’ from ON *skál* ‘scale of balance’, and possibly *marg* ‘merk, Scottish silver coin, certain denomination of land’ from ON *mörk*, although MacLennan derives the word from English *mark*.

It is of course true that both Henderson and MacLennan’s works only encompass loan-words which have survived into Modern Gaelic. The possibility exists that other loans of this nature did occur at an earlier period, but have subsequently been lost. However, if these words had represented important Scandinavian concepts which became fundamental to the Gaelic society, it could be expected that they would have stood a reasonable chance of survival.

The majority of the Norse loan-words in Gaelic are in fact connected to fishing, farming and the landscape, and as mentioned above, appear to augment the existing

²¹³ Henderson, *The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland*, p. 116.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 116-117. However, the term is absent from MacLennan’s Dictionary.

vocabulary. For example, Cox argues that Gaelic *beirghe* was borrowed from ON *berg* ‘because it provided descriptive punch not otherwise available in the language’.²¹⁵ He suggests that the word is used in Lewis to denote a ‘bare, usually vertical rock-face – with specific reference to coastal promontories’,²¹⁶ which is a meaning distinct from Gaelic *aird* ‘generally used of larger, bulkier headlands’ and Gaelic *rinn* which refers to ‘promontories of generally lesser stature’, and from Gaelic *rubha*, a more general term ‘applied to types of all shapes and sizes’.²¹⁷ This would seem to support the notion that Gaelic-speakers selected lexically-useful words from the Norse speech community, rather than having politically or linguistically prestigious terminology thrust upon them by a dominant Scandinavian population.

One possible explanation for the lack of ‘dominant’ terminology is that these loans may have occurred when Scandinavian culture was declining in Scotland. Some of the loans may even have been part of a Scandinavian substratum, when Scandinavian-speakers shifted to Gaelic, and retained Old Norse words for which there was no exact Gaelic equivalent. These may then have been transmitted to the population as a whole. Alternatively, it may be that in the areas of greatest Scandinavian dominance the Gaelic-speakers quickly shifted to the Norse language, and the borrowing of words from Norse only occurred in areas less dominated by Scandinavians, such as the Southern Hebrides, where there may have been greater equality between the two groups. On the other hand, some of the loans appear to be early, and to have occurred in the Northern Hebrides. As discussed in Section 4, Cox has identified a small group of Norse loans into Gaelic which he considers to date from the eighth century. Yet he notes that ‘[o]ther loans can be

²¹⁵ Cox, ‘Old Norse *Berg* in Hebridean Nomenclature’, p. 63.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

shown to have been borrowed much later...e.g. **urddh* ‘pile of boulders’ from ON *urð* cannot have been borrowed before c.1100, because ON *rð* earlier yielded the G. reflex [R] (velarised alveolar or post-alveolar trill) or [r] (alveolar flap).²¹⁸

This would suggest that the Norse loans into Gaelic were not borrowed *en masse* at the time when Scandinavians took control, but rather that the process was more gradual and haphazard, and may well have spanned the entire period during which Norse continued to be spoken in Scotland. It is possible that some of the loans denoting Scandinavian boats, rigging and fishing tackle may date from the period of occupation, as they involved concepts unfamiliar to the Gaelic-speakers. Examples include *bìrlinn* ‘barge or pleasure boat; galley’ < ON *byrðingr*, *carbh* ‘ship or boat, built after a particular fashion’ < ON *karfi*, *reang* ‘boat rib’ < ON *röng*, *sgòrradh* ‘support prop, esp. a prop to keep a boat on even keel (ashore) or on its side’ < ON *skorða*, *stagh* ‘rope that sustains the mast’ < ON *stag*, and *sùdh* ‘seam of a plank’ < ON *súð* ‘suture, clinching of ships boards’. It is unclear, however, whether the many loans referring to the sea, sea-birds, fish and fishing are representative of Norse superiority in this field, or whether the fishing industry was such a vital part of both communities that there was a huge nomenclature to describe it, and thus an increased potential for alterations and additions to that nomenclature.

As the majority of the loans are non-basic vocabulary items, it may appear that the level of contact between the two speech communities was minimal, with only a superficial element of bilingualism. However, Cox argues ‘[t]hat this contact was linguistically beyond the level of an exchange of appellatives is shown for example by the forms *sporan* “purse” ultimately from an ON verb, and *Bratag* [steep place]

²¹⁸ Cox, ‘Norse-Gaelic Contact in the West of Lewis: the Place-Name Evidence’, p. 485.

ultimately from an ON adjective'.²¹⁹ Similarly, the adjective *slapach* 'slovenly' is from the Old Norse noun *slápr* 'a good-for-nothing', and the adjective *sgeigeach* 'having a prominent chin or strong straight beard' is from the Old Norse noun *skegg* 'beard'. Additionally, the verbal noun *ceigeil* 'kicking, stirring' is derived from the Old Norse verb *kvikna* 'to stir', and the adjective *blanndaidh* 'stale (as milk), rotten, addled' is identified by MacLennan as being from ON *blanda* 'mix, blend', although it is not clear whether he is referring to the verb or to the noun. These examples support Cox's hypothesis that the Gaelic speakers altered and adapted Scandinavian words to suit their own needs, rather than merely adopting Scandinavian nomenclature. They also support the idea raised above that the Gaelic speakers were the initiators in the borrowing process, modifying Scandinavian terms to fill their lexical deficit rather than introducing unnecessary synonyms to existing Gaelic words.

These modifications also imply competent bilingualism in the areas of language contact, a theory supported by further evidence of in-depth linguistic interaction and understanding. Whilst simple appellatives such as *cnarra* 'ship', *rūta* 'ram', *spain* 'spoon' and *trosg* 'cod' could have been transferred without much comprehension existing between the two speech communities, there are other loans which express more complex linguistic concepts. These include *screamh* 'slight nausea, abhorrence, disgust' < ON *skræma* 'scare away', *spàirn* 'effort, great exertion, hard task' < ON *sporna* 'kick', *tàladh* 'act of attracting, winning; enticing, caressing; lullaby, cradle song' < ON *tál* 'allurement', *slabhcar* 'slouching fellow, taunter' < ON *slókr* 'slouching fellow', and *bleidire* 'genteel beggar, mean obtrusive fellow, coward' < ON *bleyði* 'cowardice', and so on.

²¹⁹ Cox, 'Norse-Gaelic Contact in the West of Lewis: the Place-Name Evidence', pp. 486-487.

Additional evidence of linguistic comprehension is found in Gaelic loans where the meaning of the original Old Norse word has been altered. For example, the meaning of *rùthan, rùghan* ‘peat heap’ is a narrowing of the original Old Norse *hrúgi, hrúga*, which simply meant ‘heap’. Similarly narrowed is the Old Norse term *ristill* ‘ploughshare’, as the Gaelic term *ristéal* refers specifically to a ‘surface plough, with a sickle-shaped coulter, drawn by one horse’. Examples of semantic widening include ON *eið* ‘isthmus’, whence Gaelic *ùidh* meaning ‘isthmus, stream joining two lochs; stream; mouth of a river’, and ON *hlunnr* ‘roller for launching’, where the Gaelic word *lunn* or *lunn* can mean ‘a round block of wood, a roller for launching or hauling a boat, a staff, lever, part of an oar (between the handle and where it enters the rowlock), handle of a bier’. There are also Gaelic words which have developed a different meaning to the original Old Norse term. These include *siola* ‘wooden collar for a plough-horse’ < ON *sili* ‘harness strap’ or *seli* ‘harness’,²²⁰ *sliachdair* ‘daub, plaster, spread by trampling, go slow’ < ON *slikr* ‘smooth’, and *sgileag, sgilig* ‘shelled grain’ < ON *skilja* ‘separate’. Alterations of this type seem unlikely to have arisen as the result of linguistic misunderstandings between the two speech communities, as the technical nature of the terms involved instead appear to indicate ‘improvements arising from an exchange of ideas’.²²¹ It must be noted, however, that this evidence is derived from the modern meanings of these words, and as hundreds of years have elapsed since the words were originally borrowed from Old Norse, it is by no means certain that the alterations to the Old Norse words occurred at the time they were adopted into Gaelic. Yet even excluding

²²⁰ This word is absent from MacLennan’s dictionary, however.

²²¹ Cox, ‘Norse-Gaelic Contact in the West of Lewis: the Place-Name Evidence’, p. 486.

these examples of linguistic alteration, there is ample evidence given above to support the concept of a fair degree of bilingualism in areas of language contact.

In conclusion, it would appear that there must have been linguistic contact between Old Norse and Gaelic speakers from the eighth century, and that this contact must have continued for a considerable period of time. Although the loans into Gaelic are of a more limited nature than those into English, in that they lack grammatical words and are chiefly non-basic vocabulary items, they still provide evidence of both cultural contact and linguistic comprehension between Scandinavian and Gaelic speakers. Finally, the specialised nature of many of the Norse loans into Gaelic points to a deliberate selection process on the part of the Gaelic speakers, in contrast to the situation in English, where in many cases there appear to have been no logical criteria for the selection of Old Norse forms over the existing English forms.

6. The Survival of Celtic Place-Names

Although there is clearly a considerable difference between the Scandinavian settlements in England and those in the Northern and Western Isles, the Scandinavian colonies in the Scottish Isles may have a closer parallel in the Anglo-Saxon settlement of England. In both cases, an incoming Germanic group settled in territory containing an indigenous Celtic group, and in both cases there was displacement of the native population leading to a loss of the existing place-names. Comparison of the two in the light of modern theories of language contact may help to throw new light on either or both.

In England, as in the Scottish Isles, the poor survival rate of demonstrably pre-Germanic place-names gave rise to the suggestion that the native population was either driven out or exterminated entirely.²²² More recently, scholars such as Cameron and Gelling have argued against this theory in the case of the English settlements. Cameron has demonstrated that the presence of elements such as British **eclēs* ‘church’ and Old English *walh* ‘Welshman’ in Anglo-Saxon place-names suggests that both Celtic people and their centres of worship survived the Germanic immigration.²²³ Similarly, Gelling argues that British coinages such as Pensax ‘hill of the Saxons’ indicate the survival of Celtic people in areas of Anglo-Saxon settlement.²²⁴ As discussed in Section 2, however, in the case of the Scottish Isles, similar evidence for survival appears to be lacking, and the extermination theory is on occasion still upheld as the most likely reason for the lack of pre-Scandinavian names.²²⁵

In the case of the Brythonic Celts in England, a low survival rate had initially been postulated because of the lack of pre-Germanic settlement names, and the relatively low number of topographical names.²²⁶ However, Cameron has noted that many names which appeared to be simply those of rivers and natural features had probably been misinterpreted. He states that,

[i]t seems clear now that the Britons defined their settlements in terms of adjacent topographical features without using a term denoting a settlement in contrast to later Anglo-Saxon usage, when a word like *tūn* ‘farm, village’, ‘estate’ was in vogue.²²⁷

²²² See Section 2.

²²³ Cameron, ‘Eccles in English Place-Names’, p. 91, and ‘The Meaning and Significance of Old English *walh* in English Place-Names’, pp. 3-4.

²²⁴ Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, p. 99.

²²⁵ Smith, ‘The Picts and the Martyrs’, pp. 7-8.

²²⁶ Cameron, *English Place Names*, pp. 35-36.

²²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 36.

For this reason, he argues that names such as Crich (Db) ‘hill’ and Mellor (Ch, La) ‘bare hill’ should be reinterpreted as habitation names.²²⁸ Similarly, in regard to the low number of topographical place-names, scholars such as Colin Smith have argued that in some instances, names have been misinterpreted as being purely Anglo-Saxon when in fact they may be Celtic. Examples include Brougham, near Carlisle. This name has been interpreted as OE *Burg-ham*, but Smith suggests British **Brocaūon* as being the more likely etymology based on the early form *Brocavum*.²²⁹ Additionally, the river Coquet in Northumberland had been interpreted by Ekwall as OE *cocc-wuda* ‘cock wood’, an Anglo-Saxon forest term which became a river-name by back-formation.²³⁰ However, on the basis of the form *Coccuveda* in the *Ravenna Cosmography*, Smith argues that this is a straightforward British river name with the sense ‘red appearance, red seeming’, as the river is indeed ‘filled with red porphyritic detritus from the Cheviot’.²³¹

More recent work in this area has been done by Coates and Breeze. For example, Breeze proposes that Esthwaite Water in Lancashire may be a Celtic hydronym containing the equivalent of Welsh *ystwyth* ‘twisting’, rather than meaning ‘eastern thwaite’ as Ekwall had suggested.²³² Similarly, Coates argues that the Devonshire name Clovelly, which had previously been interpreted as an Old English name possibly containing OE *clōh* or *clof(a)* ‘ravine’ and *felg* ‘felloe’, may instead be a Cornish name meaning ‘earthworks associated with Fele(c) [personal name]’.²³³

²²⁸ Cameron, *English Place Names*, p. 36.

²²⁹ Colin Smith, ‘The Survival of Romano-British Toponymy’, p. 30.

²³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 37. Both of these names recently have been subject to investigation by Coates and Breeze, in their book *Celtic Voices English Places*, pp. 8 and 26.

²³¹ *Ibid*, p. 31.

²³² Coates and Breeze, *Celtic Voices English Places*, pp. 64-66.

²³³ *Ibid*, p. 117-122.

Evidence of this type indicates a greater survival of British place-names, and thus a greater survival of the British population, than early scholars such as Johnston had advocated.²³⁴ However, examination of the place-names of the Scottish Isles has not revealed similar evidence of Celtic continuity, and Brian Smith records that '[t]here is only a handful of pre-Norse names on record in Shetland and Orkney: names of a few large islands like Unst'.²³⁵ In the case of the Hebrides, the situation is similar. Whilst, as discussed above, Cox has argued that a small group of Gaelic names on Lewis may be datable to either before or during the Scandinavian era,²³⁶ throughout the rest of the Western Isles only a few island names are likely to pre-date Scandinavian settlement.²³⁷

Given the apparent similarity of the Anglo-Saxon colonization of Celtic England and the Scandinavian colonization of the Celtic Isles, it is necessary to compare the two settlements more fully in order to address the disparity of the survival of pre-Germanic place-names in these regions.

Firstly, there are several extralinguistic factors which must be taken into consideration. As Gelling notes, the Celtic territories in England had become part of the Roman Empire in the first century A.D., and had remained so until the early fifth century.²³⁸ Therefore some of the important Romano-British place-names would have been known outside of their local context. A number of these names are recorded in Continental sources, and so it is possible that the Anglo-Saxons landed in England with a pre-knowledge of the local nomenclature. It would appear that many of these Romano-

²³⁴ Johnston, *Place-Names Of England and Wales*, pp. 7-9.

²³⁵ Brian Smith, 'The Picts and the Martyrs', p. 20.

²³⁶ Cox, 'Norse-Gaelic Contact in the West of Lewis', pp. 481-482.

²³⁷ Fellows-Jensen, 'Viking Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles', p. 151.

²³⁸ Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, p. 30.

British names were accepted or adapted by the incomers.²³⁹ In the Scottish Isles, the Scandinavian immigrants are unlikely to have had any pre-knowledge of Celtic habitative or topographical place-names. However, it has been argued that the few pre-Scandinavian names which have survived, island names such as Unst, Fetlar, Yell, Canna, Muck and Eigg, were borrowed by the Scandinavians before the period of settlement.²⁴⁰ Fellows-Jensen suggests that the Scottish Isles were used as staging-posts during the pre-settlement era,²⁴¹ and it could be significant that the only native place-names retained by the Scandinavian immigrants to the Isles are those that they may have already learnt in Norway.

The Roman occupation of England may have contributed in other ways to the survival of British and Romano-British place-names during the Anglo-Saxon period. The place-names of the towns and cities established by the Romans stood a greater chance of survival than those of hill-farms and hamlets. It has been demonstrated that in fact many of these Roman settlements had become depopulated prior to the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons.²⁴² However, Smith notes that,

even a deserted city, or one with few inhabitants, still had a name, and even if it contained nothing worth looting, and Anglo-Saxons had no intention of settling inside it, the city represented a landmark, a geographical fixed point, and the pivot of a still usable road-system.²⁴³

The existence of urban centres, connected by a network of Roman roads, seems likely to have created a continuity of settlement in England which could not be paralleled in the

²³⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 64-66. Gelling notes that as an alternative to the Anglo-Saxons having learnt Celtic names whilst still on the Continent, it is possible that these names may have been learnt directly from Latin speakers by Germanic troops posted in Britain in the late Roman period.

²⁴⁰ Fellows-Jensen, 'Viking Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles', p. 152.

²⁴¹ *Ibid*.

²⁴² Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, pp. 229-230.

²⁴³ Colin Smith, 'The Survival of Romano-British Toponymy', p. 35.

Scottish Isles. Even if a Romano-British town were destroyed, and its population killed or driven away, the name of the settlement would still be known to the surrounding population, and this would increase its chance of survival. In the Northern and Western Isles, however, the Scandinavian settlers would probably have found a population dispersed across a remote group of islands, living in small isolated settlements whose names had only a tenuous hold on the landscape.

Another important factor when comparing the two settlements is the time-scale involved. In England, Anglo-Saxon settlement may have begun as early as the mid fifth century, in the case of south-easterly regions such as Kent.²⁴⁴ The spread of settlement continued westwards and northwards throughout the sixth century and into the seventh, and it has been noted that Anglo-Saxon leaders were still taking lands in the far north west and south west into the eighth century.²⁴⁵ This protracted period of colonization, characterised by individual groups pushing into different regions at different times, contrasts with settlement of the Scottish Isles. It has been estimated that Scandinavian immigrants began the colonization of the Northern Isles at the end of the eighth century, with the main body of settlers arriving in the years which immediately followed A.D. 800.²⁴⁶ In the Western Isles, it has recently been postulated that Scandinavian settlement occurred mainly between 795 and 825.²⁴⁷ Thus it would appear that the Scandinavian settlements in the Scottish Isles were much more abrupt than the Anglo-Saxon settlements in England, and that the Pictish and Gaelic communities in the Isles must have been absorbed much more quickly than their British counterparts in England.

²⁴⁴ Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, p. 3.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 9.

²⁴⁶ Wainwright, *The Northern Isles*, p. 110.

²⁴⁷ Jennings, 'Historical and Linguistic Evidence for Gall-Gaidheil and Norse in Western Scotland', p. 61.

Additionally, it is important to consider the relative size of the land available for settlement in each case. The greater length of time needed for the Anglo-Saxon settlement of England than for the Scandinavian colonization of the Isles is to some extent likely to be a reflection of the vast difference in the size of the two regions. Jackson notes that in England, where Anglo-Saxon influx was heavy, isolated British settlements survived 'long after the tide of conquest had swept past them'.²⁴⁸ Thus in remote areas such as the Pennines and the Yorkshire moors, there are Celtic place-names 'showing a linguistic stage which is later than that which appears in the names on either side of them'.²⁴⁹ Similarly, in areas where Anglo-Saxon immigration was less dense, Jackson suggests that even less-isolated British settlements may have survived unchallenged, and thereby their language and nomenclature.²⁵⁰

The continued survival of the British language in England is likely to be a major factor in the preservation of British place-names. Jackson has demonstrated that in England there is a clear correlation between the date at which an area was settled by the Anglo-Saxons and the number of Celtic place-names which survive in that area.²⁵¹ He divides England and Wales into four basic regions.²⁵² Area I represents the earliest phase of Anglo-Saxon settlers, in the south-east of the country. Jackson records that,

this area corresponds fairly closely with the extent of primary English settlement down to about the first half of the sixth century; and in the South, roughly to what may have been the line along which the Saxons

²⁴⁸ Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, p. 197. This theory is supported by Cameron's findings in 'The Meaning and Significance of Old English *walh* in English Place-Names', pp. 15-16.

²⁴⁹ Jackson, *ibid.*

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 221-225.

²⁵² Jackson's divisions are included in Map 1 in the Map Section.

were halted for fifty years about 500 by the battle of Mount Badon.²⁵³

In Area I, British names are rare 'and are confined almost exclusively to large and medium sized rivers'.²⁵⁴ To the north and west of Area I is Area II, settled in the later part of the sixth century in the south, and in the early part of the seventh century in the north. In this region, more Celtic river names survive, including those of smaller rivers, together with hill and forest names. Area III covers the north-west of England, the area along the Welsh border, and the south-west of England excluding Cornwall. The north-west and the border regions were settled by Anglo-Saxons in the mid-to-late seventh century, and the south-west from the mid-seventh to early eighth centuries. Jackson notes that in this area 'the proportion of certainly Celtic names is highest of all'.²⁵⁵ The last region, Area IV, includes Wales and Cornwall, which remained unconquered by the Anglo-Saxons, so that the nomenclature is overwhelmingly Celtic.

Thus, in the earliest, most dense areas of settlement, it appears that the British language and with it the British place-names were soon eradicated. Yet in later settlements, such as those in Area III, Jackson argues that the Anglo-Saxons represented a minority ruling class over Celtic people who 'would keep their language longer than the outnumbered serfs of the East, and hence their place-names would have a better chance of survival'.²⁵⁶

From a linguistic perspective, it would seem that the preservation of Celtic place-names may be dependent on how quickly, and under which circumstances, the language

²⁵³ Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, pp. 221-222. Jackson's division of England into four areas based on the density of Celtic names is still accepted as being valid. See, for example, Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, pp. 88-90, and Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Norman Conquest*, pp. 6-10.

²⁵⁴ Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, p. 221.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 222.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 241.

shift from Celtic to Germanic occurred. Interestingly, Jackson has postulated that in some cases Celtic place-names were not borrowed by the Anglo-Saxons from the British at the time of settlement. Instead, he argues that it was the British who transferred the names into Anglo-Saxon during the period of bilingualism leading up to the language shift from British to Old English.²⁵⁷ Thus, in Area I, a heavily outnumbered and downtrodden British population would have shifted to Old English reasonably rapidly. It is noteworthy that a recent model of linguistic contact suggests that a small subordinate group in this situation will usually produce very little or no interference in the Target Language as a whole.²⁵⁸ It seems unlikely that the British speakers would be able to transfer much lexical or onomastic material in this type of shift situation, and the only names that survive in the region would be ones that the Anglo-Saxons had already adopted for themselves.

In later areas of Anglo-Saxon settlement, such as Area III, the British language endured in British settlements for a much longer period of time, and the Old English speakers would not have had the advantage of numbers. When the language shift from British to English did finally occur, it is likely to have been in a more peaceful and co-operative context than in Area I, and would have been later and more gradual as a result. It would have been preceded by a lengthy period of bilingualism during which there is likely to have been considerable opportunity for the shifting British speakers to transfer their place-names into the Old English target language, including the names of streams and minor topographical features, which are unlikely to have been borrowed by the Anglo-Saxons themselves.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 242-243.

²⁵⁸ Thomason and Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*, p. 47.

This concept of place-name transfer occurring during linguistic shift may go some way towards explaining the lack of pre-Germanic names in the Scottish Isles. In the Northern Isles the incoming Scandinavians settled more quickly even than in Area I in England, with more overwhelming numbers into a far smaller area of land. It seems likely that the native population of the Isles who had survived the initial colonization process would have quickly shifted to the Scandinavian language as part of a process of acculturation. It is noteworthy that in their book on language contact, Thomason and Kaufman record that in language shift situations, the process may be complete within a generation.²⁵⁹ As discussed above, a small shifting group will create little interference in the language of the target group. This does not necessarily mean that Pictish speakers made no attempt to preserve existing place-names and other lexical material whilst shifting to the Scandinavian language. It more probably suggests that due to the low numbers of the Picts their attempts at transference did not spread successfully into the speech of the monolingual Scandinavians. It may also be significant that although the Pictish language disappeared quite rapidly, Pictish art and religion appear to have survived the linguistic shift, and it is possible that the conversion of the Scandinavian immigrants occurred after this shift took place.

Following Jackson's model for England and Wales, it may be possible to subdivide the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland into similar 'Areas', with the Northern Isles being the area of earliest, heaviest settlement where Celtic names stood the least chance of survival.²⁶⁰ The North-East of Caithness and the Outer Hebrides may also belong in this first area, although based on his field-work collecting place-names on

²⁵⁹ Thomason and Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*, p. 41.

²⁶⁰ See Map 1 for these divisions.

Lewis, Cox has argued for a greater degree of Celtic survival and continuity on the island than had previously been considered likely.²⁶¹ A second area would be the Inner Hebrides, where Jennings argues that the lack of *staðir* names indicates that ‘the Norse settlers were restricted to founding new settlements within their original farms’ because ‘the Norse were sharing territory...with a Gaelic land-holding population which had retained some of the land during the turbulence of the settlement period’.²⁶² The third area would include the western mainland of Scotland and the most southerly of the Isles, where Scandinavian place-names occur in limited numbers, and where it has been suggested that the Gaelic-speaking population persisted throughout the Scandinavian era, eventually absorbing the Scandinavian immigrants.²⁶³

It would therefore seem possible to account for the disparity between the survival of pre-Germanic place-names in England and the Scottish Isles in terms of the different models of language contact. It was not because the Anglo-Saxon settlers accepted native names whilst the Scandinavians rejected them, but because the Celtic speakers in England had the opportunity to transfer their names as part of a language shift, whilst the Celtic speakers of the Isles did not.

Brian Smith has argued that if any linguistic or cultural integration of this kind had taken place between Pictish and Scandinavian peoples in the Northern Isles, then ‘some of their words and lots of their names would have survived’.²⁶⁴ He concludes that the lack of this type of linguistic evidence indicates that the Scandinavians must have

²⁶¹ Cox, ‘Norse-Gaelic Contact in the West of Lewis’, p. 481.

²⁶² Jennings, ‘Historical and Linguistic Evidence for Gall-Gaidheil and Norse in Western Scotland’, p. 65. The three areas I am suggesting for the subdivision of the Western Isles correspond in part to Jennings’ three ‘zones’ of Scandinavian settlement in the area. I have also made use of Crawford’s map ‘The linguistic regions of Scandinavian Scotland’, in *Scandinavian Scotland*, p. 93.

²⁶³ See Section 4.

²⁶⁴ Brian Smith, ‘The Picts and the Martyrs’, p. 20.

exterminated the entire population of the Isles.²⁶⁵ However, Smith makes no mention of other onomastic evidence of Pictish survival, such as Scandinavian place-names which appear to indicate Celtic presence in the Isles. Wainwright notes that the Scandinavian element *Pettr* 'Pict', which occurs in names such as Pettadale, Pettawater, Petester, Pettafell, Pettigarthsfell and Pettyfirth in the genitive form *Petta*, indicates the presence of Pictish people during the Scandinavian era.²⁶⁶

In a similar context, more recent work by Cameron on English place-names containing OE *walh* 'foreigner, Briton or Welshman', raises the possibility that names containing this element have an interesting parallel with the *Pettr* names. Although OE *walh* is sometimes confused with OE *weald* 'wood, wold', OE *weall* 'wall' and OE *walle* 'spring, stream',²⁶⁷ and itself later came to have the slightly different meaning 'serf' or 'slave',²⁶⁸ Cameron has been able to demonstrate that approximately one hundred place-names contain OE *walh* in the sense of 'Briton, Welshman'. Examples include names such as Walbrook, Walcot, Walford, Wallasey, Walshaw and Walton.²⁶⁹ Similarly, English place-names containing OE *Cumbre* 'Welshman', such as Comerbatch, Comberford, Comberhalgh, Comber Mere and Comberton are indicative of the survival of groups of Celtic origin in Anglo-Saxon England.²⁷⁰ I would suggest that the *Pettr* names may be interpreted in the same way. Additionally, as discussed in Section 2, Fellows-Jensen has postulated that the *Kirkju-bólstaðr* names in the Isles are likely to have been given by Vikings to pre-existing settlements with Celtic chapels. This would

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁶ Wainwright, *The Northern Isles*, p. 100.

²⁶⁷ Cameron, 'The Meaning and Significance of Old English *walh* in English Place-Names', pp. 7-8.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-46.

²⁷⁰ Cameron, *English Place-Names*, p. 47.

further indicate the survival of the Pictish people, if not their language. These *Kirkju-bólstaðr* names would therefore appear to have a parallel of sorts in the English *Eccles* names, which as noted above, may also refer to the survival of centres of Celtic worship.²⁷¹

In conclusion, although no fresh onomastic evidence that the Celtic population of the Isles survived the Scandinavian immigration can be adduced, as has been the case in England, it is still possible to interpret the lack of Celtic names as being indicative of something other than genocide. I suggest that an early and abrupt linguistic shift from Celtic to Scandinavian may have caused the loss of native place-names whose counterparts in England survived as part of a later more protracted shift from British to Old English.

7. Conclusion

The evidence presented in this chapter suggests that the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland were not a virtually nameless landscape when the Scandinavian immigrants arrived. There was an established native population who were not entirely dispersed during the Scandinavian period. The numerical advantage of the Scandinavians, together with the vast difference between Old Norse and the Pictish and Gaelic languages, meant that the type of linguistic integration that occurred between the Scandinavians and the English in the Danelaw was simply not viable in the Scottish Isles. However, the presence of Scandinavian names in *papa*, *Pettr* and *Kirkju-bólstaðr* indicate a degree of survival of both the native people and their religion in the Northern and Western Isles. The subsequent chapters will examine the development of the various

²⁷¹ See Cameron, 'Eccles in English Place-Names', p. 87.

types of place-name in areas of secondary Scandinavian settlement which appear to result from contact between Celtic and Scandinavian-speakers in these regions of primary settlement.

Chapter Two: The Inversion-Compounds

1. Introduction

Writing in 1918, Ekwall noted that whilst studying the place-names of Cumberland, he had been struck by ‘a peculiar kind of Compound names, in which the first element is determined by the second...Compounds of this kind will for shortness’ sake be termed inversion-compounds’.¹ Ekwall’s phrase ‘inversion-compound’ has since been widely adopted to describe primarily Germanic compound names in which the generic precedes the specific in the manner of Celtic place-names, rather than following the expected Germanic pattern of ‘specific plus generic’, and a range of theories has been put forward to account for this group of formations.²

In this chapter, the geographic origins of the immigrants to the North-West of England who coined the inversion-compounds will be discussed, and it will be argued that they originated from the western seaboard of Scotland rather than from Ireland. Secondly, the linguistic content of the inversion-compounds will be examined, and it will be demonstrated that the names were not all coined at the same time nor in the same manner. Thirdly, the construction of the inversion names will be addressed, and the issue of the potential Scandinavian adoption of Celtic word-order will be reconsidered in the light of recent models of linguistic contact. Finally, the occurrence of inversion-compounds outside the North-West of England will be considered, and potential instances from Southern Scotland, the Isle of Man and Yorkshire will be examined.

¹ Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, p. 13.

² A full list of the inversion-compound names, along with their elements, is given in Appendix A, Part One.

2. The Linguistic Origins of the Inversion-Compounds in England

2(a) The Nationality of the Settlers: Historical Evidence

It has long been recognised that the inversion-compounds in the historical counties of Cumberland and Westmorland are something of a linguistic anomaly. Ekwall suggested that these names were coined by Scandinavians who had adopted Celtic word-order.³ The *EPNS* survey for Cumberland concluded that the names were coined ‘after the Irish fashion’ by Norwegians who were ‘much modified in speech by their stay in a Gaelic-speaking area’.⁴ Similarly, the Westmorland survey suggested that the Old Norse place-names were ‘influenced by the language of the Irish amongst whom these Norwegians had lived’.⁵

There are a number of reasons why the editors of the *EPNS* volumes postulated that the English inversion-compounds were coined by Scandinavian speakers who had come from Ireland. Firstly, the only piece of documentary evidence concerning the Scandinavian immigration into North-West England is the story of Ingimund’s invasion, which relates that a group of Vikings were granted land near Cheshire after the expulsion from Dublin in 902.⁶ Whilst the historical reliability of this account is somewhat questionable, it has been demonstrated that the cluster of Scandinavian place-names in the Wirral peninsula would support the idea of a small-scale settlement which corresponds to the description of Ingimund’s invasion.⁷ However, this is hardly a basis

³ Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, pp. 51-55.

⁴ Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 3, p. xxiii.

⁵ Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, vol. 1, p. xli.

⁶ Wainwright, ‘Ingimund’s Invasion’, pp. 139-142.

⁷ Gelling, ‘Scandinavian Settlement in Cheshire’, p. 193.

for assuming that all of the Scandinavian settlement in the North-West had its origin in the expulsion from Dublin. As Smyth has pointed out,

the number of warriors and traders who were hemmed in behind the stockades of Dublin could scarcely have been large enough to account for the colonization which took place to the west of the Pennines in the early tenth century,⁸

and, in any case, many of these Dublin refugees 'must have returned to Dublin by 917 under the formidable leadership of Sigtryggr II'.⁹ Therefore, although Ingimund's invasion might account for the purely Scandinavian place-names in the Wirral, there is no real evidence to link Ingimund and his followers with the Goidelic-influenced inversion-compounds, which occur further to the north, chiefly in Cumberland and Westmorland, with a handful of rather dubious instances in Lancashire.¹⁰

The other evidence that the inversion-compounds may have been coined by Scandinavians from Ireland is also historical in nature. It is centred on the attempts in the tenth century to unite Dublin and York into a single Scandinavian kingdom.¹¹ This may, to an extent, account for the immigration of Scandinavian speakers into the region that lies between Dublin and York (i.e. Cheshire and southern Lancashire), and it is plausible that these settlers could be responsible for the purely Scandinavian place-names in this region. Archaeological evidence such as the discovery of the Cuerdale Hoard in Lancashire would appear to support this notion. This hoard of Viking silver was found near the river Ribble, and contains both Scandinavian arm-rings manufactured in Ireland

⁸ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*, vol. 1, p. 79.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ See Map 2 for the distribution of the inversion-compounds.

¹¹ During the period 918-954, the Scandinavian rulers of Dublin made a sustained attempt to gain control over York, and create a unified kingdom which linked Dublin and York. However, York came under permanent English control in 954. See Geipel, *The Viking Legacy*, pp. 46-47 and Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 32.

and coins minted in York,¹² suggesting contact and co-operation between these two Scandinavian settlements.¹³ However, there are no inversion-compounds in this region apart from one or two instances on the Lancashire coast, which Fellows-Jensen attributes to immigrants from the Isle of Man.¹⁴ Thus there is no clear connection between incomers from Dublin and the coining of the inversion-compounds.

More recently, scholars have pointed to the Hebrides and the Isle of Man as alternative candidates for the origin of the settlers who coined the inversion-compounds.¹⁵ Smyth notes that by the early tenth century,

the western seaboard of Scotland had become a veritable clearing-house for Scandinavian settlers streaming south from Norway in search of land in the British Isles.¹⁶

There are a number of reasons for suggesting that the inversion-compounds were coined by these immigrants from the Scottish Isles rather than by immigrants from Ireland. Firstly, there is evidence of a much greater degree of contact between Scandinavian speakers and Goidelic speakers in Scotland than there was in Ireland. It has been argued that in Scotland,

as Gaels and Scandinavians shared the occupations of farming and fishing, the fusion between the two peoples must have begun much earlier than in Ireland and been more complete in the end.¹⁷

¹² Graham-Campbell, 'The Cuerdale Hoard: A Viking and Victorian Treasure', p. 11.

¹³ Higham, 'Northumbria, Mercia and the Irish Sea Norse: 893-926', p. 30. See also Jesch, 'From Scandinavia to the Wirral', p. 15.

¹⁴ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 320.

¹⁵ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*, vol. 1, ch. 5, and Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 319.

¹⁶ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*, vol. 1, p. 81.

¹⁷ Oftedal, 'Scandinavian Place-Names in Ireland', p. 125. See also Greene, 'The Influence of Scandinavian on Irish', pp. 78-79.

In contrast, the Scandinavians who settled in Ireland were largely merchants and sailors, who founded their own townships,¹⁸ so that 'In spite of mixed marriages and other forms of social ties, the townspeople in Ireland remained an ethnic group apart.'¹⁹ It was previously believed that the Scandinavians in the Irish coastal towns must have been reliant to an extent on the countryside for provisions and building materials, which would imply a degree of interaction with the native farmers.²⁰ However, it has since been demonstrated that the Scandinavians set up their own small-scale farming communities around the coastal towns (such as the *Dyflinnarskiri* beside Dublin) in order to provision the towns.²¹ Trading with the Irish farming community would not therefore have been necessary.

2(b) The Nationality of the Settlers: Linguistic Evidence

The disparity in the level of contact between Scandinavians and Goidelic speakers in Ireland, and those in western Scotland, is reflected in the relative lack of Scandinavian place-names and place-name elements in Ireland compared with western Scotland. In particular, there are the *kirk-* inversion-compounds in Dumfries and Galloway, but there is no evidence of similar formations in Ireland. Oftedal demonstrates that names such as Ballygunner '*baile + Gunnar*' and Ballytruckle '*baile + Þorkell*' are essentially Gaelic constructions, 'and must have arisen among speakers of Irish who had previously borrowed the Norse personal names in question'.²² There is little likelihood of Scandinavian speakers having borrowed *baile* as a loanword and used it to form

¹⁸ Greene, 'The Influence of Scandinavian on Irish', p. 78.

¹⁹ Oftedal, 'Scandinavian Place-Names in Ireland', p. 125.

²⁰ Chadwick, 'The Vikings and the Western World', p. 40.

²¹ Bradley, 'The Interpretation of Scandinavian Settlement in Ireland'.

²² Oftedal, 'Scandinavian Place-Names in Ireland', p. 127.

inversion-compounds, since it has been argued that the earliest *baile* names in Ireland are late formations, which did not exist before around 1150.²³ In this case, the Scandinavians could hardly have coined the *baile* compounds as a stepping-stone towards the formation of the inversion-compounds in England in the early tenth century.²⁴

There are other reasons for supposing that the Scandinavian-coined inversion-compounds in England might be more closely linked with Scottish than with Irish influence. Aside from the fact that identical *kirk*- compounds are found in Galloway and Cumberland (such as Kirkandrews and Kirkbride), there is the matter of the Scandinavian borrowing of the Goidelic element *airge* which occurs in Scottish, but not in Irish, place-names.²⁵ Additionally, there is substantial archaeological evidence which links tenth century Scandinavian sculpture in Cumbria with that found in south-west Scotland in the same period.²⁶ Interestingly, Bailey notes that

One area alone bordering the Irish Sea fails to show any contact with the sculpture of Cumbria, either as donor or recipient. This is Ireland.²⁷

Bailey suggests that this lack of Irish influence does not necessarily preclude immigration from Ireland in this period, but rather may be due to a lack of contact on the Irish mainland between Scandinavian incomers and the monastic communities who produced the sculpture. Therefore, if the English inversion-compounds were coined by Scandinavians influenced by Irish place-nomenclature, they were not similarly influenced

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Fellows-Jensen has recently suggested that the *baile* names could have been coined somewhat later than Oftedal postulated, but does not dispute that they would have been coined by Gaelic speakers. See 'Nordic Names and Loanwords in Ireland', p. 110.

²⁵ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Place-Names of the Irish Sea Province', p. 39. See Chapter Four below for a discussion of the *kirk*- names, and Chapter Three on *áergi* names.

²⁶ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 227.

²⁷ Bailey, 'Aspects of Viking Age Sculpture in Cumbria', p. 59.

by Irish sculptural style. This seems to add weight to the idea that the Irish and Scandinavians in Ireland lived as separate cultural groups.

One possible piece of evidence of Irish involvement in the Scandinavian settlement of the North-West is found in the *Ir(e)by* names, which occur in Cumberland, Cheshire and Lancashire respectively. These names contain the Scandinavian folk-name *Írar* 'Irishmen' and ON *bý*,²⁸ and as such, might be considered as indicative of a mixed Irish-Scandinavian immigration. However, the *Ir(e)by* names do not necessarily provide an Irish-Scandinavian context for the inversion-compound names in the North-West of England. Names in *Ir(e)by* have been interpreted as representing either the settlements of Irish immigrants or those of Scandinavians from Ireland.²⁹ Yet, in either case, it seems that they must have been segregated minority groups. If the Scandinavians used the term *Ir(e)by* to refer to Irish settlements, then this would suggest that any Irish immigrants were living separately from the Scandinavians. Similarly, the Scandinavians would not need to utilise the term *Ir(e)by* specifically to designate Scandinavians who had come from Ireland unless the majority of the Scandinavian settlers in the North-West had a point of origin other than Ireland. As Higham notes, the use of these names 'indicates that they were isolated settlements made up of members of one national group in an area dominated by another group'.³⁰ Interestingly, Fellows-Jensen suggests that the *Ir(e)by* names may in fact refer to settlers from the Isle of Man,³¹ and in this case they could not be considered as evidence of any genuine Irish influence at all.

²⁸ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 33.

²⁹ Higham, 'Scandinavian Settlement in North-West England', p. 199.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Place-Names of the Irish Sea Province', p. 39.

Thus, the *Ir(e)by* names do not provide evidence of a mixed Irish-Scandinavian influx, but rather that either groups of Gaelic-speakers from Ireland or Scandinavians from Ireland or Man lived in isolation from the principal Scandinavian colonies. Additionally, the fact that the *Írar* appear to have remained clustered together in these three sites implies that, whether they were Scandinavians or Irish, they would have had little influence on the surrounding place-nomenclature. As such, it seems implausible that they could have been responsible for the numerous inversion-compound names located throughout Cumberland and Westmorland.

It is also noteworthy that examination of the inversion-compounds themselves shows no evidence of any specifically Irish influence, and quite often the evidence points instead towards Scottish influence. It is true that the *EPNS* Surveys for Cumberland and Westmorland often identify the Goidelic elements of the inversion-compounds as being Old Irish.³² However, 'Old Irish' is an umbrella-term, referring to the forms of Goidelic spoken in Scotland and Man as well as in Ireland.³³ These surveys are both quite old, and the Cumberland survey, at any rate, was published before Jackson's work on the development of the Goidelic languages became widely known.³⁴ He demonstrates that the oldest traceable divergence between Irish Gaelic and Scottish Gaelic did not occur until the tenth century, and notes that 'we cannot really speak of a separation until about the thirteenth century'.³⁵ Therefore, Irish Gaelic and Scottish Gaelic would have been essentially identical in the early tenth century. The Westmorland Survey states that the

³² See, for example, Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 2, p. 397, and Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, vol. 2, p. 206.

³³ See, for example, MacBain, *Outlines of Gaelic Etymology*, pp. iv-v.

³⁴ Jackson, *Common Gaelic: The Evolution of the Goidelic Languages*.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 79.

element *poll* 'pool, pond' could be either Scottish or Irish Gaelic in origin.³⁶ It is thus notable that the other vocabulary elements in the inversion-compounds that are identified as possibly being 'Irish' or 'Old Irish' are all also found in modern Scottish Gaelic. The elements are *carr* 'rocky ledge', *corr* 'point, peak', *cnocc* 'hillock', *crag* 'crag', *crois* 'cross', *glenn* 'glen' and *manach* 'monk', all of which appear in MacLennan's *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*, and thus could equally indicate Scottish or Irish influence.³⁷

There is only one element which is identified in the *EPNS* volumes as possibly being a Middle Irish, rather than Old Irish, formation. This is *tresc* 'refuse', which has been tenuously identified as the second element in a lost Westmorland field-name *Glentreske*.³⁸ However, the only recorded form of this name is dated *a.1198*, which is still prior to the first real divergence of the Irish and Scottish languages. In any case, the fact that this word had a Scottish Gaelic cognate form is attested by the existence of the modern Scottish Gaelic form *treasg* 'refuse of brewed malt',³⁹ and there is no reason for supposing that the name contains a specifically Irish element. Additionally, since both the generic and the specific of this name appear to be Celtic, it is possible that it constitutes a straightforward Celtic compound-name, rather than a genuine inversion-compound. In this case, it may not necessarily be connected to the Scandinavian settlement at all, and thus cannot be considered as evidence of the linguistic background of the settlers.⁴⁰

³⁶ Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, vol. 2, pp. 73 and 143.

³⁷ See Appendix A, Part One.

³⁸ Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, Vol. 2, p. 228.

³⁹ MacLennan, *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*, p. 348.

⁴⁰ Other Westmorland names in *glen-*, such as Glencoyne and Glenridding, may also be Celtic, but Brythonic rather than Goidelic. The possibility of a similarly Brythonic origin for *Glentreske* should not perhaps be ruled out. It is also possible that Brythonic influence may have reinforced the generic + specific name-type in the North-West of England.

The other Goidelic elements in the inversion-compounds are all personal names. Whilst these are also labelled 'Old Irish' in the English Place-Name Surveys, most of them could equally have originated in Scotland or Man. Names which can possibly be linked with Scotland rather than Ireland include Setmurthy and Aspatria in Cumberland and *Rigrinmelsuthan* in Westmorland, which contain the Gaelic personal names Murdoch, Patrick and Maelsuthan. Smyth notes that Murdoch is a distinctively Scottish name, while Patrick is a name which was rarely used in Ireland during the early and middle ages, but which is found in Icelandic records 'in connection with Viking emigrants who came out to Iceland from the Hebrides'.⁴¹ Similarly, Maelsuthan is a name which did not achieve popularity in Ireland.⁴² There are also two Cumberland names which appear to have parallel formations in Scotland. Hobcarton is a doublet of Hopecarton in Peebleshire, as they both contain either OE **hobb* 'hummock' or OE *hop* 'valley' as generic, and the Gaelic personal name *Cartán*.⁴³ *Kirkebibeccoch* has a parallel of sorts in another Peebleshire name, Kilbucho, as they both contain a generic designating a church or a town with a church, ON *kirkjuby* and Gael *cill*, together with the diminutive form of the name of Saint Bega, which is *Beghoc*.⁴⁴

It is also notable that some of the Gaelic personal names which occur in other place-names in Cumberland and Westmorland appear to have been of Scottish origin. Smyth notes that Gillemichael, which is found in the Cumberland names *Gillemihelecroft* and *Gillenukelstagge* and the Westmorland names *Gylle Michael lande* and *Gill Michael*

⁴¹ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*, vol. 1, pp. 91 and 82.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 81.

⁴³ Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 3, p. lxxx.

⁴⁴ Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, p. 28.

dale, is a characteristically Scottish name,⁴⁵ and as noted previously, Murdoch, which is found in Karmurdath in Cumberland, is distinctively Scottish. Additionally, the Gaelic name Glasan, occurring in Glassonby in Cumberland, also appears to be the specific of the Galloway name Airieglassen.⁴⁶

As Smyth points out, the personal names found in the historical documentation for the North-West of England also contain a strong Scottish element. He notes that of the names which Wainwright takes to be evidence of an Irish presence in Cheshire, i.e. Gillicrist, Macsuthan, Maeldomen and Maelsuthan, none achieved popularity in Ireland, and Gillicrist is distinctly Scottish.⁴⁷ Additionally, Smyth notes that many of the names which Ekwall lists amongst the Goidelic personal names found in north-western records are either Scottish, such as Gilandreas, Gilmichael, and Gilmor,⁴⁸ or can be found amongst the Icelandic records of immigrants from the Hebrides, such as Began, Belan, Cormac, Duncan, Gilli, Kenneth, Kilan, Nel, and Patrick.⁴⁹

It is clear, therefore, that these names point to a considerable Scottish influence in the North-West of England. The presence of a Scottish Gaelic element in the place-names of Cumberland was in fact recognised by the *EPNS* survey for this county, but this element was ascribed to Gaelic-speakers from the lowlands of Scotland who had migrated south.⁵⁰ It is indeed possible that the essentially Gaelic constructions in this part of England (such as *Cnodentwald* and Pool Darkin) were coined by Gaelic-speakers from the north, together with names which contain Gaelic elements but display no signs

⁴⁵ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*, vol. 1, p. 91.

⁴⁶ See Section 5 for a discussion of this name.

⁴⁷ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*, vol. 1, p. 81.

⁴⁸ See Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*, vol. 1, p. 91 and Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, pp. 67-71.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Armstrong *et al.*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 3, pp. xxiv-xxv.

of Scandinavian influence, such as Knockupworth (G. *cnocc* 'knoll, hillock' + Continental personal name *Hubert*).

However, it does not necessarily follow that the more southerly place-names containing Gaelic elements must instead be the result of an influence from Ireland. The Cumberland Survey arbitrarily takes names such as Corby and Karcemurdath (containing Gaelic names *Corc* and *Murdoch*) to be the result of an influx from Scotland, based on their proximity to the border; whereas names such as Korkgill and Setmurthy (containing identical personal names) are instead considered to be the result of an influx of Scandinavians from Ireland, since they are much further away from the Scottish border, and closer to the coast of the Irish Sea.⁵¹ However, this geographical method of attributing linguistic origin does not take into account the possibility of a sea-borne immigration of Scandinavian-speakers from the Hebrides, Galloway or Man. Given that the bulk of these names are found either in coastal areas or along the routes of major rivers, it is likely that the inversion-compounds were coined by settlers who arrived by sea. Yet the evidence of the lack of linguistic and cultural contact between Scandinavians and Gaelic speakers in Ireland, coupled with the strong Scottish element in the Gaelic personal-names in the north west of England, point to the Scottish Isles as the more likely candidate for the place of origin of the Scandinavian-speakers responsible for coining the inversion-compounds. Fellows-Jensen has argued that by the end of the ninth century the Scottish Isles had become overpopulated and that Scandinavians were moving south to England (as well as Iceland and the Faroes) in search of land to settle.⁵² This does not preclude the possibility that there was also a degree of Scandinavian

⁵¹ Armstrong *et al.* *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 3, pp. xxiv-xxv.

⁵² Fellows-Jensen, 'Viking Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles', p. 165.

settlement from Ireland into the North-West of England, but it does suggest that any such settlers are unlikely to have coined inversion-compound place-names.

In conclusion, it is clear that the linguistic situation in the North-West of England cannot be described as purely Hiberno-Norse. In addition to the Gaelic-Norwegian immigrants from the Western Seaboard of Scotland, there is also evidence of a Danish population in this area.⁵³ The presence of Danish settlements, established by landward immigration via the Pennines, may account for the lack of inversion-compounds in areas such as northern Cumberland.⁵⁴ All of this points towards a piecemeal and disparate settlement of different Scandinavian groups rather than a massive single wave of invasion by Norwegian refugees from Dublin.

3. The Linguistic Content of the Inversion-Compounds

Examination of the inversion-compounds reveals that they are not a homogeneous group. The predominant pattern is the generic plus personal name formation, but there are approximately twenty which do not contain a personal name. Additionally, whilst many contain a Scandinavian generic and a Gaelic or Scandinavian specific, others contain Old English, Brythonic, Continental and Middle English elements, in some cases without any Scandinavian or Gaelic elements at all.

Of the inversion-compounds which do not appear to contain a personal name, the largest group are hydronyms. *Bechwythop* in Cumberland (now Wythop Beck) contains as its specific Wythop, from OE *widig* + OE *hop* 'willow valley',⁵⁵ which is a nearby

⁵³ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 411. See also Chapter Five for a discussion of Danish settlement in the North-West of England.

⁵⁴ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 228.

⁵⁵ Armstrong *et al.*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 2, p. 457.

place-name in its own right. Here, the element *bekkr* appears to have been affixed to the existing place-name to form a stream name. Similarly, Beckfarlam, also in Cumberland, contains an Old English place-name, Farlam, from either *fearnlēam* '(at the) fern clearings' or *fearnlēah-hūm* 'homestead by a fern clearing',⁵⁶ to which *bekkr* has been prefixed to form a stream name. *Bocblencarn* contains the British place-name Blencarn 'blaen + carn', as does *Becblenekar*, although it is not clear if this single historical form dating from 1201 is a reference to the same stream as *Bocblencarn* (which is now known as Crowdundale Beck) or to a different stream now known as Blencarn Beck.⁵⁷ In either case, the pattern of these forms is the same as that of *Bechwythop* and Beckfarlam, in that *bekkr* has been prefixed to an existing place-name. Another *bekkr* name which might belong in this category is *Becksenowgate*. Unfortunately, only one historical form of this now lost name exists, dating from 1657.⁵⁸ It appears to be connected to the neighbouring place-name Hallsenna, whose early forms include *Sevenhoues* c.1225 and *Sewenhauis* c.1285 (meaning 'seven hills'), to which Ekwall speculates that *gate* may have been added.⁵⁹ Three further *bekkr* names which may belong in this category are *Becksneuel*, *Beckfellican* and *Becksonen* (all in Cumberland), but the specifics in each case are completely obscure, so it is impossible to be certain.⁶⁰

It is difficult to assess whether *bekkr* names containing place-names as their specific elements were coined concurrently with the generic-and-personal name inversions, or whether they are later imitations of that name-type. It is noteworthy that none of the *bekkr* names listed above has historical forms prior to the thirteenth century.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 83-84.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 395. See also Appendix A, Part Two, for the historical forms of the inversion-compounds.

⁵⁹ Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North West of England*, pp. 15-16.

⁶⁰ The Cumberland survey offers no potential etymologies for these names.

As Old Norse *bekkr* was borrowed into the northern dialect of English during the Middle English period,⁶¹ this raises the possibility that in some instances the process of creating new names by affixing elements to older place-names may post-date the Scandinavian period. However, as the element *bekkr* is consistently prefixed rather than suffixed to existing place-names in the examples discussed above, it seems that any instances of post-Conquest formation are likely to have been created on an established pattern of *bekkr*-and-specific names, suggesting that at least some of the *bekkr* names were coined by Scandinavian-speakers.

It is possible that this pattern was originally established by the small group of *bekkr* names which do contain a personal name as specific, namely *Becmelbrid* and *Beck Mouray* in Westmorland and *Becsnari* and *Becstervild* in Cumberland, as *bekkr* clearly cannot be a later affix in these instances. The editors of the Cumberland survey suggest that the name *bek Troyte* also contains a personal name as its specific element.⁶² They interpret the second element as the British personal name *Troite*, based on the earliest recorded form of the name, *bek Troyte*, from the eleventh century manuscript of Gospatric's Writ.⁶³ However, the subsequent forms of this name appear to contain OE *truht* 'trout' rather than the personal name *Troite*: *Truttebeck*, *Troutbeck*, *Trowtebeke*.⁶⁴ As there are at least five separate 'Troutbeck' names in Cumberland and Westmorland, it is possible that Gospatric's Writ contains an anomalous spelling of OE *truht*. Yet it is of course possible that *bek Troyte* did originally contain the personal name *Troite*, but subsequently became *Troutbeck* by analogy with the other Troutbeck names.

⁶¹ Hoad, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, p. 36.

⁶² Armstrong et al, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 1, p. 31.

⁶³ *Ibid*, vol. 3, p. 508, and pp. xxvii-xxx.

⁶⁴ See Appendix A, Part Two.

The remaining *bekkr* name, Beckermot, is also somewhat difficult. The editors of the Cumberland volumes of the *EPNS* survey propose the etymology '*bekkr* + *hermit*'.⁶⁵ If their identification of the specific element were correct, then it would appear that the name could not have been coined during the early tenth century Scandinavian settlements in the area, as *hermit* was a loan-word from French into Middle English.⁶⁶ Beckermot is first recorded as *Bechermet* c.1130, and as such would be the earliest recorded instance of *hermit* in English, as the *Middle English Dictionary* lists the earliest historical form as *Heremite*, in the Pipe Rolls of 1196.⁶⁷ However, it should be noted that Ekwall had earlier suggested that the name might contain *bekkr* in the genitive plural form of *bekkiar* and OE *mōt* or ON *mætt* 'meeting',⁶⁸ a derivation rejected by the *EPNS* editors as it did not match the accentuation of the sixteenth century spellings *Beck Armet* and *Beckarmett*, which reflect the modern accentuation of the name.⁶⁹ Despite this difficulty, Gelling and Cole have recently concurred with Ekwall's etymology of 'junction of streams', and suggest a doublet in the Yorkshire name Beckermonds.⁷⁰ Interestingly, Fellows-Jensen had some years previously argued that this etymology was unsound, and that Beckermot was not parallel with Beckermonds. She argues that ON *bekkr* occurs in the genitive singular rather than plural form, and suggests that although the name is likely to refer to a meeting of streams, this singular form might suggest that one stream was dominant.⁷¹ Additionally, she argues that the historical forms of the name would not support the

⁶⁵ Armstrong *et al.*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 2, p. 337.

⁶⁶ Hoad, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, p. 215.

⁶⁷ Kuhn and Reidy, *Middle English Dictionary*, vol. 4, G-II, p. 679.

⁶⁸ Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 33. It should be noted however that the expected genitive plural form would be *bekkiu*, and *bekkiar* would instead appear to be a genitive singular form.

⁶⁹ Armstrong *et al.*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 2, p. 338.

⁷⁰ Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 6.

⁷¹ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 103.

interpretation of the second element as *mót*, and suggests as an alternative ON **móti* 'towards, against'.⁷² She explains the accentuation of the second syllable as a sixteenth century development, which occurred because the name was open to reinterpretation and remodelling once its original meaning had become semantically opaque.⁷³ Fellows-Jensen's etymology would mean that the name is entirely Scandinavian in origin, and as such is likely to have been coined in the tenth century, but is not structurally an inversion-compound.

The final group of inversion-compounds which are hydronyms and do not include a personal name are those containing *tiqrn* 'tarn'. *Ternmeran* in Cumberland takes its name from the nearby River Marron, which may derive from Old Welsh (*poll*) *Meriaun* 'Meriaun's stream'.⁷⁴ It is not clear whether *tiqrn* was simply affixed to Marron to form this name in the manner of the *bekkr* names, or whether *tiqrn* replaces an older British prefix meaning 'lake'. The lost field-name *Tarngunnerigg*, also in Cumberland, appears to contain a Scandinavian place-name containing the personal name Gunnar and the element *hryggr*, to which *tiqrn* was affixed to name the lake.⁷⁵ As the name is not recorded until 1725, it is unclear whether the affixation occurred during the Scandinavian period, or after ON *tiqrn* had passed into English as 'tarn'.⁷⁶ As such, it is impossible to judge whether *Tarngunnerigg* was one of the original inversion-compound names, or rather a later imitation of that group.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 1, pp. 21 and 34.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, vol. 2. p. 456.

⁷⁶ Hoad records that tarn is first recorded in English in the fourteenth century (*Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, p. 483).

Tarn Tessick in Westmorland has an obscure specific, although it seems likely that ON *tiorn* or English *tarn* might also have been added to an existing place-name. However, as this field name is not recorded until 1836, the nature of the specific cannot be identified with any degree of certainty. The final *tiorn* name is Tarn Wadling in Cumberland. The editors of the *EPNS* county survey suggest that the specific is a personal name corresponding to Old Welsh *Gwyddelan* 'little Irishman'.⁷⁷ If this etymology is correct, then the name consists of a Brythonic personal name, describing a Goidelic speaker, and a Scandinavian generic. It is possible that *tiorn* replaces an older Brythonic element in what would originally have been a straightforward Brythonic compound name.⁷⁸ However, it is also possible that *tiorn* was affixed to an existing place-name, in the manner of many of the other *tiorn* and *bekkr* names in the North-West. It is difficult to judge from the historical forms whether this might have been a Brythonic name or a Scandinavian name in *vað* 'ford'.⁷⁹

One further place-name connected to a hydronym is Corkickle in Cumberland. The specific is apparently the Scandinavian stream-name *Keekle*, to which Gaelic *corr* 'projection, round hill' has been added.⁸⁰ This name is somewhat unusual, as Gaelic influence in the inversion-compounds tends to be limited to the qualifying elements. In the other instances where the generic may be Gaelic, as in some of the *glen*- and *poll*-names, the qualifying element is also Gaelic, so that these names are purely Celtic constructions. As *corr* seems to represent an affix to the Scandinavian name, it is unclear

⁷⁷ Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 1, p. 204.

⁷⁸ Gover notes the similarity between early forms of this name: *Terwathelan* 1285, *Termwathelan* 1319, and an early form of Trewidland in Cornwall: *Trewythelan* 1298 (which contains British *tref* as a generic), *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 3, p. lxxiv.

⁷⁹ See Appendix A, Part Two, for a list of the earliest forms of the name. For a complete list, see Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 1, p. 204.

⁸⁰ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p.224.

whether Corkickle should be interpreted as a name indicative of Gaelic-Scandinavian language contact, or whether the affixation of *corr* might reflect a later influx of Gaelic-speakers to the region. As mentioned previously in Section 2(b), there are a number of purely Gaelic names located in Cumberland. Examples include Greysouthan, Drumleaning and Ravenglass. The editors of the *EPNS* county survey suggested that these names may have been coined by Gaelic-speakers from southern Scotland who were unconnected to the Scandinavian immigration.⁸¹ Clearly, instances such as Knockupworth, which, as noted above, contains *cnocc* and the Continental personal name Hubert, are likely to have been coined in the post-Conquest period rather than during the period of the Scandinavian settlements. However, the coastal proximity of many of these names might indicate that the names were formed by Gaelic-speakers who had travelled from the Western Seaboard of Scotland with the Scandinavian immigrants. As this process of immigration appears to have produced inversion names with purely Scandinavian elements and inversion names with a mixture of Gaelic and Scandinavian elements, it seems plausible that there may also have been names coined solely using the Gaelic language. It will be argued in Section 4 that many of the Gaelic-speakers who accompanied the Scandinavians to the North-West of England are likely to have shifted to the Scandinavian language. Yet it seems likely that at least some of these Gaelic-speakers did not shift to Old Norse, or that, having become bilingual, they occasionally made use of Gaelic nomenclature when coining new place-names in England.

Of the remaining inversion-compounds which do not contain a personal name, Glencoyne and Glentreske in Westmorland appear to be entirely Celtic constructions. As mentioned in Section 2(b), names in *glen-* are likely to be Celtic in origin. Glencoyne

⁸¹ See Section 2(b) and Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 3, pp. xxiv-xxv.

appears to contain Brythonic *glennos* rather than Gaelic *glenn*,⁸² and the specific element seems likely to be Brythonic. As such the name is unlikely to be connected to the Scandinavian settlements in the area. Glentreske may be Goidelic rather than Brythonic, and could potentially have been coined by Gaelic speakers who had accompanied the Scandinavian immigrants, although as both elements would be Goidelic rather than Scandinavian it would not technically be an inversion-compound, but rather an ordinary Celtic compound. Alternatively, as with Corkickle, the name may have been coined by Goidelic speakers who were unconnected to the Scandinavian settlements.

The rest of the inversion-compounds appear to contain topographical specifics, with the exception of the Westmorland names Rigmaden and *Dob Friear*. Rigmaden contains OE *mægden* ‘maiden’, which is a somewhat problematic element, whose full range of meanings may not yet be understood.⁸³ *Dob Friear* is explained as containing ME **dodde* ‘rounded hill-top’ and ME *frere* ‘friar’, with the proposed etymology ‘a hill-top resembling a friar’s hood’.⁸⁴ If this etymology is correct, it is possible that this was originally a simplex name to which *frere* was later added, and as such was not coined as an inversion-compound. Alternatively, if the name was indeed coined as a compound formation, the Middle English origin of both elements suggests that this name may have been created as a later imitation of the inversion-compound name-type. The Cumberland names Seatoller and *Seteknoc* both contain the ON generic *sætr* ‘shieling’, and the specific of Seatoller may be the topographical element OE *alor* ‘alder-tree’,⁸⁵ although Whaley suggests that the personal name ON Halldor should also be considered as a

⁸² See Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, vol. 2, p. 222, and footnote 40 above.

⁸³ See Hough, ‘Place-Name Evidence Relating to the Interpretation of Old English Legal Terminology’, esp. pp. 22-24.

⁸⁴ Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, vol. 1, p. 125.

⁸⁵ Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 2, p. 351.

potential specific.⁸⁶ In this case, the name would belong to the ‘generic + personal name’ category, but since the earliest historical form dates from 1563, definite identification of the specific is not possible. The specific of *Seteknoc* is perhaps Gaelic *cnocc*,⁸⁷ which would give the meaning ‘shieling on a hill’. Yet it is noteworthy that the other surviving historical form of this name (dated twenty years after *Seteknoc*) is *Setikonoc* c.1260.⁸⁸ This later spelling seems to indicate a disyllabic specific, which therefore may not be *cnocc*. However, the earliest historical form of the Westmorland name Knock (simplex *cnocc*) is *Chonoc-salchild* 1150-62. As such, *cnocc* cannot be ruled out as a potential specific in *Seteknoc*, although it would apparently be quite unusual to find *cnocc* used as a specific rather than a generic, and it is possible that this element may instead be a personal name. One possible candidate is the common Gaelic personal name Conn with an –og/-oc diminutive suffix. Alternatively, the name Conmacc or Conmhac may perhaps be considered, since it was anglicised as *Canoc*.⁸⁹

The field-name *Bryggrys* has been identified by the Westmorland Place-Name Survey as containing OE *brycg* ‘bridge’ and OE *hrīs* ‘brushwood’,⁹⁰ which would seem to be a purely Old English inversion-compound. However, Fellows-Jensen has argued that in the settlement-name Brigsteer (which, like *Bryggrys*, is in Kendal Ward) the first element is in fact ON *bryggja* rather than *brycg*,⁹¹ which had been the generic originally

⁸⁶ Whaley, ‘Anglo-Scandinavian Problems in Cumbria, with Particular Reference to the Derwentwater Area’, p. 102.

⁸⁷ Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 2, p. 397.

⁸⁸ See Appendix A, Part Two.

⁸⁹ O Corrain and Maguire, *Gaelic Personal Names*, p. 58.

⁹⁰ Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, vol. 1, p. 192.

⁹¹ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 219. It should be noted, however, that Whaley has argued that it may be impossible to determine whether the element is Old English, Old Norse, or indeed a blending of both, ‘Anglo-Scandinavian Problems in Cumbria, with Particular Reference to the Derwentwater Area’, pp. 94-95.

suggested by the editors of the Westmorland survey.⁹² Thus, it is possible that *Bryggrys* could also contain ON *bryggja* rather than OE *brycg*. The two historical forms of *Bryggrys* are comparatively late: *Bryggrys* 1452 and *Briggres* 1530, but the forms of the generic are not dissimilar to the earlier Brigsteer forms: *Brig(ge)stere*, *Brigestere*, *Bryg(ge)stere* 1227-37.⁹³ Since OE *hrīs* had a cognate form in ON *hrís*, it is possible that this could be an entirely Scandinavian construction.

The remaining four inversion-compounds whose specific is not a personal name are somewhat problematic. Laithgryme and Leagram, both in Lancashire, may not be inversion-compounds at all. Fellows-Jensen identifies Leagram as the straightforward topographical compound *leið-gríma*,⁹⁴ rather than an inversion-compound of ON *hlaða* ‘barn’ and ON personal name *Grímr*. The historical forms of Leagram are *Lathegrim* 1282, *Laythgryme* 1348-9 and *Laithgram* 1362.⁹⁵ Given their similarity to the one surviving historical form of Laithgryme, *Laithgryme* 1230-46, it seems likely that these two names are in fact formed from the same topographical compound, and neither is an inversion-compound.

Similarly problematic is Glaramara, which was *Hovedgleuermerhe* 1209-10, and *Gleuermerghe* in 1211.⁹⁶ The editors of the Cumberland survey identify the *glaramara* section of the name as (*æt*) *Gliufrum* ‘at the ravines’, to which *erg* ‘shieling’ was subsequently added, with *hofuð* ‘head’ affixed to the name to refer specifically to the mountain itself.⁹⁷ Whaley has expressed reservations with this etymology, stating that

⁹² Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, vol. 1, p. 109.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 143.

⁹⁵ Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North West of England*, p. 45.

⁹⁶ Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 2, p. 350.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

dative plural formations ending in *-um* rarely take on a second element, and that names in *erg* are usually located on lower, more fertile ground.⁹⁸ She notes that Collingwood had suggested ON *glæfra-merki* ‘the boundary-mark of the chasms’ as a potential etymology of the name.⁹⁹ Yet, in either case, it appears that *hofuð* should not be considered an intrinsic part of the name, but rather a temporary distinguishing affix. As such, the name is not a genuine inversion-compound. This may also be the case with nearby High Scawdel, which was *Hovedscaldale* c.1210-12. Again, the element *hofuð* appears to have been added to an existing place-name with Germanic word-order, comprising ON *skalli* ‘bald head’, used as a nickname, and ON *dalr* ‘valley’.¹⁰⁰

The second group of names whose etymologies are somewhat problematic are those which do not contain Scandinavian elements. In many cases these names are not true inversion-compounds, but may have had Celtic origins, or else were coined during the Middle English period once the name-type had become established in the North-West.¹⁰¹ Instances of purely Celtic names include the five Westmorland *glenn* names discussed above. Similarly, Pool Darkin and Powdonnet in Westmorland could be entirely Celtic constructions, both containing Gaelic *poll* ‘hole, pond’ and a personal name.¹⁰² As these names appear to be Goidelic rather than Brythonic, it is possible they were coined by Gaelic-speakers who had accompanied the Scandinavian immigrants and who had retained their own language rather than shifting to Scandinavian. Alternatively, since Gaelic *poll* has a very similar sense to ON *pollr* ‘a small cove or tarn’, it is possible

⁹⁸ Whaley, ‘Anglo-Scandinavian Problems in Cumbria, with Particular Reference to the Derwentwater Area’, p. 102.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 2, p. 351. In a personal communication, Whaley has suggested that ON *skáli* should also be considered as a potential specific.

¹⁰¹ See Map 3 for the distribution of inversion names which are likely to post-date the Norman Conquest in comparison with those from the pre-Conquest period.

¹⁰² Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, vol. 1, p. 72, and vol. 2, p. 143.

that these names reflect a mixture of Gaelic and Scandinavian influence created by a Gaelic-Scandinavian bilingual speech community.¹⁰³ In this context, it is noteworthy that the other Westmorland *poll-* name, Powbrand (Sike), apparently contains the Scandinavian personal name *Brandr*,¹⁰⁴ which would also suggest a mixture of Gaelic and Scandinavian influences. There are also five Cumberland names which appear to have *poll-* as a generic: Poltross Burn, *Polneuton*, Powmaugham Beck, Wampool (which was *Poll Waðæn* in the eleventh century), and *Polgaver*. The editors of the Cumberland *EPNS* volumes provide Celtic etymologies for these names, and as such do not include them on their list of inversion-compound names.¹⁰⁵ However, MacQueen has suggested that these names may instead contain Scandinavian *pollr*, and as such would be inversion-compounds.¹⁰⁶ In the case of Poltross, *Polgaver* and Powmaugham, which appear to have Brythonic specific elements, a Scandinavian etymology seems unlikely, and the generic in these names is probably Brythonic *pwll*.¹⁰⁷ In the case of *Polneuton* and *Poll Waðæn*, the *EPNS* editors suggest that the generic is Goidelic *poll*,¹⁰⁸ although as neither specific element is Goidelic this identification is somewhat tenuous. Yet the specifics do not appear to be Scandinavian either, which means that there is little evidence to support MacQueen's hypothesis. The specific of *Polneuton* has been explained as the English village name *Newton*,¹⁰⁹ which means that *poll-* is a later affix to the name, formed in the same manner as many of the *bekkr-* and *tiqrn-* names. The

¹⁰³ See Section 4(b) for a discussion of the effects of bilingualism on the creation of the inversion-compounds.

¹⁰⁴ Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, vol. 2, p. 78.

¹⁰⁵ Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 3, pp. xxiii-xxv.

¹⁰⁶ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', pp. 140-141.

¹⁰⁷ In the case of Poltross, Whaley has suggested that the second element may be Cumbric *trus* 'door, gap' rather than ON *tros* 'waste, brushwood', which would make this name entirely Celtic in origin. See 'Trusmadoor and Other Cumbrian "Pass" Words', p. 84.

¹⁰⁸ Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 1, pp. 5 and 30.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p. 5.

specific of *Poll Waðæn* is obscure, although Ekwall suggests that this may also be a place-name.¹¹⁰ In this case, *poll-* would also constitute an affix. As discussed above, inversion-compounds coined by affixation are structurally different from those coined in the 'generic + personal name' pattern, and may not have been coined by the Gaelic-Scandinavian speech community. Additionally, even if the names do have a Gaelic-Scandinavian context, the similarity between Gaelic *poll* and Scandinavian *pollr* means that it is impossible to identify the language of the *poll-* affixes in these names with any degree of certainty.

Another group of inversion-compounds which display little Scandinavian influence are the names containing OE *croft* 'enclosure, small enclosed field'. Clearly, these cannot be explained as purely Celtic formations, but of the seven instances in Cumberland and Westmorland, only *Croftgrime* and *Croftsnegrim* seem to have a Scandinavian specific (the personal names *Grímr* and **Snægrímr* respectively). The lost name *Croftbathoc* appears to contain a Gaelic personal name,¹¹¹ and the others, in cases where the specific is identifiable, contain Continental personal names and surnames. Unlike *Croftbathoc*, *Croftgrime* and *Croftsnegrim*, these *croft* names are not recorded prior to 1300, and may have been coined by analogy with the 'croft + personal name' type established by the earlier instances. It would appear that Scandinavian speakers must have borrowed OE *croft* upon their arrival in the North-West, although the later names may be essentially English constructions, following the pattern of existing Gaelic-Scandinavian names.

¹¹⁰ Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North West of England*, p. 31.

¹¹¹ Armstrong *et al.*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 2, p. 444.

There are a number of other inversion-compounds containing an Old or Middle English generic in the North-West of England, such as *Aspatria*, *Hobcarton*, *Merksenen* and *Rigrinmelsuthen*, but as these contain Gaelic personal-names as specifics, they can be attributed to Gaelic influence. Only *Casteladolfbek* appears to be a purely Old English construction ‘*castel* + *Eadwulf*’. It is possible that, in some instances, the incoming Gaelic-Scandinavian settlers adapted existing English names.

There is a further group of inversion-compounds which contain Middle English generics, and Continental or Middle English personal-names and surnames, and show no trace of either Scandinavian or Gaelic influence. Examples include *Scam Matthew*, *Snabmurris*, *Crag Mollet*, *Howe Renwick*, *Stone Arthur* and *Seatallan*, and it would appear that these names were coined in the pattern of earlier inversion-compounds from the Scandinavian period. None of these names are recorded before the fourteenth century, and most are not recorded until between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, so that it would appear that the name-type persisted in the North-West of England for a considerable period of time. It is possible that the introduction of Norman French to the region following the Norman Conquest may have helped to reinforce this onomastic pattern.

However, it is not necessarily the case that all inversion-compounds containing Middle English and Continental personal-names and surnames must be later constructions. Place-names which involve personal names as a specific are susceptible to alteration when the ownership of the property is altered. Fellows-Jensen has pointed out that there are twenty-eight *bý* names in this area which contain as a specific a personal-name that was introduced by the Normans, and she argues that these must be partial

replacements of older, probably Scandinavian, specifics, since it is unlikely that Normans would coin so many place-names containing Scandinavian *bý*.¹¹² Similarly, where inversion-compounds contain an Old English or Old Norse generic, such as Croft Aiken, Holehird, Sykewillans, *Rongainer*, *Burntippet* and *Styalein*, the possibility exists that in some cases the Middle English and Continental names have replaced earlier Scandinavian, Celtic and Old English personal-names.

In conclusion, it is clear that the inversion-compounds fall into several distinct categories. There are names formed by the affixation of a hydronymic element to an existing place-name, purely Celtic names, late analogical coinages and names which have potentially undergone alteration. This leaves a core group of inversion-compounds which generally contain a Scandinavian generic, and a personal name as specific. Approximately thirty-five of these contain personal names of Scandinavian origin, including Cross Dormant, *Raiseherling*, *Scarthulfe*, *Aynthorfin* and *Briggethorfin*; and approximately thirty contain personal names of Gaelic origin, including *Gilgarran*, *Fitbrandan*, *Setmabanning*, *Watchcomon* and *Wath Sutton*. These names are likely to be the result of language contact between Gaelic and Scandinavian speakers, and the precise linguistic origin of this name-type will be discussed in Section Four.

4. Language Contact and the Causation of the Inversion-Compounds

4(a) Theories of Language Contact

The study of contact-induced language change has developed over many years. Much of the early work, however, focused on purely intralinguistic factors. Weinreich

¹¹² Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 414. See Chapter Five for a discussion of names containing the element *bý*.

was an early exponent of the importance of the social factors involved in what he termed language 'interference'.¹¹³ He argued that 'the diffusion, persistence, and evanescence of a particular interference phenomenon, is possible only if the extra-linguistic factors are considered.'¹¹⁴ He outlined the most important of these factors in assessing how one language may affect another. These include 'the relative proficiency in each language', 'the manner of learning', 'the attitudes towards each language', 'attitudes towards the culture of each language' and 'the relation between the bilingual group and each of the two language communities of which it is a marginal segment'.¹¹⁵ Weinreich also proposed a scale of the morphemic classes of linguistic borrowing, in which he determined that 'independent adverbs and completely unintegrated interjections' are the most likely to be transferred from one language to another.¹¹⁶ These are followed by 'nouns, verbs and adjectives', then 'such "grammatical words" as prepositions, articles, or auxiliary verbs' with 'the most structurally and syntagmatically integrated inflectional ending' being deemed least likely to be transferred.¹¹⁷

Much of Weinreich's theory forms the core of subsequent models of language contact. Vildomec echoes Weinreich in stating that 'vocabulary loans are easiest because of the unsystematic nature of vocabulary'.¹¹⁸ However, Vildomec identifies two distinct types of borrowing which occur between bilingual groups: lexical borrowing and substratum influence. He argues that in the case of substratum influence, phonetics and syntax are more likely to be transferred than vocabulary items.¹¹⁹

¹¹³ Weinreich, *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 3.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 3-4.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 35.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*.

¹¹⁸ Vildomec, *Multilingualism*, p. 102.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 96-97.

Samuels reiterates Weinreich's theory that different types of social contact will produce different types of linguistic change. He proposes two main types of language contact, 'the stable and continuous contact between neighbouring systems' and 'sudden contact, resulting from invasion, migration or other population shift, of systems not normally in contact hitherto'.¹²⁰ Samuels also builds on Weinreich's concept of the importance of bilingualism in language change, arguing that strong bilingualism can lead to 'interference' in one language from another, whereas weak bilingualism will lead instead to the development of pidgins, and in some cases, creoles.¹²¹

Winter also subscribes to a scale of language borrowing in which 'the paradigmatic part of morphology' is the least likely to be transferred from one language to another, whilst 'lexical transfer is by far the most common type of linguistic transfer'.¹²² Like Vildomec, however, he distinguishes between the borrowing of loan-words and influence from substratum transfer, and notes that these differing types of transfer will give rise to differing results.¹²³ Winter also emphasizes the importance of social factors in linguistic borrowing, arguing that 'the adopter must be in a position to derive some gain from the transfer'.¹²⁴ Additionally, like Samuels, he focuses on prestige as an important factor in borrowing.

These models of language contact form the basis of more recent studies of linguistic borrowing, such as Thomason and Kaufman¹²⁵ and Odlin.¹²⁶ Thomason and Kaufman give particular emphasis to the distinction between the influence a second

¹²⁰ Samuels, *Linguistic Evolution: With Special Reference to English*, p. 92.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, p. 93.

¹²² Winter, 'Areal Linguistics: Some General Considerations', p. 144.

¹²³ *Ibid*, pp. 144-145.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 138.

¹²⁵ Thomason and Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*.

¹²⁶ Odlin, *Language Transfer: Cross-Linguistic Influence in Language Learning*.

language may have on a native language (i.e. lexical borrowing) and the influence that a native language may have on an acquired second language (i.e. substratum transfer).¹²⁷ Their model of linguistic borrowing has its origins in that of Weinreich, as they argue that ‘the first foreign elements to enter the borrowing language are words’ and ‘[i]f there is strong long-term cultural pressure from source-language speakers on the borrowing-language speaker group, then structural features may be borrowed as well – phonological, phonetic, and syntactic elements...’¹²⁸ However, in concurrence with Vildomec and Winter, they advocate that this model is only applicable in cases of *lexical* transfer, whereas in substratum transfer, interference ‘does not begin with vocabulary: it begins instead with sounds and syntax, and sometimes includes morphology as well before words from the shifting group’s original language appear in the T[arget] L[anguage]’.¹²⁹

This distinction between lexical transfer and substratum transfer is mirrored in Odlin (1989).¹³⁰ Odlin also emphasizes the importance of extralinguistic influence in the causation of linguistic borrowing, noting that the ‘group exerting the influence is often, though not always, a speech community with larger numbers, greater prestige, and more political power.’¹³¹ Both Odlin and Thomason and Kaufman agree that the ‘social prestige’ factor applies only to lexical transfer, since in cases of substratum transfer ‘the interference features are sure to be nonprestigious, if not definitely stigmatised.’¹³²

Another factor emphasized by Thomason and Kaufman is the significance of the intensity of contact in determining the outcome of linguistic contact. Like Weinreich and

¹²⁷ Thomason and Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*, pp. 37-44.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 37.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 39.

¹³⁰ Odlin, *Language Transfer: Cross-Linguistic Influence in Language Learning*, pp. 12-13.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, p. 13.

¹³² Thomason and Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*, p. 44.

Samuels, they highlight the importance of the degree of bilingualism in situations of language transfer. In their model for contact-induced language change, they stress that a low degree of bilingualism will lead only to limited vocabulary transfer in the case of lexical borrowing, and an imperfect grasp of the language (and thus the increased likelihood of substratum influence) in the case of language shift.¹³³ Additionally, limited bilingualism may lead to pidginization, since a pidgin language usually develops due to a lack of mutual understanding.¹³⁴ Where there is a high degree of bilingualism, however, there is both vocabulary and structural transfer in the case of lexical borrowing,¹³⁵ and in language shift situations the substratum influence will be less marked, and less likely to spread from those learning a target language to its existing speakers.¹³⁶

4(b) The Creation of the Inversion-Compounds

It is generally accepted that the inversion-compounds are the result 'of linguistic contact between Scandinavian and Gaelic speaking people'.¹³⁷ However, the exact nature and extent of this contact remains unclear. As mentioned in Section 2(a), Ekwall suggested that these names were coined by Scandinavian speakers who had adopted Celtic word-order.¹³⁸ Yet the various versions of the scale of lexical borrowing set out by Weinreich, Thomason and Kaufman, and Odlin, amongst others, all agree that structural borrowing is normally preceded by an extensive period of vocabulary borrowing. Given that Gaelic loan-words into Scandinavian are not particularly numerous, especially in

¹³³ *Ibid*, p. 50.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 193.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 50.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 47.

¹³⁷ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 143.

¹³⁸ Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, pp. 51-55.

comparison with Scandinavian loans into Gaelic,¹³⁹ it seems unlikely that the Gaelic speakers could have exerted sufficient linguistic pressure on the Scandinavian language to bring about structural changes such as the alteration of word-order. It is pertinent that place-name structure may not be indicative of language-structure as a whole. The possibility exists that Scandinavian speakers adopted Gaelic word-order for onomastic purposes, whilst retaining Germanic word-order in lexical matters. Yet even this would seem incongruous from a language contact perspective. It is unlikely that a dominant Scandinavian group would choose to utilize the naming-pattern of what appears to have been a minority, low-status group, when they saw fit to borrow so little lexical material.

Therefore it is necessary to look for alternative ways in which language contact between Scandinavian speakers and Gaelic speakers could have given rise to the inversion-compounds. One solution may be that some sort of language mixing occurred. Sommerfelt suggested that during the initial period of contact 'there must have existed a certain kind of pidgin in use between Norsemen and Celts.'¹⁴⁰ From this, it is theoretically possible that this pidgin language could then have developed into a creole, which included a largely Scandinavian lexis but some features of Celtic syntax. However, if a Gaelic-Scandinavian creole is the cause of the inversion-compounds, it might be expected that some evidence of this creole would survive in other place-names, both in the western seaboard of Scotland and the settlements in the North-West of England. Yet, aside from the inversion-compounds, the Scandinavian names in England appear uncorrupted by any Goidelic features, other than attested loanwords such as *cérgi*

¹³⁹ For example, in his survey of the West of Lewis, Cox found approximately 90 loans from Norse into Gaelic, but only around 6 Gaelic loans into Norse. See Cox, 'Norse-Gaelic Contact in the West of Lewis: The Place-Name Evidence', pp. 485-486.

¹⁴⁰ Sommerfelt, 'The Norse Influence on Irish and Scottish Gaelic', p. 74.

and *kross*. Additionally, the inversion-compounds themselves are vastly outnumbered by ordinary Scandinavian compounds with the expected Germanic word-order. Thus, if a creole language of this type did exist, even temporarily, it could only have been utilised in England by a relatively small group of people, who would have been greatly outnumbered by speakers of Old Norse.

Similarly, both the volume of purely Scandinavian place-names found in the western seaboard of Scotland, and the emergence of a relatively uncorrupted Gaelic language after the collapse of Scandinavian power, suggest that these languages remained linguistically distinct, rather than being merged into a widely-used creole language. As in England, any creole that did develop, even temporarily, would therefore have remained a minority language alongside both Scandinavian and Gaelic, which would apparently defeat the purpose of its development.

A second possibility might be that the names do not reflect Celtic influence at all, but instead are examples of the survival of the original Proto-Scandinavian word-order of 'noun + qualifier'. Cox lists a small group of Scandinavian place-names from the West of Lewis in which the generic precedes the specific, which he argues are likely to have been coined using Proto-Scandinavian word-order during the earliest phase of Scandinavian settlement.¹⁴¹ Similarly, Sandnes has argued that Scandinavian place-names in Orkney with the 'noun + qualifier' structure are likely to contain Proto-Scandinavian word-order, as there was little likelihood of Goidelic influence during the

¹⁴¹ Cox, 'Norse-Gaelic Contact in the West of Lewis: The Place-Name Evidence', p. 489. The names in question are *Amar Sine* (ON *Hamar Syna*), *Beirghe Làgha* (ON *Bergit Lága*), *Steinn Langa* (ON *Steinnin Langa*), *Lidh Langa* (ON *Hlíðin Langa*) and *Muile Mucal* (ON *Múlinn Mykli*).

Scandinavian period.¹⁴² However, although it is plausible that the ‘noun + qualifier’ names in Orkney and the Northern Hebrides could contain archaic Scandinavian word-order, ‘noun + qualifier’ names of the North-West of England appear to have been coined in a different context. Firstly, the earliest of the English names date to the first half of the tenth century, which is considerably later than the settlement of the Northern and Western Isles. Although the Proto-Scandinavian word-order might still have been viable by the tenth century, it seems incongruous that Scandinavian immigrants to England would make such widespread use of the post-positional structure when instances in the Western Isles of Scotland are so limited. Additionally, unlike the situation in Orkney and the Northern Hebrides, there is clear evidence of Goidelic influence in the English inversion names. It is noteworthy that there are around thirty Gaelic personal-names used as specifics, compared with around thirty-five Scandinavian personal-names. This percentage is arguably too high to be accounted for as the incidental adoption of Gaelic names by the Scandinavian colonists in the Western Isles. Thus it would appear that the English ‘noun + qualifier’ names are likely to be a result of Celtic influence, rather than the survival of the archaic Proto-Scandinavian syntax, although it is of course possible that Scandinavian acquaintance with the post-positional structure may have lent the Celtic-influenced inversion-compounds an air of credibility which may have contributed to their ultimate survival.

I would like to suggest an alternative explanation for the causation of the inversion-compounds. Given that they appear to display syntactic interference despite the lack of lexical interference, it is possible that they are the result of substratum

¹⁴² Sandnes, ‘What is Norse, what is Scots? A re-evaluation of Orkney Place-Names’, unpublished conference paper, SPNS, SNSBI and NORNA Joint Conference, Lerwick, 4-8th April, 2003.

transfer. In this case, the inversion-compounds may have been coined by Gaelic speakers who had learned Old Norse and were using it deliberately to coin place-names. It remains to ask why Gaelic speakers might choose to coin place-names in Scandinavian rather than in their own native tongue. A partial answer is suggested by Cox, who points out that the Norse communities would have 'held greater political status'¹⁴³ than that of the Gaelic speakers. Given this situation, he argues for 'a tendency to speak the language of the dominant group in order to communicate with it, and this implies a certain amount of bilingualism.'¹⁴⁴ The notion that any period of pidginization was superseded by bilingualism rather than creolization was suggested by Sommerfelt, who advocated a period of language contact whereby 'people...must have spoken the two languages fluently though they must have carried idioms and constructions over from the one to the other as bilingual people do.'¹⁴⁵ Under these circumstances, it seems likely that native Gaelic speakers would have become bilingual in order to communicate with the Scandinavian speakers. They may then have used the more dominant and prestigious Scandinavian language in situations which involved the community rather than just the family unit such as in the designation of place-names. Yet this form of Scandinavian may well have contained a Gaelic substrate element, affecting aspects such as word-order.

A parallel instance of contact between a Germanic language and a Celtic language is found in Hiberno-English. Recent research has shown that native Irish speakers who have become bilingual often retain Gaelic syntax when speaking English.¹⁴⁶ This

¹⁴³ Cox, 'Norse-Gaelic Contact in the West of Lewis: The Place-Name Evidence', p. 486.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Sommerfelt, 'The Norse Influence on Irish and Scottish Gaelic', p. 74.

¹⁴⁶ Stenson, 'Code-switching vs. Borrowing in Modern Irish', p. 571.

includes the use of the noun before a modifier, such as ‘roof galvanised’¹⁴⁷ instead of the modifier-and-noun pattern normally found in Germanic languages (i.e. galvanised roof). A further instance of Germanic and Celtic contact is found during the Anglo-Saxon colonisation of England. Vennemann argues that

the subdued native Britons, by trying to learn Anglo-Saxon developed spoken varieties of this language that were structurally tinged by the first languages of these natives; they were varieties of Anglo-Saxon marked by a ‘British accent’, namely a Brittonic accent.¹⁴⁸

He notes that ‘[t]his “accent” was structural but not to any great extent lexical’, as the Anglo-Saxons would have had little motivation to adopt vocabulary from the conquered population.¹⁴⁹ Similarly, Poussa has argued that a small number of English dialectal features could be the result of a Brythonic substratum.¹⁵⁰

It is thus possible to suggest that the inversion-compounds in the North-West of England were coined by a minority group of Gaelic speaking bilinguals who travelled with the Scandinavian speaking emigrants from the western seaboard of Scotland. It seems likely that they would have continued to speak Scandinavian, which would have been the primary language in the area, given the predominance of Norwegian and Danish settlers. Yet this form of Scandinavian would essentially have constituted a non-standard dialect, which retained some features of the Gaelic language. Also, it would have been in much more limited use than a creole, and may well have been non-prestigious.

In this context, it is interesting that almost half of the core group of English

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ Vennemann, ‘On the Rise of “Celtic” Syntax in Middle English’, pp. 219-220.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

¹⁵⁰ For example the relativizers ‘what’ and ‘as’. See Poussa, ‘Origins of the Non-Standard Relativizers *What* and *As* in English’, p. 305.

inversion-compounds contain Gaelic personal-names. This is a high proportion, and it may be significant that many of the names of Gaelic origin include Gaelic diminutive forms, such as *Corcan*, *Camban*, **Dercan*, *Beghoc*, *Macog*, **Lennoc* found in the names Mockerin, Gillcambon, Pool Darkin, *Kirkebibeccoch*, *Skalmallok* and *Staynlenoc* respectively. This would apparently suggest that the diminutives were added by Gaelic speakers. Another construction which might indicate the influence of Gaelic speakers is the name Setmabanning in Cumberland, which appears to contain the Gaelic endearing prefix *Ma*, *Mo-* (my).¹⁵¹ In the case of the diminutive formations, it is of course possible that Scandinavian speakers could have borrowed the names from Gaelic speakers with the diminutive suffixes in place, and continued to use them in this form. Yet if the Scandinavians were the dominant people, it seems rather incongruous that they would choose to adopt such a large number of personal names from a minority group. In post-Conquest England, where French was the prestige language, Cecily Clark notes that ‘almost all the distinctly insular names became rapidly discarded, by peasants almost as fast as by burgesses, in favour of those current among the Norman settlers.’¹⁵²

It is perhaps more likely that the mixture of Scandinavian and Gaelic personal names found in the inversion-compounds represent the coinages of Gaelic bilinguals in a period of transition, in which some ‘prestigious’ Scandinavian names had been adopted, but in which a degree of the Celtic culture and nomenclature still survived.

¹⁵¹ Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 2, p. 314.

¹⁵² Clark, ‘Women’s Names in Post-Conquest England: Observations and Speculations’, p. 127.

4(c) Conclusion

It has previously been considered unlikely that Gaelic speakers were involved in the coining of the inversion-compounds. This was due to the lack of Gaelic generics and the occurrence of around forty different Scandinavian generics, which seemed rather many to be loanwords. However, a minority group of Gaelic speakers who used Old Norse tinged with Gaelic word-order, personal names and diminutive name-suffixes to coin place-names would account for both these factors. It may also be significant that the English inversion-compounds tend to be minor names, the majority of which are topographical. This pattern seems to correspond with the notion of a small, lower-status group which was not involved in the naming of important settlements.¹⁵³

If substratum transfer was the cause of the English inversion-compounds, then, in a sense, they would still have been coined by ‘Gaelic-influenced Scandinavian speakers’ as previously believed. Yet, rather than having been created by native Scandinavian speakers who borrowed Celtic word-order, they would instead be the product of native Gaelic speakers utilizing the culturally-dominant Scandinavian language into which they transferred some features of their native speech.

5. Inversion-Compounds in Southern Scotland and the Isle of Man

Place-names coined in the inverted manner are mostly restricted to the North-West of England. However, there are potential instances which are found outside this region. The most notable of these are the *kirk-* compounds, which occur in Dumfriesshire, Galloway and Ayrshire as well as in Cumberland. These names will be

¹⁵³ Cf. Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North West of England*, p. 55.

the focus of Chapter Four. Yet there are also a small number of possible inversion-compounds in Southern Scotland and the Isle of Man which do not contain *kirk-* as a generic. It remains unclear if these names were coined in the same manner as the inversion-compounds in Northern England.

In the case of potential Scottish instances, there are several factors which must be considered. Firstly, it is significant that the scale of Scandinavian immigration into Southern Scotland was much more limited than that of Northern England, with settlement being restricted to coastal parts of Dumfriesshire and Galloway, and scattered farmsteads in Ayrshire, Fife and the Lothians.¹⁵⁴ As the small number of Scandinavian place-names found in these regions display little or no Gaelic influence,¹⁵⁵ it would appear that the potential for a Gaelic substrate element amongst incoming Scandinavians is limited. Secondly, it should be noted that the population of Southern Scotland were predominantly Gaelic-speaking throughout the period of Scandinavian settlement. This makes it difficult to determine whether place-names displaying Celtic word-order and both Scandinavian and Gaelic elements were coined by a Gaelic substrate element who had settled in the area as part of the Scandinavian colonisation process, or by indigenous Gaelic-speakers who were influenced by the incoming Scandinavians. The problem is heightened by the fact that, at least in the South West of Scotland, Gaelic remained the principal language spoken until the seventeenth century.¹⁵⁶ As a result of this, place-names originally coined in the Scandinavian language were more susceptible to a process of overall Gaelicization than their counterparts in North-West England. The very different linguistic situation in Scotland compared with the North-West of England

¹⁵⁴ See Chapter Five: The *By* Names.

¹⁵⁵ See Chapter Four, Sections 5(b) and 5(c) for a discussion of this issue.

¹⁵⁶ MacQueen, 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', p. 17.

means that identifying inversion-compound names which might have been coined by a Gaelic substrate element amongst the Scandinavian settlers is extremely difficult, and alternative explanations for these names are often to be preferred.

For example, Nicolaisen has argued that names such as Torthorwald in Dumfries (G. *torr* 'a hill'+ ON pers. n. *Þorvaldr*) was coined by Gaelic-speakers 'describing the property of a Scandinavian neighbour'.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, *Auchtiegamel* and Kirkettle in Midlothian also contain a Gaelic generic followed by a Scandinavian personal name. Nicolaisen records that *Auchtiegamel* contains Gaelic *ochtamh* 'an eighth part' and the personal name *Gamall*, and Kirkettle contains Gaelic *carn* 'cairn' and the personal name *Ketill*.¹⁵⁸ He suggests that these names are also essentially Gaelic constructions, indicative only of the presence of people with Scandinavian names.¹⁵⁹

Two further instances which may belong in this category are Crossraguel (Ayrshire) and Corstorphine (Midlothian). However, the process of interpreting these names is complicated by the fact that the Gaelic element *crois* was borrowed by Scandinavians as *kross*.¹⁶⁰ This is attested by the presence in North-West England of inversion-compounds such as *Crosscrake* in Westmorland and *Croscrin* in Cumberland,¹⁶¹ and by the *Crosby* names found in North West England, which take the form *Corsby* (showing the same metathesis as Corstorphine) in Wigtownshire, Ayrshire and Berwickshire.¹⁶² As such, it appears that the names might have been coined by Gaelic bilinguals utilising the Scandinavian language to form inversion-compounds. Yet,

¹⁵⁷ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 143.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 150.

¹⁵⁹ See Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', pp. 46-48 for a discussion of the Gaelicisation of Scandinavian personal names in the Central Lowlands.

¹⁶⁰ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 117.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*. See also Appendix A, Part One.

¹⁶² Nicolaisen, 'Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland', p. 57. See also Chapter Five: The Bý Names.

close examination of these names suggests a purely Gaelic context. In the case of Crossraguel, Watson suggests that the name contains a dedication to the Celtic ecclesiastical figure Riagal of Mucinis, and as such is likely to be a straightforward Gaelic construction with the meaning 'Riagal's Cross'.¹⁶³ In the case of Corstorphine, Harris argues that the name 'relates to the water barrier which until modern times was the dominant feature of Corstorphine Hill'.¹⁶⁴ It is noteworthy that Scandinavian *kross* appears to have been borrowed primarily in the sense of 'cross as a religious symbol',¹⁶⁵ and does not seem to have been used in the sense of 'a crossing'. Given this, it is likely that although this name contains the Scandinavian personal name *Thorfinnr*, it should be interpreted as a purely Gaelic construction.

Other names which early scholars identified as inversion-compounds may also have Gaelic or Scots origins. Collingwood gave the etymology of the Kirkcudbrightshire name Bargaly as *Borg Amhalghaidh*.¹⁶⁶ This is also the etymology given by Maxwell, who notes that *Amhalghadh* 'is the cumbrous Celtic rendering of the name succinctly written *Olaf* in Norse'.¹⁶⁷ This would apparently give an inversion name with ON *borg* 'a stronghold' and either the Scandinavian personal name *Olaf*, or its Gaelicised equivalent. However, there are difficulties with this interpretation of the name. Maxwell also identified the personal name *Amhalghadh* as being the specific element of two other Galloway names, Macherally and Terally.¹⁶⁸ Yet MacQueen has recently argued that both these names contain instead Gaelic *abhlaich* 'stream-place'.¹⁶⁹ This casts doubt on

¹⁶³ Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names in Scotland*, pp. 190 and 516.

¹⁶⁴ Harris, *The Place-Names of Edinburgh*, p. 193.

¹⁶⁵ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 19.

¹⁶⁶ Collingwood, 'Norse Influence in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p. 110.

¹⁶⁷ Maxwell, *The Place-Names of Galloway*, p. 205.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 205 and 258.

¹⁶⁹ MacQueen, *Place-Names in the Rhinns of Galloway and Luce Valley*, p. 85.

the identification of the specific of Bargaly as *Amhalghadh*. As there are no historical forms of the name prior to its appearance on a Pont map in the form *Bargaly*, the identification of the first element as ON *borg* is also tenuous. The generic may instead be Gaelic *barr* 'top, ridge, point' as there are many names containing this element in this region.¹⁷⁰

There are various other place-names in Galloway which MacQueen suggested were parallel to the English inversion-compounds, but which may have had Gaelic or Scots origins. He postulated that *Gillarthur* and *Gillroanie* may have included the Scandinavian element *gil* 'ravine, narrow glen', in parallel usage with English inversion-compounds such as Gillcambon Beck, Gilgarran and *Gillefinchor*.¹⁷¹ However, *gil* was borrowed into Gaelic from Scandinavian, and also passed into Scots.¹⁷² As such, there is little evidence to support the theory that these names were coined in the Scandinavian language, particularly in the case of *Gillarthur*, which was apparently formed from the name Loch Arthur, from which *Gillarthur* originates.¹⁷³ MacQueen also listed a group of names whose initial element he considered to have been Scandinavian *pollr* 'pool', including Pulwhinrick Burn, Pulinkum Burn, and the lost names *Poldwell*, *Poolnacharn* and *Pool na clochan*.¹⁷⁴ Again, he cited Cumberland names such as *Poll Waðæn*, Poltross Burn and Powmaugham Beck as potential parallel formations. However, the *EPNS* volumes for Cumberland, which had only recently been published at the time of MacQueen's article, give the generic of these Cumberland names as either Gaelic *poll* or

¹⁷⁰ Examples include Barcaple, Bartaggart, Barskeoch, Barlochan, Barwhinnock, Barluka, Bargreddan and Barmoffity.

¹⁷¹ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', pp. 139-140.

¹⁷² See MacLennan, *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*, p. 180, and Warrack, *The Scots Dialect Dictionary*, p. 217.

¹⁷³ Maxwell, *The Place-Names of Galloway*, p. 145.

¹⁷⁴ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', pp. 140-141.

Welsh *pwll* rather than ON *pollr*, and account for the names as straightforward Celtic formations rather than inversion-compounds.¹⁷⁵ This casts considerable doubt on the likelihood that the Scottish instances are inversion-compounds in ON *pollr* rather than purely Celtic names.¹⁷⁶ It is also significant that, as with the English inversion-compounds in *poll-*, none of MacQueen's potential instances appears to contain demonstrably Scandinavian specific elements.

Another group of Galloway names which MacQueen suggested may contain a Scandinavian generic are those in *moss*, namely *Mossbrook Gairy*, *Mossnae*, *Moss Raploch*, *Mossfeather*, *Mossmaul*, *Moss Roddock*, *Mossterry*, *Mossyard* and *Mossrap*.¹⁷⁷ MacQueen argued that this group of names were likely to contain Scandinavian *mosi* 'bog, swamp, morass' rather than the Old English cognate *mos* or Welsh *maes* 'an open field, a plain'.¹⁷⁸ However, such a large group of inversion-compounds containing a single generic, in a region where there is so little evidence of any other inversion names, would seemingly be incongruous, and once again there are no demonstrably Scandinavian specifics. If these names did indeed contain ON *mosi*, it is likely that the element must have been borrowed into the local dialect of Gaelic, to account for so many instances. However, there is no reason to suppose Scandinavian involvement in this group of names. Watson records that Welsh *maes* commonly takes the form *moss* in place-names, including *Moss Maud*, *Mosspennoc*, *Moscolly* and *Mossminning*.¹⁷⁹ It is also notable that the element *moss* is found in Scots with the meaning of 'a place where

¹⁷⁵ Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 1, pp. 29, 5, 23 and 24. See also Section 3 above.

¹⁷⁶ In fact, in a recent publication, MacQueen himself suggests Gaelic etymologies for the names Pulwhinrick Burn and Pulinkum Burn: see *Place-Names in the Rhinns of Galloway and Luce Valley*, p. 85.

¹⁷⁷ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', p. 141.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names in Scotland*, p. 378.

peats may be dug'.¹⁸⁰ It would appear that some of the *moss* names contain other Scots elements, including *gairy* 'a steep hill, moorland', *raploch* 'cloth, plaid; skin of a hare' and *ruddock* 'a robin'.¹⁸¹ This would suggest that some of the *moss* names are of Scots origin. In cases where the word-order is seemingly Celtic, it is possible that the names are in fact Scots reinterpretations of what were originally Cumbric *maes* names.

Although none of the Galloway names discussed above are likely to have been coined by Gaelic-speakers who had shifted to the Scandinavian language, there are a few other southern Scottish names which are harder to distance from the Scandinavian settlements in the region. The generic of the Wigtownshire names *Airieglassen* and *Airiehemming*, and the Kirkcudbrightshire name *Arreeming* has been explained as Gaelic *airigh*.¹⁸² However, as will be discussed in Chapter Three, Gaelic *airigh* was borrowed into the Scandinavian language as *ærgi*, and place-names containing this element in the North-West of England are likely to represent the settlements of Scandinavians who had come into contact with Gaelic-speakers on the Western Seaboard of Scotland. It is noteworthy that in some Yorkshire place-names the modern reflex of Scandinavian *ærgi* is *Airy*, which bears a close resemblance to the modern Galloway form *Airie*.¹⁸³ The specific of *Airiehemming* and *Arreeming* appears to be the Scandinavian personal name *Heming(r)*.¹⁸⁴ As such the names could have been coined either by Gaelic speakers in reference to a neighbour with a Scandinavian name, as with *Auchtiegame* and *Kirkettle*, or by Gaelic speakers who had shifted to the Scandinavian language and were actually part of the Scandinavian settlement. The specific of *Airieglassen* is either Gaelic *glasan*

¹⁸⁰ Warrack, *The Scots Dialect Dictionary*, p. 367.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, pp. 208, 441 and 462.

¹⁸² Collingwood, 'Norse Influence in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', pp. 110-113.

¹⁸³ See Chapter Three, Section 6.

¹⁸⁴ Collingwood, 'Norse Influence in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p. 110.

‘green’¹⁸⁵ or the related Gaelic personal name *Glasan*, which Collingwood describes as ‘a Gaelic Viking (Gallgaedhel) name’.¹⁸⁶ As mentioned in Section 2(a), the name *Glasan* also occurs in the Cumberland place-name Glassonby. As with Airiehemming and *Arreeming*, this name may be purely Gaelic in origin, as it has Celtic word-order, and both elements may be Gaelic. Yet, as Oram notes of this type of *airy* construction, ‘their greatest concentration lies in the region of heaviest Norse settlement’.¹⁸⁷ Thus these names reflect a mixture of Gaelic and Scandinavian influence, and it is perhaps impossible to identify their precise linguistic origins.

There is one inversion name in which both the generic and specific are definitely Scandinavian. The Dumfriesshire name Westerkirk, which was recorded as *Wadsterker* in 1249, contains ON *vað* ‘a ford’ with the Scandinavian personal name *Styrkarr*.¹⁸⁸ Like the *Airie*- names, Westerkirk is located in an area of significant Scandinavian settlement, and it has a similar construction to the Westmorland name Wath Sutton, which contains ON *vað* and the Gaelic personal name *Suthán*. This would suggest that the Scandinavian speakers who colonised Dumfries and Galloway may have had a small Gaelic substrate element, a notion which is further supported by the parallel *kirk*- names in Cumberland and South-West Scotland.¹⁸⁹

It is clear, however, that any such Gaelic substrate element must have been much more limited than is evidenced in England, as out of the numerous potential inversion names discussed above, only Westerkirk can be shown to be so with any degree of certainty. The majority of the names appear to be Gaelic, Cumbric or Lowland Scots

¹⁸⁵ Maxwell, *The Place-Names of Galloway*, p. 2.

¹⁸⁶ Collingwood, ‘Norse Influence in Dumfriesshire and Galloway’, p. 112.

¹⁸⁷ Oram, ‘Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland’, p. 135.

¹⁸⁸ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 175.

¹⁸⁹ This issue will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter Four.

names which in some cases contain a Scandinavian personal name. There is little to indicate that these names might have been coined using the Scandinavian language. This is particularly true of the names in the South-East of Scotland, where evidence of Gaelic-Norwegian presence is lacking and the Scandinavian immigrants appear to have been of predominantly Danish origin, having travelled north from the Eastern Danelaw.¹⁹⁰ In the South-West, Gaelic-Norwegian settlement may have occurred at the same time as the settlement of the North-West of England, or may instead have been a secondary immigration from the original settlements in Cumberland and Westmorland. However, in contrast to the situation in England, the possibility exists that purely Scandinavian names with Germanic word-order may later have been Gaelicized into inversion names due to the overwhelmingly Gaelic environment in the South-West of Scotland. The lack of suitably early forms for the place-names discussed above means that there is little potential for identifying possible names in this category.

In the case of inversion-compound names on the Isle of Man, the situation is similar to that of Southern Scotland. The presence of both the Gaelic and Scandinavian languages on the island means that inversion names coined by speakers of a Gaelic-tinged dialect of Scandinavian are extremely difficult to identify. Gelling lists a few possible instances, including Holm Patrick containing ON *holmr* 'island' and the Gaelic personal name *Patrick*, and *Crosyuor*, containing Gaelic *crois* 'cross' and the Scandinavian personal name *Ívarr*.¹⁹¹ It is unclear whether these names were coined by a Gaelic substrate during the Scandinavian period, or by monolingual Gaelic-speakers in the post-Scandinavian period. As is the case in Southern Scotland, the continued

¹⁹⁰ See Chapter Five, Section 3.

¹⁹¹ Gelling, 'The Place-Names of the Isle of Man' (1971), p. 172.

presence of the Manx dialect of Gaelic on the island for centuries after the Scandinavian language died out means that names which may originally have had Germanic word-order were later Gaelicized due to the strong Goidelic influence. Gelling notes that the name *Tofthar Asmund*, whose fourteenth century form suggests that the name is an inversion-compound containing both a Scandinavian generic and specific, was earlier recorded as *Asmundertoftes* (1154-61, 1188-1226).¹⁹² The possibility therefore exists that other names may have undergone a similar reversal of elements.

Gelling also mentions two names which contain either Scandinavian *ærgi* or the Manx cognate *eary*, namely *Aryeuzryn* and *Aryhorkell*.¹⁹³ These names may have Scandinavian personal names as specifics, and as with the Galloway *airy*- names, could have been coined either by Gaelic-speakers who had shifted to the Scandinavian language, or at a later date by monolingual Gaelic-speakers using a Scandinavian-tinged Manx form of Gaelic.¹⁹⁴ There are also a number of *kirk*- compounds on the Isle of Man, but many of these appear to be late Gaelic formations. These names will be discussed in Chapter Four.

One final group of potential Manx inversion-compounds was identified by Kneen. He suggested that the names Beary, Berag, Billown, Begoade, Bibaloe and Bemahague were inversion names containing as their generic West Scandinavian *bør*.¹⁹⁵ However, Kneen's etymologies are problematic. He postulated that Beary and Berag could be interpreted as *By-ärg* 'farm of the shieling' and *By-ragi* 'Ragi's farm' respectively.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 173.

¹⁹⁴ See Chapter Three, Section 6.

¹⁹⁵ Kneen, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, p. xvi.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 382 and 481.

Yet more recently Broderick has interpreted Beary as a corrupt form of ON *berg*,¹⁹⁷ and Berag as possibly being connected to Manx *byrragh*, Irish *biorach* ‘sharp, pointed’.¹⁹⁸ Similarly, the name Billown, which Kneen interprets as *By-Loðinn* ‘Lodinn’s Farm’, was alternatively interpreted by Marstrander as *Við Loðinn* ‘Beside the Lake’.¹⁹⁹ The remaining *bør* names, Begoade, Bibaloe and Bemahague, which Kneen considered to contain *By-godi* ‘Priest’s farm’, *By + Balavað* ‘farm of the grassy bank ford’ and *By +* Gaelic surname *MacThaidhg*,²⁰⁰ have been tentatively interpreted by Broderick as containing Gaelic *both* ‘hut’ instead. Thus, it may be that none of these names were in fact coined as inversion-compounds.

In both the Isle of Man and Southern Scotland, the continued presence of a Gaelic speaking population means that potential inversion-compounds may often be accounted for as being purely Gaelic in origin. It is only in areas of Scandinavian settlement where there are no indigenous Gaelic speakers that place-names which appear to display inversion of their elements are more likely to have been coined by a Gaelic substrate amongst the Scandinavian speakers. One region in England outside the North-West where potential names of this variety occur is Yorkshire.

6. Inversion-Compounds in Yorkshire: A Re-evaluation

The possible occurrence of inversion-compound place-names in Yorkshire was first raised by Ekwall in 1918. He cited two potential instances in the West Riding of

¹⁹⁷ Broderick, ‘The Place-Names of the Isle of Man’, vol. 1, p. 206.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, vol. 2 pp. 222-223.

¹⁹⁹ Cited in Gelling, ‘The Place-Names of the Isle of Man’ (1971), p. 172.

²⁰⁰ Kneen, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, p. 214.

Yorkshire, *Hillegrime* and *Stainpapan*.²⁰¹ A few years later, A. H. Smith added four more candidates to this list, namely *Arrathorne*, *Hillbraith*, *Miregrim* and *Sawcock*, all located in the North Riding of Yorkshire.²⁰²

Then, in 1960, Assar Janzén produced an article entitled 'Are there so-called inversion compounds in Yorkshire place-names?' in which it was argued that these six names were unlikely to be genuine inversion-compounds. This was primarily because of their geographical distance from the established core group of inversion names in Cumberland and Westmorland. Janzén also suggested alternative etymologies for each of the six Yorkshire names. In the light of more recent studies of Scandinavian settlement in the North-West of England, I would like to re-evaluate both Janzén's theory about the issue of geographical separation and his interpretation of these six place-names.

In the matter of the distribution of the inversion-compound names, it is noteworthy that Janzén's article pre-dates the *EPNS* volumes for Westmorland and the West Riding of Yorkshire, as well as the two important studies of the North West and of Yorkshire produced by Fellows-Jensen.²⁰³ Only the *EPNS* volumes for Cumberland were available to Janzén, augmented by Ekwall's already antiquated 1918 volume, and his *Place-Names of Lancashire* from four years later. As a result, Janzén's conclusion about the inversion-compounds was that 'the maximum concentration lies in the western coastal part of Cumberland', with only small outlying groups in Westmorland and Lancashire.²⁰⁴ The subsequent publication of the *EPNS* volumes for Westmorland revealed that there were in fact a similar number of inversion-compounds as in

²⁰¹ Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, p. 47.

²⁰² Smith, 'Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Yorkshire', pp. 54-55.

²⁰³ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire* and *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*.

²⁰⁴ Janzén, 'Are there so-called inversion compounds in Yorkshire place-names?', p. 46.

Cumberland. The distribution map²⁰⁵ reveals that these inversion names were more widely spread than Janzén could have known, particularly towards the southerly and easterly regions adjoining the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire, where the six potential inversion-compounds are located.

Similarly, in the case of the distribution of the *œrgi* names, another name-type showing Gaelic-Norwegian influence, the *EPNS* volumes for Westmorland and Fellows-Jensen's book on the North-West of England again reveal a much wider distribution than Janzén had been able to ascertain. Janzén's map reveals only three *œrgi* names in the West Riding and one in Lancashire, which made it appear that the bulk of Norwegians from the Celtic West settled almost exclusively in coastal Cumberland and the river valleys of Westmorland.²⁰⁶ Later studies by Fellows-Jensen and Higham,²⁰⁷ and the eight *EPNS* volumes for the West Riding, reveal as many as thirty-three possible instances in Lancashire and fifteen in the West Riding. As the distribution map reveals,²⁰⁸ Gaelic-Norwegian settlement extended much further south and east than Janzén knew, and therefore the inversion-compounds in the north and west of Yorkshire would not have been so geographically isolated as Janzén had postulated.

The two West Riding names *Hillegrime* and *Stainpapan* are located in the West Staincliffe and Ewcross Wapentakes respectively. These are the two most north-westerly Wapentakes in the county, adjoining Westmorland and northern Lancashire. Despite being in separate Wapentakes the two places are in fact quite close together, in the valley of the river Ribble, in the midst of a group of *œrgi* names. In the North Riding, the two

²⁰⁵ See Map 4.

²⁰⁶ Janzén, 'Are there so-called inversion compounds in Yorkshire place-names?', p. 49.

²⁰⁷ Fellows-Jensen, 'A Gaelic-Scandinavian Loanword in English Place-Names', p. 19, and Higham, 'The 'Erg' Place-Names of Northern England', pp. 8-9.

²⁰⁸ See Map 4.

places Arrathorne and *Miregrim* are located near to the *áergi* name Oran, which from the historical form *Anchorouen* would appear to be an inversion-compound itself. Nearby is Patrick Brompton, whose post-Conquest manorial affix ‘Patrick’ is likely to have been introduced to the area as a personal name by Norwegians from a Gaelic-speaking region.²⁰⁹ Similarly, Smith notes that the Gaelic personal names *Ghilepatric*, *Gylemychel* and *Ghille* are recorded in this area, together with the place-names Melsonby and Melmerby, containing the Gaelic personal names *Máelsuthan* and *Máelmuire* respectively.²¹⁰ Additionally, Fellows-Jensen’s map showing the distribution of personal names which she considers to be of typically Norwegian rather than Danish origin reveals a cluster of such names in this part of the North Riding.²¹¹ Sawcock is also located in this region, close to an *Irby* site, which would also appear to indicate settlement of Gaelic-Norwegian origin.²¹² The final name, Hillbraith, is located near the coast, close to Normanby, which contains the genitive form of the folk-name *Norðmenn* ‘Norwegians’.²¹³ There are also a number of *áergi* names to be found in this eastern half of the North Riding, namely Eryholme, Airyholme, Coldman Hargos and Airy Hill. The distribution of these place-names and personal names creates a plausible context for the occurrence in Yorkshire of inversion-compound names coined by Gaelic-Norwegian immigrants from the North-West.

The first of the six names to be considered by Janzén is Arrathorne. The historical forms of this name are *Ergthorn* (13th C), *Erchethorn* (1259), *Ergethorn* (1278),

²⁰⁹ Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, p. 241.

²¹⁰ Smith, ‘Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Yorkshire’, pp. 42-43 and 49-50.

²¹¹ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire*, p. 191.

²¹² *Ibid*, p. 31.

²¹³ *Ibid*, p. 34.

Erghethorn (1285), *Erethorn* (1285), *Arrowthorne* (16th C) and *Arathorne* (1581).²¹⁴ As there are no recorded forms prior to the thirteenth century, it is impossible to determine whether either of the two elements might have originally existed as a simplex name, to which the other element was later affixed. On the basis of the extant forms, it is necessary to assume that the name was coined as a compound name. Smith had argued that the two elements of this name were ON *erg* and ON *þorn*, with the meaning ‘shieling near the thorn-tree’,²¹⁵ an etymology which appears to fit the historical spellings.²¹⁶ Janzén does not in fact dispute this etymology, only Smith’s interpretation of the word-order. He suggests that Ekwall’s later interpretation of ‘thorn by the shieling’ is more likely to be correct.²¹⁷ However, Janzén does not believe that *þorn* could be intended as a singular formation in this instance, suggesting instead that it is either ‘used in a collective sense or perhaps refers to a piece of land overgrown with thorns’.²¹⁸

His main argument against the name having Celtic word-order is that true inversion-compounds always contain a personal name or a place-name as specific, but never an appellative like *þorn*.²¹⁹ This is generally accurate, but there are a few instances of inversion-compounds where the specific is not a name, such as *Rigmaden* (OE *mægden* ‘maiden’) in Westmorland and perhaps *Seatoller* (OE *alor* ‘alder-tree’) in Cumberland.²²⁰ Additionally, there are quite a number of inversion-compounds where the specific is obscure, including *Croftbladen*, *holme Camok*, and *Warthcreggle* in

²¹⁴ Smith, ‘Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Yorkshire’, p. 52, and *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, p. 240.

²¹⁵ Smith, ‘Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Yorkshire’, p. 52.

²¹⁶ On the form of ON *erg* vs. *árgi*, see Chapter Three, Section 2.

²¹⁷ Janzén, ‘Are there so-called inversion compounds in Yorkshire place-names?’, p. 51.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ Whaley has recently suggested that *Seatoller* might contain a personal name instead. See ‘Anglo-Scandinavian Problems in Cumbria, with Particular Reference to the Derwentwater Area’, p. 102, and also Section 3 above.

Cumberland and Sattereven and Tarn Tessick in Westmorland. In names of this type the possibility of appellative specifics cannot be ruled out.

Thus it is feasible that *þorn* may be the specific of the name Arrathorne rather than the generic. An important piece of evidence in support of this hypothesis is that the other element in the name, ON *áergi*, only ever occurs as a generic in place-names in England.²²¹ In constructions such as Rannerdale in Cumberland (ON *hrafn* + ON *áergi* + ON *dalr*), it must be assumed that ON *dalr* was a later addition to a place-name containing *hrafn* and *áergi*, where *áergi* was the generic. The only names where *áergi* might have been used as a specific are Ashton Brook and Ark Wood in Cheshire. Ashton Brook was *le Erwe...brok* in 1347, and from this single historical form it does not appear likely that this is a genuine *áergi* name at all. Ark Wood is recorded as *the Dark Ark* in 1812, and it is by no means certain that this name contains ON *áergi* either.²²² In any case, even if this is an *áergi* name, the single historical form appears to indicate that ‘Wood’ is a later addition, and *áergi* would seem to have been the original generic.

The element *þorn*, however, occurs as a specific as well as a generic, for example in the Thornthwaite names in Cumberland and Yorkshire. Additionally, it is perhaps more logical to suggest that the most likely referent of the name Arrathorne is a shieling marked by the presence of a thorn bush or thorn bushes, rather than a thorn bush notable for its proximity to a shieling. I would suggest therefore that *áergi* is indeed the generic of this name, as Smith originally argued, and that Arrathorne is an inversion-compound with the meaning ‘thorn bush shieling’.

²²¹ For a complete list of these names, see Appendix B, Part One.

²²² For a full discussion of the etymologies of Ashton Brook and Ark Wood, see Chapter Three, Section 5(c).

The second name to be discussed by Janzén is the lost *Stainpapan*. The historical spellings of the name are *Stanpapan* 1190, 1356, *Stainpapan* 1220, *Staynpapan* 1338, *Stanapepane* 1367-1400, *Stampapan* 1401.²²³ Ekwall had suggested that this name contained either OE *stán* or ON *stein* as its initial element.²²⁴ The second element he interpreted as ON *papa*, *papi* ‘hermit, priest’, possibly from MlIr *popa* ‘tutor, master, friend’, arguing that the form *-papan* could be ‘an Ir[ish] diminutive of this word, possibly used as a personal name’.²²⁵

Janzén agrees that the second element could plausibly be either a personal name or the Middle Irish diminutive *popán* ‘little master’.²²⁶ Yet he considers that *popán* was unlikely to have been used by Scandinavians, since ‘it is not at all certain that the Scandinavians in Ireland substituted the Irish *-an* for their own diminutive suffixes in purely appellative use’.²²⁷ However, in the previous section of this chapter, I have argued that these inversion names were not coined by monolingual Scandinavians, but by native Gaelic speakers who had shifted to Scandinavian. Their dialect of Old Norse would thus have retained some features of the Gaelic language, including some personal names, vocabulary and diminutive suffixes. In this context, *popán* could be viewed not as a loan-word into Scandinavian with a borrowed Gaelic suffix, but as a wholly Gaelic construction brought by Gaelic speakers into their second language. Yet, as the most common form of inversion-compounds is the generic followed by a personal name, then Janzén may well be correct in arguing that *popán* is more likely to be a personal name in this case.

²²³ Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, vol. 6, p. 220.

²²⁴ Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, p. 47.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

²²⁶ Janzén, ‘Are there so-called inversion compounds in Yorkshire place-names?’, p. 52.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*

Janzén in fact goes on to reject both these possible explanations because he considers *Stainpapan* to be too far removed from the area where inversion-compounds are concentrated. He prefers to interpret the name as being the purely Scandinavian **Stein-papann* ‘the Stone-Monk, the Stone Gaffer’ or ‘the Old Stone-Man’.²²⁸ Yet, as pointed out above, *Stainpapan* is close to the borders of Westmorland and Lancashire, and is situated amongst a group of *áergi* names. An inversion-compound in this area is entirely plausible. Gaelic **Popán* as a personal name combined with ON *steinn* would be a similar construction to the Cumberland inversion-compounds *Stanbrennan* and *Staynlenoc*, which contain ON *steinn* and the respective personal names *Branán* and **Lennóc*, both of which contain diminutive suffixes. This interpretation is at least as plausible as Janzén’s suggestion, especially as he considers that the Scandinavian *papa*, *papi* most likely would have been a loan from Mlr *pápa*, which was the result of contact between Scandinavians and Gaelic-speaking priests in Iceland and Shetland.²²⁹ If the name was coined in such a Gaelic-Scandinavian context by immigrants from the Scandinavian Atlantic and Irish Sea colonies, there is no reason why it should not be an inversion-compound.

The third name, Sawcock, has the historical forms *Salecohc* 1190-1200, *Salkok* 13th C, 1323, *Salcok* 1243, 1508, and *Salcock* 1301.²³⁰ Smith suggested ‘Cock’s Hall’ from ON *salr* and an Irish personal name *Cocha* or *Cocca*.²³¹ Given that Sawcock is found in an area of Gaelic-Scandinavian influence, this etymology is certainly possible. However, Janzén notes that Ekwall suggested an alternative etymology for the name,

²²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 53.

²²⁹ Janzén, ‘Are there so-called inversion compounds in Yorkshire place-names?’, pp. 54-55.

²³⁰ Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, p. 216.

²³¹ Smith, ‘Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Yorkshire’, p. 53.

from OE *sealh* ‘a sallow’ and OE *cocc*, which he considered to have been identical with ME *cock* ‘a heap’.²³² This would have involved an Old English construction such as **Salh-cocc* or **Sala-cocc*, with the second element having the more precise meaning of ‘a small hill’.²³³ As Ekwall’s etymology is more consistent with the historical spellings of this name, it seems that this interpretation is preferable to the inversion-name proposed by Smith.

The fourth name, the lost *Hillbraith*, is also problematic. The historical forms are *Hillebrait* 12th C, and *Hillebrayth*, *Illebrayth* 13th C. Smith’s original etymology for the name was OE/ON *hyll* and the ON personal name *Breiðr*.²³⁴ Janzén argues that there is no evidence for an ON *hyll* meaning ‘hill’, making the name an Old English and Old Norse hybrid formation.²³⁵ Rejecting Smith’s etymology on these grounds, Janzén discusses various other possible interpretations. In the case of the first element he mentions ON *hylr* ‘a deep part of a river, a pool’, and the Norwegian and Danish dialect word *hilla*, Modern Swedish *hylla* ‘a shelf, a ledge (in a cliff or mountain)’.²³⁶ Possible explanations of the second element include the adjective *breiðr* ‘broad, spacious’ used as a noun. From this, Janzén suggests that *Hillbraith* could be an adjectival compound which had assumed the function of a noun, such as ON **Hillu-breiðr* ‘a spacious ledge or elevation’, ON **Hyl-breiðr* ‘a broad or large pool’, or the hybrid formation **Hyll-breiðr* ‘a spacious hill’.²³⁷ Yet his favoured interpretation is that the name is a Scandinavianized

²³² Ekwall is cited in Janzén, ‘Are there so-called inversion compounds in Yorkshire place-names?’, p. 58.

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ Smith, ‘Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Yorkshire’, p. 54.

²³⁵ Janzén, ‘Are there so-called inversion compounds in Yorkshire place-names?’, p. 59.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

form of an ME **Hill(e)brēde* < OE **Hyllbráede / Hyllbráeda* ‘the broad or spacious hill’.²³⁸

Janzén argues that ‘it seems obvious that any of the possible interpretations that are based on Anglian or Scandinavian words and Germanic order of elements is preferable to the explanation that assumes an inversion compound’.²³⁹ Yet in order to account for the name satisfactorily by these means he must invoke a Scandinavianization of a Middle English adjectival compound which is functioning as a noun, to give the meaning ‘broad or spacious hill’. An inversion-compound name would give the meaning ‘broad ledge or pool’ from Scandinavian *hilla* or *hylr*, or even ‘broad hill’ incorporating OE *hyll*, without resorting to such a complex process. The inversion-compounds in the North-West contain a number of Old English elements, and so it is unnecessary to reject a possible inversion name on the grounds that it would be a hybrid formation. Even Smith’s original suggestion that ON *breiðr* was functioning as a personal name is not entirely untenable. Thus, although Janzén’s suggested etymology is formally possible, other explanations are equally feasible, and this would appear to invalidate his claim that we can ‘strike also *Hillebraith* from the list of possible inversion names in Yorkshire’.²⁴⁰

The final two names are the lost *Hillgrime* in the West Riding, and the lost *Miregrim* in the North Riding. The historical forms of *Hillgrime* are *Hillegrime* 13th C, *Illegrim* 13th C, *Illgryme* 1580, and *Hill Grime* 1845. There is only one recorded form of *Miregrim*, which is *Myregrim* 13th C.²⁴¹ Smith initially gave the etymologies of these names as ‘Grim’s pool’ and ‘Grim’s marsh’ from the common ON personal name *Grímr*

²³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 62.

²³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 63.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid*.

²⁴¹ Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, vol. 6, p. 151, and *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, p. 241.

and the elements ON *hyllr* and ON *mýrr* respectively.²⁴² However, in the later *EPNS* volumes for the West Riding, he suggested that *Hillgrime* may instead be a compound of *hyll* and ON *gríma* ‘boundary mark’.²⁴³

Janzén argues that *Hillgrime* is actually an entirely English construction, from OE **Hyll-grīm(a)* ‘the sign or mark on or by a hill’.²⁴⁴ To account for this etymology he begins by discussing the Scandinavian-coined names *Leagram* and *Laithgryme* in Lancashire, *Laithgryme* in Westmorland and *Leagram Hill* in the West Riding. Ekwall had suggested that the common occurrence of this name-type would suggest the existence of an ON appellative **leiðgríma* meaning ‘a blaze to indicate a road’,²⁴⁵ rather than various paths or barns (from *hlaða*) all belonging to men named *Grímr*. From this, Janzén argues that OE *gríma* might also have had the meaning ‘a boundary mark on a tree’ in addition to the attested sense of ‘a spectre, a goblin’.²⁴⁶ He then commences upon a somewhat lengthy reinterpretation of English place-names containing OE *gríma*, where it is argued that these names represent boundary markers. These include the Worcester names Greenhill (*Grimeshyll* 816) and the lost *Griimeshill*, for which Janzén postulates an unattested OE **Griman-hyll* ‘the hill with a boundary mark (or road sign)’.²⁴⁷ Similarly, he argues that the four Lancashire Grimshaw names are likely to represent an Old English appellative compound **grimansc(e)aga* ‘a wood with a boundary mark (or a road-sign’, rather than meaning ‘Grim’s wood’ or ‘spectre wood, haunted wood’.²⁴⁸

²⁴² Smith, ‘Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Yorkshire’, p. 54.

²⁴³ Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, vol. 6, pp. 151-152.

²⁴⁴ Janzén, ‘Are there so-called inversion compounds in Yorkshire place-names?’, p. 76.

²⁴⁵ Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 291.

²⁴⁶ Janzén, ‘Are there so-called inversion compounds in Yorkshire place-names?’, p. 68.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 70.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid*, pp.71-73.

These reinterpretations lead on to the suggestion that *Hillgrime* could represent OE

**Hyll-grīm(a)*, although Janzén admits that

because of the location of the place in an area thoroughly penetrated by Scandinavian colonization and influence upon the language it might be wise not to exclude the possibility of Scandinavian origin, viz. ON **Hillu-gríma* or of a hybrid formation, in which either of the two elements could be English or Scandinavian.²⁴⁹

It is not entirely clear why Janzén rejects the sense of ‘spectre, goblin’ in the English names in favour of boundary markers, but his etymologies do not appear to have gained widespread acceptance. Recently, Cameron records that the names Grimley and Grimshaw contain OE *gríma* in the sense ‘spectre, ghost’,²⁵⁰ and Gelling and Cole give the etymology of the specific of the Worcestershire name Greenhill as *griman* in the sense of ‘spectre’.²⁵¹ It is also noteworthy that since the publication of Janzén’s article, further studies of names containing the element *grim* reveal that owing to its association with the Odin and the Devil, the ‘Grimston’ names may represent an appellative coined for a particularly depressing settlement.²⁵² Gelling notes that although *Grímr* was a common personal name in Scandinavian, the alternative etymology would be preferred when there was ‘something outstandingly poor about the situation of the place’.²⁵³ This raises the possibility that other place-names containing *grim* may have had this sense, so that a potential explanation for the names *Hillgrime* and *Miregrim* is that they refer to a hill and a marsh where the land was particularly poor.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 76.

²⁵⁰ Cameron, *English Place names*, p. 123.

²⁵¹ Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 194.

²⁵² See, for example, Gelling, *Signposts to the Past*, pp. 233-234.

²⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 234.

In the case of *Miregrim*, Janzén argues for a Scandinavian etymology, namely **Mýrargríma* ‘the boundary mark (or road sign) on or by the bog’.²⁵⁴ As the corpus of *Leagram* and *Laithgryme* names appears to suggest that Ekwall is correct regarding the existence of a Scandinavian appellative **leiðgríma* in the sense of a path-marker, it is possible that names which occur singly, as do *Hillgrime* and *Miregrim*, might represent similar constructions. However, these names would not have exactly the same sense as the **leiðgríma* group. In the latter names, the qualifying element specifies the purpose of the marker, and the whole name describes a particular topographical feature whose function is to indicate the whereabouts of a path. Yet, according to Janzén’s etymologies for *Hillgrime* and *Miregrim*, the qualifying elements of these names are essentially locative in nature, apparently describing the topographical features at which the markers are situated. As such, the two types of name would not constitute exact parallels.

It may therefore be equally plausible that these names are inversion-compounds, and that the specific elements may be the personal name *Grímr*, as Smith originally suggested, either a direct reference to Odin or the Devil, or *grim* in the transferred sense of poor, undesirable land. It is notable that these names may have a parallel of sorts in three Westmorland inversion-compounds. The lost name *Croftgrime* contains either the personal name *Grímr* or *grim* as its specific, and OE *croft* ‘small enclosed field’ as its generic.²⁵⁵ Similarly, *Croftsnegrim* contains OE *croft* and the Scandinavian personal name **Snægrímr*, and *Satearngrim* contains ON *sætr* and Scandinavian personal name *Arngrímr*.²⁵⁶ In the case of the last two names, it seems there is little doubt that these are genuine inversion names rather than references to boundary markers, and in the case of

²⁵⁴ Janzén, ‘Are there so-called inversion compounds in Yorkshire place-names?’, pp. 76-77.

²⁵⁵ See Section 3 on the *croft* names.

²⁵⁶ See Appendix A, Part One.

Croftgrime, an etymology of either ‘Grimr’s enclosed field’ or ‘a small field where the soil is of poor quality’ would arguably be more plausible than ‘the boundary mark on or by the small enclosed field’.

In conclusion, it seems that owing to a lack of available information on the distribution of the inversion-compounds, Janzén considered the six possible Yorkshire instances to be too far removed from the bulk of the names to be genuine inversion-compounds. This led him to seek alternative etymologies for the names, which in some cases are plausible, but in others, such as *Hillgrim* and *Miregrim*, rely rather heavily on the existence of unsubstantiated Old English and Old Norse appellative constructions referring to boundary markers or road signs. Although Janzén’s etymologies cannot be entirely disproved, I would argue that neither can the original inversion-compound etymologies. Given the strong Gaelic-Scandinavian context in which these names occur, inversion-compound names are entirely plausible in the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire. In some cases, notably Arrathorne and *Stainpapan*, it may be preferable to accept the more simple and straightforward inversion etymologies rather than to seek out complex alternative explanations for these names.

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, little doubt remains that the origin of the inversion-compound names can be linked with Scandinavian-speaking immigrants from the Western Seaboard of Scotland. The inversion-compounds were coined primarily by Gaelic-speakers who had shifted to the Scandinavian language, and therefore spoke a regional dialect of Old Norse which exhibited some features of the Gaelic language. Once the name-type had

been established in the North-West of England, further analogical names were created, both by the addition of affixes to existing place-names, and as original coinages utilising the 'generic + specific' pattern. Scandinavian-speakers from the Western Isles of Scotland also settled in the South-West of Scotland and the Isle of Man, and it is possible that a Gaelic substrate element was responsible for the small number of inversion-compounds found in these regions, although the presence of indigenous Gaelic-speakers means that a purely Gaelic inception for these names cannot be ruled out. There is also evidence of Gaelic-Scandinavian presence in Yorkshire, and therefore the names which Ekwall and Smith identified as inversion-compounds may well be genuine instances of this name-type.

Chapter Three: The *Ærgi* Names

1. Introduction

The Scandinavian place-name element *ærgi* is extremely problematic. There has been much scholarly debate regarding its correct form, its precise meaning and its ultimate source as a loan-word into the Scandinavian language. Additionally, there has been much discussion regarding the issue of regional variation in the historical forms of the *ærgi* names. In this chapter I will examine each of these issues in turn, before turning to the question of what light can be shed by the *ærgi* names upon language contact in the North-West of England.

2. The Form of *Ærgi*

The word *ærgi* is not native to the Scandinavian languages. Its occurrence in Scandinavian-coined place-names in the British Isles and Atlantic colonies therefore indicates that it was a loan-word adopted by Scandinavian immigrants to this area. Owing to the paucity of written records dating to the Scandinavian era in the North Atlantic region, it has proved difficult to determine the correct form of the word in the Scandinavian language. This led to the utilisation of a wide variety of written forms of *ærgi* in early scholarship. In 1915, Johnston recorded the element as Gaelic-Norse *argh*,¹ and in 1918, Ekwall recorded the existence of ME *ergh* (*argh*) from OWSc *erg*.² MacBain considered the element to have been Norse or Danish *erg*, *ærg* or *arg*, although

¹ Johnston, *Place-Names of England and Wales*, p. 109.

² Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, p. 74, and *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, p. 10.

he argues that '*arge* must have been the oldest form'.³ In an article published in 1927, Smith gave the form ON *erg*, with the dative plural *ergum*.⁴ This is the form which he utilised in his later work *English Place-Name Elements*, and *erg* was subsequently adopted as the standard form in the *EPNS* volumes.

However, in two articles published in 1977-8 and 1980, Fellows-Jensen demonstrated that there was no reliable textual evidence that the element ever took this form.⁵ She noted that the word was only recorded in the Icelandic work *Orkneyinga Saga*, of which at least two versions are known to have existed. In the fourteenth century *Flateyjarbók* the form is '*Asgrims ærgin*', and in the late sixteenth century Danish translation of the second version the form is '*Asgrims erg*'.⁶ Fellows-Jensen recorded that '(t)he word is not found in any other Danish source and would seem to be the result of the translator's effort to render an unfamiliar word in his Icelandic original'.⁷ In both articles, Fellows-Jensen referred to an earlier Danish work by Matras, in which it was demonstrated that in the Faroe Isles a generic *ærgi* existed in numerous place-names. From this, Matras had argued that the *Flateyjarbók* form reflected a word **ærgi* with a suffixed definite article.⁸ Fellows-Jensen concluded that the correct form of the element which appears in English place-names was therefore likely to be *ærgi*, with the dative plural *ærgjum*.⁹ This is the form that I have adopted throughout this chapter.

³ MacBain, *Place Names: Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, pp. 289-291.

⁴ Smith, 'Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Yorkshire', p. 51.

⁵ Fellows-Jensen, 'A Gaelic-Scandinavian Loan-Word in English Place-Names', p. 18, and 'Common Gaelic *Airge*, Old Scandinavian *Ærgi* or *Erg?*', p. 67.

⁶ Fellows-Jensen, 'Common Gaelic *Airge*, Old Scandinavian *Ærgi* or *Erg?*', p. 67.

⁷ Fellows-Jensen, 'A Gaelic-Scandinavian Loan-Word in English Place-Names', p. 18.

⁸ Matras is cited in Fellows-Jensen, 'Common Gaelic *Airge*, Old Scandinavian *Ærgi* or *Erg?*', p. 68.

⁹ *Ibid.*

3. The Source Language of *Áergi*

Early scholars tended to agree that ON *áergi* was a loan-word from Irish. Ekwall recorded that the element ultimately came from Middle Irish *airge* ‘a herd of cattle, dairy’,¹⁰ and Smith similarly noted that ON *áergi* was from Irish *airgh* ‘a place for summer pastures in the mountains’.¹¹ This view was upheld in the later *EPNS* volumes for Cumberland, Westmorland and the West Riding of Yorkshire.¹²

However, there are two fundamental problems with an Irish etymology for Scandinavian *áergi*. Firstly, Fellows-Jensen notes that there is no certain evidence for the occurrence of *áergi* in the sense of shieling or summer milking-place in Irish place-names, except for a few potential instances in Kerry, which are thus outside the area of Scandinavian settlement in Ireland.¹³ Secondly, Higham points out that the element is largely absent from the Wirral, an area associated with Scandinavian immigration after the expulsion from Dublin in 902. She argues that ‘[o]ne might have expected this indicator element to be present in some strength in the only area for which there is evidence for Norse settlement by way of Ireland’.¹⁴

One of the alternative explanations that Higham offers for the *áergi* names is that they might represent a pre-Norse fossil element indicating British survival.¹⁵ She notes that there is considerable evidence for British survival in the North-West of England.¹⁶ Additionally, she records that Marwick had identified a single *Airy* name in Birsay as a

¹⁰ Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, p. 11.

¹¹ Smith, ‘Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Yorkshire’, p. 51.

¹² Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 3, p. xxiv, Smith, *The Place-Names of Westmorland*, vol. 1, p. xli, and Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, vol. 7, p. 53.

¹³ Fellows-Jensen, ‘A Gaelic-Scandinavian Loan-Word in English Place-Names’, p. 19.

¹⁴ Higham, ‘The ‘Erg’ Place-Names of Northern England’, p. 8.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 14.

¹⁶ *Ibid*.

pre-Norse relic, which Higham considers as possible evidence of a Brythonic word. Further, she argues that the correlation between Roman forts and roads and the place-names in *áergi* in the North-West of England suggests that these sites might indicate a continuity of settlement dating back to the Roman period.¹⁷

However, although Higham is of course correct in her assertions about the strong evidence for British survival in the North-West, there is no firm evidence for the existence of a Brythonic cognate to Irish *airge* and Gaelic *airigh*. Whilst Marwick records that the Birsay name *Airy* is a pre-Norse survival, he makes no suggestion that the word could be Brythonic in origin. Rather, he cites Gaelic *airigh*, Early Celtic *airge* ‘a shieling’ as the source of this name.¹⁸ Similarly, in his earlier work *Orkney Farm-Names*, he recorded that the various other Orkney *Airy* names were likely to represent Gaelic *airigh*.¹⁹ In addition, it is noteworthy that Ekwall’s opinion of ON *áergi* was that ‘the Celtic source is a distinctly Goidelic word; it would doubtless have a different form in Brythonic languages’.²⁰

The case for a Brythonic form of *áergi* is weakened further by the complete lack of onomastic evidence in England. If the Scandinavians borrowed the term from an indigenous British population, then it might be expected that this element would occur somewhere in the corpus of extant Brythonic place-names. However, I have been unable to uncover any likely instances. One possible explanation for this might be that the original Brythonic names for *áergi* sites disappeared during the re-naming that occurred in the period of Scandinavian immigration and settlement. Yet this theory would be

¹⁷ Higham, ‘The ‘Erg’ Place-Names of Northern England’, p. 8.

¹⁸ Marwick, *The Place-Names of Birsay*, p. 80.

¹⁹ Marwick, *Orkney Farm-Names*, p. 6.

²⁰ Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, p. 74.

dependant on the Scandinavian settlers either taking over or dissolving all of the existing British *érgi* sites, so that none of their names survived. If these sites were appropriated and renamed by Scandinavians, it might be expected to find some shred of evidence for Brythonic influence in the names. However, the corpus of Scandinavian *érgi* names in the North of England reveals no such influence. In Appendix B, Part One, I have compiled a list of all the English *érgi* names, numbering approximately one hundred settlement names, minor names and field names. None of these names has a Brythonic specific; they are all Scandinavian, Old English or Gaelic in origin.²¹ This apparent lack of any connection between the *érgi* names and Brythonic nomenclature casts serious doubt on the theory that Brythonic could have been the source of the loan-word into Scandinavian.

A more viable option is offered by Smyth and Fellows-Jensen, among others, who argue that Scottish Gaelic *airigh* is the most likely source of ON *érgi*.²² As discussed in Chapter Two, it appears that the Scandinavian-speakers who coined the inversion names in the North-West of England were immigrants from the western seaboard of Scotland rather than from Ireland. This in itself provides a strong case for the English *érgi* names having the same Gaelic-Scandinavian source. However, further evidence that Scandinavians borrowed Scottish Gaelic *airigh* is to be found in Scottish nomenclature. Much of the work that has been done on the English occurrences of *érgi* has tended to ignore or to dismiss the parallel Scottish instances of this element on the grounds that they are purely Gaelic constructions, and therefore not connected to the Scandinavian

²¹ Appendix B, Part One, is a composite of the list in Ekwall's *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, and his entries in *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, and the relevant *EPNS* county volumes, together with information from Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*.

²² Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*, vol. 1, p. 80, and Fellows-Jensen, 'Common Gaelic *Airigh*, Old Scandinavian *Érgi* or *Erg?*', p. 69.

settlers.²³ However, although the majority of the Galloway and Manx instances do have Celtic word-order and specifics, there are still a considerable number of names in the highlands and islands of Scotland which appear to be of Scandinavian origin. The most obvious example is Assary in Caithness, which is the *Asgrims ærgin* recorded in *Flateyjarbók*. This name contains the Scandinavian personal name *Ásgrímr* and ON *ærgi*. Further examples in Caithness include Shurrery, containing ON *ærgi* and an ON personal name *Sióvarr*,²⁴ and Scoolary and Skirza, containing *ærgi* and the respective personal names *Skúli* and *Skerrir*.²⁵ Hebridean instances include Obisary (ON *hóp* ‘bay’), Aulasary (ON pers. n. *Óláfr*) and Langary (ON *langr*).²⁶ Examples from the western mainland include Smearsary (ON *smjør* ‘butter’ and ON *áss* ‘ridge’),²⁷ and Brunery (ON *brunnr* ‘spring’).²⁸ These names all contain Scandinavian word-order and specifics, and occur in areas of known Scandinavian settlement. Some of them bear a marked resemblance to the English *ærgi* names, for example Aulasary in North Uist, which is parallel with the Lancashire name Anglezark, as they both contain the Scandinavian personal name *Óláfr*. Other Scottish *ærgi* names contain personal names and topographic elements as specifics of a similar type to the English names. This would suggest that the two groups of names had similar origins, and it seems likely that Scandinavian-speakers could have borrowed *ærgi* from Gaelic-speakers, and proceeded to coin names using this element in different parts of the British Isles.

²³ For example, Higham, ‘Aergi Names as Indicators of Transhumance’, p.56, and Megaw, ‘The Manx ‘Eary’ and its Significance’, p.333.

²⁴ Waugh, ‘Settlement Names in Caithness’, p. 76.

²⁵ Waugh, ‘The Place-Names of Canisbay, Caithness’, p. 103.

²⁶ MacBain, *Place Names: Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, p. 291.

²⁷ Fraser, ‘Norse Settlement on the North-West Seaboard’, p. 101.

²⁸ MacBain, *Place Names: Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, p. 291.

In this context it is notable that Gaelic *airigh* names occur alongside the Scandinavian *ærgi* names in Caithness, the Hebrides and the western mainland. In fact, the overall distribution of *airigh* names in Scotland corresponds closely to areas of Scandinavian settlement,²⁹ with the alternative Gaelic term *ruighe* being used outside these areas.³⁰ Even in Galloway and Man, where there is little evidence for the use of ON *ærgi*, it is significant that, as discussed in Chapter Two, Section 5, the greatest concentrations of the Gaelic *airigh* names are found in the areas of the densest Scandinavian settlement.³¹ This correspondence between Scandinavian settlements and Gaelic *airigh* has given rise to the suggestion that ‘Viking settlers played an important part in the spread of the word as a place-name generic’,³² but its significance in terms of throwing light on the source of the Scandinavian term has largely been overlooked.

Thus, both the occurrence in Scotland of Scandinavian place-names containing *ærgi*, and the fact that distribution of Gaelic *airigh* seems connected to Scandinavian settlement, point to Scottish Gaelic *airigh* as the most likely source of ON *ærgi*. Fellows-Jensen notes that there is

reason to believe that the Isles became overpopulated in the course of the ninth century and some of the Viking settlers moved on from there to Iceland, the Faroes, England and Normandy.³³

It seems perfectly plausible, therefore, that Scandinavian speakers, having adopted this Gaelic element into their nomenclature, moved southwards into the North-West of

²⁹ See Megaw’s distribution map of this element in ‘The Manx ‘Eary’ and its Significance’, p. 336.

³⁰ Fellows-Jensen, ‘Viking Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles’, p. 164.

³¹ See also Oram, ‘Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland’, p. 135.

³² Fellows-Jensen, ‘Viking Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles’, p. 164.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 165.

England. This exodus of people would also account for the occurrence of the element in the Faroe Isles.

4. The Meaning of *Ærgi*

What remains unclear about the element *ærgi* is its precise meaning. Gaelic *airigh* is recorded as meaning 'shieling, hill-pasture in summer'.³⁴ However, there have been several objections to interpreting ON *ærgi* in this way. Both Higham and Fellows-Jensen have pointed out that the Scandinavians already had a perfectly good term to express this concept, namely *sætr*.³⁵ As mentioned in Chapter Two, Section 4(b), Scandinavian loan-words into Gaelic were much more common than Gaelic loans into Scandinavian. The rarity of Scandinavian adoption of Gaelic terminology suggests that words were only adopted where it was linguistically useful to do so, that is, where no similar word already existed in the borrowing language. This would appear to suggest that *ærgi* must have differed in meaning from *sætr* in some crucial way. Additionally, the distribution of *ærgi* and *sætr* names shows that the Scandinavians used both terms in seemingly complementary distribution, which again implies that they were not synonymous.³⁶ It is also noteworthy that Higham's study of the geographical distribution of the English *ærgi* sites reveals that almost all of them are found on much lower land than the expected shieling height of 600 feet.³⁷ Higham also records that the quality of land at the *ærgi* sites is much better than would be expected of summer grazing land, and

³⁴ MacLennan, *A Pronouncing and Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*, p. 8.

³⁵ Higham, 'The 'Erg' Place-Names of Northern England', p. 7, and Fellows-Jensen, 'Common Gaelic *Airge*, Old Scandinavian *Ærgi* or *Erg*?', p. 71.

³⁶ Megaw, 'The Manx 'Eary' and its Significance', p. 336.

³⁷ Higham, 'The 'Erg' Place-Names of Northern England', p. 8.

in fact they 'are often sited on the best soils in their areas'.³⁸ She also notes that in the post-Conquest period, many of the *áergi* sites became important local administrative units, and argues that '[i]t does not seem likely that temporary shelters made by a group of Norse refugees...would have given their name to whole townships'.³⁹

Therefore it appears unlikely that ON *áergi* was primarily used in the sense 'shieling, hill-pasture' in England. Fellows-Jensen records that on the small island of Bernera off the coast of Lewis, Gaelic *airigh* is used of half-way house shielings 'where the cattle were kept on their return from the summer pastures in the Uig hills and before transference to the village pastures for the winter'.⁴⁰ From this, she argues that the Scandinavians may have adopted *áergi* in the sense of a

shieling close to the home-farm that was used for short grazing periods as soon as the pasture allowed it in the spring and on the way home from the mountain or summer *seter* in the autumn.⁴¹

This practise is current in modern Norway, where a shieling of this type is referred to as a *heimseter*.⁴² However, Higham considers that this model of land use does not really fit the topography and climate of North-West England.⁴³ She argues that in England, '[a]ny stock movement involved short-distance journeys to very local hill grazings' which 'could be covered in a short period of time – considerably less than a day'.⁴⁴ This means that there would have been no need for interim *heimseter* sites between the farmstead and

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 9.

³⁹ *Ibid*.

⁴⁰ Fellows-Jensen, 'Viking Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles', p. 163.

⁴¹ *Ibid*.

⁴² *Ibid*.

⁴³ Higham, 'Aergi Names as Indicators of Transhumance', p. 57.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 58.

the summer grazing areas, and Higham concludes, '[s]urely it is because an *-aergi* was different, and not the equivalent of a *heimseter* that the term was used!'.⁴⁵

Higham's original suggestion regarding the meaning of the *áergi* names was that they may not refer to seasonal settlement at all, but might instead be used of sites which utilised the Celtic *daer-rath* method of cattle-rearing, 'in which the chieftain leased out stock to tenants'.⁴⁶ She records that there is evidence of a similar system in operation in this part of England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and argues that these medieval vaccaries might indicate the survival of an older stock-rearing tradition.⁴⁷ Although Higham considers that these earlier *daer-rath* tenancies are likely to have been British in origin, she also notes that Old Irish *airge* could mean 'a herd of cattle', and that there seems to have been a similar stock-rearing system in operation in Goidelic communities.⁴⁸ This might suggest that Scandinavian immigrants to the western seaboard of Scotland encountered an unfamiliar system of cattle-leasing, to which the *áergi* names referred, and then proceeded to adopt both the system and the term to describe it.

In a later article, Higham alters her theory slightly to allow for a Goidelic origin to the *áergi* names. She suggests that rather than being a reference to the Scandinavian takeover of established cattle-rearing enterprises, the *áergi* sites may instead refer to the 'home-base' where plough teams of oxen were kept. She argues that

[p]lough oxen would...not be sent to the hill pastures in the summer as they would have been needed at home, both for ploughing and as general draught animals. They may have moved to nearby grazings on a diurnal

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 57.

⁴⁶ Higham, 'The 'Erg' Place-names of Northern England', p. 10.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 11 and 13.

basis, but would return home each night, to dung the fields as needed, and be ready for work as required.⁴⁹

This explanation would seem to account for the English *áergi* sites occupying lower, more fertile land than that of a typical shieling. This is also true of Higham's original suggestion regarding cattle-leasing, however, and a Goidelic origin for the word *áergi* does not necessarily preclude a reference to a system of stock-leasing. Bangor-Jones notes that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the places which had *airigh* or *áergi* names in Sutherland were occupied by herdsmen who looked after their landlord's cattle on a permanent basis, and that the 'scale of the operation sets these grazings aside from the normal shielings'.⁵⁰ He points out that this type of 'bow-room' tenancy is clearly parallel to the *daer-stock* tenancy to which Higham had postulated the English *áergi* names might refer.⁵¹ It is therefore possible that this system of cattle-leasing may date back to the Scandinavian period in Scotland and could have been adopted and transported to England by the Scandinavians. The presence in the North-West of England of a parallel British system of stock rearing would probably have helped to preserve and maintain the Scottish system once it reached England.

However, in the absence of more definite evidence it is perhaps not possible to rule out Higham's other suggestion regarding the grazing of oxen. It is notable that the English *áergi* names themselves offer no clue as to their meaning. In compound names, the specific elements tend to be either personal names or topographical terms describing the landscape. The Lancashire name Biggar might contain ON *bygg* 'barley', which

⁴⁹ Higham, 'Aergi Names as Indicators of Transhumance', p. 59.

⁵⁰ Bangor-Jones, 'Norse Settlement in South-East Sutherland', p. 87.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

would indicate a connection to crop-rearing, if this etymology is correct.⁵² There are no specifics which refer to pastoral farming or transhumance in any way. In Scotland, however, there are a few clues. Henderson considers Soarary to represent ON *Sauðar-erg* ‘sheep shieling’,⁵³ and Fraser records that Smiorasair and Smearisary in the North-West of Scotland contain ON *smjør* ‘butter’.⁵⁴ Mackay argues that Gearnsary in Sutherland has the meaning ‘hired pasture, pasture upon which cattle are taken at so much a head for the season’.⁵⁵ If correct, these etymologies provide evidence of the grazing of sheep, the production of butter and the hiring of grazing land at *áergi* sites. However, the use of specifics such as *sauðr* and *smjør* as distinguishing elements may potentially imply that these particular *áergi* sites were in specialist usage, and as such these names contribute little to our understanding of how the element was used in general.

Therefore, the precise meaning of *áergi* remains opaque. The term was clearly connected with the care of livestock, and its meaning differed enough from ON *sætr* and Gaelic *ruighe* for it to be used in complementary distribution with these terms. Both Higham’s suggested etymologies are plausible, but without substantive evidence from the specifics of the *áergi* names, it is not possible to determine more precisely how the element was used in England.

⁵² Ekwall, *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, p. 205.

⁵³ Henderson, *The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland*, p. 191.

⁵⁴ Fraser, ‘Norse Settlement on the North-West Seaboard’, p. 101.

⁵⁵ Mackay, ‘Sutherland Place-Names: Reay and Kildonan’, p. 196.

5. The Distribution of *Ærgi*

5(a) Introduction

The distribution of *ærgi* in English place-names is somewhat problematic. Names containing this element are found in wider distribution than the inversion-compounds,⁵⁶ and although the inversion-compounds by definition display Celtic influence in their word-order, the English instances of *ærgi* names are almost entirely constructed in the Germanic manner. These incongruities in distribution and element-order are somewhat surprising, since the clear Goidelic influence displayed in both the *ærgi* names and the inversion-compounds would otherwise appear to suggest that they were all coined by the same group of Scandinavian-speakers from the western seaboard of Scotland. Additionally, as will be discussed more fully below, it is noteworthy that historical forms of *ærgi* names display variation between *e-* and *a-* in the vowel of the generic, with *e-* being the predominant form in areas where the inversion-compounds are most common, and *a-* being predominant outwith these areas. It may also be significant that the *ærgi* names in Yorkshire are often plural constructions, in marked contrast to the singular formations found to the west of the Pennines.⁵⁷

There are various possible explanations for the dissemination of the *ærgi* names in comparison with the inversion-compounds. Whilst it would appear that the element was brought to England primarily by Scandinavians after a period of language contact with Scottish Gaelic, it may be possible that further instances of language contact led to the element developing variant forms and a wider geographical distribution. Dodgson

⁵⁶ For the distribution of *ærgi* names in England, see Map 5.

⁵⁷ For full lists of historical forms of the English *ærgi* names, see Appendix B, Part Two.

suggests that the Cheshire name *Arrowe* may represent Middle Irish *airge*, which has passed directly into English rather than going through a Scandinavian phase.⁵⁸ From this, Fellows-Jensen speculates that one explanation for the southern *a*- forms of *áergi* might be that they represent a loan of Scottish Gaelic *airigh* directly into English, whereas the *e*- forms would have gone through a Scandinavian stage.⁵⁹ Additionally, in the case of the Yorkshire *áergi* names, Fellows-Jensen notes that in some cases terms for temporary settlements may have been borrowed by Danes and Englishmen 'to describe structures for which their own languages had no adequate terms'.⁶⁰ From this, it seems plausible to suggest that the *áergi* names which are found outside the North-West of England might potentially be Danish or English forms of a word borrowed from the Norwegians.

5(b) Variation in the Vowel of *Áergi*

Fellows-Jensen notes that the form of the initial vowel in English *áergi* names displays variation in its historical spellings, and that the distribution of these variant forms occurs in a definite pattern.⁶¹ She identifies

a dialectal division into a southern area consisting of Lancashire south of the Ribble, the Wirral, and the Huddersfield area of the West Riding with original *a* spellings, and a northern area consisting of Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire north of the Ribble, the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire and the northern part of the West Riding with *e* spellings.⁶²

⁵⁸ Dodgson, *The Place-Names of Cheshire*, vol. 4, pp. 261-262.

⁵⁹ Fellows-Jensen, 'A Gaelic-Scandinavian Loan-Word in English Place-Names', pp. 21-22.

⁶⁰ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement in Yorkshire*, pp. 191-192.

⁶¹ Fellows-Jensen, 'A Gaelic-Scandinavian Loan-Word in English Place-Names', p. 20.

⁶² *Ibid.*

Although the boundary between the two regions corresponds roughly to the dialectal division between Old English Mercian and Northumbrian, she points out that there is no obvious reason why the Mercians would have assimilated ON *áergi* with an *a-* rather than an *e-* form.⁶³ She suggests that these Mercian *a-* forms may instead reflect Gaelic *airigh* rather than ON *áergi*, but acknowledges that there is no clear reason which would support this hypothesis either.⁶⁴

In the case of the Wirral name Arrowe, it is possible that this simplex formation could indeed be Irish Gaelic *airge* or Scottish Gaelic *airigh*. A likely Goidelic presence in the area is attested by a nearby *Irby* name.⁶⁵ However, in a later work, Fellows-Jensen suggests that Arrowe in this instance might alternatively be a British river-name (based on *Arg* 'white, bright') of which parallel forms exist in Wales and Hertfordshire.⁶⁶ Even if Arrowe were a Gaelic coinage, it is clear that most of the southern and eastern *áergi* names were not coined by Gaelic speakers, as only a few have Gaelic specifics. Similarly, there is no firm evidence to substantiate a loan of Gaelic *airigh* directly into English. Although many of the specifics of the *áergi* names could be either Scandinavian or Old English, as with Winder from ON *vindr* or OE *wind* and Mosser from ON *mosi* or OE *mos*, the fact that parallel forms of these names occur in Cumberland and Westmorland, where the generic is undoubtedly ON *áergi*, suggests that the Lancashire and Yorkshire instances should also be interpreted as Scandinavian formations. There are only a handful of names which appear to contain distinctly English forms. *Wincaterhes* in the West Riding has been identified as possibly containing OE *wind-geat*

⁶³ *Ibid*, pp. 20-21.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 22.

⁶⁵ Gelling, 'Scandinavian Settlement in Cheshire', p. 189.

⁶⁶ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North West*, p. 61.

as the specific.⁶⁷ However, only one spelling of this lost field name survives, from 1203-9, with an *e-* spelling, which would appear to rule out Gaelic *airigh*. Alder Ho and Calder Ho, both in the West Riding, could contain Old or Middle English *ald* and *cald* respectively, but again the spellings contain *e-* rather than *a-* (*Aldherges* and *Caldreyes*).⁶⁸ Additionally, the possibility exists that these specifics may be later additions. It seems that *ald* could have been added to distinguish an old *áergi* site from a new one, and *cald* may have been a late prefix to a simplex plural form of *áergi*, in order to distinguish it from another simplex plural name. There is therefore no reason to assume any connection between these names and Gaelic *airigh*.

In Lancashire, there are a few names which might contain an Old English specific. In the case of Docker, Sholver and Winder, English specifics are possible, but Scandinavian etymologies have also been proposed.⁶⁹ Similarly, Salter and Robsawter may contain the Scandinavian cognate of *salt*, rather than the English word. In any case, the spellings contain *e-* rather than *a-*, which again rules out Gaelic *airigh* as a source for these names. The lost name *Aldearghes* may contain OE *ald*, but it is possible that *ald* was a later affix. Since only one historical form of this name survives, from the fourteenth century, it is impossible to say whether or not *ald* was originally part of the name, or even whether the generic originally had an *a-* spelling. Another lost name, *Hauedarhe*, has been tenuously identified as containing OE *hēafod*.⁷⁰ However, Smith notes that *haufuð*, an earlier form of ON *hǫfuð*, is occasionally recorded in Middle

⁶⁷ Smith, *The Place Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, vol. 6, p. 156.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 184-185.

⁶⁹ See Appendix B, Part One.

⁷⁰ Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, p. 80.

English texts as *haued*.⁷¹ Thus it appears that the name may be entirely Scandinavian in origin. Lastly, Ortnor contains the Old English place-name Overton and has *a-* spellings (*Overtonargh* 1323, *Hortounargh* 1324).⁷² This is perhaps the only *áergi* name for which the specific can be said to be Old English with any degree of certainty. However, given that the specific is an existing place-name, there is no reason to believe that *Overtonargh* was an Old English coinage. It is just as likely that Scandinavian speakers affixed *áergi* onto an existing settlement name to refer to a site connected to the village, as they have clearly done in other instances.⁷³ Therefore, this name offers no link between Gaelic *airigh* and Old English nomenclature, and neither of the other two dubious instances of *a-* forms (*Aldearghes* and *Haedarhe*) can be considered as proof that Gaelic *airigh* was borrowed into English.

What is notable about all of these Lancashire names, whether they involve *a-* or *e-* forms, is that with the exception of Sholver they are all found in the far north of the county, in Lonsdale Hundred (or northern Amounderness Hundred in the case of *Haedarhe*). This implies that they belong to the same group as the Cumberland and Westmorland *áergi* names, and were probably coined by Scandinavians. Early spellings of the Cumberland and Westmorland *áergi* names reveal the occasional *a-* form amongst the more usual *e-* forms.⁷⁴ Bearing in mind that none of the northern Lancashire names can be dated to before the thirteenth century, it is therefore possible that the *a-* forms may be due to orthographic variation rather than a direct loan from Gaelic. In any case, Fellows-Jensen identifies Cheshire and Lancashire south of the Ribble as the area where

⁷¹ Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, vol. 1, p. 256.

⁷² Ekwall, *the Place-Names of Lancashire*, p. 172.

⁷³ Ekwall (*ibid*) notes that the village is only a few miles away.

⁷⁴ See Appendix B, Part Two for lists of historical forms.

the bulk of the *a*- forms occur, and where Gaelic *airigh* might have passed directly into English. The fact that the names with possible Old English specifics all occur instead in northern Lancashire suggests that whatever the cause of the variation between *e*- and *a*- forms in the *érgi* names, it has nothing to do with a Gaelic loan-word into Old English. It is therefore necessary to examine the origin and development of these *a*- forms more closely, in an attempt to identify what might have caused this type of variation.

5(c) The Origin of the *A*- Forms of the *Érgi* Names

Examination of the names containing *a*- forms reveals that they vary in their nature and extent in each county, and that these forms may have had more than one cause. In Cumberland, the occurrence of *a*- forms is essentially superficial. There are only three *a*- spellings in the entire corpus of historical forms for this county, occurring in the names Berrier (*Berriar* 1487), Mosser (*Mosehare* 1397) and Salter (*Saltargha* c.1190). In Berrier and Mosser, the *a*- forms occur after the generic *érgi* has been reduced to *-er* or *-ar*, by which time the names had probably become semantically opaque. In any case, since the *a*- forms are preceded by around half-a-dozen *e*- forms in both Berrier and Mosser, the *a*- forms are clearly just one of the many orthographic variations which occur in these names. Similarly, although *Saltargha* is a much older form, recorded before the *érgi* generic had become indistinct, it is nevertheless flanked by three earlier *e*- forms and nine later ones, and must be regarded as an orthographic anomaly rather than evidence that there were *érgi* names coined with *a*- forms in Cumberland.

In Westmorland, six of the sixteen names display an occasional *a*- form. These *a*- forms are always preceded by one or more *e*- forms, so that none of the names is likely to have contained *a*- forms originally. Forms such as *Docarhe* 1214-30 and *Dockar* 1615, 1618 for Docker and *Skelmesar* 1506, *Skelmesarwe* 1524, *Skelmersharthe* 1550 for Skelsmergh suggest that scribes did not recognise the generic as being *érgi*, and thus these forms have little significance for the pattern of vowel variation in *érgi* names. However, forms such as *Syresargh* 1332, *Syrisarghe* 1596 for Sizergh and *Manesargh(e)* 1200-70, *Mandesarghe* 1292, *Manshargh* 1537 for Mansergh appear to indicate *érgi* with a deliberate *a*- form. None of the *a*- spellings occurs before the thirteenth century, and it is possible that they were the result of influence from the more southerly *érgi* names with *a*- forms. In any case they are clearly a late innovation in the Westmorland names.

The situation in the East Riding of Yorkshire is fairly uniform. All of the *érgi* names are consistently spelt with an *e*- until the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, at which point they become consistently spelt with an *a*-. The only exceptions are the lost name *Alderges*, for which only thirteenth century forms survive, and the name *Arras* (in Warter), for which only twelfth century forms survive. There is one name which might originally have had an *a*- spelling, namely Arram (in Atwick), which has the form *Argun* in Domesday Book. However, as Fellows-Jensen notes, there may have been some Anglo-Norman substitution of *a*- for *e*- in Domesday Book.⁷⁵ Given this, it is by no means clear that Arram was originally spelt with an *a*-, and because of the consistent *e*- forms in the other East Riding *érgi* names, it seems more likely that the Domesday form is anomalous.

⁷⁵ Fellows-Jensen, 'A Gaelic-Scandinavian Loan-Word in English Place-Names', p. 20.

In the North Riding of Yorkshire, the situation is similar to that in the East Riding. The *ærgi* names normally have *e*- forms, which later develop into *a*- forms. However, there are two exceptions. One is Oran, which has the twelfth and thirteenth century forms *Anchorouen* and *Anchorhouen*. The lack of further historical forms for this name makes it difficult to ascertain whether these *a*- spellings represent the original forms. As discussed below, this name appears to be an inversion-compound, but as the identification of the initial element as ON *ærgi* is tenuous, it is perhaps unwise to attach too much significance to these *a*- forms. The other exception is Eryholme, which appears to have undergone a reverse development to the other North Riding names, that is, from *a*- forms to *e*- forms. One of these *a*- forms is from Domesday Book, which, as previously mentioned, cannot be considered as reliable evidence of the existence of an *a*- form. However, the occurrence of a second *a*- spelling from the twelfth century suggests that the name may indeed have contained an *a*- form originally. It remains unclear why this name has developed differently to the others in this area. However, aside from these two exceptions, it seems that the *a*- forms in the North and East Ridings can best be explained as representing a late change in the pronunciation of the element in this part of the country.

In the West Riding of Yorkshire, five of the names contain *a*- forms. As mentioned above, Alder Ho has *e*- forms consistently until the end of the sixteenth century, when the name becomes *O(u)ldarrowes*. However, it is possible that the other four names could have originally contained *a*- forms. *Gamellesarges* is a lost name, for which only one thirteenth century spelling exists, making it impossible to speculate on the development of this name. In Feizor the earliest spellings, dating to the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries, show variation between *e-* and *a-* forms, with the *e-* forms outnumbering the *a-* forms. Again, the lack of earlier forms of this name makes it impossible to discern whether this variation is purely orthographic, or whether it is the result of a dialectal change. Similarly, the earliest form of Beatrix dates to 1343 (*Batherarghes*), which is too late to establish the original form of this name. Only Golcar has consistent *a-* spellings dating back to the eleventh century. It is perhaps significant that Golcar is geographically distinct from the other West Riding *áergi* sites, in that it is much further south, and may in fact have a closer connection to the Lancashire *áergi* names. Additionally, the historical forms of this name suggest that the specific may be the Old English personal name *Guðlac*, rather than an Anglicised form of ON *Guðleikr* or *Guðlaugr* which had been suggested in the *EPNS* county volume.⁷⁶ However, the linguistic background of the other three West Riding *áergi* names is decidedly Gaelic-Scandinavian, since two of the names contain a Scandinavian personal name and one contains a Gaelic personal name.⁷⁷ This argues against the possibility that the *a-* forms in this area could be the result of a loan of either Gaelic *airigh* or ON *áergi* into English, particularly as Golcar only provides potential evidence of a man with an English personal name rather than an English-coined place-name.

The situation in northern Lancashire is parallel to that of Cumberland and Westmorland, with a predominance of *e-* forms. In Lonsdale North of the Sands, all except two of the names contain *e-* forms. The first exception is Little Arrow, which is recorded as *Little Array* in 1610 and *Little Harrow* in 1671. As these historical spellings are so late, they cannot be taken as evidence of the original form of the name; nor do they

⁷⁶ Smith, *The Place Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, vol. 2, pp. 291-292

⁷⁷ See Appendix B, Part One.

indicate whether or not this is truly an *ærgi* at all. However, several years after these seventeenth century spellings were published in Ekwall's book *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, Collingwood cited a recently-discovered charter recording the name *Litelherga* a.1220.⁷⁸ He equated the charter form with the modern name Little Arrow, and if this identification is correct, then it would appear that Little Arrow is indeed an *ærgi* name, and belongs with the other Lonsdale North names which have *e-* forms. Secondly, one of the historical spellings of Bethocar seems to contain an *a-* form: *Bethokar* c.1535. However, the form is preceded by an earlier *e-* form, and in any case it appears that the generic had been reduced to *-er* or *-ar* by the sixteenth century, giving this *a-* form little significance in the discussion of vowel variation in ON *ærgi*. In Lonsdale South of the Sands, there is slightly more evidence of *a-* forms. Arkholme shows considerable fluctuation between *e-* and *a-* forms, which should probably be attributed to orthographic variation. This is because it seems unlikely that there could have been so many dialectal alterations as the name would otherwise imply, when the other place-names in the area remain unaffected. The two lost names *Cobbanarghe* and *Aldearghes* have *a-* forms, dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively. Lastly, Ortner, which is discussed above, has two *a-* forms, dating to the fourteenth century. The lack of earlier or later forms for these three names makes it difficult to judge whether we are dealing with names which originally had *e-* forms which then altered to *a-* forms, in parallel with the situation in parts of Yorkshire, or whether the names originally had *a-* forms, in parallel with names occurring in southern Lancashire.

⁷⁸ Collingwood, 'Ravenglass, Coniston and Penrith in Ancient Deeds', p. 41. I owe this reference to Diana Whaley.

Further south, in Amounderness Hundred, the *a*- forms are much more predominant. Names such as Goosnargh, Grimsargh and Medlar have consistent *a*-spellings, with only the occasional *e*-form. The lost names *Archole*, *Hauedarhe* and *Midelare* have only *a*- forms, yet in the case of these names it may be significant that no historical forms prior to the thirteenth century survive. Kellamergh also has predominantly *a*- spellings, although the earliest forms of the name are *Kilgrimol* (1189-94) and *Kelfgrimeshereg* (1200-1). The first of these forms is anomalous, and it is difficult to be sure whether the second form is also anomalous, or if it could signify that a change from *e*- to *a*- occurred in the early thirteenth century. Grimsargh also has an early *e*- form, *Grimesherham* (1189), predated only by the Domesday form *Grimsarge*. It is unfortunate that none of the other Amounderness names has historical forms dating to earlier than around the turn of the thirteenth century, aside from the Domesday forms which, as previously mentioned, may have been subject to Anglo-Norman substitution of *a*- for *e*-. This means that there is no definite proof of *a*- forms as early as the eleventh century. It therefore seems possible that these names underwent an alteration from *e*- to *a*- forms in a development parallel to that of the Yorkshire names, albeit somewhat earlier. However, given that there are so few *e*- spellings in these names, it may be more likely that the *a*- forms are in fact the originals.

The situation in southern Lancashire, in West Derby, Leyland and Salford Hundreds, is similar to Amounderness, in that the historical forms of the names display predominantly *a*- spellings, although almost all of these historical forms are thirteenth century or later. Only *Oddisherhe* might possibly indicate a development of *e*- to *a*-,

since it is *Oddisherhe* (1190-1213) and *Oddisharie* (1213-19). However, given that there are no other extant forms of this now-lost place-name, it is impossible to be certain.

Overall, there are seventeen Lancashire *érgi* names which may have originally contained *a-* forms. Examination of the specifics reveals that, as in the West Riding, the linguistic background of these names is almost entirely Gaelic-Scandinavian. There are four Scandinavian personal names, four Gaelic personal names, and five Scandinavian appellatives. The remaining four names (*Ortner*, *Aldearghes*, *Hauedarhe* and Little Arrow), as discussed above, are of dubious origin. Both *Ortner* and *Hauedarhe* may have been coined by Scandinavian speakers. *Aldearghes* may originally have been a Scandinavian simplex name, to which an English modifying element was later added, as is the case with Little Arrow, assuming the a.1220 form to be correct. However, the fact that the majority of these names appear to have been coined by Gaelic-influenced Scandinavians is yet further evidence against the notion that Gaelic *airigh* could have been borrowed directly into Old English. Both the Germanic word-order of the names, and the predominance of Scandinavian over Gaelic specifics, seem to cast doubt on the possibility that the names were actually coined by Gaelic speakers using *airigh*. In any case, if we were to suppose a Gaelic origin for these names, it might be expected to find some other evidence of purely Gaelic place-names in the area, which is clearly lacking. Thus, it seems that the *a-* forms cannot be explained as being ultimately from Gaelic *airigh*.

The occurrence of *érgi* names in Cheshire is uncertain. Although there are as many as a dozen names which might possibly contain *érgi*, only one or two of them can be said to do so with any degree of certainty. The name *Arrowe*, in the Wirral peninsula,

is the only major *ærgi* name in Cheshire, and as discussed above it may alternatively be a British river-name. The many nineteenth-century field names around Arrowe which contain the element *arrowe* have been explained as meaning ‘a part, an allotment, of the township of Arrowe’, rather than as an indication of a multitude of grazing sites clustered around the town.⁷⁹ This leaves only a few minor names and field names. Of these, the two field names *Colders* and Cold Airs may instead contain OE *ears*, making them entirely English constructions.⁸⁰ Ashton Brook was ‘*le Erwe...brok*’ in the fourteenth century, but this could also be a British river-name, given the context. It is notable how similar the form *Erwe* is to *Arwe*, the earliest form of Arrowe. Ark Wood is recorded in the nineteenth century as ‘*the Dark Ark*’, but it has been suggested that the *ark* element may instead be ME *arke*.⁸¹ There are also two lost field names *Blake Hereye* (1312) and *the Harowe* (1519), and two nineteenth century names, one a farm name, the Arrowes, and the other a field name, Harrow Flan, any of which might potentially contain *ærgi*. There is only a single historical form for each of these names, and none of them appears to resemble *ærgi*, although these lone forms provide an insufficient basis on which to establish an etymology. Perhaps only two field names and a lost place-name are in fact likely to contain *ærgi*: the field names Argan and Organ, both of which appear to contain the dative plural form *ærgjum*,⁸² and the lost *Aynesargh*, which has a parallel form in Lancashire.

These problematic Cheshire names usually contain *a-* rather than *e-* forms, apart from Aston Brook, *Blake Hereye* and *Colders*, which contain *e-*, and Organ, which by the

⁷⁹ Examples include Broad Arrowe, Brown’s Arrowe, Gill’s Arrowe, Harrison’s Arrowe, Smith’s Arrowe, Wharton’s Arrowe, etc. See Dodgson, *The Place-Names of Cheshire*, vol. 4, pp. 261-262.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 189 and 248.

⁸¹ Dodgson, *The Place-Names of Cheshire*, vol. 3, p. 245.

⁸² *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 195.

nineteenth century had developed an *o*- spelling. None of these names is recorded before the thirteenth century and many only survive in nineteenth-century forms, making it difficult to speculate as to their original spellings. Additionally, names such as the Arrows, Harrow Flan and *the Harowe* may well have been influenced by the form of Arrowe in the Wirral peninsula. However, it might be expected that any of these names which did contain ON *áergi* would contain *a*- forms similar to those found in neighbouring southern Lancashire. There is very little evidence regarding the linguistic origin of the names, since most of them are simplex formations. *Aynesargh* would appear to contain ON *einn* or perhaps a Scandinavian personal name in *Ein-*, and Cold Airs and *Colders* could contain either OE *cald* or ON *kaldr*. *Blake Hereye* could contain OE *blæc*, but as this is a field name, it may not belong to the initial period of settlement. Due to the highly dubious nature of these Cheshire field and minor names, most of which seem unlikely to contain *áergi*, they have been omitted from the distribution map of this element.⁸³

From this examination of the *a*- forms in each county, it is clear that they do not all have the same cause. In Cumberland, Westmorland and northern Lancashire, the *a*- forms appear to represent occasional orthographic variations, whereas in the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire the *a*- forms indicate a late dialectal change in this part of the country. Some of the West Riding names may also belong in this latter category. Instances such as Arkholme in Lancashire and Feizor in the West Riding, which fluctuate between *a*- and *e*- forms, appear to be the result of orthographic variation. It is likely that some of the West Riding and southern Lancashire *a*- spellings may be the original forms, although in the case of names like Kellamergh it is impossible to rule out a shift in

⁸³ See Map 5.

pronunciation from *e-* to *a-*. Additionally, the form of some of the minor Cheshire names such as the Arrows, the Harowe, and Harrow Flan may have been affected by the Wirral name Arrow and its surrounding field-names.

The question remains regarding the origin of the seemingly original *a-* forms. It has been demonstrated that they cannot constitute a loan from Gaelic into Old English. Similarly, the lack of Old English specifics makes it unlikely that these forms could be the result of a loan of Scandinavian *ǣrgi* into Old English, due to the lack of Old English specifics. It is of course quite likely that field-names such as *Siwardherges* in the West Riding and *Helewynherge* in Cumberland, both of which contain Middle English personal names, may have been coined in the Middle English period once the element had become assimilated into English. Yet in the majority of cases, these names appear to have had a Scandinavian, rather than a Gaelic or English source.

It is noteworthy, however, that in Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire (where *a-* forms also occur) some of the *ǣrgi* names have Gaelic personal names as specifics, whereas in Cumberland and Westmorland there are no Gaelic specifics at all. This might suggest that there is some sort of connection between the *a-* forms of the *ǣrgi* names and Scottish Gaelic. Fellows-Jensen suggests that the *a-* forms, rather than reflecting Gaelic *airigh* itself, might 'reflect a pronunciation of the loan-word closer to the original Gaelic *á* before a palatalised consonant than to Scandinavian *ǣ*'.⁸⁴ Thus it may be that the differing forms of the *ǣrgi* names are dialectal variations which stemmed from the same Scandinavian source-word, rather than resulting from the presence of both the Gaelic and the Scandinavian forms of the word in northern England. With regard to how such dialectal variation may have arisen, Fellows-Jensen notes that *airigh* 'may have

⁸⁴ Fellows-Jensen, 'A Gaelic-Scandinavian Loan-Word in English Place-Names', p. 21.

developed variants in the different parts of the Gaelic-speaking world before the Vikings started tampering with it'.⁸⁵ Fellows-Jensen also suggests that Scandinavians from the Isle of Man may have been responsible for some of the Norwegian names in Cheshire and southern Lancashire, including the *áergi* names.⁸⁶ She notes that there are several correspondences between the nomenclature of Man and these English regions. For example, the element *staðir* occurs both on Man and in Lancashire, but does not occur in Cumberland, Westmorland or Galloway.⁸⁷ Similarly, names containing *bý* are frequent on Man and in Lancashire and Cheshire, in many cases in parallel formations, whereas this element is rare in the Scottish Isles.⁸⁸

Therefore the reason for the variation in the vowel of *áergi* may be connected to diversities in the form of Gaelic *airigh*, rather than resulting from any further linguistic contact occurring in the North-West of England. The incidence of *e-* forms in some areas, and of *a-* forms in others, may simply be a reflection of the fact that Scandinavians appear to have settled in the North-West from differing points of origin along the western seaboard.

5(d) Plural Formations in Yorkshire

Whilst the variation in the vowel of *áergi* names may not be the result of language contact in the north of England, there does appear to be something unusual about many of the Yorkshire instances of *áergi*. This might suggest that they had a different linguistic origin to those found west of the Pennines. In the North and East Ridings, *áergi* occurs in

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p. 23.

⁸⁶ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Place-names of the Irish Sea Province', p. 39.

⁸⁷ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Isle of Man and North-West England', p. 49.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 48-49. See also Chapter Five for a discussion of the distribution of names in *bý*.

simplex plural formations rather than in compound names. In the West Riding, *ærgi* names occur as compound formations, but with seemingly anomalous plural endings. It is possible that these unusual forms could be the result of the borrowing of the element by English or Danish speakers, who used it to coin place-names in a different manner from that of the Norwegians. Fellows-Jensen argues only that we cannot be certain of every Yorkshire *ærgi* name having a West Scandinavian origin because of possible adoption by other linguistic groups.⁸⁹ Yet, particularly in the case of the simplex plural names, where there is no specific element, it is difficult to assess whether any of them were in fact coined by West Scandinavians.

In the East Riding of Yorkshire, there are only six *ærgi* names, all of which appear to be simplex plural formations, apart from the lost name *Alderges*. As mentioned above, *ald* may actually be a later addition, since there is another *ærgi* name nearby, namely Arras. This might imply that Arras is the newer site, and that *ald* was added to *Alderges* in order to distinguish between them. Four of the North Riding *ærgi* names are also simplex formations, all of them apparently dative plural constructions. Arkholme in northern Lancashire and the Cheshire field names Argan and Organ may also have this simplex plural form. These names are markedly different to the other *ærgi* names found to the west of the Pennines and along the north-western seaboard of Scotland, where the names generally have a singular form, and a landscape feature or personal name as a defining element. Whereas these more westerly names involving personal names imply ownership or at least management on an individual basis, the form of the *ærgi* names in the North and East Ridings would appear to imply communal ownership or control. Similarly, the lack of specific topographic markers to distinguish between separate *ærgi*

⁸⁹ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement in Yorkshire*, p. 76.

sites potentially indicates that there would only have been one such site in each area, again suggesting communal usage.

One possible explanation for this phenomenon is that Danish or English speakers borrowed ON *áergi* and applied it to their own grazing sites which operated on a different system to that of the Norwegians. Alternatively, it may be that Norwegian immigrants to the north and east of Yorkshire encountered different grazing practices to those further west, and simply adapted the form of *áergi* to match the local system. The fact that *áergi* sites were either located in groups or at least referred to in plural form is reflected in the many seemingly plural constructions in Yorkshire *áergi* names, which are found in the compound formations in addition to the simplex names. Yet what is unusual about the majority of these names is that the historical forms appear to indicate a plural form in *-s* or *-es*. Fellows-Jensen considered that the dative plural of ON *áergi* would be **áergjum*, and that the nominative plural would be **áergi*, although the irregular form **áergir* is apparently evidenced in several place-names in the Faroe Islands.⁹⁰ The dative plural form seems to be at the root of names such as Airyholme (*Erghum* 1138) and Arram (*Erghom* c.1220). However, the two Arras names in the East Riding have the earliest historical forms *Erghes* (1150-60) and *Herges* (1156) respectively, and the lost name *Alderges* is clearly similar in structure. Coldman Hargos in the North Riding has only two surviving historical forms, *Colemanergas* (1119, 1129) and *Col(l)emanhergas* (1170-90). In the West Riding, ten of the fifteen *áergi* names have endings in *-es*.⁹¹ It is difficult to account for these *-es* forms as being Scandinavian in origin. It is formally possible that in some of the West Riding names containing a personal name, the *-es*

⁹⁰ Fellows-Jensen, 'Common Gaelic *Airge*, Old Scandinavian *Áergi* or *Erg*?', p. 68.

⁹¹ See Appendix B, Part Two.

ending might be explained as an attempt to reflect a genitive singular **árgis*.⁹² However, a generic could not be genitive singular in form. Smith considered these names to be plural constructions, which he translated as ‘Bather’s shielings’ (Beatrix) and ‘Guthlac’s shielings’ (Golcar), and so on.⁹³ The names therefore do not appear to reflect ON **árgis*. What remains unclear is whether these *-es* plural forms indicate an English origin for the names, or if Scandinavian names were remodelled during the shift from Old Norse to English. As discussed above, some of the Yorkshire *árgi* names appear to have English specifics. Winder and Windros could contain OE *wind*, but the historical forms of these names do not contain *-es* forms. Alder Ho, Calder Ho and *Alderges* contain Old English elements, but it is not clear if these are later affixes. They all display *-es* forms, and thus could at least potentially be entirely English constructions. Cawder may have the same etymology as Calder Ho, although a British etymology has also been suggested.⁹⁴ The lost field name *Wincaterhes* has an Old English specific, and the one surviving historical form has an *-es* ending. Another lost field name, *Siwardherges*, appears to contain the Middle English personal name Siward.⁹⁵ This name is clearly an entirely English construction, but as it is a field name, it seems that it only provides evidence that ON *árgi* had passed into English in the later mediaeval period, rather than being proof of a loan during the period of Scandinavian settlement.

The lack of early records for these names is a complicating factor in determining whether the Yorkshire instances of *árgi* are Scandinavian or English. Aside from Golcar, which is recorded as *Gudlagesarc* and *Gudlagesargo* in Domesday book, none of

⁹² This is the genitive singular form suggested by Fellows-Jensen for the Faroese names, ‘Common Gaelic *Airge*, Old Scandinavian *Árgi* or *Erg?*’, p. 68.

⁹³ See Smith, *The Place Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, vol. 6, p 211, and vol. 2, pp. 291-292.

⁹⁴ Smith, *The Place Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, vol. 6, p. 51.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, vol. 5, p. 120.

the names with *-es* forms is recorded prior to the thirteenth century, and from the two forms listed above it would appear that in the case of Golcar, the *-es* forms were a later development. Thus it is difficult to judge whether these names in *-es* represent original Old English coinages with a loan-word from Scandinavian, or merely later Anglicisations of Old Norse names. Some of the simplex plural names in the North and East Ridings have Domesday forms, but these tend to be the dative plural formations, which would probably have had a similar form in Old English and Old Norse. The simplex names with *-es* forms are not recorded prior to the mid-twelfth century, which again means that it is not possible to identify whether they are Old English coinages, or renderings of a Scandinavian word that passed into Middle English.

It seems likely, however, that at least some of these Yorkshire *áergi* names must have been Norwegian coinages, in order for English (and potentially Danish) speakers to become familiar with both word and concept prior to borrowing them. It is possible that the names with Scandinavian specifics and plural forms may have been coined by Norwegian immigrants from West of the Pennines, and names with *-es* forms by English speakers using *áergi* as a loan-word. Danish reflexes of *áergi* names would probably be indistinguishable from the Norwegian forms, and as such the forms with *-es* plurals cannot be explained as Danish constructions. Names such as Feizor and Colman Hargos, which contain Gaelic personal names, are also unlikely to be of Danish origin. As many of the other *áergi* names appear to suggest English rather than Danish influence, it seems that there is only a very small number of potential Danish coinages. The case for ON *áergi* having been borrowed into Old English is somewhat stronger, but the distribution of the Yorkshire *áergi* names offers a strong case for a Gaelic-Norwegian context. They are

generally clustered in areas of established Norwegian rather than Danish influence. In the West Riding, almost all of the *áergi* names are found in the north-west, in Ewecross, East Staincliffe and West Staincliffe wapentakes, which border Westmorland and northern Lancashire. Evidence of Norwegian, rather than Danish, settlement in this area is found in names such as Osgoldcross, Staincross and Crosland, which appear to contain ON *kross*, a loan from Gaelic into Norwegian.⁹⁶ Similarly, the West Riding *áergi* names Moser and Winder have parallel forms in both Cumberland and Westmorland. This would suggest that this region may be an extension of the Gaelic-influenced Norwegian settlements in Cumberland, Westmorland and northern Lancashire. This notion is supported by sculptural evidence, such as the presence of a circle-headed stone cross in this part of the West Riding, of a type otherwise only found in the Scandinavian colonies on the west coast.⁹⁷ Additionally, two hammer-headed crosses located in this region are of a type otherwise found only in the North-West of England and Dumfries.⁹⁸ A further link with the Gaelic-Norwegian settlements in the North-West is the occurrence of two likely inversion-compounds, *Hillgrim* and *Stainpapan* in the West Riding, in the midst of the *áergi* sites.⁹⁹ It may also be significant that some of the personal names found in West Riding records and place-names which Smith had identified as being Irish are in fact distinctly Scottish, in particular Duncan, Malcolm and Gillemichael.¹⁰⁰

The situation is similar in the North Riding of Yorkshire. As discussed in Chapter Two, Section 6, there is evidence of Gaelic-influenced Norwegian settlement,

⁹⁶ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement in Yorkshire*, p. 192. Fellows-Jensen points out, however, that like *áergi*, *cross* could potentially have been borrowed by Danish or English speakers.

⁹⁷ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, pp. 177-182.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, pp.182-183.

⁹⁹ See Chapter Two.

¹⁰⁰ Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin*, vol. 1, p. 81.

particularly in the north and west, where likely inversion-compounds such as *Miregrim* and *Hillbraith* are found. Interestingly, two of the North Riding *áergi* names may themselves be inversion-compounds. Oran, which was *Anchorouen* in the twelfth century, may have consisted of *áergi* and an unidentified personal name.¹⁰¹ Arrathorne (*áergi* + *þorn*), which Smith explains as ‘the thorn bush near the shieling’,¹⁰² is perhaps instead ‘the shieling by the thorn bush’.¹⁰³ Given their inverted word-order, these names are most likely to have been coined by Gaelic-Norwegian settlers from west of the Pennines, where the bulk of the inversion-compounds are located.

There is less evidence of Gaelic-Norwegian settlement in the East Riding of Yorkshire. The coastal proximity of the *áergi* names in this county has led scholars such as Smith and Janzén to suggest that these settlements could have been founded by Norwegians who sailed down the North Sea from Caithness.¹⁰⁴ In this case, the East Riding *áergi* names would reflect a separate contingent of Norwegian settlers from those who settled in the rest of Yorkshire. However, the coastal proximity of these names might be accounted for in another way. I would argue that the East Riding *áergi* names could have been coined by the same group of Gaelic-Norwegian immigrants who settled in the West and North Ridings, who had continued down the rivers Aire, Ouse and Derwent (and their various tributaries) into the Humber estuary. From there, they could have travelled up the river Hull, or up the east coast of Yorkshire, to land at coastal sites in the East Riding. Smith notes the occurrence of personal names such as *Malcolumbe*,

¹⁰¹ Smith, *The Place-Names of the North Riding of Yorkshire*, p. 243.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, p. 240.

¹⁰³ This name is discussed more fully in Chapter Two, Section 6.

¹⁰⁴ Smith, ‘Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Yorkshire’, p. 39, and Janzén, ‘Are There So-Called Inversion Compounds in Yorkshire Place-Names?’, pp. 47-48.

Ghil and *Murdac* in East Riding records of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹⁰⁵ Given that parallel forms of these names are found in the records of the North and West Ridings at a similar time, it seems likely that they are remnants from an influx of Gaelic-Norwegian settlers who penetrated from the borders of Westmorland and Lancashire into all three Ridings of Yorkshire.

Thus, a very strong Gaelic-Norwegian context can be provided for the Yorkshire *érgi* names. This may suggest that the majority of them were coined by Gaelic-Norwegian settlers from west of the Pennines. The case for the *-es* forms being later Anglicisations of Scandinavian names is strengthened by the historical forms of names such as *Golcar* and *Starkerghs*. As demonstrated above, *Golcar* originally had a singular form, so that the *-es* ending must have developed in the post-Conquest period. Similarly, the earliest form of *Starkerghs* is *Stratesergum* (1086). This clearly shows an original dative plural form, so that again the *-s* form is a later development.

In conclusion, it would appear that although many of the Yorkshire *érgi* names differ from those found to the west of the Pennines, in that they have a plural form, this does not necessarily indicate that ON *érgi* was borrowed by either Danish or English speakers. In the case of the simplex dative plural forms, there is no real evidence of any Danish or English involvement, and the fact that a few parallel forms occur in Lancashire and Cheshire suggests that these names may simply be a variant type of Gaelic-Scandinavian formation, rather than being representative of a differing linguistic origin. None of the *-es* forms of the *érgi* names is recorded prior to the twelfth century, and in at least two cases these forms can be shown not to be original. This suggests that the *-es* forms developed either during or after the linguistic shift from Old Norse to English, and

¹⁰⁵ Smith, 'Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Yorkshire', p. 39.

thus are likely to be Anglicisations of existing Scandinavian names rather than original English coinages.

5(e) Distribution and Language Contact

Two important questions remain regarding the *cérgi* names. If the *cérgi* names were coined by the same immigrants from the western seaboard of Scotland who coined the inversion-compounds, then firstly, why does the distribution of place-names containing this element not match that of the inversion names more closely, and secondly, why do the *cérgi* names not display the same inverted word-order?

These seeming incongruities were apparent even to early scholars of the names. Ekwall suggests that these two groups of names are unlikely to have been coined by the same group of people:

[s]ome colonies seem to have been founded by settlers who not only borrowed a number of Goidelic names and other words, but had also adopted the Goidelic way of forming compounds. Other colonies are apparently to be attributed to settlers who had only got so far as to adopt a number of Goidelic words and names.¹⁰⁶

Ekwall argues that there is likely to have been a difference in the chronology of these two types of settlement. He suggests that in Northern Lancashire, where place-names include Goidelic elements but not inverted word-order, the Scandinavian settlement would have been relatively early. Areas such as Cumberland and Westmorland, where there are names with inverted word-order in addition to those with Goidelic elements, would have been settled at a later date.¹⁰⁷ His explanation is that the less time the Scandinavians

¹⁰⁶ Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, pp. 102-103.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

spent in the Celtic west, the less influenced by Celtic speech they would have been. Thus, the Scandinavians who settled in Lancashire would have spent less time with Goidelic speakers than the Scandinavians who settled further north, suggesting that they left the Scottish colonies at an earlier date.¹⁰⁸

Another theory to explain these disparities is put forward by Janzén. He suggests that the Scandinavians settled first in Ireland and Man, so that 'their language had become modified by that of the indigenous population'.¹⁰⁹ These Scandinavians then relocated to England, where, still heavily influenced by Celtic word-order, they coined the inversion-compounds along the Cumberland coast, and later those in Westmorland. He argues that the inversion-compounds did not spread beyond this northern region because

[i]n Lancashire there were scattered but strong Danish settlements, and the resistance from and competition with the native Angles and the Danes prevented the Norwegian-Irish principles of place-name formation from penetrating into the Germanic system as deeply as in Cumberland and Westmorland.¹¹⁰

However, the work of both Ekwall and Janzén is now rather dated. Since their publication, further studies of the nomenclature of the North-West have been completed, most notably Fellows-Jensen's *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*. Similarly, in the field of linguistic theory, new models of contact have been developed in works such as Thomason and Kaufman's *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. It is thus necessary to reconsider Ekwall and Janzén's theories in light of these more recent works.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Janzén, 'Are There So-Called Inversion Compounds in Yorkshire Place-Names?', p. 46.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Comparison of the distribution of *ærgi* names and inversion-compounds in Cumberland and Westmorland reveals a number of correspondences.¹¹¹ *Ærgi* names are only found in areas which also contain inversion-compound names. The *ærgi* names tend to be located amongst the heaviest concentrations of inversion-compounds, but they are much more limited in number. In Cumberland, distribution of the *ærgi* names is limited almost exclusively to the Allerdale above Derwent Ward in the south-west of the county, with a cluster of three outlying names in Leath Ward further east. In Westmorland, *ærgi* names are found only in the western side of the county, primarily in Kendal and Lonsdale Wards. Despite one group of names displaying Germanic word-order, and the other Celtic word-order, the close proximity of the two groups reveals that they are part of the same pattern of settlement. The question remains as to why *ærgi* names are not found in other areas, such as northern Cumberland and eastern Westmorland, where there are inversion names present. Fellows-Jensen records that if the inversion-compounds with the generic *kirk-* are omitted from the distribution-map of names containing this element, 'then the distribution in Cumberland is much more limited and the names hardly penetrate north of a line running from the Ellen to Penrith'.¹¹² She notes that this omission of *kirk-* names gives the inversion-compounds a distribution pattern much closer to that of names in *ærgi*.¹¹³ Additionally, as discussed in section 4, *ærgi* names appear to have been used in complementary distribution with *sætr* in the North-West of England. Whyte has produced maps showing the distribution of *ærgi* and *sætr*, and it is noteworthy that *sætr* names occur in northern Cumberland and, to a degree, in eastern

¹¹¹ See Map 7 for a comparison of the distribution of these elements.

¹¹² Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 303.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, pp. 306. The possibility that *kirk-* compounds had a different origin to the rest of the inversion-compounds is discussed in Chapter Four.

Westmorland.¹¹⁴ Thus the absence of *áergi* names in these areas may be related to the unsuitability of the land for *áergi* sites, rather than reflecting any genuine disparity in the distribution of *áergi* names and inversion-compounds in Cumberland and Westmorland.

However, the fact remains that outside these two counties there is considerable disparity in the distribution of the two groups of names. Whilst *áergi* is heavily represented in Lancashire and Yorkshire, instances of inversion-compounds in these counties are rare. Additionally, as previously mentioned, the two groups display differing types of word-order, even in Cumberland and Westmorland. Yet this does not necessarily indicate that the *áergi* names and the inversion-compounds were coined at different times in separate waves of immigration, as Ekwall suggests. Nor does it indicate that Norwegians were swayed toward Celtic word-order in Ireland and then swayed back towards Germanic word-order upon encountering Danes and Angles in Lancashire, as Janzén postulates.

What is significant about the *áergi* names and the inversion-compounds is that they are indicative of differing types of language contact. The word *áergi* appears to have been a straightforward lexical transfer from Gaelic into Scandinavian. Once borrowed, this word became part of the Old Norse vocabulary, and potentially could have been used by any of the Scandinavian speakers who settled in the North-West of England from the western seaboard of Scotland. The situation regarding the inversion-compounds is markedly different. As discussed in Chapter Two, it is likely that these names were coined by Gaelic-speakers who had shifted to the Scandinavian language. Their dialect of Old Norse would have constituted a non-standard dialect, affecting aspects such as

¹¹⁴ Whyte, 'Shielings and the Upland Pastoral Economy of the Lake District in Medieval and Early Modern Times', pp. 106-107.

word-order. Therefore, the distribution of inversion-compound names in England would have been limited to areas where these Gaelic-Scandinavian bilinguals settled.

There is no reason to suppose that this Gaelic substrate group represented a separate wave of settlers from the monolingual Scandinavians. The fact that purely Germanic compounds are found alongside the inversion-names in England suggests that the opposite is likely. Thus the *érgi* names would appear to have been coined by Old Norse speakers of Scandinavian origin, and the inversion-compounds by Old Norse speakers of Gaelic origin. The immigration from the western seaboard is likely to have involved settlers from both categories travelling *en masse*. Areas with *érgi* names but no, or very few, inversion-names would indicate a predominance of purely Scandinavian immigrants, and areas with both types of names would indicate a more mixed settlement. The fact that *érgi* is generally found only in Germanic constructions does not mean that the element was unavailable to the Gaelic-Scandinavian bilinguals. The two Yorkshire names Arrathorne and Oran appear to be inversion-compounds containing *érgi* as a generic. This indicates that the two types of name were not in mutually exclusive use.

In conclusion, it is possible to account for the disparities in distribution and word-order in the *érgi* names and the inversion-compounds as being representative of differing types of Gaelic influence, rather than indicating a difference in settlement chronology or because of fluctuations in the influence of Celtic word-order. Names containing the two elements would appear to be part of the same overall settlement, although, as discussed in Section 5(c), it is possible that the variations in the vowel of *érgi* may indicate that settlers arrived in the North-West of England from different parts of the western seaboard.

6. Galloway and the Isle of Man

In the close vicinity of the colonies in the North-West of England, there are two further areas of recognised Scandinavian settlement: in Galloway and in the Isle of Man. For a long period, the populations of both of these regions were primarily Goidelic speakers, and this strong Celtic context makes it difficult to locate any potential instances of Scandinavian *ærgi* amongst the many *airigh* names. It is notable that, in contrast to the situation in England, there is general agreement that in Scotland and Man the meaning of *airigh* in place-names would have been primarily ‘shieling’.¹¹⁵

As mentioned above,¹¹⁶ the Galloway *airy* names and the Manx *eary* names have been interpreted as being entirely Gaelic, owing to the dominance of Celtic word-order and specific elements.¹¹⁷ It is true that many of the Galloway *airy* names such as Airiebennan, Airielig and Airiehassan are straightforward Gaelic names containing *airigh* rather than ON *ærgi*. Yet there are also a number of simplex formations in Galloway, usually taking the form Airie or Airies, and it is arguably less certain that these names are purely Gaelic in origin.¹¹⁸ The *airy* simplex forms have a parallel of sorts in the ON *ærgi* simplex names of Yorkshire.¹¹⁹ These English names usually take forms such as Arras, Arram and Airyholme, with Airy Hill in the North Riding representing an exact parallel to Airyhill in Kirkcudbrightshire. As simplex names of this type occur in a Scandinavian context in England, it is not implausible that they may also have occurred in Galloway.

¹¹⁵ See Fellows-Jensen, ‘Viking Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles’, p. 165, and Broderick, *Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, vol. 5, p. xxiv.

¹¹⁶ See Section 3.

¹¹⁷ See Megaw, ‘The Manx ‘Eary’ and its Significance’, p.333.

¹¹⁸ For a full list of Galloway *airy* names and Manx *eary* names, see Appendix B, Part Three.

¹¹⁹ These are discussed in section 5(d).

Simplex *airy* names also are found in Orkney. As discussed above,¹²⁰ Marwick suggested that the Birsay instance of this name was a pre-Norse relic of Gaelic origin.¹²¹ Yet in his earlier work on Orkney farm names, Marwick noted that the Scandinavian-speakers had borrowed *airigh*, and suggested that in the case of the Orkney name Arian, the form is Scandinavian rather than Gaelic.¹²² Given that there is little or no evidence for the Gaelic language having been spoken in Orkney, and an almost complete lack of surviving pre-Norse place-names,¹²³ it seems possible that all of the Orkney *airy* names may in fact contain ON *áergi* in simplex form rather than Gaelic *airigh*. The element could plausibly have been introduced to the nomenclature of the Northern Isles by Scandinavians from Caithness or the Western Isles, and in this case instances of *airy* in Orkney would date to the Scandinavian period rather than the earlier Celtic period.

None of the Galloway *airy* names are recorded prior to the late fifteenth century, and most are unrecorded until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This lack of early forms makes it difficult to determine whether the simplex names are pre-Scandinavian Gaelic coinages, Scandinavian *áergi* names, or even post-Scandinavian Gaelic formations. However, the existence of parallel forms in other areas of known Scandinavian settlement strengthens the case for a possible Scandinavian origin for at least some of the Galloway names.

As in England, there is the additional possibility of a late English origin for some of the Galloway *airy* names. Forms such as Airies with an *-es* plural ending would

¹²⁰ See Section 3.

¹²¹ Marwick, *The Place-Names of Birsay*, p. 80.

¹²² Marwick, *Orkney Farm-Names*, p. 165.

¹²³ See Chapter One, Section 2.

appear to display English influence, as the Gaelic plural would be *airighean*.¹²⁴ It is possible that names such as Meikle Airies, Little Airies and High and Low Airies may be late Scots or English coinages dating to the post-Gaelic period. However, these forms may also be Anglicisations of earlier names, with Lowland Scots elements affixed to simplex forms, or even replacing older Gaelic or Scandinavian specific elements. The paucity of historical forms for the Galloway *airy* names makes this impossible to prove or disprove, but as discussed above in Section 5, this type of Anglicisation does appear to have occurred with some of the English *áergi* names. For example, the Lancashire name Little Arrow may have had English *little* added as a distinguishing affix, and it seems that Little Airies in Wigtonshire may have undergone a parallel development.

The presence in Galloway of simplex Gaelic, Scandinavian and potentially Scots or English cognate forms makes it difficult to identify any definite instances of ON *áergi*. Other *airy* names which would appear to display a more definite Scandinavian influence are those with seemingly Germanic word-order, such as Garrarie and Shannarie. These names have been interpreted as *gar airigh* ‘the near shieling’ and *sean airigh* ‘the old shieling’,¹²⁵ with the qualifying adjective before the noun. However, this type of construction does occasionally occur in the Goidelic languages, and Broderick notes that in Manx names it occurs most frequently in names containing *sean* ‘old’.¹²⁶ Thus there is no reason to suppose any Germanic influence on a name such as Shannarie. The two Garrarie names may also belong to this category, although the earliest form of the Glasserton instance of this name does not resemble *gar airigh* very closely. The name is

¹²⁴ Maceacharna, *The Lands of the Lordship*, p. 99.

¹²⁵ Maxwell, *The Place-Names of Galloway*, pp. 142 and 242.

¹²⁶ Broderick, *Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, vol. 5, p. xxx.

first recorded as *Garwerire* in 1497,¹²⁷ and the presence of the consonant *w*, followed by two instances of the letter *r* separated by vowels appears to indicate either a disyllabic specific element followed by the word *airigh*, or, less likely, the word *gar* followed by a word other than *airigh* which begins with the letter *w*. It is not possible to suggest an alternative etymology on the basis of this single form, but perhaps a Scandinavian construction involving either a disyllabic appellative or personal name and the generic *érgi* should not be ruled out.

The pattern of 'specific + generic' is also found in Gaelic *airigh* names in the Hebrides and along the northern and western seaboard of Scotland. Examples include Fleuchary 'the wet shieling', Fiscary 'the near shieling' and Griamachary 'the rugged shieling'.¹²⁸ As noted above, the distribution of Gaelic *airigh* is apparently linked with areas of known Scandinavian settlement, with Gaelic *ruighe* being used elsewhere as the main word for a shieling.¹²⁹ It is unclear whether these Gaelic constructions were influenced by the form of the Scandinavian *érgi* names in the region, or whether they were developed independently of them.

In the Isle of Man, most of the *eary* names display the more usual Celtic word-order, in many cases with the definite article attached. The Manx names are often formulaic in construction, containing recurring specific elements, such as Neary Vooar 'the big shieling', Neary Veg 'the little shieling' and Neary Bane 'the white shieling'. The majority of the names are not found in the historical records before the eighteenth century. In the case of names such as Laragh Eary (Ayre), Eary Bane (Glenfaba), the

¹²⁷ Maxwell, *The Place-Names of Galloway*, p. 142.

¹²⁸ Mackay, 'Sutherland Names: Farr and Tongue', pp. 112-113, 'Sutherland Names: Reay and Kildonan', p. 196.

¹²⁹ See Section 3.

Eairy Veg (Garff) and Eairy (Rushen) there are no recorded forms prior to the twentieth century. This makes it difficult to determine at what period the names were coined. Megaw argues that most of the names are likely to be quite late formations from the post-Scandinavian era,¹³⁰ and she suggests that *eary* names were probably coined up until the eighteenth century, at which point the word fell out of usage.¹³¹ An instance such as Airy Cottiman clearly dates to this late period, since a man named John Cottiman is recorded as living there in 1736.¹³² However, although the majority of the names are purely Gaelic, or contain English surnames as specifics, there are a small number of names which could perhaps date back to the period of Scandinavian settlement.

Gelling suggests that *Aryhorkell* and *Aryeuzryn* might be considered as Old Norse inversion-compounds, as they appear to contain Scandinavian personal names.¹³³ Another name in this category is Eairystane in Rushen Sheading, which Kneen identifies as containing the Scandinavian personal name Stein, from Thorstein.¹³⁴ Gelling is of course correct in noting that the ‘use of a Norse personal name...does not necessarily indicate that the place-names were formed by Norse speakers’.¹³⁵ Yet the possibility exists that these names could have been coined as Scandinavian inversion-compounds, or at least that they are early Gaelic names dating to the period of Scandinavian dominance on the island. The two ‘Block Eary’ names in Ayre Sheading may also represent Scandinavian coinages. There is some uncertainty regarding the specific of these names.

¹³⁰ Megaw, ‘The Manx ‘Eary’ and its Significance’, p. 333.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

¹³² Broderick, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, vol. 2, p. 106.

¹³³ Gelling, ‘The Place-Names of the Isle of Man’ (1971), p. 173. However, a Gaelic personal name has been suggested as an alternative specific in the case of *Aryeuzryn*. See Appendix B, Part Three, Section 2.

¹³⁴ Kneen, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, vol. 1, p. 77.

¹³⁵ Gelling, ‘The Place-Names of the Isle of Man’ (1971), p. 173.

Kneen suggests ON *blakk*, making the name ‘black shieling’.¹³⁶ Marstrander (in *Det norske landnâm på Man*) proposes ‘flagstone shieling’, from Old Irish *blocc*,¹³⁷ and Broderick suggests ‘round shieling’ from Scottish Gaelic *bloc*.¹³⁸ Given that the earliest forms of the names date to the eighteenth century, it is impossible to discern which of these possibilities is correct. However, the earliest spelling of Block Eary in Kirk Andreas Parish is *Black-Arry*, which might suggest ON *blakk* rather than *blocc* or *bloc*. As discussed above, Gaelic names may sometimes be formed with the specific preceding the generic, and as such the word-order of these two names does not rule out a possible Gaelic origin for the names. Yet is noteworthy that the undisputedly-Gaelic *eary* names on Man all consistently display Celtic word-order. This raises the possibility that the problematic ‘specific + generic’ formations may belong to the earlier Scandinavian period.

Another name in this category is Tramsarie in Garff Sheading. Marstrander suggests the original form may have been ON *tren-móts-huerfi*, ‘treen-meeting-place-protrusion’.¹³⁹ Broderick argues that the element *tren* is Gaelic *trian* ‘third part, district’ rather than Old Norse.¹⁴⁰ Additionally, he suggests that the central element is Gaelic *mòd* and the final element is Gaelic *airigh*, making the name a purely Gaelic construction with Germanic word-order, with a meaning of ‘treen-meeting shieling’.¹⁴¹ However, as Broderick himself notes, Gaelic *mòd* is a loan from Old Norse *mót*,¹⁴² and although the final element may be a word for a shieling rather than ON *hverfi*, it could just as well be

¹³⁶ Broderick, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, vol. 1, p. 310.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 74 and 310.

¹³⁹ Marstrander is cited in Broderick *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, vol. 2, p. 420.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

the Scandinavian form *áergi* as Gaelic *airigh* or *airge*. It remains unclear whether the first element is Scandinavian, Gaelic, or even a Gaelic loan into Scandinavian, since *trian* is an old element, derived from early Irish,¹⁴³ and as such may have been in use on Man in the pre-Scandinavian era. It is at least possible that this name could be a purely Scandinavian coinage, with straightforward Germanic word-order, rather than a Gaelic name with the specific preceding the generic.

There are two further names with Germanic word-order which may well be Scandinavian coinages. Sliddary in Glenfaba Sheading has been identified as containing ON *slakki*,¹⁴⁴ making it likely that this is an entirely Scandinavian compound, containing ON *áergi* rather than the Manx Gaelic *eary*. Gredary in Garff Sheading has an obscure specific,¹⁴⁵ but may well be a Scandinavian construction. Finally, the name *Hath Arygegormane* in Ayre Sheading seems likely to have been coined during the Scandinavian era, although it remains unclear whether or not Scandinavian speakers were involved. The name is first recorded in 1280, only fourteen years after the collapse of Scandinavian power. This suggests that it was coined during the Scandinavian period. The form *aryge* is somewhat similar to the *argh* forms coined by Scandinavians in Lancashire and Cheshire, who may have originated from Man.¹⁴⁶ It is therefore possible that *Arygegormane* may have been a Scandinavian-coined name, referring to a man with a Goidelic personal name, to which Middle Irish *ath* (ford) was later added. However, the form *aryge* is also quite similar to Irish Gaelic *airge*, and given that *Hath* is Middle

¹⁴³ MacLennan, *A Pronouncing and Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*, p. 349.

¹⁴⁴ Broderick, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, vol. 1, p. 160.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, vol. 4, p. 397.

¹⁴⁶ See Section 5(c) above.

Irish, it is also possible that this name may be a Gaelic formation coined during the period of Scandinavian power.

In addition to these names, there are a number of simplex formations which could be from Scots Gaelic *airigh*, Irish Gaelic *airge*, Manx *eary* or Scandinavian *ærgi*.¹⁴⁷ The *neary* constructions which contain either Manx *yn* or Scots Gaelic *an* as the definite article are clearly Goidelic formations.¹⁴⁸ However, when a name has the form *Airy* or *Eary* it is more difficult to establish its linguistic origins, although the fact that many of the simplex names are field names would tend to suggest a later Manx context.

The Manx *eary* names appear to bear a greater resemblance to the Galloway *airy* names than they do to the English *ærgi* names. This is partly because of the predominantly Celtic word-order found in the two groups of names, and partly because of the similarity of the specific elements. There are a number of instances of parallel formations, such as Manx *Eary Glass* and *Airieglassen* in Wigtownshire, both meaning 'green shieling',¹⁴⁹ and Manx *Eary Lhane* and *Airyland* in Kirkcudbrightshire, both meaning 'broad shieling'. Additionally, Eleanor Megaw notes the similarity in the altitude of the Manx *eary* and the Galloway *airy* sites.¹⁵⁰ However, the 'generic + personal-name' pattern which is fairly common in Man is largely absent from Galloway, the only instances being the two 'Airiehemming' names, which have been tentatively identified as containing ON *Heming(r)*.¹⁵¹ In this respect, the Manx names bear a much closer resemblance to the *ærgi* names of northern England, where the 'personal name +

¹⁴⁷ Broderick, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, vol. 2, p. 68.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 89.

¹⁴⁹ It should be noted, however, that the specific of *Airieglassen* has also been identified as a personal name derived from this colour term. See Chapter Two, Section 5, and Collingwood, 'Norse Influence in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p. 112.

¹⁵⁰ Megaw, 'The Manx 'Eary' and its Significance', p. 333.

¹⁵¹ See Chapter Two, Section 5, and Collingwood, 'Norse Influence in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p. 110.

generic' pattern is also quite common. Yet the Manx *eary* names more often contain surnames rather than true personal names, for instance Cottiman, Kelly, O'Rogan, Ploydwell and Turnbull, which clearly belong to a later stratum of naming than the English *ærgi* names containing Scandinavian, Old English and Gaelic personal names.

In conclusion, it is clear that the *airy* and *eary* names of Galloway and Man display greater Celtic influence than the *ærgi* names in England. However, amongst the many purely Goidelic names in these regions, there may be a minority group of names of Scandinavian origin, reflecting the documented Scandinavian settlement in both the Isle of Man and coastal Galloway.

7. Conclusion

To sum up, it is apparent that Scandinavian *ærgi* was a loan-word from Scottish Gaelic, and was used by Scandinavian speakers to coin place-names in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, the Faroe Isles, the North-West of England, Yorkshire and the Isle of Man. The meaning of ON *ærgi* clearly involved the grazing of livestock, although it is probable that the *ærgi* sites had a differing or more specialised usage than those in ON *sætr*.

English place-names containing *ærgi* display variation between *e-* and *a-* in the initial vowel. This may be the result of the dissemination of the element amongst the Gaelic speakers along the Western Seaboard of Scotland prior to the period of Scandinavian immigration, rather than because of the use of a Gaelic or a hypothetical Old English cognate form in England. Similarly, the plural formations found in the east of England are likely to result from later linguistic tampering during the process of

Anglicisation rather than from a genuine early loan of the element from Scandinavian into Old English. However, the possibility remains that a small number of names displaying clear English influence may have been coined in the later medieval period once the element had been assimilated into the northern dialects of English.

The distribution of the English *érgi* names has a clear connection with that of the inversion-compound names. The more widespread occurrence of the *érgi* names is a reflection of the element being a straightforward lexical transfer from Gaelic into Scandinavian. As such, the element has greater potential for subsequent dissemination than that of the inversion names, as the latter would appear to have been coined by a specialized linguistic sub-group.

Finally, I would suggest that both the *airy* names in Galloway and Ayrshire and the *eary* names in the Isle of Man might display some connection to their English counterparts, despite the predominantly Gaelic origins of these two groups of names.

Chapter Four: The *Kirk*-Compounds

1. Introduction

Place-Names in *kirk*-, which are found in the South-West of Scotland, Cumberland and the Isle of Man, present a problem regarding their linguistic origin.¹ As *kirk* is usually a reflex of the Scandinavian element *kirkja*, this would appear to suggest that they belong to the Scandinavian stratum of place-names; and yet they display Celtic element order. This pattern of Scandinavian generic and Celtic form might indicate that the *kirk*- names belong to the group of inversion-compounds which are found in the North-West of England. However, there are some fundamental differences between the two types of name, the most obvious being that the generic of the *kirk*- compounds is always *kirk*-, whereas the English names include a wide range of generic elements. Additionally, the specifics of the *kirk*- names are almost entirely hagiological, whereas the English inversion-names contain ordinary personal names and topographic elements. These distinctions mean that the *kirk*- names appear to have an entirely religious context, whilst the other inversion-compounds are predominantly secular. For this reason scholars have tended to treat the *kirk*- names separately from the English inversion-compounds.²

In this chapter I will examine the distinctive linguistic background of the South-West of Scotland in which the *kirk*- names developed. Secondly, I will discuss the difficulties in determining the origin of these names, which may be caused in part by the

¹ For a complete list of these names and their dedications, see Appendix C, Part One.

² It is difficult to know where to place the Cumberland *kirk*- names, as they could arguably belong to both the *kirk*- compounds and the English inversion-compounds. For this reason I have included them in the Appendices of both groups of names, and it will be argued in this chapter that these Cumberland names may represent a possible link between the two groups.

occurrence of names with corrupted generics and late parallel coinages alongside the original group of *kirk-* names. I will then discuss the various hypotheses which have been developed by scholars to account for the *kirk-* names, beginning with the suggestion made by MacQueen, Nicolaisen and Brooke that the *kirk-* compounds represent partial translations from either Gaelic *cill-* or OE *cirice-*, precluding any significant involvement by Scandinavian speakers in the creation of these names. I will also discuss the possibility that the *kirk-* compounds may have arisen as the result of a loan-word from either English or Scandinavian into Gaelic, before going on to develop a model of the inception of this name-type in the South-West. The potential involvement of a mixed language group such as the Gall-Gaidhil will be examined, as well as the problems regarding the chronology of *kirk-* compounds on the Isle of Man.

2. The Linguistic History of South-West Scotland

The early history of the South-West of Scotland is somewhat complex. In the post-Roman period, much of the region belonged to the Kingdom of Rheged, which was essentially a coalition of the *Novantae* tribe of Dumfries and Galloway and the *Carveti* tribe from the adjacent Carlisle district.³ The language of Rheged was Brythonic Celtic, and the population seem to have been Christian.⁴ There was also a clear Goidelic influence upon the South-West of Scotland, and Fellows-Jensen records that,

[i]n the period between 450 and 650 the ecclesiastical establishment at Whithorn would seem to have kept in touch with the developments in the Irish church and to have expanded into a monastic centre. The expansion of Whithorn and the arrival of Gaelic-speaking settlers in Galloway at this period are unlikely to have taken place completely

³ Ross, *Ancient Scotland*, pp. 136-137.

⁴ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway: The Place-Name Evidence', p. 77.

independent of each other.⁵

By the seventh century, there was a third linguistic presence in the South-West. Anglian-speakers from the north of England penetrated the lowlands and coastal parts of Dumfries and Galloway. These newcomers were also Christian, and by about 731 a Northumbrian bishop was appointed to the diocese of Whithorn.⁶

It is unclear how long Anglian power was sustained in the South-West, as from the beginning of the ninth century there is no further record of Northumbrian bishops at Whithorn.⁷ However, Brooke notes that many of the Anglian medieval parish names recorded in the thirteenth century are likely to date back to the eighth century, and she suggests that 'it argues a continuing Anglian presence that they should have survived as important names'.⁸

Thus, by the time of the earliest Scandinavian settlement in the South-West, there were Cumbric, Gaelic and Anglian speakers already present in the region.⁹ It has been estimated that the Scandinavian settlements took place between around 880 and 920,¹⁰ and it is noteworthy that the settlers do not appear to have arrived *en masse*, but rather infiltrated South-West Scotland from differing points of origin. Immigrants of Danish origin arrived in eastern Dumfriesshire via the Carlisle plains, whilst immigrants of

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 77-78.

⁶ Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*, p. 27.

⁷ Kirby, 'Galloway Prior to c. 1100', p. 22.

⁸ Brooke, 'Kirk-Compound Names in Galloway and Carrick', p. 65.

⁹ The date of the earliest Gaelic settlement in Galloway is currently under debate, although it is generally agreed that there were Gaelic speakers in the area prior to the Scandinavian period. See Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, pp. xvii-xviii and 51-60.

¹⁰ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway: The Place-Name Evidence', p. 80.

Norwegian origin from the Western Seaboard arrived in coastal Galloway, perhaps by way of northern Cumberland.¹¹

Following the collapse of British power in southern Scotland, the Cumbric language seems to have died out during the course of the eleventh century.¹² Gaelic rapidly became the dominant language of Galloway, and a large number of the Gaelic place-names in the area are likely to date from this period.¹³ However, in the twelfth century, there was substantial Anglo-Norman colonisation of the South-West, and their northern English dialect posed a challenge to Gaelic supremacy.¹⁴ Maxwell notes that

[f]rom the twelfth century onward English speech continued to encroach upon that language until it supplanted it as the vernacular of Galloway, though Gaelic was still spoken in the hill districts down to near the close of the sixteenth century.¹⁵

The *kirk-* compounds evolved in this complicated mix of languages, although the lack of early historical forms for this group of names makes it difficult to pinpoint with any degree of certainty either the exact chronological point of inception or the precise linguistic origin of the *kirk-* compounds.

3. The Problematic Nature of the Source Material

Compiling a complete list of the *kirk-* compounds is somewhat problematic, as the current corpus of names containing this element appears to include a number of names

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 80, and Dumville, 'The Churches of Northern Britain in the First Viking Age', p. 29.

¹² Brooke, 'Kirk- Compound Names in Galloway and Carrick', p. 65.

¹³ MacQueen, 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', p. 28.

¹⁴ Oram, 'Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland', p. 129.

¹⁵ Maxwell, *The Place-Names of Galloway*, p. xxiii.

which did not originally belong there.¹⁶ Firstly, there are the compounds which did not originally contain *kirk-* as their generic. MacQueen identifies four Galloway *kirk-* names of this type: Kirklaugh, Kirkhobble, Kirklauchline and Kirkmagill.¹⁷ Kirklaugh in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright is recorded as *Kareclaugh* by Pont, and as *Kirreclaugh* in 1605. MacQueen suggests that the original generic in the name may have been Gaelic *ceathramh*, ‘a quarter (of a davoch)’.¹⁸ Similarly, the Wigtownshire name Kirkhobble has the historical forms *Keirchappell* in 1645 and *Kerychappell* in Blaeu’s Atlas, and MacQueen argues that the specific may again be *ceathramh*.¹⁹ Kirklauchline, also in Wigtownshire, has the forms *Kererkauchlin* 1516, *Kirulauchlie* 1543 and *Keirlachlyn* 1662. The specific of this name appears to be the Gaelic personal name Lochlinn,²⁰ rather than a hagiological dedication, which suggests that the generic is likely to be *ceathramh* rather than *kirk-*. MacQueen also considers the generic of the fourth name, Kirkmagill in Wigtownshire, to have been *ceathramh*, although Maxwell had originally suggested *cathair* ‘fort’ from Welsh *caer*, giving an etymology of ‘MacGill’s Fort’.²¹ This alternative etymology seems to be supported by the historical forms *Karmagell* 1488 and *Carmagill* 1506.

It is possible that other *kirk-* compounds belong in this category, although the paucity of historical evidence makes their identification difficult. Kirkmichael in Dumfriesshire is first recorded as *Kermyghkel* in 1296, and then as *Kircmichelle* in 1315. The subsequent forms of this name all contain *kirk-*, and it is difficult to ascertain

¹⁶ All of the names discussed in this section have been included in Appendix C, Parts One and Two for the sake of completeness.

¹⁷ MacQueen, ‘*Kirk-* and *Kil-* in Galloway Place-Names’, p. 139.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Maxwell, *The Place-Names of Galloway*, p. 171.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

whether this could be a *ceathramh* or *cathair* name which had developed a *kirk-* form, or whether the 1296 form is simply an anomaly. The fact that the name Michael can have both a religious and a secular context makes it impossible to categorise the name on the basis of its specific element, although the consistency of the later forms tends to suggest that the name is perhaps more likely to be a genuine *kirk-* name.

Another name of uncertain origin is Kirkennan in Mingaff Parish, Kirkcudbrightshire. The name is first recorded by Pont as *Kerykennan*. It is not possible to determine whether Kirkennan originally contained *kirk-* on the basis of such a late form, especially since it is the only historical evidence for the name. There is another Kirkennan in Kirkcudbrightshire, in Buittle Parish, which displays *kirk-* forms consistently; this might indicate that these are parallel dedications to the same saint, making the Minigaff Kirkennan a genuine *kirk-* name. Yet it is also possible that the presence of Kirkennan at Buittle influenced the corruption of the original generic of Kirkennan at Minigaff, causing its assimilation to *kirk-*. The fact that the specific element of these names is uncertain makes it difficult to determine their original form. Maxwell postulates that the names may contain *Adhamhnain*, the Gaelic form of Adamnan,²² despite Watson having previously argued that this possibility was extremely unlikely.²³ MacQueen had conjectured that the names might contain a dedication to the *Sanctus Enanus confessor* of Colgan,²⁴ although he later suggests St Finian as a possible alternative.²⁵ If the specific in these names is indeed hagiological, then *kirk-* would be their most likely generic. However, the historical form *Kerykennan* has a similar initial

²² Maxwell, *The Place-Names of Galloway*, p. 170.

²³ Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names in Scotland*, p. 168.

²⁴ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', p. 138.

²⁵ MacQueen, 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', p. 22.

element to *Kerychappell* and *Kirreclaugh*, the historical forms of two of the *ceathramh* names discussed above, raising the possibility of a Gaelic compound containing *ceathramh* and a Gaelic personal name such as *Cennán* or *Canainn*, both of which are attested in the Westmorland inversion-compounds *Merskenen* and *Knottkanan* respectively.²⁶

One further *kirk-* name which may have originally contained a different generic is *Kirkoswald* in Cumberland. The earliest forms of the name are *Karcoswald* 1167 and *Kierkoswald* 1201. The first of these forms might arguably represent an element other than *kirk-*, with Welsh *caer* being the likeliest candidate in an area where Gaelic generics are extremely rare. However, the *EPNS* county volume for Cumberland states that the church there is dedicated to St Oswald,²⁷ and the subsequent forms of the name distinctly contain *kirk-*, which suggests that the 1167 spelling is anomalous, and this is indeed a genuine *kirk-* compound.

A second group of seemingly unreliable *kirk-* compounds are those that appear to have originally displayed Germanic word-order, which was subsequently inverted to match the pattern of the other *kirk-* names. *Kirkbride* in Keir Parish, Dumfriesshire is recorded as *Brydeburgh* in 1320 and *Kirkbridis* in 1552. Fellows-Jensen suggests that *burgh* is probably an error for *kirkja*,²⁸ but regardless of whether or not she is correct, the word-order of the name is clearly 'specific + generic', in parallel with *Brydekirk*, also in Dumfriesshire. It would appear that the elements were reversed some time between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, presumably due to the influence of existing *kirk-* names with the more common 'generic + specific' pattern.

²⁶ See Appendix A, Part One.

²⁷ Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, vol. 1, p. 215.

²⁸ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 54.

Similarly, Kirkcudbright in Kirkcudbrightshire is recorded as *Cuthbrictis Khirche* in 1164 and *Kyrkecutbert* in 1200-1206. As there is only one form with Germanic word-order, it is difficult to surmise whether this was the original form of the name, or whether the 1164 form is inaccurate, and Kirkcudbright was originally a *kirk-* compound. The same problem occurs in the Cumberland name Kirksanton. This is recorded as *Santacherche* in Domesday Book, and as *Kirkesanton* in 1152 and thereafter. With Domesday forms, it is particularly difficult to be certain of accuracy, although it may be significant that in the case of both names, it is the earliest historical form which displays Germanic word-order. There is perhaps more likelihood that Kirksanton was originally a Germanic compound, as the settlement is geographically isolated from the other Cumberland *kirk-* names, located in the far south-west of the county. It is thus possible that the inversion of elements occurred as a result of subsequent influence of the name-pattern of the more northerly *kirk-* formations, and also perhaps because of influence from the Isle of Man, where a parallel Kirk Santan name exists. The only significant reason for considering that the Domesday form might be erroneous, and that the name was coined with inverted element-order, is the Celtic dedication to St Sanctán.²⁹ This might indicate that the name does belong to the *kirk-* compound group, as they have a strong Celtic context, and an overwhelming majority of Celtic dedications.

There is one final group of *kirk-* compounds which must be considered unreliable. Brooke has shown that some of the *kirk-* names are demonstrably late, and were coined to replace earlier Cumbric or Gaelic names.³⁰ For example, the parish of Kirkinner in Wigtownshire is recorded as *Carnemal* in 1275, *ecclesia Sancte Kenere de Carnesmall* in

²⁹ The names may alternatively be dedicated to the Gaelic Saint Santan, but this would not invalidate the argument. See Section 7 below, and Broderick, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, vol. 6, p. 26

³⁰ Brooke, 'Kirk- Compound Names in Galloway and Carrick', pp. 58-59.

1326 and *Kykynner alias Carnismole* by 1400. Clearly, in this instance, the *kirk-* form developed in the model of earlier *kirk-* compounds and eventually supplanted the alternative Cumbric name. There is a Kirkinna in Kirkcudbrightshire dedicated to the same saint, and this name may have influenced the creation of a *kirk-* compound in this case. Similarly, the Galloway parishes of Blaiket, Urr and Sorbie Major developed *kirk-* compound forms to replace existing names. Blaiket was *ecclesia de S Brigide de Blachet* in 1164-74 and *Blacket* in 1175-99, becoming *Kirkebride* in 1249. Urr was *Hur* in 1185, *S Constantini de Hur* in 1233-41, and *Kircostyntin* in 1262. Sorbie Major is *ecclesia S Foylani de Sowrby* in 1185-1200, *Sowrby* in 1221 and *Kirkfolan* in 1282. In all three names, the *kirk-* form seems to have been created in the thirteenth century, although it is noteworthy that these late *kirk-* compounds proved to be transient, with the original parish names ultimately becoming predominant. The Carrick parish name of Kirkcudbright-Innertig would also appear to belong to this group, although *Innertig* does not become *Kyrkubry de Entertig* until 1484, and both names are preserved in the modern parish name.

However, I would argue that not all of the names in Brooke's Appendix should be considered as late replacements of other place-names. One of the main problems with the historical forms of *kirk-* compounds is that the earliest form of the names are sometimes recorded in Latin, and it seems likely that there is some disparity between these Latinised records and the colloquial forms of place-names prevalent in the South-West at that time. Brooke has argued that a number of the *kirk-* compounds were created by prefixing the element *kirk-* to the official Latin designations.³¹ Yet it also seems plausible that rather than having been created to replace the Latin designations, the *kirk-* names co-existed

³¹ Brooke, 'Kirk- Compound Names in Galloway and Carrick', p. 62.

independently as colloquial variants of these names. For example, the parish names Kirkandrews Balmaghie in Kirkcudbrightshire and Kirkmichael in Carrick display the respective historical forms *ecclesia de S Andree* 1165-1215 and *S Michael de Munthyrduffy* 1270-80, but are also recorded as *Kyrcanders* 1189-1209 and *Kirkmichell* 1275. As the two sets of names are concurrent, it is difficult to uphold Brooks' suggestion that the *kirk-* compounds were later replacements for the official Latin forms. Similarly, the parish of Kirkmaiden in the Rhinns of Galloway displays the historical forms *Kirkemethen* in 1275, *S Medan de le Rhyynnys* in 1393 and *Kyrkmedin* in 1444. The fact that a *kirk-* form predates the Latin form in this case is further evidence that these Latin forms do not represent earlier versions of *kirk-* names. Rather, it suggests the co-existence of different linguistic registers amidst the corpus of historical evidence. Thus, in the case of *kirk-* compounds where there is no evidence of an earlier Cumbric name being supplanted,³² it is likely that the *kirk-* forms predate their earliest historical forms, as the first appearance of a *kirk-* name in the corpus of evidence may be indicative only of the use of a more informal register rather than the genesis of the name itself.

It is possible that names such as Kirkeoch in Kirkcudbrightshire and Kirkandrews in Culgaith Parish, Cumberland may also belong in the above group. Kirkeoch is *Priory of S Evoca* in 1423 and *Kirkevok* in 1464, and although the earlier record is in English rather than Latin, it is possible that it contains a more formal alternative to *Kirkevok*. Kirkandrews (Wood) is *Hermitorium Sancti Andrae* c.1140, *Hermitorium quod vocatur Kirkandreas* c.1158, *Kirkandreas* a.1147, c.1160. The dating of the historical forms of this name is somewhat imprecise, although it would appear that the Latin form and the

³² Brooks considers that *Munthyrduffy* in the historical forms of Kirkmichael is a qualifying territorial or clan name, rather than an old place-name which was replaced by Kirkmichael. *Ibid*, p. 60.

kirk- form of the name were being used concurrently. However, it is difficult to know whether either the hermitage referred to in this name or the priory of the previous name could be considered synonymous with *kirk-*, so that in both cases a late coinage in parallel with existing *kirk-* names should not perhaps be ruled out.

Yet, even with the inclusion of uncertain names such as these, the list of later *kirk-* names coined to replace an earlier name is quite limited. Brooke admits that in the case of parish names such as Kirkandrews Balmaghie and Kirkandrews Parton, it is by no means certain that the *Kirkandrews* was a later addition to existing names, and in fact the survival of the names as Balmaghie and Parton respectively might suggest these are the newer forms which ultimately replaced the original *kirk-* compound names.³³ It may also be significant that the majority of *kirk-* names whose historical forms do show evidence of replacing an older name are the names of parishes. Brooke has argued that the *kirk-* compounds were coined as a response to 'the introduction of the territorial parish structure in the newly reconstituted bishoprics of Glasgow, Whithorn and Carlisle'.³⁴ It is indeed plausible that names such as Kirkinner and Kirkfolan in Wigtownshire and Kirkbride and Kircostyntin in Kirkcudbrightshire may have been created under these circumstances. However, it seems likely that these new coinages took the form of *kirk-* followed by a hagiological dedication because this name-type was already in common use as a parochial designation. MacQueen notes that names in *kirk-* appear to have been of greater importance than names in *cill-*,³⁵ so it would be entirely plausible that they would develop into medieval parishes. Brooke's small group of parochial *kirk-* names which are demonstrably late would then have been coined by analogy.

³³ Brooke, 'Kirk- Compound Names in Galloway and Carrick', p. 59.

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 66.

³⁵ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', p. 144.

It is noteworthy that even when all of the problematic names in the three groups listed above are discounted from the list of *kirk-* compounds, this leaves a core group of approximately forty names, excluding those found in the Isle of Man.³⁶ In the case of the *kirk-* compounds where the Celtic dedication is somewhat obscure, MacQueen has argued that the names are likely to date from an early period.³⁷ This would suggest that the *kirk-* names were not coined *en masse* in the twelfth century as part of a process of Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical reorganisation. Rather, the name-type evolved in the South-West in the pre-Conquest era, and only once the *kirk-* compound pattern had become common were other names altered or replaced to fit this pattern. The question remains as to the precise chronological and linguistic origin of this core group of names.

4. Development from Gaelic or Anglian Names

4(a) Introduction

The distinctive form of the *kirk-* compounds, which includes Celtic word-order and a Germanic generic, makes it difficult to identify the linguistic group who coined these names. The presence of *kirk-* would appear to suggest that Scandinavian-speakers coined the names using ON *kirkja*. However, Scandinavian place-names in the South-West of Scotland appear to have a more limited distribution than that of the *kirk-* names, and to be purely Germanic in form and content.³⁸ The creation of such a large group of names displaying such strong Celtic influence would therefore appear to be somewhat incongruous.

³⁶ The Manx names will be discussed separately in Section 7.

³⁷ MacQueen, 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', p. 25.

³⁸ See Sections 5(b) and (c) respectively for a more detailed discussion of these problems.

Scholars including MacQueen, Nicolaisen and Brooke have developed various alternative theories to account for the inception of the *kirk-* compounds, the most salient of which being that ON *kirkja* was not the original generic element in these names. MacQueen argues for an essentially Gaelic origin for the *kirk-* compounds. He suggests that in the case of names which apparently contain the Gaelic element *mo* or *ma* ('my'), a substitution of elements occurred, from Gaelic *cill-* to *kirk-*, whilst subsequent *kirk-* names were created as a result of ON *kirkja* being borrowed into Gaelic.³⁹ Nicolaisen suggests that because so many of the *kirk-* names have Celtic dedications, the majority of them are likely to have originally contained Gaelic *cill-* as their generic.⁴⁰ He also considers that *kirk-* names with dedications to English saints, such as Kirkoswald and Kirkcudbright, may provide evidence that Anglian rather than Scandinavian-speakers replaced the Gaelic element, thus crediting the Scandinavians with very little involvement in the creation of the *kirk-* names.⁴¹ Brooke agrees that the *kirk-* compounds were not coined using ON *kirkja*, but argues that the original generic was probably English rather than Gaelic, because the earliest spellings of some of the *kirk-* names display *ch* spellings, e.g. *Cuthbrictis Khirche* 1164, *Kirhecormach* 1165-1206 and *Cerchewinni* 1159-81.⁴² She suggests that these names contained OE *cirice* rather than ON *kirk-*, again refuting any significant involvement on the part of Scandinavian speakers in the formation of this group of names.

Each of these theories will be examined in turn here, and it will be argued that the *kirk-* names do not represent partial translations from Gaelic *cill-*, nor did they evolve

³⁹ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', p. 142.

⁴⁰ Nicolaisen, 'Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland', p. 64.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, pp. 64-65.

⁴² Brooke, 'Kirk- Compound Place-names in Galloway and Carrick', p. 58.

from OE *cirice-*. Rather, it will be suggested that they were in fact coined as *kirk-* names, and thus an alternative explanation for their inception must be sought.

4(b) Development from Names in Gaelic *Cill*

The main argument for the *kirk-* names being adapted from Gaelic *cill-* rests on the fact that the historical evidence for some names shows variant forms containing the element *kil-*.⁴³ For example, the two *Kirkpatrick* names in Dumfriesshire are recorded as *Kilpatrick* in 1296 and 1528 respectively. The sporadic occurrence of these *kil-* forms led Nicolaisen to conclude that ‘in many cases, *Kil-* was translated or replaced by *Kirk-*’.⁴⁴ However, what is significant about these *kil-* spellings is that in almost every case, the recorded forms of the place-names show at least one or more *kirk-* form which predates the *kil-* form. For instance, the *Kirkpatrick* names are recorded with the *kirk-* form in 1179 and 1355 respectively, in both cases more than a century prior to the *Kil-* forms. In fact, of the eleven names amongst those listed in Appendix C, Part Two, that show a *kil-* form, only two do not have a *kirk-* form at an earlier date. Kirkbride in Kirkcudbrightshire is referred to twice in a single document as *Kilbride* or *Killbryde* in 1456, and Kirkdominae in Carrick is *Kyldormne* in 1391. As these records are so late, it is not possible to determine whether the names originally contained *kirk-* or *kil-*. However, it would appear that, at least in most cases, the *kil-* forms later supplanted the *kirk-* forms, and not the other way around. It should also be noted that in a recent publication, MacQueen has pointed out that if *kirk-* replaced *kil-* as a result of the predominance of Lowland Scots over Gaelic, then it would be somewhat strange that

⁴³ See Appendix C, Part Two, for a full list of historical forms of the *kirk-* compounds.

⁴⁴ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, pp. 167-168.

names in Northern Ayrshire, Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire, where Scots also replaced the Gaelic language, did not undergo a similar alteration.⁴⁵

The only other potential indication that a partial translation of Gaelic *cill-* names might have occurred is found in MacQueen's assertion that names containing the Gaelic element *mo* must be entirely Gaelic in their inception. However, amongst the names listed in Appendix C, Part Two, only eight could possibly be taken to contain this element. These are *Kirkmahoe* in Dumfriesshire, *Kirkmabreck* and the two *Kirkmadrine* names in Kirkcudbrightshire and *Kirkmagill*, *Kirkmabreck* and the two *Kirkmaiden* names in Wigtownshire. One of these can be eliminated immediately: as discussed above in Section 3, *Kirkmagill* in Wigtownshire did not originally contain *kirk-* as its generic element, but rather developed its current form by analogy with existing *kirk-* compounds once its original specific became semantically opaque.

The only available historical form of the Wigtownshire name *Kirkmabreck* is *Kirkmakbrick* on Pont's map. The Kirkcudbrightshire *Kirkmabreck* is somewhat better attested: *Kyrkmaberc* 1351, *Kirkmakbrik* 1468, *Kirkmabrek* 1468, *Kirkmakbrek* 1501, *Kirkmabreck* 1534, *Kirkmakbreck* 1534, *Kirkmakbreck* 1537 and *Kirkmackbreck* in Pont. What is notable about these spellings is that six out of the total nine take the form *mak* instead of *ma*. Johnston suggests that the etymology of these names is 'Church of my dear Brec or Briauc',⁴⁶ but makes no suggestion of a possible historical figure of that name. Watson, on the other hand, identifies the *Kirkmabreck* names as referring to *Aed mac Brec*, a bishop who died either in 589 or 595.⁴⁷ This is corroborated by the six

⁴⁵ MacQueen, *Place-Names in the Rhinns of Galloway and Luce Valley*, p. 57.

⁴⁶ Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 229.

⁴⁷ Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names in Scotland*, p. 166.

makbreck forms, and indicates that these names contain Gaelic *mac*, meaning ‘son of’, rather than *mo*.

There are only two historical forms of the *Kirkmadrine* names: one is *Kirkmadryne* in 1562, the other is *Kirkmakdryn* in Pont.⁴⁸ Although these forms are rather late to be of use as evidence of the origin of the names, the fact that one of them is a *mak* form may also point to the possibility of a personal name involving *mac* rather than the honorific *my*. MacQueen notes that confusion between *ma* and *mac* arose in this area because ‘the “c” of “mac” is not sounded in the local dialect’.⁴⁹ He suggests that forms such as the *mak* spellings could therefore have been hypercorrected forms of *ma*, caused by people assuming that there should be a ‘c’, and adding one in. Whilst this could be true, it seems at least equally possible that these names had the form *mac* originally, but because the ‘c’ was not sounded, they became *ma* in speech, which was then sometimes transferred to paper in this phonetic form. However, as the specific elements of the *kirk-* compounds all have an ecclesiastical context, it seems that if the *Kirkmadrine* names do contain a reference to someone named *Mac Drine*, then this person is likely to have been either a saint or a clergyman. As such, it might be expected that some record of him or her would survive, and yet there is no obvious candidate. This might suggest that in this instance, a name in *mac* is less likely than a construction with *mo* or *ma* and a hagiological dedication. Watson records that there is no *Drine* listed in the Calendar of Scottish Saints, although there is an obscure reference to a *Draigne of Sruthair* who may have been an Irish saint.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ MacQueen, ‘Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names’, p. 137.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 144.

⁵⁰ Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names in Scotland*, pp. 162-163.

Thus the specific element in the Kirkmadrine names may be *mo Draigne*. What remains uncertain is whether MacQueen is correct in his assertion that the presence of the prefix *mo, ma* in a place-name must necessarily indicate that the name itself was originally coined in the Gaelic language. Eilis Fitzsimons has recently pointed out that by as early as the seventh century the pet forms of saints' names such as *MoFhinnu* (from Finian) and *Mo dímmóc* (from Diarmid) 'were recognized as radical forms in their own right and were included in genealogies, Lives of the Saints and martyrologies as distinct personages'.⁵¹ This suggests that even *kirk-* compounds which do contain a hypocoristic form of a saint's name in *ma-* or *mo-* may provide evidence only that the place-name was coined as a commemoration to a saint whose name now incorporated a Gaelic element. As the saint from the Kirkmadrine names is obscure, there is no evidence to indicate whether or not *Madrine* developed as an independent form of *Draigne*. However, the evidence is better for the other *kirk-* names which appear to contain Gaelic *mo*. Kirkmahoe in Dumfriesshire is dedicated either to one of the eight saints called Mochoe, or to St Kentigern under the byname of Mochohe.⁵² In either case, although these names may have been coined as hypocoristic forms, they have clearly developed into autonomous designations. The two Kirkmaiden names are dedicated to St Medana or Medan. Johnston identifies *Medan* as an Irish saint, who was a contemporary of St. Ninian,⁵³ and Brooke notes that the *Aberdeen Breviary* accredits her with founding both the Kirkmaiden churches, and lists her as being buried at Whithorn.⁵⁴ Brooke suggests

⁵¹ Eilis Fitzsimons, 'St Maughold of Kirk Maughold', unpublished Conference Paper, given at the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland's Tenth Annual Conference, Douglas, Isle of Man, 6th to 9th April 2001.

⁵² See Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names in Scotland*, p. 162, and MacQueen, 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', p. 24.

⁵³ Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 229.

⁵⁴ Brooke, 'Kirk-Compound Place-Names in Galloway and Carrick', p. 61.

that these names may not contain *mo* at all,⁵⁵ although Watson had previously argued that *Medana* was likely to be a Latinised form of *M'Etain*, originally *Mo Etain*, 'the virgin of *Tuam Noa*'.⁵⁶ Even if Watson is correct, it would appear that *Medana* became disassociated from *Mo Etain*, and was worshipped as a saint in her own right, and as such the dedication of the two Kirkmaidens need not have involved Gaelic *mo*. This appears to be supported by the historical forms of the names which bear a closer resemblance to the *Medan* than to *Mo Etain*.⁵⁷

It becomes clear that the group of names discussed above were not necessarily coined by Gaelic speakers, as some do not contain *mo* at all, and where the element is present it is likely to have become an integral part of the saints' names prior to the coining of the *kirk-* compounds. Thus there is no reason to assume that these names must represent partial translations of names in *cill-*. It may also be significant that there is no correspondence between this group of names, and those which contain historical *kil-* forms. The only possible exception is one of the Wigtownshire Kirkmaiden names, which has a *kil-* spelling in the late fifteenth century. However, this is predated by three *kirk* spellings, the earliest of which is 1275. Given that the name is spelled *kirk-* consistently after this single *Kilmedun* form, it seems likely that this is a *kirk* name which was briefly affected by the fluctuation between *kil-* and *kirk-* in the names of this area.

It may also be significant that the evidence for the presence of even *cill + mo* constructions in this part of the country is sparse. MacQueen identifies only three rather dubious instances in Galloway. One of these is *Kilmacfadzean*, which he identifies as

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names in Scotland*, p. 163.

⁵⁷ See Appendix C, Part Two.

‘Possibly *cill M(h)o Phaidin*, “my little Patrick’s church”’.⁵⁸ However, since this name is not recorded prior to the sixteenth century, when it has the form *Kilmakfadzean* 1574, it has been suggested that the specific may in fact be the local surname ‘Macfadyean’.⁵⁹ In this case the generic may not be *cill-*, and instead might be Gaelic *cuil* ‘a corner’ or *coill* ‘a wood’, both of which have modern reflexes in *kil-*.⁶⁰ *Killimmingan*, which MacQueen identifies as *cill m’Fhinnein* ‘my Finian’s church’, is found in the form *Killynngan* in Pont, suggesting that the *ma* may well be a later addition.⁶¹ Finally, there is *Killimacuddican*, which he identifies as ‘my little Cutu’s church’. However, Watson comments ‘[t]he saint is doubtless the famous Mochutu of Rathen and Lismore, who died in 637’.⁶² This would therefore appear to be another instance where the hypocoristic form developed independently of the original name, and as such offers no real evidence of a *cill-* + *mo* construction. In any case, even if all three names were genuine *cill-* + *mo* formations, this would still be sparse evidence for the establishment of the name-type in Galloway.

In conclusion, it is clear that the *kirk-* compound names cannot be accounted for as *cill-* names into which *kirk-* was later substituted. Where alternative forms in *cill-* occur, it is *cill-* which appears to be the later substitute, and where *kirk-* names appear to contain the Gaelic pronoun *mo*, this does not prove that the names themselves are entirely Gaelic constructions.

⁵⁸ MacQueen, ‘Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names’, p. 144.

⁵⁹ Maxwell, *The Place-Names of Galloway*, p. 166.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. xxx.

⁶¹ MacQueen, ‘Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names’, p. 144.

⁶² Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names in Scotland*, p. 165.

4(c) Development from Names in Old English *Cirice-*

Brooke's suggestion that the *kirk-* names may have either evolved from, or represent partial translations of, OE *cirice-*, *cyrice-* is better supported by the historical forms of the *kirk-* compounds. Although there are only three names in Kirkcudbrightshire and one in Dumfriesshire whose spellings suggest they might represent *church-* rather than *kirk-*, in the case of the Kirkcudbrightshire instances these spellings are the very earliest available for the *kirk-* names, dating back to the mid-twelfth century. Kirkcormack is *Kirhecormach* between 1165-1200, and a second attestation of this spelling is dated 1172-4. Kirkcudbright is *Cuthbrictis Khirche* in 1164, and Kirkgunzeon is *Cherchewinnin* between 1159-81. This suggests the possibility that the other *kirk-* compounds may also have had a *church-* form at this period, making the *kirk-* forms a later development. Few of the other *kirk-* names are recorded prior to the early thirteenth century, and it may be significant that the three names had all become *kirk-* by then: Kirkcormack is *Kyrkecormac* by 1200-06, Kirkcudbright is *Kyrkecuthbert* by 1200-06, and Kirkgunzeon is *Kirkewinnen* around 1174-99. Further evidence is apparently offered from three Cumberland names, which show a parallel development. Kirkandrews in Eskdale is *Kirchand'r'* in 1165, but *Kirkeandres* in c.1230, Kirkbride is *Chirchebrid* in 1163, and *Kirkbride* c.1185-89, and Kirksanton is *Santacherche* in Domesday Book, but *Kirksan'* by 1152. All of this appears to point towards an Anglian development for these names, which spread into Scotland from northern England, becoming *kirk-* between the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th centuries, with the *khirche-* and *kirche-*

forms perhaps signifying an interim stage of development between *cirice-* and *kirk-*, as Brooke suggests.⁶³

However, the fourth instance of a *kirche-* spelling occurs in the Dumfriesshire name Kirkpatrick-Fleming, which is *Kirchepatric* in 1181, yet *Kirkepatric* in 1179 and again in 1189. Although the first *kirk-* form predates the *kirche-* form by only two years, it does imply that, at least in this instance, the *kirk-* form did not develop from *cirice-* via *kirche-*. Additionally, the hypothesis of a development from OE *cirice-* rests essentially on six early spellings of four names. The Kirkcormack spellings are from the *Liber Cartum Sancte Crucis* and the *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum* respectively. The Kirkcudbright form is from *Vita Beati Cuthberti Reginald Monachi Dunelmensis*, the Kirkgunzeon form is from *Holm Cultram*, and the Kirkpatrick-Fleming form is from *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*.⁶⁴ The possibility therefore exists of a disparity between the names as spoken by the local inhabitants, and as recorded by scribes in Latin texts, especially in the cases of texts derived in England, where influence from Anglian *cirice-* is likely. It is also possible that the various *cherche-* and *kirche-* forms, in Kirkcudbrightshire, Dumfriesshire and Cumberland, are not intended as reflexes of OE *cirice-* at all. Fellows-Jensen points out that in Domesday Book, where the earliest of these *cherche-* forms is recorded:

...the voiceless stop (k) was normally represented before *e* and *i* by *ch*, and on the basis of a comparative study of Domesday manuscripts Peter Sawyer has argued convincingly that this was a very generally accepted Anglo-Norman convention.⁶⁵

⁶³ Brooke, 'Kirk- Compound Place-Names in Galloway and Carrick', p. 58.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 68-69.

⁶⁵ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway: The Place-Name Evidence', p. 90.

Fellows-Jensen also notes:

For the pronunciation (k) before *e* and *i* the spelling *ch* predominated in the earliest post-Conquest manuscripts and was gradually superseded in course of the twelfth century by *k*.⁶⁶

Given that the *ch*- forms of the Kirkcudbright, Dumfriesshire and Cumberland names had all correspondingly developed *k*- spellings by approximately the end of the twelfth century, the possibility therefore exists that the movement from *cherche*- to *kirk*- forms reflects merely a change in spelling conventions, rather than the substitution of one element for another, or even a phonological development from [tʃ] to [k]. Further evidence that early *cherche*- forms could be reflexes of ON *kirkja*- rather than of OE *cirice*- is found in the Kirkby names of northern England. These names are known to have been coined as *kirk* rather than *cirice* names, since they are from ON *kirkju-bý*, a name given by Scandinavians to existing settlements where there was a church.⁶⁷ Yet of the twenty-eight Kirkby names which are recorded in Domesday Book, twenty-six have *cherch*- or *chirch*- spellings (a complete list of these names is given in Appendix C, Part Three). Only the two Norfolk names *Kirby Bedon* and *Kirby Cane* are spelt *kerk*-, which suggests that in most areas *k* was indeed written as *ch* before and after *e* and *i*. These names, for the most part, developed *k* spellings in the post-Domesday period up to the late twelfth century, in a similar manner to the *kirk*- compounds, and the fluctuation between the forms of the Dumfriesshire name *Kirkpatrick* within a single decade seems more likely to reflect a transitional period in spelling conventions than a development in pronunciation from *kirk*- to *kirche*- and then back again.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 90.

⁶⁷ Fellows-Jensen, 'The Vikings' Relationship with Christianity in the British Isles', p. 298.

Additionally, there is the fact that Anglian influence in southern Scotland was much more widespread than Scandinavian influence, and Fellows-Jensen has pointed out that had Anglian speakers been responsible for coining the *kirk-* compounds, it might be expected that they would be found over a wider area of distribution, particularly in Lothian and the Borders.⁶⁸ A further problem with the hypothesis of an English origin for the inversion-compounds is that it offers no explanation for the word-order in these names, which, if coined by Anglian speakers, would be expected to follow the Germanic pattern of specific + generic.

In conclusion, it is not possible to account satisfactorily for these names as being part translations of Anglian or Gaelic formations. Indeed, there are only 15 *kil-* spellings and 6 *cherche-* or *kirche-* spellings amongst the Scottish names listed in Appendix C, Part Two, against the overwhelming majority of approximately 180 spellings which are recognisably *kirk-* or *kyrk-* forms. Given that the majority of the names show *kirk-* spellings consistently, the most logical conclusion is that most of them were in fact coined as such. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility that a few of these names may have been *cill-* or *cherche-* forms originally, and were converted to *kirk-* later once this pattern of naming had become established, since it was noted in Section 3 that alteration of this type did occasionally occur. However, the historical evidence indicates that the majority of the names did not evolve in this way.

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 304-305.

5. Development Resulting from Linguistic Borrowing

5(a) Introduction

As the *kirk-* compounds do not appear to have been created by substituting or adapting an earlier generic in existing place-names, the problem remains regarding the seemingly incongruent mixture of Germanic and Celtic linguistic influences which these names display. It seems likely that the *kirk-* compounds must be the result of some type of language contact between speakers of a Germanic language and Gaelic-speakers, but there is disagreement as to precisely what type of contact this would have entailed. Scholars including Clancy and Brooke have argued that the inception of the names is likely to have been the result of the Anglian presence in a Gaelic-speaking region, whereas scholars such as Collingwood and MacQueen have argued that the names emerged after contact between Scandinavians and Gaelic-speakers.

Clancy's theory is centred on the existence of an unattested dialectal form of OE *cirice*, which would have been pronounced as *kirk*, and may have passed as a loanword into the Gaelic of South-West Scotland.⁶⁹ Brooke has suggested that the majority of the names have a late Anglo-Norman origin, although as established in Section 3, the historical evidence does not support the notion of an entirely twelfth-century parochial-based origin for the *kirk-* compounds. As mentioned above, MacQueen has suggested that some of the *kirk-* names may have resulted from a loan of ON *kirkja* into Gaelic.⁷⁰ Additionally, both MacQueen, and earlier Collingwood, have advocated that the *kirk-* compounds were coined either by Scandinavians who had converted to Christianity, or by

⁶⁹ Thomas Clancy, 'The Place-Names Containing Kirk and Cill Reconsidered', Unpublished Conference Paper, given at the Scottish Place-Name Society Conference, Dumfries, 12th May 2001.

⁷⁰ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', p. 139

the semi-mythical Gall-Gaidhil who were reputed to be of mixed Scandinavian and Gaelic descent.⁷¹

5(b) Anglian Inception

Clancy considers that the *kirk-* compounds had their origin in the seventh and eighth centuries. He points out that the northernmost limit of the *kirk-* names corresponds closely with the furthest extent of Anglian settlement in this period, and that the southernmost limit of the names corresponds to the lowest point of Gaelic influence.⁷² From this, he concludes that the names were probably the result of contact between these two linguistic groups, with the most likely scenario being that *kirk-* was a limited toponymic element borrowed from the Northumbrian dialect of Old English into the Gaelic language at a non-lexical level.

However, this premise rests entirely on the existence of a Northumbrian dialectal word for 'church', which Clancy speculates must have resembled ON *kirkja* more closely than the attested form of *cirice*. As Clancy himself admits, there is no textual evidence of any kind to support a variant Northumbrian form of *cirice*. Nor is there any evidence in either English or Scottish records that any of the *kirk-* compound names date from such an early period. This in itself would not disprove Clancy's theory, as there is such a general paucity of early records for Scotland and the North-West of England, but there are other difficulties with this proposed early Anglian inception. For example, it is notable that *kirk-* compounds are also found in the Isle of Man, with the oldest historical

⁷¹ Collingwood, 'Norse Influence in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', pp. 97-101 and 109, and also MacQueen, '*Kirk-* and *Kil-* in Galloway Place-Names', p. 136. See Section 6 below for a discussion of the historical evidence for the Gall-Gaidhil.

⁷² Clancy, 'The Place-Names Containing Kirk and Cill Reconsidered', Unpublished Conference Paper, given at the Scottish Place-Name Society Conference, Dumfries, 12th May 2001.

forms dating from the late thirteenth century.⁷³ This pre-dates the introduction of spoken English to the island, which is considered unlikely to have occurred prior to the fourteenth century.⁷⁴ Clearly, therefore, an Anglian inception is not plausible for these names. Even if it were argued that the Manx *kirk-* compounds are later coinages, reflecting influence from the mainland, then the dating of the earliest historical forms would suggest that this influence must have been from a non-Anglian linguistic group.

Nicolaisen has also argued for an Anglian involvement in the creation of some of the *kirk-* compounds, although he considers that these names would be post-Scandinavian coinages formed in parallel to existing *kirk-* names once the element had passed into Lowland Scots.⁷⁵ He cites names such as Kirkoswald and Kirkcudbright as evidence of Anglian hagiological influence in the South-West,⁷⁶ and also suggests that the *kirk-* compounds are unlikely to have a Scandinavian origin because the distribution of the names does not match that of demonstrably Scandinavian names in *bý*, *beck*, *thwaite* and *fell*.⁷⁷ In the case of *fell* names, this may not be particularly significant, as Fellows-Jensen has argued that these names should not be considered as representative of Scandinavian settlement in the South-West.⁷⁸ She suggests that as these names are given only to hills rather than to settlement sites, and often contain as specific an English or Gaelic geographical feature, it is likely that they were coined once the word had passed into Lowland Scots.⁷⁹ Given this, it could be argued that as the distribution of the *kirk-* names does not match that of the *fell* names, this might be considered as evidence against

⁷³ Fellows-Jensen, 'The Vikings' Relationship with Christianity in the British Isles', p. 305.

⁷⁴ Megaw, 'Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles', p. 275.

⁷⁵ Nicolaisen, 'Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland', pp. 64-65.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62. See also Maps 8 and 9 for the distribution of the *kirk-* compounds.

⁷⁸ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway: The Place-Name Evidence*, p. 81.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

the *kirk-* names being late Lowland Scots coinages. In the case of the *bý*, *beck* and *thwaite* names, Nicolaisen records that their distribution is limited almost entirely to Dumfriesshire, whereas the *kirk-* compounds are more predominant in Galloway.⁸⁰ Yet this imbalance of distribution is only significant if it is assumed that the *kirk-* names were coined by the same group of ultimately Danish origin who spread northwards into Dumfriesshire by way of the Carlisle plain, and who were apparently responsible for the *bý*, *beck*, and *thwaite* names. In this context, it is noteworthy that Oram considers the Scandinavian place-names found further west in Galloway to be indicative of ‘a secondary sea-borne colonization from earlier Norse settlements in Man and the Hebrides’.⁸¹ Nicolaisen himself notes that ‘practically all the names are to be found in coastal districts or in easily accessible river-valleys’.⁸² This would appear to support the notion of a sea-borne context for the *kirk-* names. Brooke has argued against Norwegian involvement in the coining of the names, asserting that ‘the geographical distribution of the *Kirk-* compounds within the region is too wide to allow any significant correspondence between the incidence of these names and Scandinavian settlement’.⁸³ However, this would not preclude the possibility that the *kirk-* names had their inception in the coastal regions of attested Scandinavian settlement, before spreading inland.

Brooke’s hypothesis regarding the *kirk-* compounds would also advocate a later Anglian inception for the names. Yet, as discussed in Section 4(c), there is no conclusive evidence to support the theory that the *kirk-* names contained Anglian *cirice-* which was either replaced by or phonologically adapted to *kirk-*. Similarly, there is only limited

⁸⁰ Nicolaisen, ‘Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland’, pp. 62-63.

⁸¹ Oram, ‘Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland’, p. 128.

⁸² Nicolaisen, ‘Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland’, p. 63.

⁸³ Brooke, ‘Kirk- Compound Place-Names in Galloway and Carrick’, p. 59.

evidence for the creation of *kirk-* compounds in an Anglo-Norman parochial context, and it would appear that what instances there are were created by analogy with existing names. Recently, MacQueen has pointed out that '[t]welfth century parish churches...were dedicated to Roman rather than early Irish Saints'.⁸⁴ As such, the hagiological dedications of the corpus of *kirk-* names would suggest an earlier, Celtic-influenced origin in the majority of cases. Similarly, as mentioned in Section 4(b) above, MacQueen notes that the distribution of the *kirk-* names in Scotland is too limited to reflect Anglo-Norman parochial reorganisation, since there are no instances in Ayrshire and Renfrewshire.⁸⁵ Given this, it seems that there is very little to support the notion of any significant Anglian involvement with the *kirk-* names, particularly during their inception period.

5(c) Gaelic-Scandinavian Inception

The other main school of thought regarding the *kirk-* compounds is that they are the result of linguistic contact between Scandinavian-speakers and Gaelic-speakers. Yet there has been little agreement as to precisely what type of contact this would have involved, or where and when it is likely to have occurred. Early scholars including Collingwood suggested that names such as Kirkpatrick and Kirkbride might represent straightforward Scandinavian place-names, coined by 'Norse devotees of St. Patrick and St. Brigit'.⁸⁶ However, more recently, other scholars have argued against this hypothesis of an entirely Scandinavian origin for the *kirk-* compounds. MacQueen agrees that the names are likely to be of ultimately Scandinavian origin, at least in the case of

⁸⁴ MacQueen, *Place-Names in the Rhinns of Galloway and Luce Valley*, p. 58.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p. 57.

⁸⁶ Collingwood, 'Norse Influence in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p. 109.

those which do not contain Gaelic *mo*. Yet he notes that as the *kirk*- compounds display considerable Gaelic influence in their form and hagiological dedications, the names could only have arisen as a result of a 'close association between Scandinavian and Gael'.⁸⁷ Nicolaisen has argued that the *kirk*- compounds are unlikely to have been coined by Scandinavians at all, as they display such strong Celtic influence whereas the demonstrably Scandinavian place-names in South-West Scotland 'show no trace of Irish influence whatever'.⁸⁸ As discussed above, both Nicolaisen and Brooke have noted that the distribution of the *kirk*- names does not match that of the purely Scandinavian names.⁸⁹

All of this casts serious doubt on the possibility of a purely Scandinavian origin for the *kirk*- compounds. Similarly, from the perspective of language contact theory, an entirely Scandinavian genesis is also unlikely. As established in Chapter One, it is probable that the Scandinavians who settled in the North and West of Scotland would have represented a dominant linguistic superstratum. As such, linguistic borrowing from the non-prestigious Celtic groups of these regions was extremely limited, as is illustrated by the small number of Gaelic loanwords into the Scandinavian language. In this situation, there is little likelihood that Gaelic-speakers could have exerted sufficient linguistic pressure on Scandinavian-speakers to influence their syntax, even in a purely toponymic context.⁹⁰

In the case of the Scottish *kirk*- compounds, which were coined in a region of small-scale secondary Scandinavian settlement, and where Gaelic was emerging as a

⁸⁷ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', p. 136.

⁸⁸ Nicolaisen, 'Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland', p. 65.

⁸⁹ Nicolaisen, 'Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland', pp. 62-63, and Brooke, 'Kirk- Compound Place-Names in Galloway and Carrick', p. 59.

⁹⁰ See Chapter Two.

dominant language, it is possible that the Scandinavian language was subject to much greater influence from Gaelic-speakers than occurred in the Northern and Western Isles. However, in this case, it would be expected that this influence would be evident in the lexis of the Scandinavian nomenclature of South-West Scotland, and as Nicolaisen has established, this evidence is notably lacking.

Prior to the publication of Nicolaisen's article, MacQueen had argued that, at least in the initial period of inception, the *kirk-* names were indeed likely to have been coined by Scandinavian-speakers who been influenced by the Gaelic-language, and as such were parallel to the inversion-compounds of North-West England.⁹¹ I have argued elsewhere for a somewhat different inception for the English inversion-compounds,⁹² but what is noteworthy about MacQueen's theory is that he suggests that the greater number of names in *kirk-* in Scotland than in England is a result of the subsequent borrowing of ON *kirkja* into the Gaelic of Galloway.⁹³ The possibility that the majority of the *kirk-* compounds were coined as the result of Gaelic-speakers borrowing a single toponymic element from the Scandinavians is perhaps more plausible than a purely Scandinavian inception, as it is dependent only on a minimal level of contact and interaction between the two linguistic groups. This would appear to correspond with the essentially autonomous strata of Gaelic and Scandinavian nomenclature in the South-West of Scotland.

However, an inception of this type is not without its difficulties. Firstly, it seems somewhat odd that Gaelic-speakers would borrow the Scandinavian word for a church when they already had the apparently-synonymous *cill*. Secondly, if these *kirk-*

⁹¹ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', p. 139.

⁹² See Chapter Two.

⁹³ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', p. 139.

compounds are not to be considered as part-translations of existing names in *cill*-, then this would apparently entail the sudden creation of a new group of names by an established Gaelic-speaking population without an obvious reason for doing so.

With regard to the motivation for Gaelic-speakers to borrow ON *kirkja*, one potential explanation might be that *kirkja* and *cill* were not entirely synonymous. Although both terms are generally translated as ‘church’,⁹⁴ it is possible that the Gaelic-speakers of South-West Scotland borrowed *kirkja* in a more specialised sense. As discussed in Chapter One, Section 5, it is likely that Gaelic-speakers transferred lexical items from the Scandinavian language to augment their vocabulary where lexical gaps existed, rather than to replace existing lexical items. In many cases the loan-words related to specialised equipment or topographic features. One example of this is ON *berg*, which in the Scandinavian language had the general meaning of ‘hill’,⁹⁵ but which Cox has established was used by Gaelic-speakers in the more specific sense of a vertical rock-face, usually on a coastal promontory.⁹⁶ Given this, it is possible that the Gaelic-speakers in Galloway adopted *kirkja* for use alongside *cill*, in order to create greater toponymic, and perhaps also lexical, precision regarding their ecclesiastical establishments. In this context, it is noteworthy that Fellows-Jensen suggests

[t]o judge from the parochial status of so many of the Kir(k)bys and of the Kirkbride-type names, the Viking settlers in mainland Britain would seem originally to have used *kirkja* to denote a church of some standing and not the tiny chapels or keeills that were found all over the areas that had earlier been subject to Irish ecclesiastical influence.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ See for instance Mills, *A Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 405, and Ross, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 121.

⁹⁵ Gelling and Cole, *The Landscape of Place-Names*, p. 151.

⁹⁶ Cox, ‘Old Norse *Berg* in Hebridean Nomenclature’, p. 63. This element is also discussed in Chapter One.

⁹⁷ Fellows-Jensen, ‘The Vikings’ Relationship with Christianity in the British Isles’, p. 306.

It seems plausible that Gaelic-speakers may have borrowed *kirkja* in this narrowed sense of a predominant church. As mentioned in section 3, MacQueen also highlights a difference in the status of the two name-types in the present day, with *kirk-* compounds being of greater local importance than *kil-* compounds.⁹⁸ This seems to support the hypothesis that the two terms were not synonymous. As *cill* is the locative of Gaelic *ceall*, which had the meaning of ‘dependant monastery, monastic cell’ in addition to ‘church’,⁹⁹ it is possible that names in *cill-* referred to minor chapels or monastic property, whereas names in *kirk-* are indicative of more communal and consequential places of worship. It is interesting to note that the modern sense of Manx Gaelic *keeill* is as a technical term for the remains of small ecclesiastical building, whereas *kirk-* often appears in parish-names.¹⁰⁰ It would appear that this complementary use of *kirk-* and *cill-* must have been restricted to the South-West of Scotland and Man, however, as Nicolaisen notes that in areas where *kirk-* compounds do not occur, *kil-* names achieved greater status, and were frequently used to denote parishes.¹⁰¹ The limited nature of this complementary usage seems to support the hypothesis that it resulted from a localised Gaelic loan from ON *kirkja*, rather than reflecting a later distinction in status between Gaelic *cill* and Lowland Scots *kirk*, as in the latter case a more widespread occurrence might be expected.

Additionally, the adoption of a Scandinavian word into the Gaelic language of South-West Scotland would mean that *kirk-* compounds which potentially contain the element *mo-*, *ma-* need not be part-translations of names in *cill-*, even in instances where

⁹⁸ MacQueen, ‘*Kirk-* and *Kil-* in Galloway Place-Names’, pp. 144-145.

⁹⁹ MacLennan, *A Pronouncing and Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*, p. 76.

¹⁰⁰ Gelling, ‘The Place-Names of the Isle of Man’ (1991), p. 152.

¹⁰¹ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 171.

mo- might function as a separate honorific rather than being an integral part of the saint's name. MacQueen has suggested that names containing *mo-* are not likely to have been coined after *kirkja* was borrowed into Gaelic, as he considers that 'on the whole, names with prefixed *mo-* are likely to be early'.¹⁰² However, in more recent times, the antiquity of Gaelic place-names in the South-West has been brought into question. Nicolaisen and MacQueen had originally argued that the Gaelic element *sliabh* indicated areas of primary Gaelic settlement, and as such could be dated to before the ninth century.¹⁰³ Yet Fraser has since demonstrated that *sliabh* continued in active use as a name-forming element from the period of Dalriadan settlement until well into the eighteenth century, particularly along the Western Seaboard.¹⁰⁴ Fraser also notes that in Galloway, *sliabh* names are usually farm-names, which were derived from minor hill and moor names, rather than representing the original topographical coinages themselves.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, Taylor has demonstrated that *sliabh* is much more common in eastern Scottish place-names than had previously been supposed, which casts doubt on the argument that this element is indicative only of early Gaelic settlement in Scotland.¹⁰⁶ In the case of the Isle of Man, where parallel *slieau* names occur, it had also been argued that names containing this element were likely to indicate early Irish settlement on the island.¹⁰⁷ However, on the basis of Hiberno-Norse coin-hoards found in the area where *slieau* names occur, Dolley has argued that these names are more likely to be the result of an eleventh-century

¹⁰² MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', p. 142.

¹⁰³ Nicolaisen, 'Scottish Place-Names: *Slew-* and *sliabh*', pp. 91-106, and MacQueen, 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', p. 18.

¹⁰⁴ Fraser, 'Mountain, Hill or Moor? An Examination of Gaelic *Sliabh* in the Place-Names of the Western Isles of Scotland', p. 125.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p. 124.

¹⁰⁶ Simon Taylor's comments are cited in Waugh, 'Settlement Names in Dumfries and Galloway', p. 48.

¹⁰⁷ Megaw, 'Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles', p. 275.

immigration from Ireland.¹⁰⁸ From this it becomes apparent that *sliabh / slieau* names should not be considered as reliable evidence of early Gaelic settlement in the region of the Irish Sea coast. Additionally, as the corpus of historical forms of the *kirk-* names reveals that the element *kil-* was being substituted for *kirk-* in place-names at a relatively late date,¹⁰⁹ this brings into question the reliability of *cill* as an indicator of early settlement in the area.¹¹⁰ It is noteworthy that although MacQueen had argued for an early inception for *kil-* names, in a later article he admits that the three Killantringan names in Wigtownshire and Carrick are unlikely to be earlier than the twelfth or thirteenth century, as they appear to contain the English word 'saint'.¹¹¹ Further, recent work on Manx names in *keeill* has revealed that there is no record of names containing this element prior to the sixteenth century, in contrast to the *kirk-* names which are recorded from the thirteenth century.¹¹² Gelling considers that:

[i]t seems most likely that keeills were in the main built and named throughout the later part of the Viking period. It is difficult to envisage a scenario in which a substantial number of *keeill* names survived from pre-Viking times, as this feat of memory on the part of Gaelic speakers in regard to chapels would be in stark contrast to their forgetfulness of the habitation-sites.¹¹³

Thus, as with the *sliabh / slieau* names, the Manx instances of *keeill* and the South-West Scotland instances of *cill* cannot be taken as being indicative of early settlement by Gaelic-speakers, and given this it would appear that the evidence for intense, primary settlement from Ireland in both these regions is considerably diminished.

¹⁰⁸ Michal Dolley's lecture is cited in Gelling, 'The Place-Names of the Isle of Man' (1991), pp. 146-147.

¹⁰⁹ See Appendix C, Part Two.

¹¹⁰ Nicolaisen has suggested that the limited distribution of names in *kil-* might suggest an early inception for the names (pre-800). See *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 167.

¹¹¹ MacQueen, 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', pp. 19 and 28.

¹¹² Gelling, 'The Place-Names of the Isle of Man' (1991), p. 152. See also Section 7.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, pp. 151-152.

In light of this, it seems that MacQueen's theories regarding the chronology of Gaelic place-names in the South-West need to be re-assessed. MacQueen does not explicitly explain why he considers names which contain *mo-* to be early, but it is likely that it was at least partly because the element seemed to be a further example of what he believed to be early Irish influence in the region. He may also have considered names in *mo* as indicative of early settlement due to the occurrence of *cill + mo* constructions, since he believed the *cill-* names to be of considerable antiquity.¹¹⁴ If the *cill-* names do not necessarily pre-date 800, there is no reason to assume that names containing *cill + mo* should be this early either. In this context, it may be significant that, as discussed above in Section 4(b), the Kirkcudbrightshire name Killimingan '*cill m'Fhinnéin*' appears to have gained this hypocoristic form at a relatively late date, since the form recorded by Pont is *Killynngan 'cill Fhinnéin'*.¹¹⁵ It therefore seems entirely plausible that like *sliabh* and *cill*, *mo* continued to be used in the coining of place-names for a considerable period of time, and as such, the possibility of *kirk + mo* constructions should not be discounted.

It is not argued here that there were no early names in *sliabh* and *cill* in the South-West of Scotland, only that at least some of these names may date from a later period. As discussed in Section 2, the dominant language of the South-West was originally Brythonic, until what has been described as 'the dramatic Gaelicization' of the region in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹¹⁶ MacQueen argues that many of the Gaelic names in Galloway are likely to date from the post-Conquest era,¹¹⁷ and Brooke has demonstrated

¹¹⁴ MacQueen, '*Kirk-* and *Kil-* in Galloway Place-Names', p. 145.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 144.

¹¹⁶ Oram, '*Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland*', p. 130.

¹¹⁷ MacQueen, '*The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick*', pp. 28-30.

that a few of the *kirk-* names replaced older Cumbric names during this period.¹¹⁸ This shift in power may be significant when returning to the question of why Gaelic-speakers would have coined so many new names using ON *kirkja* as a loan-word. Rather than representing a spontaneous generation of ecclesiastical toponyms by a long-established indigenous group of Gaelic-speakers, it seems more likely that the *kirk-* compounds were the product of Gaelic-speakers who had either recently seized territory from their Brythonic neighbours, or recently arrived in the South-West in considerable numbers.

In this context, it may be significant that MacQueen has equated the inception of the *kirk-* compounds with a simultaneous arrival of Gaelic and Scandinavian speakers in South-Western Scotland.¹¹⁹ Similarly, despite arguing for a different origin for the majority of the *kirk-* compounds, Nicolaisen admits that the very first instances of the name-type may have been the result of such a simultaneous arrival.¹²⁰ MacQueen goes on to argue that these Scandinavians and Gaelic-speakers would have been a mixed-race group of *Gall-Gaidhil* from Ireland,¹²¹ a contention that is considerably undermined by the lack of any further evidence of mixed Gaelic-Scandinavian influence in the nomenclature of the region. The issue of the existence of a mixed-race group such as the *Gall-Gaidhil*, and their potential link with Galloway, is somewhat complex, and as such will be discussed separately in Section 6. Yet, even without the prospective involvement of *Gall-Gaidhil* in the coining of these names, it seems possible that contact between Scandinavian and Gaelic-speakers may hold the key to the initial inception of the *kirk-* compounds, and that an influx of Gaelic-speakers to the South-West either during or after

¹¹⁸ See Section 3.

¹¹⁹ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', p. 136.

¹²⁰ Nicolaisen, 'Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland', p. 63.

¹²¹ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', p. 136.

the period of Scandinavian settlement in this area might account for the subsequent spread of the name-type.

5(d) An Inception Model for the *Kirk-* Compounds

In Chapter Two I argued that the inversion-compound names were coined by Gaelic-speakers who had shifted to the culturally-dominant Scandinavian language in the Western Isles of Scotland, and then travelled to the North-West of England along with monolingual Scandinavian-speakers. Thus, the inversion names were essentially coined using a dialect of the Scandinavian language which included some features from Gaelic, including syntax, personal names and diminutive suffixes.

It seems likely that the first *kirk-* compounds were coined by these Gaelic-Scandinavian bilinguals in the Solway region. Names such as Kirkoswald and Kirkcudbright which are dedicated to Northumbrian saints may have been coined to refer to existing ecclesiastical establishments, although the Kirkbride names may reflect the establishment of new churches dedicated to the Celtic saints worshipped by Christian Gaelic-Scandinavian settlers around the Solway Firth. It is possible that the Scandinavian settlement of Galloway occurred simultaneously with that of Cumberland, and that Gaelic-Scandinavian bilinguals coined the first Galwegian *kirk-* compounds at that time. However, the limited nature of Scandinavian place-names in Galloway, as suggested by their confinement to coastal areas and by the lack of secondary settlement names, appears to indicate ‘a secondary expansion from areas of primary colonization’.¹²² This might suggest that the settlers who colonised Galloway originated from the

¹²² Oram, ‘Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland’, p. 135.

Scandinavian settlements in coastal Cumberland.¹²³ A later colonization of this type may have included a much lower proportion of Gaelic-Scandinavian bilinguals than were involved in the original influx from the North-Western Seaboard of Scotland, which would account for the relative lack of inversion-compounds of the non *kirk-* compound variety in Galloway. It seems likely that there were at least some Gaelic-Scandinavians amongst the group, however, who transferred the *kirk-* + saint name-type from Cumberland, and coined the initial *kirk-* compounds in the region. In this sense, MacQueen would be correct in his assertion that the English and Scottish *kirk-* names had the same initial inception, even if they were not actually coined by native Scandinavian speakers.¹²⁴ Brooke has argued that the origin of the *kirk-* compounds is likely to post-date the period of Scandinavian settlement, as the earliest historical records of *kirk-* compounds in Scotland date from the twelfth century, which coincides neatly with the date of the development of the Lowland Scots word *kirk*.¹²⁵ However, as Brooke admits, the 'documents relating to Galloway scarcely begin before the later twelfth century',¹²⁶ and there is also evidence to support the notion of an earlier, Gaelic-Scandinavian inception for the names. Fellows-Jensen has pointed out that although *kirk* was used by both Scandinavian and Northern English speakers, compound names including *kirk* and a hagiological dedication only occur in areas of attested Gaelic-Norwegian influence: namely Cumberland and the North Riding of Yorkshire.¹²⁷ Similarly, she notes that

¹²³ It should be noted here that Fellows-Jensen has argued that the Scandinavian settlement in Galloway may instead reflect a westward movement of Danish settlers from Dumfriesshire. A more detailed argument for Galloway reflecting secondary settlement from areas of Gaelic-Norwegian influence will be made in Chapter Five.

¹²⁴ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', p. 139.

¹²⁵ Brooke, 'Kirk- Compound Names in Galloway and Carrick', p. 58.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Fellows-Jensen, 'The Vikings' Relationship with Christianity in the British Isles', p. 305. In the North-Riding, the word-order is Germanic e.g. Felixkirk, Oswaldkirk and Romaldkirk.

although Kirkby names are very common in England, only in Cumberland and Westmorland are these names distinguished by the addition of a saint's name.¹²⁸ This would also appear to suggest that the name-type emerged in a Gaelic-Scandinavian context.

It should be stressed that this Gaelic-Scandinavian origin would only apply to the initial establishment of the *kirk-* compound name-type, and that the majority of the names are unlikely to have been coined by this linguistic group. As the Cumberland *kirk-* compounds are so limited in number, it seems likely that the original Galloway instances would have been similarly limited. Since there is so little evidence for mixed Gaelic-Scandinavian settlement in the South-West of Scotland, it seems that such a large group of ecclesiastical names utilising a single generic would be unprecedented. Yet only a handful of names in Cumberland and Galloway would be necessary to establish the name-pattern in coastal areas around the Irish Sea. It is not clear whether the earliest Manx *kirk-* compounds might also date from this period or whether they represent later influence from the mainland.¹²⁹ However, as the Isle of Man is also an area with a mixed Scandinavian and Gaelic heritage, it seems possible that at least a few of the names may have been created in a similar manner.

The next stage in the development of the *kirk-* compounds would have occurred when the Gaelic-Scandinavians came into contact with monolingual Gaelic-speakers in the South-West of Scotland. The political upheaval of the South-West during this period appears to suggest population movement and the displacement of Brythonic speakers.¹³⁰ MacQueen has argued that the majority of the Gaelic settlers in Galloway arrived in

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 305-306.

¹²⁹ For a discussion of the problems regarding the chronology of Manx names, see Section 7.

¹³⁰ See Scott, 'The Partition of a Kingdom: Strathclyde 1092-1153', pp. 11-13.

tandem with the Scandinavian immigrants from the Western Seaboard of Scotland,¹³¹ although it has been suggested that as Cumbric power collapsed there would also have been an influx of settlement from the mainland Gaelic territories in the north.¹³² Additionally, it seems plausible that some of the established Gaelic-speaking population in the South-West were expanding their landholdings at this time. Whatever the precise geographic origins of these Gaelic-speakers, it would appear that at least some of them encountered the key group of Christian Gaelic-Scandinavian bilinguals amidst the Scandinavian coastal settlements, and became familiar with the *kirk-* compound name-type. The borrowing of ON *kirkja* into the Gaelic language is likely to have been facilitated by the presence of bilingual speakers, although in the case of such a simple vocabulary loan, little bilingualism would actually be required.¹³³ In the case of Gaelic-speakers who had emigrated from the Western Isles, it is possible that that such a group would already be familiar with the function of ON *kirkja*, although the lack of Gaelic-structured names in *kirk-* in the Isles would suggest that the element was not borrowed by Gaelic-speakers in that region.

As established in the previous section, the most likely reason for ON *kirkja* being adopted by Gaelic speakers in the South-West would have been to allow greater lexical flexibility regarding ecclesiastical designations. If the element had instead been borrowed to reflect the cultural and political superiority of the Scandinavians and Gaelic-Scandinavians in the area, then a wider variety of Old Norse loan-words might be expected amongst the Gaelic place-names of the South-West. As discussed above, it is

¹³¹ MacQueen, 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', p. 27.

¹³² See Brooke, '*Kirk-* Compound Names in Galloway and Carrick', p. 65, and Scott, 'The Partition of a Kingdom: Strathclyde 1092-1153', pp. 11-13.

¹³³ See Thomason and Kaufman, *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*, pp. 74-75.

possible that Gaelic-speakers borrowed *kirkja* in the sense of an important church, although the differing status of names in *kirk-* and *cill-* might also suggest a slightly different interpretation. In her discussion of ON *kirkja* in Britain, Fellows-Jensen postulates that the Kirkby + saint names represent a compromise between the Kirkby names of the Danelaw and the Kilbride names in South-West Scotland.¹³⁴ I would suggest that, given their purely English distribution, it is perhaps equally plausible that the names emerged as a compromise between the Kirkby names and the *kirk-* compounds of North-West England. However, Fellows-Jensen's suggestion regarding the possibility of influence from Kirkby names in the Solway region is pertinent when considering the role of *kirk* in South-West Scotland. Fellows-Jensen notes that Kirkby formations are rare or altogether lacking in areas where *kirk-* compounds occur.¹³⁵ This might suggest that the *kirk-* compounds represent a Gaelic-Scandinavian name-type used either in an equivalent or a similar sense to that of ON *kirkju-bý*, which was then transmitted to monolingual Gaelic-speakers in the Solway area. In this context it may be significant that the lost Cumberland name *Kirkeby Crossan* is recorded in various thirteenth century charters both in the form *Kirkeby crossan* and also as *Kirkecrossan* or *Kyrcros*.¹³⁶ This implies, at least in this case, a lack of clear distinction between the two name-types. MacQueen notes that parish names were usually derived from the name of the principal town or village in that area, which in many cases had themselves derived from the name of the principal church.¹³⁷ He argues that the high proportion of parish names in *kirk-*, to the exclusion of any in *cill-*, indicates that Scandinavian-named settlements were of more

¹³⁴ Fellows-Jensen, 'The Vikings' Relationship with Christianity in the British Isles', p. 306.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 299 and 305-306.

¹³⁶ Armstrong *et al*, 'The Place-Names of Cumberland', vol. 2, p. 436.

¹³⁷ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', pp. 146-147.

importance than Gaelic-named settlements, and 'local government was very largely in the hands of the Scandinavians'.¹³⁸ The main difficulty with MacQueen's interpretation is that it relies on a much more widespread Scandinavian geographical and political domination than is otherwise implied by the limited Scandinavian toponymy in South-West Scotland. However, if names in *kirk-* had, at least in their initial phase of inception, the sense of a settlement with a church, or a farm that was owned by the church, then this might account for why so many places in *kirk-* became important enough to form the basis of parochial focus. Using *kirk-* in this manner would of course be a corruption of the original meaning of ON *kirkja*, but as established in Chapter One, Gaelic-speakers did in some cases utilise a loan-word in a more specific or slightly altered sense than it had in the source language, and the influence of *kirkju-bý* names may have been a contributing factor in this case. If *cill-* was reserved for purely ecclesiastical sites, with no settlement attached, then these places would not have had the same potential to become the central point of a parish. It is of course true that many of the modern *kil-* names refer to villages or towns, indicating that settlements did eventually evolve around these lesser church sites. Yet these settlements appear never to have achieved the significance of places in *kirk-*, as MacQueen notes that 'nowadays most of these places do not possess any great importance, even locally'.¹³⁹

As both *kirk-* and *cill-* names could have been coined by Gaelic-speakers to refer to differing types of ecclesiastical establishments, it would seem that the relative status of the two groups of names does not necessarily indicate Scandinavian dominance over a subjugated Gaelic-speaking people. It would appear that, at least initially, the distinction

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 147.

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 144.

between the two elements was semantic rather than political. However, the later interchangeability of *kirk-* and *cill-* that is evidenced in the historical forms of both the *kirk-* compounds and *kil-* names suggests that the two elements came to lose any meaningful distinction. It seems likely that this would have been connected with the establishment of Lowland Scots *kirk* 'church' in the South-West of Scotland, and also because, as places in *cill-* developed into settlements, the difference between the two types of designation would no longer have remained clear.

Regardless of the precise semantic meaning that *kirk* acquired in the Gaelic language, it is likely that a large proportion of the *kirk-* compounds were coined by Gaelic-speakers. As MacQueen establishes, the considerable corpus of names in South-West Scotland, when compared with the seven instances in Cumberland, suggests that further Gaelic influence must have been involved in the propagation of the name-type in Scotland.¹⁴⁰ Similarly, the popularity of *kirk-* compounds in the Isle of Man, where Manx Gaelic superseded the Scandinavian language, suggests that the majority of the names were coined by Gaelic-speakers, whereas in Cumberland, further Gaelic influence would have been minimal, and thus the name-type would not have developed beyond the initial period of Gaelic-Scandinavian coinage.

Many of these names are likely to have been the result of the growing Gaelic-speaking presence in the South-West of Scotland. Names such as Kirkgunzeon, which preserves the Brythonic form of St Finnian,¹⁴¹ suggest that in some cases Gaelic-speakers took over existing Cumbric centres of worship. However, the predominantly Goidelic

¹⁴⁰ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names', p. 139.

¹⁴¹ MacQueen, 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', p. 20.

nature of the hagiology of the *kirk-* names suggests that the Gaelic-speakers were establishing their own religious centres in the South-West at this time.

The next stage in the development of the *kirk-* compounds appears to have commenced in the twelfth century, with the restoration of the bishoprics of Glasgow, Whithorn and Carlisle and the emergence of parochial divisions. As places with *kirk-* names were apparently of local importance, and often developed into parochial designations, it is likely that the *kirk* + saint pattern became a popular paradigm for parish names. As Brooke establishes, there is evidence for the creation of at least some new *kirk-* compounds as parish names during this period, although as discussed in Section 3, these names are likely to be analogous coinages with existing *kirk-* names rather than prototypes for the corpus of *kirk-* compounds as a whole.

The final stage in the development of the *kirk-* compounds is a process of assimilation. As the name-type became well-established around the Irish Sea Coast, it is likely to have influenced the form of other place-names. Many of the problematic names discussed in Section 3 are likely to have evolved into *kirk-* compounds in this manner. The names in *kirk-* which originally displayed Germanic word-order, such as Kirkbride in Keir Parish and Kirksanton in Cumberland, are likely to have undergone element reversal due to the influence of the Celtic word-order of the *kirk-* compounds. Names whose original generic was *ceathramh-* or *cathair-* would have been assimilated to *kirk-*, particularly when Lowland Scots began to replace Gaelic as the primary language in the South-West, and such purely-Gaelic elements became semantically opaque. The fluctuation between *kirk-* and *kil-* which occurs in the historical forms of both *kirk-* compounds and *cill-* names from the fifteenth century onwards is likely to be a reflection

of the competition between Lowland Scots *kirk-* and Gaelic *cill-*. As such, it is possible that a few of the *kirk-* compounds could be part-translations from *cill-* names, dating from the time when Gaelic was in decline in Southern Scotland. Nicolaisen notes of this late period, 'the precise linguistic background of *Kirk-* names becomes obscure, and we must assume them to have been created, re-created and translated for a number of centuries'.¹⁴² Thus it would appear that the corpus of *kirk-* compound names continued to expand well beyond the initial period of their inception, and absorbed various other place-names in the process.

5(e) Parallel *Kirk-* Compounds in England and South-West Scotland

The earliest stage of the inception model relies on a connection between the Gaelic-Scandinavian settlement in Cumberland and the Scandinavian settlement in South-West Scotland. The evidence for Norwegian settlement in Galloway is a complex subject which will be developed in Chapter Five. Yet it is pertinent to address the issue of parallel *kirk-* names in England and Scotland at this point, as they may provide evidence of cultural and linguistic contact between the two areas. The fact that Manx *kirk-* compounds have parallels with both Scottish and English names may also be significant when attempting to determine the extent of Gaelic-Scandinavian influence around the Irish Sea region.

The largest group of parallel forms are the Kirkbride names. There are three in Kirkcudbrightshire, two in Wigtownshire, two in Carrick, two in Dumfriesshire, one in Cumberland and three on the Isle of Man. Additionally, there are two Brydekirk names, one in Dumfriesshire and one in Cumberland, as well as a Kirkilbride in

¹⁴² Nicolaisen, 'Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland', p. 67.

Kirkcudbrightshire. The names appear to contain dedications to the Irish saint Brigid of Kildare, who died in the sixth century.¹⁴³ This suggests that the dedications are likely to be early, which might lend support to the hypothesis that *kirk-* compounds were originally coined as *cill-* names in the pre-Scandinavian era. However, Watson notes of Brigid that ‘her name became so popular that many saints bore it after her time – fifteen are on record – so that we have no certainty that these commemorate the famed contemporary of St. Patrick’.¹⁴⁴ Thus, the names cannot be taken as evidence for early Irish settlement in the South-West of Scotland, but it remains unclear to what extent they represent Gaelic-Scandinavian influence around the Irish Sea coast. MacQueen notes that the Kirkbride names are found ‘on routes used by pilgrims from Scotland and England to Ireland, and in territory much of which was long subject to the Douglasses, whose patron saint was Bride’.¹⁴⁵ This would suggest that the names may have been coined over a considerable period of time, and may date from all four of the inception periods detailed in Section 5(d). Two names which were clearly not coined by Gaelic-Scandinavians are the parish name Kirkbride in Kirkcudbrightshire, and Kirkbride in Keir parish in Dumfriesshire. As established in Section 3, the parish of Kirkbride developed a *kirk-* form in the thirteenth century, and the Keir parish name originally had Germanic word-order, and as such, belongs with the two Brydekirk names. A further problematic name is Kirkilbride in Kirkcudbrightshire, as *kirk-* appears to have been affixed to an existing Kilbride name. The accretion of elements suggests that *kirk-* was a late addition, occurring once Lowland Scots had replaced Gaelic in Galloway and the meaning of Gaelic *cill-* was no longer understood. As the earliest records of this name date to the last

¹⁴³ Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names in Scotland*, p. 161.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ MacQueen, ‘The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick’, p. 25.

decade of the sixteenth century, this is perhaps plausible, although it would be somewhat odd that this name should have been altered when other Kilbride names in the South-West of Scotland survived intact. Another possible solution is that, due to the fluctuation between *kirk-* and *kil-* in the local nomenclature, Kirkilbride was known as both Kirkbride and Kilbride, until uncertainty over the correct form led to the creation of a new name which incorporated them both. One further possibility is that, if *kirk-* and *cill-* were not entirely synonymous and Gaelic-speakers were using *kirk-* in the sense of a settlement connected to a church, then *kirk-* may have been deliberately added to a Kilbride name to indicate 'a settlement of the church of St Brigid'. Whatever the true origins of this name, it is clear that it was not originally coined as a *kirk-* compound, and as such should perhaps be included with the other problematic names discussed in Section 3.

Even discounting these doubtful instances of Kirkbride, there remain four Galloway instances, one each in Cumberland, Dumfriesshire and Carrick, and three on the Isle of Man. Although some of these may have been localised parallels that were established on the strength of existing commemorations, it is possible that at least some of these Kirkbride names date to the initial period of Gaelic-Scandinavian settlement. It would also appear that the corpus of Kirkbride names as a whole would suggest a continuity of influence linking the coastal regions around the Irish Sea, which may be connected, at least in part, to the Gaelic-Scandinavian settlements in these areas.

The Kirkandrews names are more limited in their distribution, with three instances in Cumberland, three in Kirkcudbrightshire and two on the Isle of Man. As discussed in Section 3 above, it is unclear whether Kirkandrews in Culgaith parish,

Cumberland was originally a *kirk-* name or whether it developed its current form by analogy with the more northerly Kirkandrews names in the county. In the same section, it was also noted that Brooke had suggested that Kirkandrews Balmaghie and Kirkandrews Parton may have developed as thirteenth century parochial names, although it is possible that the names may be much older.¹⁴⁶ I would suggest that rather than representing the original designation of these places, 'Balmaghie' and 'Parton' were instead distinguishing affixes added to distinguish between two places of the same name in close proximity, as has clearly happened in the case of the Kirkpatrick names. In this context, it is notable that both of these place-names have been used as the distinguishing affixes of other names in that part of Kirkcudbrightshire, namely in Boreland of Parton and Whitehill of Balmaghie.

The occurrence of Kirkandrews names in both coastal Cumberland and coastal Kirkcudbrightshire would suggest a connection between these two regions. However, it is unclear whether the names may reflect the movement of Gaelic-Scandinavian settlers, or are connected to the Anglian settlement in these regions. MacQueen notes that the apostle Andrew was a favourite saint of the Northumbrian church.¹⁴⁷ This might suggest that ecclesiastical worship of Andrew around the Solway coast dates back to the pre-Scandinavian period. Yet it would also appear that the *kirk-* names are unlikely to date from such an early period. Thus, it may be that incoming Scandinavians coined the Kirkandrews names in reference to existing sites of worship.¹⁴⁸ Alternatively, these names may reflect the acceptance by Scandinavian immigrants of the native Anglian saints when they settled first in Cumberland and then in Galloway, leading to the

¹⁴⁶ Brooke, 'Kirk- Compound Place-Names in Galloway and Carrick', p. 59.

¹⁴⁷ MacQueen, 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', p. 25.

¹⁴⁸ See Section 5(d) above.

founding of new Scandinavian churches at this time. In either case, it seems that the parallel formations in Cumberland and Kirkcudbrightshire suggest a connection between the people who coined these names. It may also be significant that the historical forms of the two groups of names are quite similar. Of the Kirkcudbrightshire names, Kirkandrews Balmaghie is *Kyrcandres* 1189-1209, Kirkandrews Parton is *Kirkandres* 1335-36 and Kirkanders is *Kirkandres* 1234, *Kirkandres* 1296 and *Kirkandris* 1306-39. Of the Cumberland names, Kirkandrews in Eden is *Kirkanders* c.1200 and *Kirkandreas* 1235, Kirkandrews in Esk is *Kirchand'r'* in 1165, *Kirkandres* c.1230 and *Kirkanders* 1257. The problematic Kirkandrews in Culgaith Parish is recorded as *Kirkandreas* a.1147. The various forms of the specific element in these names bear little resemblance to the modern name Andrew, and it is possible that these records instead reflect the Latin form of the name, Andreas. The forms listed above are certainly similar to the Latin records of the Manx parish of Kirk Andrews, which was *Paroch Sct. Andreas* in 1594 and 1685.¹⁴⁹ However, it is possible that the recording of these historical forms may also have been influenced by the Goidelic forms of this personal name, which has the reflexes Aindrea or Anndra in Modern Scottish Gaelic and Aindrias or Aindréas in Modern Irish Gaelic.¹⁵⁰ Additionally, it should be noted that the modern Scandinavian reflex of this name is Anders.¹⁵¹ This might suggest some Gaelic-Scandinavian influence on the early forms of the Kirkandrews names.

The Kirkoswald names also appear to link Northern England with South-West Scotland, as the Cumberland instance has a doublet in Carrick. Additionally, Kirkcarswell in Kirkcudbrightshire has been identified by Watson as a corrupt form of

¹⁴⁹ See Appendix C, Part Four, for historical forms of the Manx *kirk-* names.

¹⁵⁰ Hanks *et al*, *The Oxford Names Companion*, p. 701.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Kirkoswald.¹⁵² This etymology is possible for the name, although the earliest forms of the name, *Kirkassudie*, *Kyrassalda*, *Kirkcassald*, *Kirkcassall*, and *Kirkassail*, bear little resemblance to the name 'Oswald', in marked contrast to the other Kirkoswald names. By the late sixteenth century forms such as *Kirkcossald* (1567) and *Kirkcaswell* (1571) are closer to the Carrick and Cumberland names; yet it is possible that this similarity is the result of alteration of the name by analogy with the existing Kirkoswald names. However, in the absence of any obvious alternative specific element which would better correspond to the historical forms, it would appear that Kirkcarswell should be considered as a parallel to these Kirkoswald names. Nicolaisen has suggested that names which contain a dedication to this Northumbrian saint point to Anglian involvement.¹⁵³ Yet, as is the case with the Kirkandrews names, it is unlikely that these names date to the early Anglian period, and as such the Kirkoswald names may represent either Scandinavian coinages which referred to existing religious sites, or the Scandinavian adoption of this locally-venerated ecclesiastical figure.

The Kirkcudbright names are found in Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbrightshire and Carrick. As the dedication is to the Northumbrian Saint Cuthbert, it seems that these names may also reflect influence from England, although there are no English parallels. It is pertinent that, like Oswald, Cuthbert is strongly connected with the early Anglian church, and as such, the dedications may be connected with the Anglian settlement in Southern Scotland rather than the immigration of Gaelic-influenced Scandinavian-speakers from across the Solway Firth. However, as mentioned above, the *kirk-* names are likely to post-date the initial introduction of Anglian saints to South-West Scotland,

¹⁵² Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names in Scotland*, p. 167.

¹⁵³ Nicolaisen, 'Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland', pp. 64-65.

and in some cases may instead reflect a reintroduction of these saints by Scandinavian-speaking colonists from Cumberland. It is also possible that some of these names are from an even later period, as it has been demonstrated that some of the *kirk-* names were created by replacing or reshaping existing names once the *kirk-* compound pattern had become well established. As discussed in Section 3 above, the earliest form of Kirkcudbright in Kirkcudbrightshire has Germanic word-order. This raises the possibility that this was an Anglian name which was reshaped by analogy with other *kirk-* names. Also discussed in Section 3 is Kirkcudbright in Carrick, which was a late parish name replacing the original name, *Innertig*, in the fifteenth century. The third Kirkcudbright name, in Dumfriesshire, is unfortunately not recorded until the sixteenth century, so that it is impossible to judge its chronological and etymological origins. It is possible that the Dumfriesshire name was the first of these names to be coined, with the other two instances taking their modern forms by analogy.

There are various other parallel *kirk-* names, but as these parallels are confined to the South-West of Scotland, they offer no connection with the North-West of England. Examples include Kirkchrist, where there are two instances in Wigtownshire and one in Kirkcudbrightshire; Kirkconnel, where there is one in Kirkcudbrightshire and two in Dumfriesshire; and Kirkpatrick, which has two reflexes in Kirkcudbrightshire and two in Dumfriesshire. Parallels of this type may reflect the spreading of this name type from Galloway into Dumfriesshire, although in the case of the Dumfriesshire names Kirkpatrick-Fleming and Kirkconnel at Eaglesfield, it may be significant that these sites are very close to the border with Cumberland.¹⁵⁴ As such, it is possible that these names were coined by the same Gaelic-Scandinavian immigrants responsible for coining the

¹⁵⁴ See Maps 8 and 9.

kirk- names in Cumberland. In this case, the names would provide further evidence of a movement from the head of the Solway Firth to the Galloway coast, and as Patrick and Conall are Celtic saints, this would suggest that these parallel names should not be dismissed as evidence of purely Anglian settlement.

It would therefore appear that the occurrence of parallel *kirk-* names in Cumberland and South-West Scotland does suggest some continuity of settlement between these two regions. Most of the names discussed above also have parallels on the Isle of Man, and the link between the Manx names and those on the mainland will be discussed in Section 7 below.

5(f) Conclusion

In conclusion, it appears that the *kirk-* compound names did have their inception as a result of language contact between Gaelic-speakers and a Germanic group. However, the evidence suggests that this Germanic group is unlikely to have been either early Anglian immigrants to South-West Scotland or Anglo-Norman overlords in charge of parochial reorganisation. Rather, the earliest *kirk-* names were created by Gaelic-speakers who switched to the Scandinavian language spoken by the majority of their fellow immigrants to the Irish Sea Coast region. The occurrence of parallel forms in Cumberland and Galloway suggests a secondary movement from Northern England into Southern Scotland. Once this name pattern was established in Dumfries and Galloway, it was adopted by monolingual Gaelic-speakers in this area. Thus the names had a dissemination which did not occur in Northern England. This pattern was also used to create later names at the time when new parochial designations were required, and due to

the prominence of the *kirk-* compounds, other names in this region were reshaped or reinterpreted to match the 'kirk + saint' format. As these names had an essentially Gaelic-Scandinavian origin, and are most numerous in Galloway, the question remains as to whether or not the *kirk-* compounds have some connection with the people known as Gall-Gaidhil.

6. The *Kirk-* Compounds and the Gall-Gaidhil

In 1876, Skene argued that the name Galloway was ultimately derived from the term *Gallgaidhel*.¹⁵⁵ He translated this term as meaning 'stranger' or 'foreigner' Gaels, and suggested that the name Galloway indicated the area in which these people had eventually settled.¹⁵⁶ More recently, MacQueen has asserted that the *kirk-* compound names are likely to be 'associated with the settlement in Galloway of the *Gall-Ghaidhil*'.¹⁵⁷ What remains unclear is whether or not these Gall-Gaidhil could actually represent the mixed group of Gaelic and Scandinavian speakers whose arrival in the South-West of Scotland would appear to have triggered the inception of the *kirk-* compounds.

The Gall-Gaidhil are first mentioned in Irish texts, such as the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Martyrology of Oengus*.¹⁵⁸ These texts refer to events of the seventh century, such as the burning of Donnan of Eigg. Clearly, these references could not have been to a group of mixed Gaelic and Scandinavian descent, given the early date. Brooke suggests that these early references may be unreliable, and that 'the apparent anachronism

¹⁵⁵ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 331.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-names', p. 136.

¹⁵⁸ Brooke has collected together the main references to the Gall-Gaidhil from Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, in an Appendix to her article, 'The Gall-Gaidhil and Galloway'.

represents late interpolation' in these texts.¹⁵⁹ She notes that both Skene and Watson consider the first reliable records of the Gall-Gaidhil to date from the mid-ninth century.¹⁶⁰ Texts such as the *Annals of the Four Masters* and the *Annals of Ulster* record various battles which took place in Ireland involving the Gall-Gaidhil. There is very little detail in these annals, and no record of either the geographical origins or the linguistic make-up of the Gall-Gaidhil. There is of course the famous description of them made by Duaid MacFirbis:

these were men who had forsaken their baptism; and they were called Northmen, because they had Northmen's manners and had been fostered by them; and though the original Northmen did evil to churches, these did far worse; i.e., this people [the Gall-Gaidil], wherever they were in Ireland.¹⁶¹

This account would certainly suggest that the Gall-Gaidhil were Gaelic-speakers who had been converted to heathenism by invading Scandinavians. However, Brooke points out that MacFirbis was a historian working in the seventeenth century, which sheds considerable doubt as to the evidential value of this account. Brooke suggests that 'all that can be concluded so far is that in the ninth century there was a fighting force or forces in Ireland called the Gall-Gaidhil'.¹⁶²

There is little in the more contemporary sources to link the Gall-Gaidhil with either Scotland or the Scandinavians, and the notion that the term *Gall-Gaidhil* was exclusively used of a mixed Gaelic-Norwegian group has been questioned by a number of scholars. Skene did not consider that *gall* would originally have been applied to

¹⁵⁹ Brooke, 'The Gall-Gaidhil and Galloway', p. 99.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ From Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. 1, p. 287.

¹⁶² Brooke, 'The Gall-Gaidhil and Galloway', p. 99.

Scandinavians, and suggested that it may previously have been used in reference to English overlords in Galloway.¹⁶³ MacQueen argues that Gaelic-speakers would have applied the term 'successively to Gauls, Franks, Scandinavians, Normans, English and lastly Protestants (in Ireland), and in Scotland to speakers of Lowland Scots'.¹⁶⁴ Cowan considers that Irish Gaels would have used the term *Gall-Gaidhil* to refer to other Gaelic speakers who had emigrated to the British mainland.¹⁶⁵

However, more recently, Taylor has argued that although *gall* originally had the general meaning of foreigner or stranger, it came at an early date to be used specifically of Scandinavians.¹⁶⁶ He points out that *gall* was unlikely to be used in reference to the English, since they 'have always been referred to as *sassunach*'.¹⁶⁷ Similarly, it seems unlikely that *gall* was used of British people, as names like Balbarton, which was *Balbretan* in 1372, suggests that 'this people, too, was recognised and named'.¹⁶⁸ Taylor also points out that the Gaelic name for the Hebrides was *Innse Gall*, and that the 'foreigners' in these islands are clearly the Scandinavian settlers.¹⁶⁹

Smyth also considers that by the ninth century, *gall* had come to signify Scandinavians in particular.¹⁷⁰ He notes that in the mid-ninth century, annalists begin to divide the *gall* into two groups, the *Finn-Gaill* and the *Dub-Gaill*. These names have previously been taken to mean 'White Strangers' and 'Black Strangers', which was considered to mark a distinction between Norwegians and Danes, based on either hair-

¹⁶³ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 311.

¹⁶⁴ MacQueen, 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', p. 27.

¹⁶⁵ Cowan, 'The Vikings in Galloway', p. 72.

¹⁶⁶ Taylor, 'The Scandinavians in Fife and Kinross', p. 142.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles*, p. 87.

colour or armour.¹⁷¹ However, on the basis of a seventeenth century translation of annal material made by a Gaelic-English bilingual,¹⁷² Smyth has argued that the names should rather be interpreted as 'Old Strangers' and 'New Strangers'.¹⁷³ He concurs that the term *Finn-Gaill* does refer to Norwegians, but this is because they had an active force in the North Western Seaboard from the late eighth century, rather than because they were somehow white or fair in appearance. Similarly, the Danes were *Dub-Gaill* or 'New Foreigners', because there was no intense Danish activity in the west until the mid-ninth century.¹⁷⁴ He notes that the *Dub-Gaill* are rarely referred to in the Annals, and suggests that 'the distinction between Old and New Northmen in Irish texts was usually only applied on the rare occasions when the Danes were involved'.¹⁷⁵ At other times, he concludes, 'the wider term *Gaill* was employed to denote the normal type of Hiberno-Norseman'.¹⁷⁶

Thus it seems likely that, at least in ninth-century Ireland, *gaill* generally referred to Norwegians, and that the term *Gaill-Gaidhil* would therefore imply some sort of Norwegian and Gaelic composite. It is perhaps possible that this group was a mixture of Irish and Norwegians, and that Scotland need not have been involved. However, Smyth argues that although a mixed Norse-Irish population would eventually have grown up in Ireland, this could not have occurred as early as the mid-ninth century, when Norse settlement in Ireland was in its infancy.¹⁷⁷ He suggests that this mixed ethnic group 'could only have come into being in the older Viking colonies of Scotland and in those

¹⁷¹ Smyth, 'The *Black* Foreigners of York and the *White* Foreigners of Dublin', p. 103.

¹⁷² *The Annals of Clonmacnoise*, translated by Conla MaGeoghagan.

¹⁷³ Smyth, 'The *Black* Foreigners of York and the *White* Foreigners of Dublin', p. 109.

¹⁷⁴ Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles*, pp. 68 and 87.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 88.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 115.

areas of the Scottish colonies where Norse influence was dominant but not exclusive',¹⁷⁸ and therefore '[t]he obvious homeland of the *Gall-Gaedhil* must have been the Hebrides and south-west Scotland'.¹⁷⁹

There is one further piece of evidence which might suggest that the Gall-Gaidhil were a band of Gaelic-Norwegians from the Hebrides. The *Annals of Ulster* record that in 857 the leader of the Gall-Gaidhil was Caittil Finn.¹⁸⁰ In 1862, Robertson suggested that this Caittil Finn was the same person as Ketil Biornson, or Flatnose,¹⁸¹ a theory defended by Skene and later by Smyth.¹⁸² Ketil Flatnose is recorded in Icelandic sources as being a Norwegian who settled in the Hebrides. According to the *Landnamabók* he was sent by Harold Finehair to re-establish Norwegian control over the Western Isles, after which he established himself as a ruler there.¹⁸³ *Eyrbyggja Saga* agrees that Ketil was sent to re-establish Norwegian control,¹⁸⁴ although *Laxdaela Saga* records that Ketil Flatnose left Norway to avoid being subjugated by Harald Finehair during the latter's expansion of power.¹⁸⁵ Smyth argues that Ketil's journey to the Hebrides must have occurred during the reign of Olaf of Dublin rather than in that of Harald Finehair,¹⁸⁶ but he points out that however the Icelandic sources differ in this type of detail, they all agree that Ketil led an expedition to the Western Isles and established himself as their ruler.¹⁸⁷

The identification of Caittil Finn with Ketil Flatnose is not universally accepted, however, and O'Corrain argues that

¹⁷⁸ Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*, p. 157.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. 1, p. 286.

¹⁸¹ Robertson, *Scotland Under Her Early Kings*, vol. 1, p. 44.

¹⁸² Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 312, and Smyth, *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles* (Chapter 8).

¹⁸³ *Landnamabók* is cited in Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 312.

¹⁸⁴ Pálsson and Edwards, *Eyrbyggja Saga*, pp. 35-36.

¹⁸⁵ Magnusson and Pálsson, *Laxdaela Saga*, p.48.

¹⁸⁶ Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*, p. 156.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

the fact that a Gall-Goídel called Caittil Find was adventuring with a band in Ireland at a time when it was likely that a man called Ketill Flatnefr was a Viking chief in the Hebrides in no way proves the identity of the two men.¹⁸⁸

It is of course true that the evidence for Caittil and Ketil being one and the same is largely circumstantial, yet if Robertson's identification of Caittil Finn and Ketil Flatnose is correct, then this would add weight to the hypothesis that the Gall-Gaidhil were a mixed Gaelic-Scandinavian group who had originated in the Hebrides. Evidence that Ketil Flatnose and his followers intermingled with the native Celtic population of the Western Isles is found in the Icelandic sagas, particularly *Eyrbyggja Saga* and *Laxdaela Saga*, where it is recorded that at least three of Ketil's children converted to Christianity in the Hebrides.¹⁸⁹ Additionally, Ketil's daughter Thorunn married a man of mixed Scandinavian and Irish parentage,¹⁹⁰ whilst other family members received Gaelic nicknames, such as Helgi Bjólan (from Gaelic *Beolán* 'little mouth') and Olaf Feilan (from Gaelic *Fáelán* 'little wolf').¹⁹¹ Further evidence of Christian Gaelic influence amongst Ketil's family is found after Ketil's death, as his children were recorded as being at the forefront of an emigration to Iceland, which corresponds to historical evidence of early Christianity and Gaelic personal names in Iceland, as well as archaeological finds of ninth and tenth century Celtic jewellery.¹⁹²

All of this points to cultural mixing and probably intermarriage between Norwegians and Gaelic-speakers in the Western Isles, a description which appears to correspond with that of the Gall-Gaidhil. However, there seems to be some disparity

¹⁸⁸ O'Corrain, 'High-Kings, Vikings and other Kings', p. 30.

¹⁸⁹ Scott, 'The Norse in the Hebrides', p. 198.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*, pp. 162-163.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 163.

between the description of Ketil Flatnose and his family as recorded in the Icelandic sagas, and the description of Caittil Finn and his followers as presented by Duald MacFirbis.

MacFirbis's material suggests that the Gall-Gaidhil were people of predominantly Gaelic origin, who had been fostered by Norwegians and had renounced their baptism and joined the Norwegians in their plundering.¹⁹³ As the Irish Annals are confined to recording only the outcome of battles involving the Gall-Gaidhil and the deaths of their leaders, it is difficult to judge to what extent MacFirbis was drawing on genuine historical information rather than resorting to literary embellishment. Yet with regard to the linguistic background of the Gall-Gaidhil, scholars such as MacQueen uphold the theory that this group were essentially Gaelic-speakers.¹⁹⁴ MacQueen suggests that some of the Gall-Gaidhil came from the Western Isles, but others were Gaelic-speakers living in Galloway 'who in the ninth and tenth centuries had been won or forced over to the Norse way of life'.¹⁹⁵ Additionally, he contends that the Gall-Gaidhil 'are the people who created the great majority of the Gaelic place-names in Galloway'.¹⁹⁶ Similarly, Jennings has recently argued that the dominant language of the Gall-Gaidhil must have been Gaelic, because '[i]n present-day Gaelic, a person cannot be described as Gaidheil unless he or she speaks or has learned the language. This was presumably also the case in the mid ninth century'.¹⁹⁷

In contrast, the Icelandic sources create a picture of Ketil Flatnose and his family as being Norwegian aristocracy who become overlords of the Western Isles. As

¹⁹³ Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*, vol. 1, pp. 285-287.

¹⁹⁴ MacQueen, 'The Gaelic-Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', p. 27.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ Jennings, 'Historical and Linguistic Evidence for Gall-Gaidheil and Norse in Western Scotland', p. 68.

discussed in Chapter Two, Section 4, the predominance of Norwegian place-names in the Hebrides suggests that the incoming Scandinavians continued to speak Old Norse, and that the native Celtic population of the Isles are likely to have quickly shifted to the language of the dominant Scandinavian speech community. Thus, it seems that although Ketill's family were subject to Celtic linguistic influence in the Western Isles, they continued to speak Norwegian, and carried their native language with them when they emigrated to the Icelandic colonies.¹⁹⁸ It should also be noted that the emigrants to the North-West of England coined place-names which, although tinged with Gaelic influence, were essentially Scandinavian in content. All of this suggests that any mixed Gaelic-Norwegian group who emerged in the Hebrides were likely to have been predominantly Scandinavian-speaking rather than predominantly Gaelic-speaking. Another significant factor is that Ketil's family were converted to Christianity, and there was a Christian element among the Icelandic settlers who came from the Hebrides. This is somewhat at odds with the image of the Gall-Gaidhil presented in the Irish Annals, in which it is the Gaels who are converted to paganism by the Norwegians.

It would appear therefore that Caittil Finn and Ketil Flatnose were in control of two different Gaelic-Scandinavian groups, one of which consisted of Gaelic-speaking pagans, and the other of Scandinavian-speaking Christians. One possible conclusion is that Caittil and Ketil were two different people. Alternatively, it may be that the information presented in Irish Annals or the Icelandic Sagas, or possibly in both, is erroneous. A third possibility is that the term Gall-Gaidhil may not have designated one specific group of people, but rather was a broader ethnic term which was appropriate to any type of Gaelic-Scandinavian composite, regardless of which was the predominant

¹⁹⁸ Smyth, *Warlords and Holy Men*, p. 164.

language or religion. In this context, Brooke has argued that '[b]etween the ninth and eleventh centuries the term appears to have been very loosely applied'.¹⁹⁹ Thus, it seems likely that whilst the term Gall-Gaidhil may initially have been coined in reference to one particular group, it was later used more generally to designate people of a mixed Gaelic-Scandinavian background.

It should also be noted that the term Gall-Gaidhil has been interpreted as indicating language mixing rather than bilingualism. Chadwick recorded that there was a tenth century Irish text which referred to the language of the Gall-Gaidhil as *gic-goc*, or pidgin Gaelic.²⁰⁰ This raises the possibility that the Gall-Gaidhil had a mixed language rather than just a mixed ethnic background. It is impossible to discern whether the Scandinavian and Gaelic-speakers might have developed a simplified pidgin language at the time of their initial contact. However, it seems unlikely that any such pidgin could have gained widespread currency or become a creole. As discussed in Chapter One, Section 4, the evidence for linguistic contact and borrowing between Scandinavian and Gaelic-speakers is limited to non-basic vocabulary and minor phonological features. Additionally, the place-names coined by Scandinavian immigrants in the Western Isles display no evidence of having being coined using a hybrid language-system. Similarly, the Gaelic language re-emerged in the Western Isles after the collapse of Scandinavian power without features such as the minimisation of grammatical structure which usually characterises pidginisation. As discussed in Chapter Two, Section 4, the place-names coined by Scandinavian-speaking immigrants to Northern England from the Western Seaboard of Scotland also show no evidence of grammatical simplification or copious

¹⁹⁹ Brooke, 'Gall-Gaidhil and Galloway', p. 105.

²⁰⁰ Chadwick, 'The Vikings and the Western World', p. 26. See also Fellows-Jensen, 'Nordic Names and Loanwords in Ireland', p. 113 for a discussion of the possibility of a Norse-Gaelic pidgin in Ireland.

lexical loans from Gaelic. Further, the inversion-compound names in this region appear to be the result of bilingualism and a subsequent linguistic shift, rather than language mixing. All of this suggests that Gaelic and Scandinavian remained as separate languages throughout the period of Scandinavian settlement in Britain. It is of course possible that individual groups of Gall-Gaidhil did make use of a pidgin, but it seems unlikely that these people were involved in the creation of place-names, and they would not have been numerous enough to bring about long-term linguistic change amongst the Gaelic and Scandinavian-speakers of Northern Britain.

Whatever the exact linguistic and ethnic origins of the Gall-Gaidhil were, it remains uncertain what, if any, connection there was between this group and the settlement of Galloway. As discussed above, it was asserted by Skene that the place-name Galloway derives from the term *Gall-Gaidhil*.²⁰¹ This has been taken as evidence that the Gall-Gaidhil who were raiding in Ireland in the ninth century later settled in Galloway, and that the name *Gall-Gaidhil* developed from having an ethnic to a territorial designation.²⁰² However, Brooke has recently questioned Skene's assertion regarding the derivation of the name, arguing that the early forms of Galloway bear no resemblance to the words *Gall-Gaidhil*.²⁰³ She argues that the term Gall-Gaidhil began to be used to refer to Galloway in Ireland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as a Gaelic adaptation of an ancient topographical name.²⁰⁴ Brooke also suggests that Annal entries referring to the Gall-Gaidhil in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which had previously been taken as references to Galloway, are perhaps more likely to refer to Kintyre and the

²⁰¹ Skene *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 311.

²⁰² See Watson *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, pp. 172-173, and MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-names', p. 136.

²⁰³ Brooke, 'Gall-Gaidhil and Galloway', pp. 102-103.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 103.

Isles.²⁰⁵ Thus, whilst the term Gall-Gaidhil did eventually become associated with Galloway, there is no evidence to support the suggestion that Galloway was actually settled by the Gall-Gaidhil who are cited in the Annals as participating in the internal wars of Ireland in the mid-ninth century.

As mentioned in Section 5, MacQueen had argued that the *kirk-* compounds in Galloway constitute evidence for Gall-Gaidhil settlement in the region.²⁰⁶ He considered that both the *kirk-* names and the other inversion-compounds in Galloway, with generics including ON *gil*, *pollr* and *mosi*, were evidence of Gaelic-Scandinavian contact. As discussed in Chapter Two, Section 5, it is unlikely that any of the other inversion names listed by MacQueen were genuine. Thus, only names in *kirk-* may provide evidence of Gaelic-Scandinavian contact. Yet it is unclear whether these names should be ascribed to Gall-Gaidhil settlers in the area. Earlier in this chapter I have argued that the earliest of the *kirk-* compounds were coined by Gaelic-speakers who had shifted to the Scandinavian language. These bilinguals would have travelled to the Solway region as part of the Scandinavian settlement of the area, and the settlement of Galloway may have been a later offshoot of the main colonies in the North-West of England. If the term Gall-Gaidhil is interpreted as indicating Gaelic-speakers who also spoke the Scandinavian language, then it would be appropriate to describe the earliest *kirk-* compounds, and also the inversion-compounds of Northern England, as Gall-Gaidhil names.

However, it should be noted that this would not provide evidence in support of the theory that the ninth-century warriors described in the Irish Annals later settled in Galloway and gave their name to the region. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, the

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 100-102.

²⁰⁶ MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-names', p. 136.

Scandinavian settlement of Galloway was limited in nature and is likely to have been largely peaceful. This does not correspond with MacFirbis' description of the Gall-Gaidhil as church-plundering heathens. The *kirk-* compound names in particular are unlikely to have been coined by such a group, as they indicate a clearly Christian inception. Whilst names in **kirkjubý* might have been coined by pagan Scandinavian-speakers to denote a native settlement with a church, the construction of the *kirk-* compound names shows knowledge of the saints to whom the churches were dedicated.

Additionally, whilst some of the groups described as Gall-Gaidhil may have used some type of pidgin, it seems unlikely that the settlers in Galloway made any significant use of such a hybrid language-system. As discussed earlier in the chapter, the *kirk-* names by themselves would not constitute sufficient proof that a mixed language was used in the coining of Galloway place-names. Nicolaisen has argued that Scandinavian place-nomenclature in the South-West 'shows no signs of the strong influence of Goidelic speech on the language of the Norse immigrants which it has been claimed to possess'.²⁰⁷ Similarly, Fellows-Jensen has argued that Galloway place-names provide little evidence of linguistic interaction between Gaelic-speakers and Scandinavian-speakers.²⁰⁸ Examination of the distribution of Galloway place-names seems to indicate an essentially Norse settlement in the coastal areas, and an essentially Gaelic settlement further inland. This would suggest that any contact between the two groups would have taken the form of bilingualism rather than pidginisation.

²⁰⁷ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 144.

²⁰⁸ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p. 80.

It should also be noted that scholars such as MacQueen and Jennings have argued that the term Gall-Gaidhil must necessarily refer to Gaelic-speakers.²⁰⁹ Under these circumstances, the *kirk-* compounds and the other inversion names could not be categorised as Gall-Gaidhil coinages, as the predominant language used by the immigrants who created these names would have been Scandinavian. Although the settlers are likely to have been bilingual, the *kirk-* names would have been coined using a non-standard dialect of Old Norse tinged with substrate Gaelic features. As discussed in Section 5, the name-type may then have spread to monolingual Gaelic-speakers in the area, but there is no evidence that the original *kirk-* compounds might have been created by a wave of Gaelic-speaking colonists.

In conclusion, it seems that although the term Gall-Gaidhil was applied to a mixed-race of Gaelic-Scandinavians fighting in Ireland in the ninth century, there is no inherent connection between this group and the Scandinavian settlement of Galloway in the tenth century. Rather than being the product of an influx of conquering Gaelic-speakers, the inception of the *kirk-* compound names seems to be connected with a small-scale secondary immigration of Scandinavian settlers which included a Gaelic substrate element. Used in the sense of an ethnically mixed Gaelic-Scandinavian group, the term Gall-Gaidhil might be applied to these settlers, but this group were clearly not the church-plundering Gaelic-speaking mercenaries who are traditionally associated with the name Gall-Gaidhil.

²⁰⁹ MacQueen, 'The Gaelic-Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', p. 27, and Jennings, 'Historical and Linguistic Evidence for Gall-Gaidheil and Norse in Western Scotland', p. 68.

7. Kirk- Compounds on the Isle of Man

Historical forms of the *kirk-* compound names on the Isle of Man are rarely recorded prior to the sixteenth century.²¹⁰ This makes it difficult to identify whether these names were coined during the Scandinavian period, or whether they reflect later influence from the *kirk-* names in Dumfries and Galloway. The issue of the dating of Manx place-names is dominated by the dispute regarding the extent to which the Gaelic language survived on the island during the Scandinavian era, which lasted from the ninth to the late thirteenth centuries. Gelling has argued that Scandinavian settlement must have been extremely widespread, to the extent that Celtic speech may have been largely lost, and later reintroduced to the island in the post-Scandinavian era.²¹¹ Megaw, however, has argued that the invading Scandinavians were merely an aristocratic group of overlords, and therefore native Celtic speech would have survived essentially intact.²¹² Gelling initially based her argument on factors such as the presence on Man of the place-name elements *slieau* and *carrick*. She noted that whilst these elements are common in Irish place-names, they are rare in Scotland, and appear to provide evidence of the earliest phase of settlement from Ireland.²¹³ She argued that the Manx instances were unlikely to be of a similar antiquity, but instead were the result of contact between Man and Galloway, where names in *sliabh* and *carrraig* are found, after the collapse of Scandinavian power in the thirteenth century.²¹⁴ Gelling also suggested that written evidence including monastic bounds provides evidence that Gaelic place-names did not

²¹⁰ For a complete list of historical forms of the Manx *kirk-* compounds, see Appendix C, Part Four.

²¹¹ Gelling, 'The Place-Names of the Isle of Man' (1970), p. 138

²¹² Megaw, 'Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles', p. 265.

²¹³ Gelling, 'The Place-Names of the Isle of Man' (1970), p. 132

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

become prevalent until the fourteenth century. From this she concluded that Manx Gaelic names represented an immigration of Gaelic-speakers from Galloway after the collapse of Scandinavian power in 1266. Megaw countered these arguments by pointing out that if the *slieau* and *carrick* names were the result of an immigration of Gaelic-speakers from Galloway in the post-Scandinavian era, then it would be expected that names in *achadh* would also be found on Man, as this element was in common use as a name-forming element in southern Scotland throughout this period.²¹⁵ He suggested that the names were therefore more likely to be survivals from the pre-Scandinavian period.²¹⁶ It should also be noted that, since the publication of Gelling's articles, it has been established that *sliabh* names are not in any case a reliable indicator of early Irish settlement in Scotland. As discussed in Section 5(c) above, these names have a more widespread pattern of distribution than was originally suggested, and it has been demonstrated that *sliabh* remained an active name-forming element for hundreds of years.²¹⁷ Megaw also argued for a re-dating of the monastic bounds from the late fourteenth century to c.1275.²¹⁸ Thus, rather than providing evidence of the creation of a large number of new Gaelic names after the collapse of Scandinavian power, it would appear that these names were already in use during the period of Scandinavian dominance.

The debate was then taken up by scholars such as Dolley and Fellows-Jensen. Dolley pointed out that there was a marked correspondence on Man between the location of Hiberno-Norse coin hoards and the location of names in *slieau*. As discussed in Section 5(c) above, he suggested that rather than representing survivals from the pre-

²¹⁵ Megaw, 'Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles', p. 276.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ See Fraser, 'Mountain, Hill or Moor? An Examination of Gaelic *Sliabh* in the Place-Names of the Western Isles of Scotland', pp. 124-125.

²¹⁸ Megaw, 'Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles', p. 271.

Scandinavian era, the *slieau* names might instead have been coined by eleventh century Irish immigrants to Man.²¹⁹ Fellows-Jensen argued that although few demonstrably pre-Scandinavian place-names have survived, this would not necessarily indicate the eradication of the Gaelic language during the Scandinavian period. She points out that the occurrence of Gaelic words and personal names on Scandinavian runic inscriptions in Man suggests that the Gaelic language continued to be spoken during the period of Scandinavian rule.²²⁰ She suggests that the original Gaelic place-names did not re-emerge after 1266 because

[o]nce the Norse place-names used by the aristocracy had been adopted by a Gaelic-speaking population, they would continue to function perfectly satisfactorily as names, even after the extinction of the Norse language on the island had made them lexically opaque.²²¹

The view that the Gaelic language did survive to some extent during the Scandinavian period is also supported by scholars such as Broderick.²²² However, it is also generally accepted that the place-names of these Gaelic-speakers did not survive the era of Scandinavian dominion. As Gelling pointed out, there is only a handful of Celtic names which can be shown to pre-date the Scandinavian era.²²³ More recently, Andersen has demonstrated that place-names containing *balla* (the most popular Manx settlement name) are for the most part relatively young formations which post-date the Scandinavian

²¹⁹ Dolley's original lecture is cited in Gelling, 'The Place-Names of the Isle of Man' (1991), pp. 146-147. See also Dolley, 'The Palimpsest of Viking Settlement on Man', pp. 174-175.

²²⁰ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Isle of Man and North-West England', pp. 42-43. See also Chapter One, Section 2(b), where Celtic continuity on Man is discussed.

²²¹ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Isle of Man and North-West England', p. 43.

²²² See for example, Broderick, 'The Decline and Death of Manx Gaelic', p. 63.

²²³ Gelling, 'Norse and Gaelic in Medieval Man: the Place-Name Evidence', p. 111.

period.²²⁴ Similarly, in his ongoing work for the Manx Place-Name Survey, Broderick concurs that the majority of Gaelic names on Man appear to be relatively young in their formation.²²⁵

The debate as to whether or not the Gaelic language was wiped out during the Scandinavian period and later reintroduced is important to the interpretation of the inception of *kirk-* names on Man. If there had been an influx of Gaelic-speakers from Galloway in the thirteenth century, as Gelling originally argued, then this would have indicated that the *kirk-* compound name-type was probably introduced to the island at this time, by analogy with the Scottish instances. In this case, there would have been no reason to suppose any Scandinavian involvement in the creation of these names. Additionally, an inception of this type would seem to have lent support to Brooke's argument that the *kirk-* names were essentially created *en masse* as new parish names in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

However, as Megaw has demonstrated that such a colonisation from Galloway is unlikely, then another inception for the Manx *kirk-* names must be sought. In Section 5(d) above, I suggested that the earliest of these names may have been coined at the same time and in the same manner as the *kirk-* compounds on the mainland. During the period of early Scandinavian settlement on Man it would appear either that the Gaelic language survived as a minority language, or that it was entirely superseded by Old Norse. The implication is that at least some of the Gaelic-speakers on the island would have become bilingual in order to communicate with the dominant Scandinavian-speakers, and if the Gaelic language did disappear entirely, then the Gaelic-speakers must have shifted to

²²⁴ Andersen, 'To What Extent Did the *Balley / Balla (Baile)* Names in the Isle of Man Supplant Place-Names of Norse Origin?', p. 154.

²²⁵ Broderick, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, vol. 1, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

being Scandinavian-speakers. This type of linguistic interaction and influence is similar to that which appears to have led to the inception of inversion-names on the mainland. Thus it is possible that at least some of the Manx *kirk-* names were formed by Gaelic-influenced Scandinavian speakers during the Scandinavian period.

Yet, as there is so little evidence for these names prior to the sixteenth century, it is also possible that some of them may be part-translations of earlier names, or may be commemorative transfers from the mainland, or even late coinages created by the English administrators who arrived on the island in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The possibility that the *kirk-* names might be part-translations of existing names is complicated by the fact that the *kirk-* compounds which are parish names are usually recorded in Latin prior to the sixteenth century, in a form such as *Parochia Scte brigide* and *Parochia Scti Maghaldi*.²²⁶ As Fellows-Jensen notes, this 'Latin formula' could equally stand for *kirk* or Gaelic *cill*.²²⁷ Parishes such as Kirk Conchan and Kirk Lonan in Garff Sheading are recorded as *parochia* and *kirk* interchangeably from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, and it is tempting to view *parochia* as being essentially a Latinization of *kirk*. However, Kirk German Parish in Glenfaba Sheading is recorded as *Keel Charmane* and *Keel Charmaan* in 1500, and *Parochia Scti. germani* in 1515, with no *kirk* forms occurring until 1592. These two *keel* forms must represent Gaelic *cill* or Manx *keill* rather than *kirk*, and thus *parochia* cannot be considered exclusively to denote *kirk* in these Manx parish names. Megaw has pointed out that names such as Kirk Patrick and Kirk Maughold also had the vernacular Gaelic forms *Keeill Pharick* and

²²⁶ See Appendix C, Part Four for a full list of historical forms.

²²⁷ Fellows-Jensen, 'The Vikings' Relationship with Christianity in the British Isles', p. 303.

Keeill Maghal.²²⁸ He suggested that the *kirk-* forms might represent anglicised Gaelic names, created during the period of English administration when ON *kirkja* had passed into Middle English as a loan-word.²²⁹ However, there are two main difficulties with a potentially Gaelic inception for these names. Firstly, the evidence that the *kirk-* compounds might originally have been Gaelic *cill-* names rests solely on the two fifteenth century *keel* forms of one *kirk-* name, as the corpus of historical forms reveals no further *keel* spellings. Secondly, as discussed above, it has been established since the publication of Megaw's article that the majority of Gaelic names on Man are not particularly early in date. As such, the existence of alternative Gaelic forms of the *kirk-* names in local speech would not necessarily indicate that the Gaelic forms must be the older group. Gelling has in fact pointed out that *keeill* names would seem to have had quite a late inception.²³⁰ As discussed above in section 5(c), she notes that names in *keeill* are not recorded until the sixteenth century, whereas the earliest *kirk-* names date to the thirteenth century. It would therefore appear that, in parallel with the situation in South-West Scotland, it is the *cill-* or *keeill-* forms which developed as later translations of the *kirk-* names.

The question remains as to whether or not the *kirk-* compounds might have been coined by the incoming English-speakers using ON *kirkja* as a loan-word, perhaps by analogy with *kirk-* names in the north of England. Again, however, there is a problem with chronology. Megaw himself admitted that there was little evidence for English being spoken on the island prior to the fourteenth century.²³¹ Fellows-Jensen points out that the earliest recorded *kirk-* names are the lost *Kirkemychel* and the parish name

²²⁸ Megaw, 'Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles', p. 274.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

²³⁰ See Section 5(c) above, and Gelling, 'The Place-Names of the Isle of Man' (1991), pp. 151-152.

²³¹ Megaw, 'Norseman and Native in the Kingdom of the Isles', p. 275. See also Section 5(b) above.

Kyrkcríst (both c.1280), followed by the parish name *Kirkemaghald* in 1302.²³² Thus, the initial inception of the *kirk-* names on Man pre-dates the establishment of an English-speaking community.

Given that the Manx *kirk-* compounds did not appear to evolve from Gaelic *keeill-* names and were not introduced by English-speakers after the collapse of Scandinavian power, it seems likely that the earliest of these names date back to the Scandinavian period, and were coined by Gaelic-influenced Scandinavian-speakers in the same manner as the *kirk-* names in Cumberland and South-West Scotland. Yet it is of course pertinent that only the very earliest *kirk-* names would have had such an inception, and that the majority of names did not develop in this way. The names perhaps most likely to date from this early period are those that have parallels on the mainland, since, as discussed above in Section 5(e), these names appear to suggest some continuity of influence around the Irish Sea Coast. The name Kirk Bride is found as a Manx settlement name, parish name and treen name, and as mentioned in Section 5(e), there are numerous parallels in South-West Scotland and in North-West England. Kirk Andreas, Kirk Andreas Village and Kirk Andreas Parish have parallels in Cumberland and Kirkcudbrightshire. Kirk Michael Village and Parish, and the treen name Kyrkemychell have parallels in Dumfriesshire and Carrick. Kirk Patrick is the name of both a parish and a treen on Man, and this name has two parallels in Kirkcudbrightshire, and two in Dumfriesshire. Kirk Christ Lezayre and Kirk Christ Rushen, which are both settlement and parish names, have parallels in the two Kirkchrist names in Wigtownshire. Lastly, Kirk Santan in Middle Sheading was identified by Kneen as being dedicated to Saint Sanctan, which

²³² Fellows-Jensen, 'The Vikings' Relationship with Christianity in the British Isles', p. 305.

would make this name parallel with Kirksanton in Cumberland.²³³ It should be noted, however, that Broderick has recently suggested that Kirk Santan may instead be dedicated to the Manx Saint Santan.²³⁴ Identification of the original dedication of the Manx name is complicated as the historical forms of both the parish and the settlement show confusion with Saint Anne. Interestingly, the earliest historical forms of Kirksanton in Cumberland correspond better to Santan than Sanctan,²³⁵ and as such it is possible that the names would still in fact be parallel.

These parallel names point to contact between Man, Cumberland and Southern Scotland, although it has been suggested that the dedications to St Patrick and St Brigid in northern Man might have been 'as a result of an apparent massive settlement from the Dublin and Meath area' which occurred some time after the Battle of Clontarf in 1014.²³⁶ Despite this, at least some of the names discussed above may have had a Gaelic-Scandinavian inception. Further *kirk*- names may then have been coined on the island by analogy with these first instances, and in this context, dedications to saints such as Kirk Maughold reflect the development of a distinctly Manx religious culture.²³⁷ Although Megaw has demonstrated that there is no evidence for a large-scale immigration of Gaelic-speakers from Galloway in the thirteenth century, it seems likely that the common use of *kirk*- names as parochial designations is likely to reflect a degree of ecclesiastical influence from Southern Scotland and Northern England after the collapse of Scandinavian power on the island. Following the introduction of the English language to

²³³ Kneen, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, vol. 1, p. 133.

²³⁴ Broderick, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, vol. 6, p. 26.

²³⁵ See Appendix C, Part Two.

²³⁶ Broderick, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, vol. 3, p. 19.

²³⁷ St. Maughold is believed to have been born on Man, 'where he was the founder of a monastery named after him.' (see R. H. Kinvig, *The Isle of Man: A Social, Cultural and Political History*, p. 45).

Man, it appears that names created during this period may reflect the Northern English dialect word *kirk-* rather than Scandinavian *kirkja-*, although as discussed above the earliest names could not have evolved in this manner. These later names appear to have been connected to the regularisation of ecclesiastic divisions on the island. As discussed in Section 5(d) above, the corpus of *kirk-* compounds in South-West Scotland was expanded when names in *kirk-* which had been used as church and settlement names were also used as parish names, and then further parish names were created once the name-type had become a common formula for parochial designation. This pattern of development is even more prevalent in the Manx names. During the period of English administration, almost every parish on Man developed a *kirk-* compound name. The only exceptions are the parishes of Jurby and Ballaugh, which are dedicated to St Mary and St Patrick respectively. Jurby parish has no historical forms in *kirk-*, although Ballaugh is recorded as *Kirk Balalough* in 1595.²³⁸ Examination of the historical spellings of the other Manx parish names reveals that although many of these names were consistently recorded with *kirk-* forms, in instances such as Kirk Andreas and Kirk Christ Lezayre there are no recorded forms in *kirk-*.²³⁹ In other instances such as Kirk Bride, Kirk Malew and Kirk Christ Rushen there are only one or two *kirk-* forms appearing from the eighteenth century onwards. This would suggest that these parish names were created by adding *kirk-* to the name of the saint to whom a parish was dedicated, as part of a process of standardisation which appears to have been much more widespread than that which occurred in South-West Scotland. The growing trend towards parish names in *kirk-* would also account for the rogue insertion of the *kirk-* prefix in the historical forms of

²³⁸ Broderick, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, vol. 2, p. 104.

²³⁹ See Appendix C, Part Four.

Ballaugh Parish. Thus, although Brooke's argument for such an inception for the majority of *kirk-* names in Scotland does not stand up to close scrutiny, it seems that her theory would to an extent account for the proliferation of *kirk-* names on the Isle of Man. It is interesting that the trend for *kirk-* prefixes was apparently a transient onomastic feature which is now waning on the island, and Broderick's modern map of parishes reveals that they are commonly referred to simply as, for example Andreas, Bride, Rushen, Onchan, Lezayre, and Malew.²⁴⁰

In conclusion, the earliest Manx *kirk-* names are likely to have been coined at approximately the same time as those in Cumberland and Southern Scotland. The numerous parallel names suggest a connection between these three regions of Gaelic-Scandinavian settlement. As in South-West Scotland, the *kirk-* name pattern continued to be used to create names beyond the period of Scandinavian power, and was commonly given to parishes in addition to ecclesiastical and habitative sites. The *kirk-* compound paradigm subsequently became the prototype for parochial naming, and almost all of the remaining Manx parish names were altered to fit this pattern, in some instances as recently as the eighteenth century.

8. Conclusion

It becomes clear that the evolution of the *kirk-* compound names was a long and complex process. These names cannot be accounted for as having been created *en masse* by inserting *kirk-* in place of either Gaelic *cill-* or English *church-*. Neither can the names be accounted for as Anglo-Norman designations created simultaneously to refer to the new parishes created at the time of David I, although a process of this type does

²⁴⁰ Broderick, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, vol. 4, p. xxxix.

appear to explain the proliferation of the name-type on Man in the later medieval period. Additionally, the *kirk-* names cannot be explained as the product of Gall-Gaidhil from Ireland whose language was a mixture of Gaelic and Scandinavian. Rather, the earliest names appear to have been coined by the same immigrants who brought inversion-compounds and the element *áergi* to the North-West of England. These initial *kirk-* compounds were coined by Gaelic-speakers who had switched to the Scandinavian language whilst retaining some syntactical features of their native tongue. The *kirk-* name-pattern then spread to monolingual Gaelic-speakers, and once these compound names began also to function as parish names, further parish names in *kirk-* were created by analogy. As the name-pattern became endemic, names with similar-sounding generics, together with *kirk-* names with Germanic word-order and potentially some names in *cill-* or *cirice-*, all became altered and absorbed into the *kirk-* compound corpus.

Chapter Five: The Bý Names

1. Introduction

Place-names containing the generic *bý* 'farm, settlement' are generally considered to be indicative of primary Scandinavian settlement in Britain, as is attested by the many 'dot' maps highlighting the distribution of names containing this element. Yet, in contrast to the types of name discussed in the three previous chapters, names in *bý* are usually attributed to the Danish immigrants who settled in northern and eastern England, rather than to the Gaelic-influenced Norwegian immigrants from the Western Seaboard of Scotland. In this chapter, the theory that this name-type is inherently Danish will be re-appraised, and it will be argued that some of the *bý* names are more likely to be reflexes of Norwegian *býr*, *bær* than Danish *bý*. It will also be argued that these Norwegian coinages are likely to result from linguistic contact between Danish and Norwegian settlers in Northern England.

Secondly, the *bý* names in the Lowlands of Scotland will be examined, with a view to determining their likely origin. As these names are located outside the areas of recognised Scandinavian settlement, it is unclear whether they represent secondary settlements from the more southerly Scandinavian colonies, or whether the names had a later inception which was unconnected to Scandinavian-speakers.

2. The Bý Names of the North-Western Seaboard

2(a) The Nationality of the Settlers

The nationality of the Scandinavian immigrants who settled the land around the Irish Sea coast has been the subject of considerable debate. Early scholars such as Brøgger considered this area to be primarily a region of Norwegian settlement: 'It is well known that Norse colonies were formed in Cumberland, Dumfries, Galloway, and Man, and Norse settlement reached far into England'.¹ In the case of the North West of England, however, there were suggestions that a small Danish element may also have been involved in colonisation, particularly in the Westmorland district.² This possibility of a Danish contingent was enlarged upon by later scholars such as Nicolaisen, who in 1960 concluded that although the place-names of Southern Scotland and Northern England were largely of a West Scandinavian nature, 'it looks as though we have to take into account a certain East Scandinavian element in the Norse population of these parts of the British Isles'.³ Two years later, Truckell suggested that there were 'two clearly separated groups' of Scandinavian settlement in South-West Scotland, and that the Galloway names were 'earlier and seaborne', whereas the Dumfriesshire names were 'later and penetrated overland from the Danelaw'.⁴

In 1985, Fellows-Jensen's work *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* was published, in which she upholds the consensus that 'Norwegians were in the majority among the Scandinavian settlers in the North-West', but goes on to assert that

¹ Brøgger, *Ancient Emigrants*, p. 89.

² Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England*, pp. 8-10.

³ Nicolaisen, 'Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland', p. 67.

⁴ Truckell, 'Dumfries and Galloway in the Dark Ages', p. 96.

‘settlers of Danish or Anglo-Danish origin from eastern England must have played a greater part in the Scandinavian settlement of North-West England and South-West Scotland than has hitherto been realised’.⁵

Her main reason for hypothesizing a more large-scale Danish involvement in the North-West is the presence of names containing the element *bý*, which she considered to be indicative of Danish rather than Norwegian influence.⁶ She argues that the ‘distribution pattern suggests very strongly that the *býs* mark the arrival of settlers from the Danelaw’.⁷ This hypothesis of a Danish immigration into eastern Westmorland, Cumberland and Dumfriesshire has since been generally accepted.⁸

However, on the basis of studies of other areas, including the Isle of Man and Southern Scotland,⁹ Fellows-Jensen has expanded upon this proposed model of Danish immigration quite considerably. In a recent article she suggests the following pattern of settlement:

there was an anticlockwise movement from the northern Danelaw across the Pennines and down the Eden valley to Carlisle, spreading northwards from there into eastern Dumfriesshire and trickling along the coast to Galloway, and southwards from Carlisle along the coastal plain of Cumberland, across the Irish Sea to Man, and finally perhaps back across the Irish Sea to Wirral and south-west Lancashire.¹⁰

This model implies a much more large-scale, widespread Danish presence in the North-West than had been previously suggested, and also incorporates areas such as Galloway

⁵ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 17.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 310.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 288.

⁸ See, for example, Higham, ‘Scandinavian Settlement in North-West England’, p. 197, and Whaley, ‘Anglo-Scandinavian Problems in Cumbria’, p. 92.

⁹ For example in ‘Scandinavian Settlement in the Isle of Man and North-West England’, ‘Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway’, and ‘Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?’.

¹⁰ Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavian Place-Names of the Irish Sea Province’, p. 36.

and Man, which up until then had been considered as areas of essentially Norwegian settlement. Fellows-Jensen's grounds for making these claims rests on the occurrence in both regions of *bý* names, some of which have parallel formations in England. In Galloway, the *bý* names constitute practically the only evidence of permanent habitative sites.¹¹ Thus, if the names containing this element represent a westward extension of the Danish settlement in Dumfriesshire, as Fellows-Jensen suggests,¹² then the whole hypothesis of a large-scale Norwegian or Gaelic-Norwegian settlement, as is implied by the inversion compounds and *áergi* names in this area,¹³ becomes seriously undermined. The situation in the Isle of Man is rather different. Even Fellows-Jensen admits to 'the overwhelmingly Norwegian nature of the settlement',¹⁴ and yet she argues that the *bý* names must be of Danish origin, because of the existence of parallel forms on the mainland. It is therefore necessary to examine the *bý* names in both Galloway and Man in more detail, in order to discover whether or not they exhibit inherently Danish linguistic influence, and whether or not the occurrence of parallel formations in England necessarily indicates an entirely Danish origin for the names. Fellows-Jensen's settlement model will then be re-evaluated in light of these findings.

2(b) The Galloway *Bý* Names

Of the eight Galloway *bý* names, at least six have English parallels.¹⁵ Bagby has a counterpart in the North Riding of Yorkshire and Appelbie has parallels in

¹¹ Oram, 'Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland', p. 129.

¹² Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p. 84.

¹³ See Chapters Two and Three.

¹⁴ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Isle of Man and North-West England', p. 46.

¹⁵ For a full list of the *bý* names discussed in Section 2, see Appendix D, Part One. Historical forms of the Galloway forms are given in Appendix D, Part Two.

Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, the North Riding, Westmorland and Dumfriesshire.¹⁶ Bombie is also found in Lincolnshire, Westmorland and Dumfriesshire.¹⁷ Gribdae, which was recorded as *Gretby* in 1356,¹⁸ appears to have parallels in Lancashire and Lincolnshire, and *Corsby* has six parallels in the North West: three in Cumberland, two in Westmorland and one in Lancashire.¹⁹ Sorbie has parallels in Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire, Yorkshire and Dumfriesshire.²⁰ Only Mabie and Bysbie have no obvious English counterparts.

It may appear that the high level of correspondence between Galwegian and English *bý* names provides a strong argument in favour of a Danish origin for the names. However, this conclusion is dependent on the assumption that the English *bý* names, including those in the North-West, were coined purely by Danish speakers. Fellows-Jensen has argued that names in *bý* in England are likely to have been coined by Danish immigrants rather than Norwegians because names containing this element 'are comparatively rare in areas known to have been colonised by Norwegians, such as Iceland and the Scottish Isles, while they are extremely numerous in the Danelaw'.²¹ Yet, whilst *bý* names are not common along the Western Seaboard of Scotland, it is noteworthy that the largest group of names in this region are those in ON *saur-býr* 'mud village' or 'swamp village'.²² There is a Soroba near Oban, and another Soroba at Craignish. There is a Soroby on Tiree and Soriby on the Isle of Mull, and there may also have been two Saurbie names in the Trotternish region of Skye, both recorded in a 1733

¹⁶ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p. 84.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Oram, 'Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland', p. 130.

¹⁹ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', p. 43.

²⁰ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p. 83.

²¹ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 310.

²² Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 132. For instances of *bý* names along the Western Seaboard of Scotland, see Map 12.

Rental as *Swerby*.²³ There is also a Sorbie name on the Ayrshire coast,²⁴ and a Surby in the Isle of Man. This name-type originated in Norway, and from there spread to the West of Scotland and also to the Icelandic colonies, where there are sixteen instances.²⁵ It may be significant, therefore, that the English instances of this name are located in areas of established Gaelic-Norwegian influence, with six Sowerby names in the North-West, and four in Yorkshire.²⁶ This might suggest that, rather than having a Danish origin, these Sowerby names instead reflect the immigration of Norwegians from the Western Seaboard of Scotland, particularly as the name-type does appear to have been virtually non-existent in Denmark.²⁷

This Gaelic-Norwegian context must be taken into account when considering the origin of the Galloway name Sorbie. It would appear that this name is likely to have been coined by Norwegian speakers who arrived either directly from the Western Isles, or by way of the Gaelic-Norwegian settlements in the North-West of England. Waugh is of course correct in stating that

[i]t would be quite wrong to argue for Norwegian influence in Galloway on the basis of one place name which can be found both in Galloway and in the Hebrides.²⁸

However, there is other evidence which would support the hypothesis that the Galloway *bý* names were coined by Norwegian immigrants. For example, the Galloway name

²³ See Gordon, 'Some Norse Place-Names in Trotternish, Isle of Skye'.

²⁴ The origin of Sorbie in Ayrshire is discussed in Section 4 below.

²⁵ Fellows-Jensen, 'Viking Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles', p. 156.

²⁶ See Chapter One, Section 6 and Chapter Three, Section 5(d) for a discussion of the evidence of Gaelic-Norwegian presence in Yorkshire.

²⁷ Fellows-Jensen notes that there are three potential instances of the name-type in Denmark, in 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p. 84. However, Tom Schmidt, University of Oslo, has suggested that these names were unlikely to have been coined by Danish speakers, and that the name-type should be viewed as an essentially Norwegian construction (personal communication).

²⁸ Waugh, 'Settlement Names in the South-West: Dumfries and Galloway', p. 46.

Corsby may also have a Gaelic-Norwegian connection, as ON *kross* ‘cross as a religious symbol’ was a loanword from Gaelic.²⁹ It may be significant that English names in **kross-bý* only occur in areas of Gaelic-Norwegian influence: there are three instances in Cumberland, two in Westmorland and one on the Lancashire coast. There are also two **kross-bý* names in the Isle of Man, and two instances on the Ayrshire coast.³⁰ In addition to this core group of names in **kross-bý*, it should be noted that there are a few ‘Crosby’ names in Yorkshire, and one in Lincolnshire, although in the case of both Crosby (Allerton) in the North Riding and the Lincolnshire instance, the specific element is the Scandinavian personal name *Krókr*, or the appellative *krókr* ‘bend, nook’, rather than ON *kross*.³¹ The distribution of the names in **kross-bý* would therefore seem to indicate that this name-type had its inception in the Gaelic-influenced Scandinavian immigrants who settled in the North-West of England from the Western Seaboard of Scotland, rather than from an immigration of Danish-speakers from the Eastern Danelaw.

Additionally, there are other Galloway place-names which suggest links to the Western Isles and Norway. For example, the simplex name Borge (ON *borg* ‘stronghold’) has doublets in the Lewis name Borge, and the four Orkney Brough names, as well as occurring in Shetland and being commonly found in Norway.³² Similarly, Tongue has doublets in Tunga or Tong in Lewis, and is also found in Orkney and

²⁹ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 28.

³⁰ See Section 2(c) for a discussion of the Manx ‘Crosby’ names, and Section 4 for a discussion of the Ayrshire ‘Crosbie’ names.

³¹ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire*, pp. 24-25, and Mills, *Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 104.

³² Nicolaisen, ‘Early Scandinavian Naming in the Western and Northern Isles’, p. 112.

Norway.³³ Additionally, the Mull of Galloway may contain ON *múli*, which is of frequent occurrence in Norway and Iceland.³⁴

Aside from these names, there is further evidence of Norwegian rather than Danish influence. Smith noted that Norwegian *bær*, *býr* usually referred to single farmsteads, whereas in the Danelaw *bý* was more commonly used to refer to a village.³⁵ Oram argues that since the majority of Galloway *bý* names refer to small farming communities, they better fit the pattern of Norwegian rather than Danish usage.³⁶ Oram also notes that the excavation of buildings around the Whithorn area of Galloway points to affinities with Norse settlements at Dublin, 'rather than those from Danish settlements in the northern part of England'.³⁷ Similarly, Bailey has established that the Viking-age sculpture in the North-West tends to display Celtic rather than Danish influence, and that there are strong similarities between the sculptural styles of Galloway and of the Cumbrian coast, including 'ornamental layout, stopped plait, a taste for encircled crossings, incised crosses and swastikas'.³⁸ All of this suggests sea-borne contact between these two regions, and it is possible that Norwegian immigrants who settled in the North-West of England from the Western Isles may have later established a secondary colony along the Galloway coast.³⁹

It would appear therefore that the only real evidence for a Danish presence rests on the *bý* names which have parallel forms in Dumfriesshire and England. Examination reveals that, in themselves, these are not conclusive. As already noted, Sorbie and

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Collingwood, 'Norse Influence in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p. 114.

³⁵ Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, vol. 1, pp. 66-70, also Cameron, *English Place-Names*, p. 81.

³⁶ Oram, 'Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland', pp. 130-131.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

³⁸ Bailey, 'Aspects of Viking-Age Sculpture in Cumbria', p. 58.

³⁹ See Oram, 'Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland', pp. 130-131

Corsbie suggest Norwegian rather than Danish influence. With regard to the remaining names, Fellows-Jensen notes that Appelbie in Wigtonshire contains OE *æppel* 'apple' as a specific.⁴⁰ In this case it might imply that an existing Old English name was partially altered, as is the case with the lost *Assheby* in Cheshire, which contains OE *æsc* 'ash-tree'.⁴¹ Cameron has argued that the 'Appleby' names in England may have been alterations of English 'Appleton' names.⁴² If Appelbie in Wigtonshire also involved a partial renaming of an existing Old English name, it can hardly be considered as a straightforward example of the commemorative transfer of a *bý* name from England, and its significance as a parallel formation is greatly diminished.

Additionally, Insley has pointed out the occurrence in Southern Scotland and Northern England 'of the ME term *bond(e)* (borrowed from Scand *bóndi* m. farmer, peasant proprietor) for denoting a customary tenant'.⁴³ He suggests that the reflex of Scand *bóndi* is here used in its Middle English sense, and therefore 'these names are best described as ME settlement-names containing Scandinavian lexemes'.⁴⁴ Thus, the 'Bomby' names in Dumfriesshire and Westmorland may well post-date the Danish settlements, so that even if the Galloway instance of Bombie was transferred from the North-West of England, it seems unlikely that this transference was the work of Danish speakers.

The name Gribdae was recorded as *Gretby* in the fourteenth century, which would suggest that the specific element is likely to be ON *grjót* 'rocks, boulders' or OE *grēot* 'gravel'. The name has two possible English parallels: Greetby in Lancashire and

⁴⁰ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', pp. 42-43.

⁴¹ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 26.

⁴² Cameron, *English Place-Names*, p. 74.

⁴³ Insley, 'Toponymy and Settlement in the North West', p. 171.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Grebby in Lincolnshire.⁴⁵ As these two counties are at opposite sides of central England, and as it is uncertain whether the specific element in both Greetby and Grebby is ON *grjót* or OE *grēot*, it is difficult to establish a definite link between the three names. It would appear that these names are either partial alterations of Old English place-names or Scandinavian names coined independently of one another in response to areas of rough or stony ground, rather than names which demonstrate a specific pattern of Danish movement.

The remaining Galloway *bý* name which has an English parallel is Bagby. The name has been interpreted as containing the Scandinavian personal name Baggi.⁴⁶ There is only one solitary parallel found in Yorkshire, making it likely that these names refer to different people and that they were coined completely independently of one another. In this context, it is noteworthy that the name was used by Norwegians as well as by Danes.⁴⁷ It should also be noted that Fellows-Jensen has herself argued that the personal-name-plus- *bý* place-names were coined 'as minor landowners began to assert their independence by detaching small units of settlement from estate centres'.⁴⁸ It seems likely, therefore that the *bý* names including a personal name were coined on a strictly individual basis, in reference to the local minor landowners who controlled them. Additionally, Fellows-Jensen records that the practice of 'bestowing commemorative names on settlement in new colonies...was not at all common in the Viking period'.⁴⁹ Even if it were supposed that the Galloway name was a commemorative transfer from the

⁴⁵ Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, vol. 1, p. 210.

⁴⁶ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', pp. 43-44.

⁴⁷ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 147.

⁴⁸ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Influence on the Place-Names of England', p. 348.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 341.

post-Viking period, this could hardly be taken as evidence of a Danish influx from east of the Pennines during the early tenth century.

Neither of the two remaining Galloway *bý* names provides evidence of Danish settlement. Bysbie is a problematic name, which appears to contain either Scandinavian *biskup* or the Old English cognate *biscop* 'bishop'.⁵⁰ Brooke has suggested that the name may be late, coined in reference to the re-establishment of the Whithorn bishopric in 1128.⁵¹ In this case, it could clearly not be considered as evidence of Danish settlement. However, Fellows-Jensen has suggested that Bysbie may have originally contained ON *buski* 'shrubbery', based on the earliest recorded form of the name, *Buskeby*, from 1296. She suggested that a Scandinavianised form of OE *biscop* may later have been substituted for the original ON *buski* once the bishopric had become well established.⁵² This etymology has been disputed,⁵³ but, if correct, then the name would originally have had a parallel in the Yorkshire name Busby. Yet it may be significant that this name-type also occurs in Scotland, with two instances in Ayrshire, two in Renfrewshire and one in Perthshire. The precise origins of these names are not entirely clear, but their frequency would make it unlikely that these Scottish Busby names could all be analogous coinages from a single Yorkshire name. Therefore, the Galloway name Bysbie was either coined as a religious name in the twelfth century, or is connected to a group of Busby names which seem to have an essentially Scottish context.

⁵⁰ Oram, 'Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland', p. 137.

⁵¹ Brooke is cited in Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', p. 43.

⁵² Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', p. 43.

⁵³ See Oram, 'Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland', pp. 137-138.

Mabie contains Scandinavian *mey(ja)* or *mær* 'maiden, kinswomen' or the related OE *mæge*.⁵⁴ If the name contained the Old English form, then Mabie could be an alteration of an existing English name. However, given that it is situated extremely close to the Dumfriesshire border and is geographically isolated from the other Galloway *bý* names, this place-name should perhaps be considered as part of the Danish settlement in Dumfriesshire, rather than as part of a Danish colonisation of Galloway. However, it should be noted that there is nothing inherently Danish about the etymology of Mabie, and as the name has no parallels in the Danelaw, a Norwegian origin is not entirely implausible.

It therefore becomes apparent that, despite having parallels in England, none of these names provides evidence of specifically Danish settlement in Galloway, and instances such as Sorbie and Corsby would instead suggest a Gaelic-Norwegian context. The occurrence of parallel names in the North-West of England would only suggest Danish immigration if the English names were coined by settlers of Danish origin from east of the Pennines. However, it will be argued in Section 2(d) that at least some of these names were coined by Norwegians from the Western Seaboard of Scotland.

2(c) *Bý* Names on the Isle of Man

Fellows-Jensen's argument for Danish settlement in the Isle of Man also rests solely on the occurrence of English parallel formations. She herself admits that the *bý* names would be the only feature 'about the Scandinavian place-names in Man that suggests Danish influence'.⁵⁵ She also concedes that the 'form taken by the element [*bý*]

⁵⁴ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p. 84.

⁵⁵ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Isle of Man and North-West England', p. 46.

in the Manx names has no significance for the determination of the nationality of the namers',⁵⁶ so that aside from fifteen names which apparently have English parallels there is no reason to suppose that the Manx *bý* names were not coined by Norwegian immigrants.

The fifteen names are Kirby (*kirkja* 'church'), Surby (*saurr* 'mud, dirt, sour ground'), Dalby (*dalr* 'dale'), Jurby (*djúr, dýr* 'deer'), Regaby (*hryggr* 'ridge'), Scholaby (*skáli* 'shieling hut'), two instances of Crosby (*kross* 'cross'), two instances of Raby (*rá* 'boundary'), two instances of Colby (*kollr* 'rounded hill-top'), and three instances of S(o)ulby (*súla* 'cleft, fork').⁵⁷ As Fellows-Jensen has established, these names show a marked similarity with *bý* names in the North-West.⁵⁸ There are parallels of Kirby, Surby, Scholaby, Crosby, Raby and S(o)ulby in Cumberland, and parallels of Kirby, Surby, Dalby, Crosby, Colby and S(o)ulby in Westmorland.⁵⁹ In Lancashire, there are parallels of Kirby, Surby, Regaby, Crosby, Raby and S(o)ulby, and in Cheshire there are two instances of Kirby and one of Raby. Some of these names are also paralleled in the English counties to the east of the Pennines.

The many parallels listed above do appear to suggest some connection between the Manx *bý* names and those in the North-West of England. However, I would argue that this does not necessarily prove the hypothesis of an anti-clockwise movement of Danes from the eastern Counties into Cumberland and Westmorland, across to Man and then back to Lancashire and Cheshire. Gelling rejects Fellows-Jensen's suggestion that

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ See Appendix D, Part One, for a full list of the Manx *bý* names. It should be noted that there is some disagreement amongst scholars as to the total number of *bý* names on Man. Fellows-Jensen puts the number at 26 in 'The Mystery of the *bý*-names in Man', p.37, whereas Broderick lists 28 in his initial six volumes of *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*.

⁵⁸ See, for instance, Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Isle of Man and North-West England', p. 49.

⁵⁹ See Appendix D, Part One for the *bý* names in North-West England.

the parallels between Man and England 'may be due to the coming and going of people of the same stock'.⁶⁰ She argues instead for independent coining using commonly-recurring elements:

I think these coincidences only demonstrate that people who share a great deal of inherited vocabulary, and perhaps an inherited notion of what a settlement should be like, will produce the same place-names in response to similar circumstances without any actual contact between the inhabitants of the several Dalbys or Rabys. The evidence of recurrent Old English settlement-names requires this to be the case. One would not use English names like Eaton, Houghton, Moreton, Wootton in this sort of argument.⁶¹

Given the nature of the parallel *bý* names listed above, it does seem plausible that some of the names were coined independently of one another, to describe the churches and crosses of the native Celtic population, and the valleys, ridges and hill-tops where the Scandinavians settled.

Additionally, in a recent article, Fellows-Jensen has stated that although she still considers the majority of the Manx *bý* names to be analogical formations created by immigrants from the Danelaw, the historical forms of names such as Soulby, Slegaby, and Surby appear to display English influence, which might suggest that 'some of these names were coined, again as analogical formations, by English administrators in the fifteenth century'.⁶² The possibility that a number of the parallels between Manx *bý* names and those in England might be due to a later influx of English-speakers from the North-West in the post-Scandinavian period again detracts from the hypothesis of a single wave of Danish-speakers from the east of the Pennines creating all of the *bý* names around the North-Western Seaboard.

⁶⁰ Gelling, 'The Place-Names of the Isle of Man' (1991), p. 150.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Fellows-Jensen, 'The Mystery of the *bý*-names in Man', p. 46.

It is also noteworthy that the specific elements of some of the Manx *bý* names appear to point to Norwegian rather than Danish influence, including Surby, the two Crosby names, Slegaby, Slekby, and Scholaby. As discussed above, names in **saur-bý* appear to have a primarily Gaelic-Norwegian background, and as such the Manx name Surby is more likely to reflect the movement of Gaelic-Norwegian immigrants from either the Western Isles or the North-West of England than an influx of Danish-speakers from east of the Pennines. Similarly, the Manx Crosby names would appear to suggest a Gaelic-Norwegian context rather than an influx of Danish-speakers. Slegaby in Kirk Conchan Parish and Slekby in Jurby Parish have been identified as containing ON *slakka* < *slakki* 'slope, hollow',⁶³ and Fellows-Jensen records that this assimilated form of **slank* is an indication of the Norwegian rather than the Danish dialect.⁶⁴ In the case of Scholaby, the specific element is ON *skáli* 'hut' which is generally considered to be a specifically Norwegian place-name element.⁶⁵

Additionally, Fellows-Jensen has recently suggested that Manx names such as Brottby and Trollaby, which have parallels in Norway but not in the Danelaw, may have had a Norwegian origin.⁶⁶ The name Cragby is also unlikely to have a Danish origin, as the specific is Gaelic *creag* 'rock'.⁶⁷ Fellows-Jensen notes that the name may have been coined either by Scandinavians using a loanword or by English administrators.⁶⁸ In this

⁶³ Broderick, 'The Place-Names of the Isle of Man', vol. 2, p. 268 and vol. 4, p. 416. See also Fellows-Jensen, 'The Mystery of the *bý*-names in Man', p. 42.

⁶⁴ Fellows-Jensen, 'To Divide the Danes from the Norwegians', p. 37.

⁶⁵ It should be noted, however, that Fellows-Jensen argues that although this element occurs only once in Denmark, it is theoretically possible that Danish settlers may have made use of it in their British settlements. See 'Scandinavian Settlement in Cumbria and Dumfriesshire', p. 68.

⁶⁶ Fellows-Jensen, 'The Mystery of the *bý*-names in Man', p. 45.

⁶⁷ Broderick, 'The Place-Names of the Isle of Man', vol. 3, p. 93.

⁶⁸ Fellows-Jensen, 'The Mystery of the *bý*-names in Man', p. 45.

context, it has recently been established that *creag* was a loan-word into the Norwegian language in the Western Isles.⁶⁹

One final group of names which might suggest Gaelic-Norwegian rather than Danish influence are the half-dozen Manx names which Kneen identifies as being inversion-compounds incorporating *bý* as their generic.⁷⁰ However, as established in Chapter Two, Section 5, Kneen's etymologies for these names have been questioned, and it seems that none of these names is likely to represent genuine *bý* names.

Despite this, it would appear that although the element *bý* was not commonly used by the Norwegians who settled along the Western Seaboard of Scotland, a number of the Manx *bý* names are likely to have had a Gaelic-Norwegian genesis. In the case of the remaining Manx *bý* names, there is little to suggest Danish coinage aside from the occurrence of parallel forms in the Danelaw and the North-West of England. In this context, it should be noted that in the case of a name like Kirby, which has numerous parallels in the English 'Kirkby' names, this would not necessarily suggest Danish involvement. This name also has parallels in Shetland and the Faroes,⁷¹ which means that a Norwegian origin cannot be ruled out for the Manx name Kirby.

It would therefore seem that the Manx *bý* names do not provide evidence of an influx of Danish speakers from the eastern Danelaw. Rather, the explanation for the many parallels between the Manx and English *bý* names is likely to be a combination of coincidental repetition of common specific elements, contact between Gaelic-Norwegian immigrants who settled in both the Isle of Man and the North-West of England, and the

⁶⁹ Cox, 'Norse-Gaelic Contact in the West of Lewis', p. 486.

⁷⁰ See Kneen, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, p. xvi.

⁷¹ Fellows-Jensen, 'To Divide the Danes from the Norwegians', p. 49.

later transfer of English *bý* names during the immigration of English-speakers in the fifteenth century.

2(d) Language Contact and the *Bý* Names

It is clear that neither the Galloway *bý* names nor those on the Isle of Man display a markedly Danish inception, and in a number of instances the evidence points instead to a Norwegian context. Yet, as Fellows-Jensen has established, names in *bý* are extremely limited in the Norwegian colonies in the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland, whereas they are very commonly found in the Danish settlements in England. This raises a question as to why Norwegian settlers around the Irish Sea coast would begin to use this element with such a greater degree of frequency than they had done in the primary Scottish settlements.

I would suggest that a potential explanation is that contact with Danish settlers may have influenced Norwegian nomenclature. It has been well established that the habitative generics of the North-West of England differ greatly from those commonly found in the Northern and Western Isles.⁷² Most notably, the elements *-staðir*, *-bólstaðr* and *-setr*, which are the most common generic elements in the Scottish Isles, are entirely lacking from Northern England aside from two possible *-staðir* names in Lancashire.⁷³

Crawford records that:

[i]n general it would appear that the use of *-staðir* and *-bólstaðr* in the Isles took the place of the use of *-bý* in England. This may merely reflect

⁷² For a recent discussion of this issue, see Fellows-Jensen, 'Danish Place-Names in Scotland and Scottish Personal Names in Denmark', pp. 124-125.

⁷³ *Ibid.* Interestingly, Gelling and Cole prefer to explain these two potential *staðir* names as containing OE *stæth* in the case of Croxteth and the Scandinavian cognate *stǫth* in the case of Toxteth. See *The Landscape of Place-Names*, pp. 91-92.

the difference in origin of the settlers in the two regions, or it may reflect the differing geographical conditions in the islands from eastern England, or it may reflect a different date for the place-naming of these disparate parts of Scandinavian Britain.⁷⁴

Regarding the lack of *staðir* names in the Gaelic-Norwegian colonies in Northern England, Nicolaisen has suggested that this was because the element was only used at the very beginning of Viking settlement and subsequently dropped out of use.⁷⁵ However, Fellows-Jensen rejects this explanation on the grounds that ‘Viking settlers carried the generic with them to Iceland late in the ninth century...and it became extremely common there’.⁷⁶ She suggests that the lack of *staðir* names in northern England and southern Scotland ‘reflects either the absence of the kind of settlement to which the generic was appropriate, or the *use of a different generic* for the kind of settlement denoted by *staðir* in Norway’ [my italics].⁷⁷

It is noteworthy that, like Crawford, Fellows-Jensen considers that the ‘role played by names in *-bý* in the Danelaw would seem to some extent to be played by names in *-staðir* in the Isles’.⁷⁸ She notes that both generics ‘seem to have been used, in the colonies, of settlements detached from or dependent on an estate centre’.⁷⁹ This might indicate that contact between Danes and Norwegians led to the Norwegian utilisation of *bý* at the expense of *staðir* when they were forming place-names in England. Previous suggestions of potential linguistic influence between Danes and Norwegians include Kristian Hald’s theory that the use of the element *bý* in the sense

⁷⁴ Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland*, p. 114.

⁷⁵ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 116.

⁷⁶ Fellows-Jensen, ‘To Divide the Danes from the Norwegians’, p. 44.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ Fellows-Jensen, ‘Viking Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles’, p. 157.

⁷⁹ Fellows-Jensen, ‘To Divide the Danes from the Norwegians’, p. 56.

‘village’ rather than ‘farmhouse’ was adopted by Norwegians from Danish settlements in England.⁸⁰ Additionally, Fellows-Jensen has suggested that the occurrence of ‘personal name plus *-bý*’ place-names in the Norwegian colonies in Scotland and Iceland ‘where small settlement-units otherwise tended to be given names in *-staðir* may reflect contact with the Danelaw’.⁸¹ Thus it would appear that Norwegian contact with this most wide-ranging and widely-used of Danish generics may have led to a more expansive Norwegian use of *bý* in their secondary colonies around the Irish Sea Coast. It is of course pertinent that, unlike the Norwegian adoption of the Gaelic term *érgi*, the Norwegian immigrants did not ‘borrow’ the element *bý* from the Danes, as the Norwegians already had this element in their nomenclature, and in any case the Norwegian and Danish immigrants were speaking a single language with only minor dialectal distinctions. Yet, linguistic interfacing of this type between speakers of the same language can lead to socially-motivated semantic changes at a dialectal level. Samuels notes that a ‘common result of contact between dialects is that the speakers in one dialect or its subgroups ‘switch’ or give up a feature of their own dialect in favour of the corresponding feature in a neighbouring dialect’.⁸²

A substitution of this type may well account for the lack of *staðir* names in the more southerly of the Norwegian colonies, although as Crawford points out, there are likely to have been other reasons besides the relative prominence of Danish *bý* that the generics used by the Norwegians in the Scottish Isles were not used in Northern England and Southern Scotland. Jennings notes that as names in *bólstaðr* would have been given only when existing farms were subdivided, then the element would be absent from areas

⁸⁰ Hald’s theory is cited in Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire*, p. 6.

⁸¹ Fellows-Jensen, ‘To Divide the Danes from the Norwegians’, p. 50.

⁸² Samuels, *Linguistic Evolution: With Special Reference to English*, p. 100.

where secondary settlement of this nature did not occur.⁸³ Additionally, Fellows-Jensen has pointed out that aside from names in *bý*, the majority of the habitative generics in North-West England are connected to transhumance rather than permanent settlements, with elements such as *búð*, *skáli*, *árgi* and *sátr* being the most commonly-occurring generics.⁸⁴ This might suggest that the settlers in the North-West were using a somewhat different agricultural system to that of the eastern Danelaw. However, aside from these factors, it would appear that an increased Norwegian utilisation of the element *bý* at the expense of coining new names in *stadir* would account for the use of *bý* on Man, where no other evidence for Danish settlement exists, and for the *bý* names in Galloway and England which contain distinctly Norwegian or Gaelic specific elements. It would also mean that some instances of parallel names in Man, Galloway and the North-West of England could indeed be the result of contact between these areas, but involving Gaelic-Norwegians rather than Danes. It is not argued here that all of the *bý* names in the North-West of England were coined by Gaelic-Norwegians, merely that these names were not all coined by Danes. Indeed, this theory is reliant on the presence of Danish immigrants who had coined names in *bý*, which served to influence the nomenclature of the incoming Norwegians. Yet, if they were not responsible for the *bý* names in regions such as Galloway and the Isle of Man, then it seems that Fellows-Jensen's model of Scandinavian settlement in the region would need to be re-evaluated.

It is notable that this model, involving an anti-clockwise movement from the Danelaw into Westmorland and Cumberland towards the coast, across to Man and then back across to Cheshire and Lancashire, would need to have occurred with remarkable

⁸³ Jennings, 'Norse Place-Names of Kintyre' [draft version minus pagination].

⁸⁴ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, pp. 44-45.

speed. Fellows-Jensen has argued that 'in the Danelaw most of the *bý* names date from the period after 900'⁸⁵ and that in Scotland and England more generally, 'the vast majority had been coined as such by the middle of the tenth century'.⁸⁶ She has stated elsewhere that 'the place-names in *-bý* whose specifics are not personal names were coined fairly early in the tenth century'.⁸⁷ The majority of the *bý* names on Man do not contain personal names as specifics, and there are no instances of personal-name specifics in Lancashire and only one questionable instance in Cheshire. It would therefore be necessary to believe that these names had begun to evolve in the Danelaw, and then been transplanted into the west, then across the Irish Sea and back again, in a sequence which would have begun and ended in the early tenth century.

However, examination of the names themselves suggests a pattern of settlement which is more piecemeal and disparate than is implied by the anti-clockwise model. Although the coining of *bý* names in this region is likely to have been initiated by Danish-speaking immigrants from east of the Pennines, it would appear that this infiltration was of a more limited nature than Fellows-Jensen suggests. It would also appear that the diffusion of the element *bý* beyond the Danish speech community implies a chronology which extends well beyond the tenth century.

In Westmorland, the *bý* names are found in the eastern half of the county, aside from Kirkby Kendal (now Kendal) and Kirkby Lonsdale, which are in the south, close to the Lancashire border.⁸⁸ This pattern of distribution contrasts sharply with the distribution of the Gaelic-Norwegian *árgi* names, which are found in the north and west

⁸⁵ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p. 85.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', p. 42.

⁸⁸ See Map 10 for the distribution of the *bý* names.

of the county, and there is virtually no overlap between the two groups. This would lend support to Fellows-Jensen's suggestion that there was a Danish influx along the Eden valley in the east, leading up into northern Cumberland and Dumfriesshire. However, the *bý* names found in Cumberland and Dumfriesshire are arguably of a different nature to those in Westmorland. Whereas the specific elements of the Westmorland *bý* names are almost entirely Scandinavian, with the exception of Newby, the specific elements of the *bý* names found to the north and west exhibit the influence of other linguistic groups.

For example, there are a number of Cumberland names with Goidelic personal names as specifics, which might suggest the presence of Gaelic-Norwegians. It is of course possible that some of these *bý* names were coined by Danish-speakers to describe the settlements of Gaelic-Norwegian neighbours, although this would at least indicate that contact between these two groups occurred in Cumberland. The names in question are Boothby (*Bueth*), Corby (*Corc(c)*), Dovenby (*Dubhān*), Glassonby (*Glas(s)ān*) and Melmerby (*Máelmaire*). Roberts has suggested that some of these names might be quite late, and in the case of Glassonby, there is documentary evidence that a man named Glassan held land there at the time of Henry I (1100-1135).⁸⁹ Yet even if these names were not all coined at the time of initial Gaelic-Norwegian settlement, neither can they be ascribed to early-tenth-century Danish incomers.

There are also two Dumfriesshire names with Goidelic personal names as specific elements, Gillenbie (*Gill'Eoin*) and Gillesbie (*Gillae*). It is possible that these names reflect contact between incoming Danes and the native Gaelic population, but they might also reflect the presence of Gaelic-Norwegian immigrants. In this context, the name Denbie, also in Dumfriesshire, may be significant. Fellows-Jensen suggests the name

⁸⁹ Roberts, 'Late -*Bý* Names in the Eden Valley Cumberland', p. 25.

must refer to an isolated group of Danes and since the specific is the genitive plural of the Scandinavian folk-name *Danir* (on the basis of historical forms including *Daneby* 1304) it seems that the name must have been coined by Norwegians rather than English speakers.⁹⁰

This name has a parallel in the three Danby names in Yorkshire, which also contain the genitive plural of ON *Danir*. Fellows-Jensen notes that these names are likely to have been coined by Norwegians in areas of Norwegian predominance.⁹¹ It may also be significant that a few of the Yorkshire *bý* names contain Goidelic personal names. These include Duggleby (*Dubgilla*), Melmerby (*Máelmuire*) and Fixby (*Fiacc*, which is also found in the *érgi* name Feizor).⁹² Thus, it would appear that in both Yorkshire and Dumfriesshire, Gaelic-Norwegian settlers were living amidst the Danish settlers, and it seems that coining of *bý* names by the Gaelic-Norwegians is likely to be a reflection of this contact. Additionally, Smith has suggested that a number of the *bý* names in the North-West and areas of Yorkshire where Norwegian influence was strongest correspond better to Norwegian *bær*, *býr* than to Danish *bý*, as they refer to single farmsteads rather than villages.⁹³ It should also be noted that as Gaelic-Norwegians were coining *bý* names in Yorkshire, this would counter, at least to some extent, Fellows-Jensen's argument that *bý* names in the North-West are likely to be Danish in origin if they have parallels in Yorkshire.

A second linguistic group whose influence is exhibited in the North-West *bý* names are the English-speakers. In instances where *bý* names have an Old English

⁹⁰ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, pp. 17 and 28.

⁹¹ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire*, p. 25.

⁹² *Ibid*, p. 12. See also Smith, *The Place-Names of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, vol. 3, p. 35.

⁹³ Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, vol. 1, pp. 69-70.

specific, Fellows-Jensen suggests either that Anglian names have been Scandinavianised, as in *Assheby* in Cheshire, or that English elements were substituted for Scandinavian specifics, as in *Appleby* in Westmorland.⁹⁴ These alterations would reflect contact between incoming Danes and native English-speakers, and there would be no reason to suppose that non-Scandinavian speakers were actually coining names in *bý*. However, there is a much larger group of names, concentrated in Cumberland and Dumfriesshire, whose specific elements are either Continental or Middle English in origin. Insley has argued that the Westmorland name *Bomby* and the Dumfriesshire names *Bombay* and *Bombie* are likely to have had a Middle English inception.⁹⁵ Similarly, he points out that the specific of *Flimby* in Cumberland is likely to be ME *Fleming* rather than a genitive plural of ON *Flémingr*.⁹⁶ Insley also records that there are no less than twenty-eight names in *bý* where the specific element is a personal name which is Continental in origin, which must refer to tenants and settlers from the post-Conquest period.⁹⁷ Additionally, as discussed above, it is likely that some of the *bý* names whose specific is a Celtic or Scandinavian personal name may also post-date the Norman Conquest. In the case of names such as *Glassonby* and *Gamblesby*, there is twelfth and thirteenth century charter evidence which records that tenants of those names (*Glas(s)an* and *Gamel*) were associated with those places.⁹⁸ All of this would seem to support the popular notion that *bý* continued to be used in the formation of place-names in the post-Conquest era.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 26.

⁹⁵ Insley, 'Toponymy and Settlement in the North West', p. 171, and see Section 2(b) above.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁹⁸ Roberts, 'Late -*Bý* Names in the Eden Valley Cumberland', p. 25, and Insley, 'Toponymy and Settlement in the North West', p. 172.

⁹⁹ See for example Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, vol. 1, p. 70, Insley, 'Toponymy and Settlement in the North West', and Roberts, 'Late -*Bý* Names in the Eden Valley Cumberland', pp. 34-35.

Fellows-Jensen has argued that in this large group of names with Continental and Middle English specifics, the latter 'replaced earlier specifics of already existing names in *-by*'.¹⁰⁰ It is indeed plausible that some of the names might be accounted for in this manner, yet it seems strange, given the large corpus of names involved, that no documentary evidence exists to prove that alteration of this type occurred in even one instance. Interestingly, in a recent article Fellows-Jensen admits that *by* names combined with Continental personal names in Yorkshire may have been coined in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in analogy with existing names in *by*.¹⁰¹ I would suggest that this explanation would also fit the North-West of England. It seems that contact between Danes and English-speakers in the region led to the perpetuation of *by* as an active naming-element well beyond the initial period of Scandinavian settlement. As such, the names would have provided a template for any new names created by the Anglo-Norman immigrants who settled around Carlisle in the post-Conquest period.

Thus, it would appear that there is clear evidence for Danish settlement in Westmorland, Cumberland and Dumfriesshire. Names such as Alston[by], Motherby and Easby suggest the progress of Danes into the North-East of Cumberland, as they contain the typically Danish personal names *Halfdan*, *Mōthir* and *Ēsi*.¹⁰² Similarly, the name Denbie would seem to reflect Danish presence in Dumfriesshire. However, the many names in *by* with Gaelic-Norwegian and Anglo-Norman specifics would suggest that both of these groups also utilised the element to form place-names.

As such, it is likely that the nature of Danish settlement may have been more limited than Fellows-Jensen has argued. When names with Gaelic, Continental and

¹⁰⁰ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Place-Names of the Irish Sea Province', p. 38.

¹⁰¹ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in Yorkshire – Through the Rear-View Mirror', p. 178.

¹⁰² Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 14.

Middle English specifics are excluded from the list of Dumfriesshire *bý* names, only eight remain. Of these, Denbie cannot have been coined by Danes, and four others may contain Old English specifics. As discussed above, it is likely that these names are Scandinavian adaptations of existing Old English place-names, rather than Old English names coined using *bý* as a loan-word, but this leaves only seven Dumfriesshire *bý* names of possible Danish origin. This figure would appear to imply a much smaller influx of immigrants than is implied by Fellows-Jensen's settlement model. The same is true of Cumberland, where Gaelic, Continental, typically-Norwegian, and Old and Middle English specifics outnumber the rest of the Scandinavian specifics, which in many cases could equally be of Norwegian or Danish origin. This again suggests that the influx from the Danelaw may have been on a more limited scale than is suggested by Fellows-Jensen's model.

The small group of *bý* names in Lancashire and Cheshire are more consistently Scandinavian, with the occasional Old English specific. As is the case with Westmorland, there are no personal names amongst the specifics, with the possible exception of Frankby in the Wirral.¹⁰³ It is unclear whether these names were coined by Danish immigrants from the east, or Norwegians from the Western Isles or Man, or even a mixture of both. Fellows-Jensen has made a convincing case for contact between this region and the Isle of Man, from which she concludes that there must have been Danes in both regions.¹⁰⁴ Yet it seems equally plausible that these parallels reflect the movement of Gaelic-influenced Norwegian-speakers. Wainwright records that whilst Danish settlements in the north and west characteristically feature names in *þorp* in addition to

¹⁰³ The specific of this name may be ME *Franke*, 'Frenchman' or the ON personal name *Franki*. See Appendix D, Part One, and Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 31.

¹⁰⁴ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Isle of Man and North-West England', pp. 48-50.

names in *bý*, there are no instances of *þorp* in Cheshire. He suggests that Scandinavian settlement in the area is likely to be of Norwegian rather than Danish origin.¹⁰⁵

Wainwright also notes that only two of the Cheshire *bý* names were recorded in Domesday Book. He argues that '[i]nclusion in Domesday Book is some indication of size and importance, and we are driven to conclude that the *bys* of the Wirral were neither large nor important.'¹⁰⁶ He also notes that names in *bý* were more frequently lost in Cheshire than in other parts of England, which would again suggest small and insignificant settlements.¹⁰⁷ It would appear that this description of Cheshire *bý* names would accord better with common Norwegian usage of *býr*, *bær* in the sense of a small, isolated farmstead than Danish *bý* 'hamlet, village'.

However, Gelling argues that the Cheshire name Denhall, earlier *Denewell*, is likely to refer to a Danish colony.¹⁰⁸ It should also be noted that if the name Frankby does contain the personal name *Franki*, then this would be a typically Danish form, which would occur as *Frakki* in Norwegian.¹⁰⁹ Thus, it would appear that there was also a Danish contingent in this region, and as such the *bý* names in Lancashire and Cheshire may be the result of a mixing of Norwegians from the coastal areas and Danes from eastern England. However, there is no definite evidence that these Danish immigrants were part of a single wave of Danish immigration which crossed the Pennines near Carlisle, moved down the Cumberland coast, established settlements on Man and then moved back to Lancashire and Cheshire. It is possible that a more direct immigration

¹⁰⁵ Wainwright, 'Ingimund's Invasion', p. 155.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 157.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 157-158.

¹⁰⁸ Gelling, 'Scandinavian Settlement in Cheshire', p. 189.

¹⁰⁹ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, p. 31.

from Yorkshire occurred, perhaps by way of the Aire and Ribble rivers, which was a popular route used by Scandinavians travelling between York and Dublin.¹¹⁰

As established in Section 2(c), many of the Manx *bý* names suggest Norwegian rather than Danish inception, and as such there is no reason to suppose that Danes from Lancashire and Cheshire had any significant involvement in the coining of Manx place-names. It should also be noted that in addition to these *bý* names there are also twelve *staðir* names on the island. Fellows-Jensen suggests that the occurrence of both generics reflects the presence of both Norwegians and Danes on Man.¹¹¹ It is of course possible that both groups did settle on Man, and that contact between them led to the subsequent Norwegian preference of *bý* over *staðir*. However, this is not the only explanation for the occurrence of both elements on Man. It is also possible that the *staðir* names are from the earliest phase of Norwegian settlement on the island, whereas the *bý* names were coined by a later influx of Gaelic-Norwegian immigrants from the North-West of England, by which time the element *bý* was being utilised instead of *staðir* because of contact with Danes on the English mainland. A later immigration of this sort might also account for the similarity between names in the Wirral and those in Man. Interestingly, Gelling argues that *bý* and *staðir* were not used synonymously on Man, and that whilst the *staðir* names were likely to refer to secondary settlements, the *bý* names reflected ‘a renaming in the Norse speech of ancient settlements’.¹¹² It is therefore possible that Gaelic-Norwegian immigrants from England replaced earlier Celtic or even Norwegian names with *bý* names similar to those they had coined in the North-West of England.

¹¹⁰ Higham, ‘Northumbria, Mercia and the Irish Sea Norse’, p. 30.

¹¹¹ Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavian Settlement in the Isle of Man and North-West England’, p. 48.

¹¹² Gelling, ‘The Place-Names of the Isle of Man’ (1991), p. 149.

In the case of the *bý* names in Galloway, it has been argued in Section 2(b) that these names were probably coined by immigrants from the North-West of England, and that the essentially coastal position of the Galloway settlements would suggest that the immigrants arrived by sea rather than travelling overland by way of Dumfriesshire. Interestingly, Fellows-Jensen notes that although she prefers the land-borne settlement theory, 'it is also possible that they crossed the Solway Firth from Cumberland. The sea route is perhaps the more likely one to have been taken by the settlers around Whithorn'.¹¹³ Although Fellows-Jensen argues that these immigrants would have been Danes, it has been argued in Section 2(b) that the occurrence of typically Gaelic-Norwegian constructions such as Sorbie and Corsby would instead indicate that Galloway was settled by Gaelic-influenced Scandinavian-speakers. It seems likely that the first *kirk*-compounds were also coined as a result of this immigration to Galloway, and that any genuine inversion-compounds and early *érgi* names may also have had their origins in this sea-borne colonisation. There is nothing to suggest any Danish involvement in this settlement at all.

2(e) Conclusion

In conclusion, it seems to me that Fellows-Jensen's single-wave model of an influx of Danish settlers who were more or less responsible for coining all of the *bý* names around the North Western seaboard is untenable. There is evidence of Danish immigration into Westmorland and Cumberland via the Eden valley, and there is also evidence of a Danish presence in Cheshire and Southern Lancashire. However, the *bý* names in Galloway and Man are likely to have been coined by Gaelic-Norwegians, who

¹¹³ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway', p. 92.

also coined some of the *bý* names in the North-West of England. Additionally, the high number of English and Continental specifics suggests that the element *bý* continued to be used in the coining of place-names for a considerable period of time after the initial Scandinavian settlements, and may well have been adopted by English speakers.

I would suggest therefore that the *bý* names in this region point to linguistic contact between Danish immigrants from the east and Gaelic-influenced Norwegians from the Western Seaboard of Scotland, and that secondary linguistic contact between these Scandinavians and English-speakers in the North-West ensured the continued popularity of *bý* as an active place-name element into the post-Conquest period.

3. *Bý* Names in the Central Lowlands of Scotland

Names in *bý* are found in all areas of established Scandinavian settlement in Northern England and South-West Scotland. Yet there are also names in *bý* found in other parts of Lowland Scotland, beyond these established parameters of settlement. A question remains as to whether these names were coined by peripheral groups of Danish or Norwegian immigrants from the more southerly settlements, or whether they might have had a different origin unconnected to Scandinavian settlement.

In his article 'The Uses of Place-names and Scottish History', G. W. S. Barrow advises caution in ascribing Scandinavian origin to place-names in the Central Lowlands where there is little other evidence of Scandinavian settlement.¹¹⁴ He notes that the historical forms of the name Smeaton in Midlothian show fluctuation between OE *-tūn* and ON *-bý*, and argues that rather than suggesting genuine Scandinavian presence in the area, this name instead suggests that ON *bý* is likely to have been borrowed into the local

¹¹⁴ Barrow, 'The Uses of Place-names and Scottish History – Pointers and Pitfalls', pp. 70-73.

dialect of English.¹¹⁵ Similarly, he argues that geographically isolated *bý* names in regions such as Fife, Berwickshire and Angus are more likely to reflect the borrowing of both Scandinavian personal names and place-name elements into the English and Gaelic languages in these regions rather than indicating genuine Scandinavian settlement names.¹¹⁶

Similarly, Fellows-Jensen notes that it is difficult to date many of the *bý* names in the Central Lowlands. Whilst they may represent Scandinavian settlement in the ninth and tenth centuries, she admits that it is also possible that the names were analogical names brought from the Danelaw in the twelfth century.¹¹⁷

It is therefore necessary to examine these names in more detail, in order to discover whether there is evidence of the Scandinavian element *bý* having been borrowed into either Lowland Scots or Gaelic, or whether names in *bý* in this region are entirely Scandinavian constructions. Similarly, the likely dating of these names will be examined, in order to establish whether the names were coined by Scandinavian speakers, or whether they were analogical transfers made by English immigrants from areas of primary Scandinavian settlement.

In the case of Smeaton, Barrow is probably correct in saying that this is not a genuine Scandinavian coinage. The name is recorded as *Smithetun* 1150, *Smithebi* 1154-59 and *Smihet[un]* 1170.¹¹⁸ These forms suggest that this is a purely Old English name that briefly exhibited *bý* forms. However, as *Smithebi* is not the earliest recorded form, there is no evidence to suggest that *bý* was borrowed into Old English and used in a

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 70.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 72.

¹¹⁷ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', p. 55.

¹¹⁸ Barrow, 'The Uses of Place-names and Scottish History – Pointers and Pitfalls', p. 70. See also Appendix D, Part Two, for historical forms of *bý* names in Central Scotland.

formation such as **smeotha-by*. Rather, the fluctuation between *-tūn* and *-by* suggests temporary Scandinavian influence on an existing English name. Nicolaisen suggests that these fluctuations are ‘a good indicator for the presence of the Scandinavian language as a temporary adstratum or superstratum’.¹¹⁹ It would appear that Leaston in East Lothian may also belong in this category, as it also has at least one historical form in *by*. However, the specific of Leaston is Scandinavian, and it is possible that the name was originally coined as a Scandinavian *by* name, and was later Anglicised. Fellows-Jensen suggests a possible etymology of **leysingjaby* ‘farm of the freed men’, based on the historical form *Laysynbi* (1201-1346), which would have doublets in the two *Lazenby* names in Yorkshire and *Lazonby* in Cumberland.¹²⁰

It is also true that there are a number of names in Central Scotland which have the modern form *-by*, *-bie* but which do not have a Scandinavian etymology, particularly in the Fife region. Fellows-Jensen has pointed out that Crombie is in fact a Gaelic name **Crombaidh*, derived from the adjective *crom* ‘bent’.¹²¹ Similarly, the name Balbie appears in Liddall’s book on Fife names, and he suggests that it may be from G. *baile* and G. *beinn* ‘town on the hill’.¹²² There is a Balby in Yorkshire, containing the Scandinavian personal name *Balli*,¹²³ which might suggest that the Fife name could be a parallel formation. It is significant, however, that the other 79 place-names beginning with *bal-* in Fife are identified by Liddall as containing *baile*, making it extremely likely that Balby is a *baile* name as well. Another Fife name which is unlikely to contain ON *by* is Rescobie. Liddall derives the name from *ros* + *Colbain* ‘the promontory of

¹¹⁹ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 147.

¹²⁰ Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?’, pp. 51, and 57, f.n. 36.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, p. 44.

¹²² Liddall, *Place Names of the Kingdom of Fife*, p. 4.

¹²³ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire*, p. 19.

Colbain'.¹²⁴ Johnston suggests O.G. *ros colpa* 'moor of the horse or cow'.¹²⁵ Yet this does not account for the final *n* in the historical forms (1226 *Roscolpin*, 1251 *Rosolpin*, and later *Roscollyn* and *Roscoby*) and it is impossible to lend weight to Johnston's suggestion that the *n* in these forms can be dismissed as a scribal flourish.¹²⁶ Watson suggests the name may be 'point of thorny place' from G. *sgolbach*.¹²⁷ This would not really account for the *n* endings either, but whatever the etymology of the name, the *n* spellings demonstrate that it was not originally a *bý* name.

Another name in this category is Carnbee. Based on the 1457 form *Carnbene*, Johnston suggests G. *càrr an bein* 'rock of the hide, wild beast's skin'.¹²⁸ Taylor has discovered the earlier forms *Karnebehyn* (early 13th C), *Garnebrin* (1274-5) and *Carnebeyn* (1278) which confirm that the name does not contain *bý*. He postulates that the initial element is G. *càrn* 'cairn, heap of stones', although the second element is obscure.¹²⁹ What is noteworthy about all of these names is that they are purely Gaelic in origin, and provide no evidence that ON *bý* might have 'become part of the common vocabulary of inhabitants whose mother-tongues were Old English or Gaelic', which is what Barrow has suggested.¹³⁰

In addition to these names, there is also a small group in *-by*, *-bie* in the Central Lowlands which do appear to contain the element *bý*, but were not coined by Scandinavian-speakers. However, this does not necessarily prove that the element was borrowed by either Gaelic-speakers or Lowland Scots. Taylor suggests that forms such

¹²⁴ Liddall, *Place Names of the Kingdom of Fife*, p. 50.

¹²⁵ Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 284.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Watson, *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 497.

¹²⁸ Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 126.

¹²⁹ Taylor, 'The Scandinavians in Fife and Kinross', pp. 165-166.

¹³⁰ Barrow, 'The Uses of Place-names and Scottish History – Pointers and Pitfalls', p. 72.

as *Forganby* and *Rigby* in Fife may be the result of cartographic inaccuracies. *Forganby* is found in a single OS map 1" 1st edition, for the parish name Forgan, and is found nowhere else.¹³¹ Given that Forgan is a Celtic place-name it may be that *-bý* was temporarily suffixed to the name, but as no prior or subsequent forms contain *bý*, it is perhaps more likely to be an error on the map. In either case, the name does not provide evidence that Gaelic-speakers borrowed ON *bý* and used it to coin place-names. *Rigby* also makes a single OS map appearance, and Taylor concludes '[b]ecause of its late, and fleeting appearance, it cannot be seen as a genuine *-býr* name'.¹³² Given the form of this name, it is tempting to speculate that it may be a lost name in ON *hryggr-bý* 'ridge settlement', by analogy with Ribby in Lancashire and Rygby on the Isle of Man.¹³³ As the name would be entirely Scandinavian in construction, there would be no suggestion that *bý* might have been borrowed into another language. However, Taylor is perhaps rightly sceptical of a single map entry from the 1950's, and as this now lost name does not appear on modern Ordnance Survey maps, it would be difficult to ascertain whether or not the topography of the site would fit the etymology of *hryggr-bý*. It would appear that the OS map form is anomalous, and as such should be discounted.

Another Fife name which was not coined in the Scandinavian period is the lone Eastern instance of Sorbie. Fellows-Jensen records Taylor's recent discovery:

that the Harrays of Sorbie in Wigtownshire acquired the lands of Kingsmuir, where Sorbie in Fife is situated, in the late eighteenth century. Since the earliest record of the Fife Sorbie is from c.1860, it seems clear that this must be an instance of very late analogical naming.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Taylor, 'The Scandinavians in Fife and Kinross', pp. 166-167.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ See Appendix D, Part One.

¹³⁴ Fellows-Jensen, 'Vikings in the British Isles: The Place-Name Evidence', p. 141.

Whilst this name was clearly not coined by Scandinavian-speakers, neither does it provide evidence of the borrowing of a Scandinavian element into either Gaelic or English, as it is a commemorative transfer of an existing Scandinavian place-name.

Another problematical name is the lost *Ashmabee/Ashingbee*, which Taylor records as occurring in the Sasines 1781-1820, with five entries spelt *Ashmabee* and five *Ashingbee*.¹³⁵ He suggests that the 'form Ashingbee...bears a resemblance to such Scandinavian or Anglo-Scandinavian names as *Asheby LNC and CHE',¹³⁶ but as no other forms of the name can be found, it is impossible to ascribe any definite etymology for *Ashmabee/Ashingbee*. As such, it cannot be taken as evidence of the transfer of ON *bý* into Gaelic or English.

A further group of problematic names are those which Barrow lists in his article as names which may appear to be essentially Scandinavian in construction, but which he argues are unlikely to reflect Scandinavian settlement as they appear 'rather fugitively in areas not otherwise known to have been Scandinavianised'.¹³⁷ His examples include *Corbie* and *Weddersbie* in Fife, *Newby* in Peebles, *Ravensby* in Angus, and *Corsbie* in Berwick.

Corbie is now Birkhill in Fife, although the name survives in the nearby place-names *Corbie Den* and *Corbiehall*, and is recorded as *Corbi* c.1231, *Corbiden* 1234 and *Cortiby* or *Corciby* c.1240. There is also a record of an *Odo de Corby* witnessing a charter c.1212.¹³⁸ On the basis of the *Cortiby / Corciby* form, Taylor suggests that the name may contain the personal name *Corcc* 'which the Hiberno-Scandinavians borrowed

¹³⁵ Taylor, 'The Scandinavians in Fife and Kinross', p. 157.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Barrow, 'The Uses of Place-names and Scottish History – Pointers and Pitfalls', p. 72.

¹³⁸ Taylor, 'The Scandinavians in Fife and Kinross', p. 155.

from the Irish'.¹³⁹ He points out that there is a parallel form in Corby in Cumberland, which has twelfth century spellings of *Chorkeby* and *Corchebi*.¹⁴⁰ If correct, this may suggest that the name was coined by Scandinavians who had spent time in a Gaelic-speaking area, and who may have been part of the same group that settled in the North-West of England from the Scottish Isles.¹⁴¹ However, given that only one historical form of the name is *Corciby* or *Cortiby*, this explanation is rather tenuous. Fellows-Jensen notes that there are two Corby names in Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire, whose specific may be OE **corf* 'cutting, pass', which she suggests may also be the specific in the Fife instance.¹⁴² Mills gives an alternative of the Old Norse personal name *Kori* for the two English names.¹⁴³ Either of these names is a possible explanation for the Fife name, assuming the c.1240 form is erratic. It is also worth noting that there is a Scots word *corbie* meaning 'raven',¹⁴⁴ which Johnston considers to be the specific of Corbiehall, Carstairs, and Corbie Den, Cults. It is possible that whatever the original form of the Fife instance of Corby, it may later have become confused with the Scots word. This would not, however, indicate that the name was coined by speakers of Lowland Scots using ON *bý* as a loan-word. Rather, it seems that this name was coined by Scandinavian speakers using a Gaelic or Scandinavian personal name, or possibly an Old English loan-word.

Newby in Peebleshire contains OE *nīwe*. This might appear to suggest that English speakers borrowed ON *bý* and used it to coin this name. However, there are

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ See Section 2.

¹⁴² Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', p. 52.

¹⁴³ Mills, *Dictionary of English Place-Names*, p. 96.

¹⁴⁴ Warrack, *The Scots Dialect Dictionary*, p. 113.

various alternative explanations for Newby. It should be noted that this name has a doublet in Dumfriesshire, and that there are also several Newby names in England.¹⁴⁵ Given that there are so many instances of this name-type, it is possible that Scandinavian-speakers borrowed OE *nīwe*, and used it to form new settlement names. Alternatively, they may have altered existing English place-names with the form such as 'Newton' by replacing OE *-tūn* with ON *-bý*, as was the case with the name Smeaton. Thirdly, OE *nīwe* may have replaced ON *nýr*. Lastly, as this particular instance of Newby is, as Barrow states, in an area where there is little evidence for Scandinavian presence, then this name may have been transferred from an area of Scandinavian settlement in England or Dumfriesshire.

It may be significant that the other three names listed by Barrow also have English parallels. Weddersbie and the lost *Weathersbie* have a doublet in Wetherby in Yorkshire,¹⁴⁶ and Ravensby has a doublet in a lost Leicestershire name *Ravensby*.¹⁴⁷ Similarly, as discussed in Section 2, Corsbie in Berwick has numerous parallels in Galloway, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and the Isle of Man. The existence of these doublets makes it improbable that these Scottish names were coined by local Lowland Scots or Gaelic-speakers who had borrowed Scandinavian personal names and place-name elements, and points instead to immigration from areas of Scandinavian settlement in England. Barrow's suggestion regarding the borrowing of *bý* by non-Scandinavian groups could only be upheld if there was a group of several names in the area whose specific elements were demonstrably Gaelic or English in origin. In this context, it is notable that Nicolaisen has demonstrated that a number of names in *beck*

¹⁴⁵ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', p. 51. See also Section 2(d) above.

¹⁴⁶ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire*, p. 41.

¹⁴⁷ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', p. 52.

and *fell* in South-West Scotland are likely to have had an Anglian inception.¹⁴⁸ Similarly, as established in Section 2(d), the presence of Middle English specifics in the *bý* names of North-West England suggests that this element may have passed into the local English nomenclature. However, evidence of this type is lacking for names in *bý* in the Central Lowlands. Barrow is of course correct that Scandinavian personal names such as *Gamal*, *Thorfin*, *Orm*, *Ulfr* and *Ulfkill* were borrowed by the native populations in this part of Scotland,¹⁴⁹ but these personal names are not found in the *bý* names. Instead, a number of these names contain Scandinavian appellatives such as *geit* ‘she-goat’ (*Gedbys*), *bleikr* ‘pale’ (Blegbie), *veðr* ‘castrated ram’ (Weddersbie and *Weathersbie*) and possible *skata* ‘skate’ in the case of the lost Berwick name *Schatteby*. There is no evidence that these words were ever borrowed into the local dialects of either Gaelic or English. In the case of *bý* names which do contain personal names as a specific, namely Ravensby (*Hrafn*), Begbie (*Baggi*), and possibly *Grymmysbe* (*Grímr*)¹⁵⁰ and Corbie (*Corcc* or *Kori*), all have parallel forms in England. It seems unlikely that so many identical forms could have been coincidentally formed by Gaelic and Scots speakers in the Central Lowlands using borrowed Scandinavian personal names. Additionally, it is pertinent that there are almost no English or Gaelic personal names amongst the specific elements. The East Lothian name Pogbie has been interpreted as potentially containing the Old English personal name **Poca* or the byname *Pohha*,¹⁵¹ although Hough has recently argued that OE **pohha*, **pocca* in place-names may reflect an otherwise unrecorded animal-name, meaning ‘fallow deer’, which should also be considered as a potential specific for

¹⁴⁸ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, pp. 127-129.

¹⁴⁹ Barrow, ‘The Uses of Place-names and Scottish History – Pointers and Pitfalls’, p. 72.

¹⁵⁰ For a discussion of the interpretation of names in *grim-*, see Chapter Two, Section 6.

¹⁵¹ Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?’, p. 52.

Pogbie.¹⁵² Additionally, as discussed above, it is possible that Corby might contain the Gaelic-Scandinavian name *Corcc*. More concrete evidence of constructions of this nature would arguably be expected if speakers of either Gaelic or a Lowlands dialect of English had borrowed *bý* as a name-forming element.

These names point instead to formation by Scandinavian-speakers. However, because of the many parallels in England, it is possible that the Scottish names were transfers brought from the Danelaw by English landholders who relocated to the north in the post-Conquest era, rather than representing a Viking-age influx of Scandinavian-speakers. In this context, it is noteworthy that David I was raised at the court of the English king Henry I, and that he brought Anglo-Norman supporters with him when he acceded to the Scottish throne in 1124.¹⁵³ During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, David and his successors transplanted Anglo-Norman and Flemish retainers from their English to their Scottish estates.¹⁵⁴ Taylor notes that there was an influx of Scandinavianised Northumbrians to the Lothians and to the Kennoway district of Fife during this period, whose presence is marked by the occurrence of place-names with an Anglo-Scandinavian personal name and an Anglian generic such as *-tūn*.¹⁵⁵ Thus, it may be that the *bý* names found in these regions are commemorative transfers of Scandinavian place-names from the Danelaw.

However, there are three names which do not have parallels in England, which suggests that at least some of the names must represent original coinages by Scandinavian speakers. Fellows-Jensen notes that Blegbie has no exact parallels in either

¹⁵² Hough, 'Place-Name Evidence for an Anglo-Saxon animal name: OE **pohha/*pocca* "fallow deer"', p. 14.

¹⁵³ Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, p. 53.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 58.

¹⁵⁵ Taylor, 'The Scandinavians in Fife and Kinross', pp. 150-151.

Scotland or England,¹⁵⁶ and as it contains a Scandinavian specific it seems that this name must have been coined by Scandinavian-speakers in East Lothian. Similarly, the lost name *Schatteby* in Berwick has a Scandinavian specific, but no parallels elsewhere, which points to a genuine Scandinavian presence. Finally, the name Pogbie has no parallels. Nicolaisen considers that this name is likely to reflect the immigration of Scandinavian-speakers from England, and cites Pockley and Pockthorpe in Yorkshire as similar constructions.¹⁵⁷ Fellows-Jensen argues that the Pockthorpe names in England may instead reflect a compound appellative **pokethorp*, which also occurs in Denmark, as a derogatory term for an insignificant settlement. She suggests that if ON *púki* was more widely used in this derogatory sense, then this may have a bearing on the interpretation of names such as Pogbie.¹⁵⁸ It would therefore appear that although the precise meaning of this name is still a matter for debate, it is likely to have been coined in a Scandinavian context, as the lack of any English doublets would appear to rule out the possibility of Anglo-Norman transference. Thus, names such as Blegbie, *Schatteby* and Pogbie indicate that there were some Scandinavian-speakers creating new names in the Scottish Lowlands, so that the immigration of Scandinavian settlers is not entirely hypothetical. As such, it is possible that some of the other names which do have English parallels represent analogous coinages made by Scandinavian-speaking immigrants from England, rather than commemorative transfers made by Anglo-Norman settlers.

Aside from the three names listed above, all of the other names in *bý* in the Central Lowlands have parallels in either England or southern Scotland, although there has been some debate as to the precise origins of one group of names. The Humbie

¹⁵⁶ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', p. 52.

¹⁵⁷ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, pp. 147-148.

¹⁵⁸ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement Names in East Anglia: Some Problems', p. 53.

names are found in Fife, East Lothian, Mid Lothian, West Lothian and Renfrewshire, and have been interpreted variously as English, Scandinavian and Celtic in origin. Both Johnston and Nicolaisen have suggested that the names contain a personal name, OE *Hund* (Johnston)¹⁵⁹ or ON *Hundi* (Nicolaisen).¹⁶⁰ However, the numerous instances of this place-name would appear to make a personal name rather improbable. In *Gaelic Place-Names of the Lothians* (1912), Milne postulates that the Lothian instances of this name are from G. *toman* 'little hill', aspirated to *thoman*, and he argues that 'T in *thoman* is silent, b had been added for euphony, and *an* normally became *ie*'.¹⁶¹ At first sight, this etymology would appear to be a plausible explanation for so many repetitions of the name in the Central Lowlands. On closer inspection, however, Milne's work is riddled with glaring errors, and he is inclined to insist upon Gaelic derivations for many place-names which are clearly Germanic, even though he often has to resort to inventing numerous euphonic additions, aspirations and alterations to try and make his Gaelic etymologies fit.¹⁶² Given this, it seems unwise to lend any credence to Milne's interpretation of the Humbie names.

Liddall suggests the somewhat obscure etymology 'town of the Homes' for the Fife instance of this name.¹⁶³ 'Home' is the Scots form of 'holm',¹⁶⁴ and it is possible that this is what Liddall meant, rather than homes in the sense of dwellings. The

¹⁵⁹ Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 205.

¹⁶⁰ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 147.

¹⁶¹ Milne, *Gaelic Place-Names of the Lothians* (N.B. Milne's book has no page numbers).

¹⁶² Examples of this include Ingliston, which Milne derives from *Baile an Lios* 'Town at the Fold', Ormiston, which he interprets as 'East Fertile Place' from *or* 'east' and *meas* 'high renown for fertility', and Freeland, which Milne derives from *Lamhan Threith*, insisting that 'both parts mean hill', and that the *mh* being silent was lost, that *an* had improperly been made *s*, that *th* in *threith* became *ph* = *f*, and that final *th* was lost. Even more bizarre is Kirkland Hill, which he explains as *Creag + lamhan + hill*, in which '[t]he three parts of the name have the same meaning', with *mh* in *Lamhan* being silent, and *d* being added for euphony. There are literally dozens of similar instances.

¹⁶³ Liddall, *Place Names of the Kingdom of Fife*, p. 31.

¹⁶⁴ Warrack, *The Scots Dialect Dictionary*, p. 272.

capitalization of the word, however, might indicate a personal name, or, more likely, the surname Home, in a plural form. The earliest form of the Fife name is *Humbie* (1574), which would not rule out any of these etymologies. This might suggest that ON *bý* was borrowed into the local dialect of Scots, and used to form a non-Scandinavian place-name. Yet the East Lothian name is recorded as *Hundeby* in c.1250, and the West Lothian name has the same form in 1290. As the various instances of *Humbie* seem to be parallel formations of the same name, it seems that *holm*, *home* and the surname *Home* must be disregarded.

Fellows-Jensen suggests that the names contain the Scandinavian noun *hundr* 'dog' in the genitive plural, which would have a parallel in *Hanby* in Lincolnshire.¹⁶⁵ She argues that the five occurrences of the name probably reflect 'the significance attached in a region rich in great hunting-forests to the keeping of hunting-dogs as an obligation to a feudal lord'.¹⁶⁶ This interpretation is supported by Taylor, who notes that 'a later Scots parallel might be *Dogton* / *Auchterderran* near the medieval royal hunting forest of *Cardenden*'.¹⁶⁷ He does, however, also raise the possibility that the specific of the names could be 'a Scandinavian common noun which has been borrowed into OSc, perhaps meaning "kennels"'.¹⁶⁸

There are a few Fife and Lothian place-names which lend support to the interpretation of the *Humbie* names as containing 'dogs' or 'kennels', in reference to hunting-dogs. Liddall argues that the Fife name *Balmeadowside* means 'town of dogs', which would be a parallel formation, containing Gaelic *baile* 'town' and *madadh* 'dog',

¹⁶⁵ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', p. 51.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Taylor, 'The Scandinavians in Fife and Kinross', p. 155.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 155-156.

based on the historical form *Balmaddyside*.¹⁶⁹ This name is similar to Pulmaddy Burn in Dumfries and Galloway, which Johnston identifies as a place where ‘hunting dogs used to be kennelled’.¹⁷⁰ Similarly, Liddall derives Blairgone from G. *blar* + *con* ‘field of dogs’. In the Lothians, there are various names which appear to contain English *hunt* or *hunter*. These are Hunt Law and Hunterfield in Midlothian, Huntingdon and Hunt Law in East Lothian, and Huntburn and Hunter’s Craig in West Lothian. It is true that these names only attest to hunting, rather than specifically hunting with dogs, although Hound Point in West Lothian may be a reference to dogs.

As there is only one potential parallel to these names, it seems unlikely that so many commemorative transfers of the Lincolnshire name Hanby would have occurred. It seems more plausible that the names were coined by Scandinavian-speakers to refer to specific sites where hunting dogs were kept. In the case of the other Lowland names which occur singly, and have English parallels, the likelihood that these names reflect influence from the Danelaw is arguably greater. Yet, as Fellows-Jensen points out, this influence may have occurred during the Scandinavian period. She argues that Scandinavian presence in the Lowlands may date from the late ninth century, ‘as a result of the exploitation of the Forth-Clyde route for transport between York and Dublin’.¹⁷¹ However, she suggests that because of the many parallels with names in the Danelaw, which would not have been formed in the ninth century, then this immigration may not have occurred until the later tenth century. She notes that this dating would also coincide with the introduction of the Hogback tombstone to this part of Scotland.¹⁷² These carved

¹⁶⁹ Liddall, *Place Names of the Kingdom of Fife*, p. 6.

¹⁷⁰ Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 276.

¹⁷¹ Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?’, p. 54.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, pp. 54-55.

grave-markers are considered to have originated in Yorkshire in the early tenth century.¹⁷³ Taylor notes that the distribution of these Hogbacks corresponds well with that of the *bý* names, with instances in the Lothians, Fife and southern Angus, the earliest of which dates to the mid-tenth century.¹⁷⁴ In fact, there is a notable correspondence between Hogback sites and names in *bý* in the rest of southern Scotland.¹⁷⁵ Although not all of the Scottish Hogbacks are datable to the tenth century, it seems plausible that the introduction of this type of monument to the Scottish Lowlands reflects a tenth-century immigration from Yorkshire, and possibly even Cumberland, where Hogbacks are also found.¹⁷⁶ It is interesting that Bailey considers the Hogback monuments to be of Gaelic-Norwegian rather than Danish origin,¹⁷⁷ which might suggest that at least some of the tenth-century immigrants to the Central Lowlands were from Gaelic-Norwegian settlements in England. However, there is nothing about the linguistic content of the names themselves which would suggest a definite Norwegian or Danish origin, and as such, the matter is purely speculative.

Another factor which might suggest a pre-Conquest origin for the *bý* names in the Central Lowlands is highlighted by Fellows-Jensen. She notes that there are no *bý* names in this region with a Norman or Flemish personal name as their specific.¹⁷⁸ This contrasts sharply with the *-tūn* names in the area, which contain forty-four Continental names, and are usually dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁷⁹ Additionally, it is notable that in Cumberland and Dumfriesshire, where some of the names in *bý* appear to have an

¹⁷³ Graham-Campbell and Batey, *Vikings in Scotland*, p. 100.

¹⁷⁴ Taylor, 'The Scandinavians in Fife and Kinross', pp. 145 and 153.

¹⁷⁵ See Map 11 for a comparison of the distribution of these monuments and names in *bý*.

¹⁷⁶ Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England*, p. 91.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', p. 52.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, and also see Taylor, 'The Scandinavians in Fife and Kinross', p. 150.

eleventh or twelfth century date, there are also a significant number of Continental personal names amongst the specific elements.¹⁸⁰ Whilst the lack of *bý* names with Continental specifics in the Lowlands does not prove that the names were not transferred by Anglo-Norman immigrants, it does mean that there is nothing to suggest Anglo-Norman involvement with this group of names, whereas there is evidence for Scandinavian involvement. In the case of the Fife names, Taylor argues that

[a]ll these places are, or were, isolated farmsteads, on marginal land, and all are above 300ft or on steeply rising ground. It is therefore possible that they were cleared and settled by those who named them.¹⁸¹

This description seems to fit the original usage of Norwegian *býr*, *bær*, suggesting an early date for these names, rather than a post-Conquest takeover of existing estates. It would seem therefore that the *bý* names form a separate stratum of naming from the personal name + *tūn* names that are also found in this region, and are likely to pre-date these *tūn* constructions.

It is true that aside from the *bý* names, there are no further Scandinavian habitative names, secondary names or topographical names, which might usually be expected to occur in settlement areas. This might suggest that the names are more likely to have been transplanted from the Danelaw by Anglo-Normans. However, there are various alternative explanations for this lack of ancillary settlement evidence. It is possible that Scandinavian settlement in the Central Lowlands had a different purpose to that of settlement in England, and as such was of a different nature. An interesting suggestion made by Barrow is that as the names are clustered around the major estuaries,

¹⁸⁰ See previous section.

¹⁸¹ Taylor, 'The Scandinavians in Fife and Kinross', p. 142.

then the people who coined the names may have been invited settlers who played a defensive role as coast-watchers.¹⁸² It is thus plausible that Scandinavian immigrants settled around the Scottish coast in the tenth century in this capacity, which is very different to that of conquest-related land-taking associated with Scandinavian settlement in the Danelaw. Oram has argued that the lack of Scandinavian topographic names in Galloway would suggest a restricted settlement, unlikely to produce names indicative of ancillary expansion in the region.¹⁸³ He also suggests that the Scandinavians in Galloway might have been invited to settle amongst an established native population, rather than being unwelcome conquerors.¹⁸⁴ If the Scandinavians in the Central Lowlands also settled on such terms, then secondary names indicating exploitation of the surrounding region would not be expected.

In conclusion, I would argue that notwithstanding the existence of a number of pseudo *bý* names in the Central Lowlands, such as Crombie, Balbie, Smeaton, Carnbee and Rescobie, there are also genuine *bý* names in these areas. Although Barrow suggests that many of the *bý* names were coined by English or Gaelic speakers after the Scandinavian period, the fact that the names are almost entirely Scandinavian in construction would appear to link them to genuine Scandinavian settlement. It seems likely, therefore, that names like Carnbee and Rescobie developed their present forms by analogy with previously existing *bý* names in the Lothians. In the case of *bý* names containing personal names, the English parallels point to analogous formation which must be slightly later than the coining of *bý* names in the Danelaw. However, these

¹⁸² Barrow is cited in Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', p. 54.

¹⁸³ Oram, 'Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland', p. 131.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

names may still have been coined by the late tenth century, and appear unconnected to the later influx from England which occurred during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

4. The Ayrshire *Bý* Names

In addition to the *bý* names found in the Central Lowlands of Scotland, there is a small cluster of *bý* names in the Ardrossan area of Ayrshire, near to the coast of the Firth of Clyde. These six names present something of a mystery, as they also seem to represent Scandinavian settlement in an area for which there is little other evidence of Scandinavian presence. This might indicate, as has been suggested of the *bý* names in Fife and the Lothians, that these Ayrshire names were either transferred from England as part of the Anglo-Norman settlements in Southern Scotland, or were coined in the post-Scandinavian period by Gaelic or Scots speakers using the element *bý* as a loan-word.

Yet rather than viewing these names as a culturally and onomastically isolated group, I should like to suggest that Ayrshire *bý* names are part of the continuum of Scandinavian settlement that stretches downward from the Hebrides into the North-West of England. It is well established that the Southern Hebrides and adjoining mainland were less densely settled by Scandinavian immigrants than were the Northern Hebrides.¹⁸⁵ However, the presence of *bólstaðr* names on Coll, Tiree, Mull, Islay and Jura indicates that the Scandinavians did settle there. Additionally, there are two *ból*-names on the Kintyre peninsula, as well as the *bý* name Smerby.¹⁸⁶ There is also good archaeological evidence of Scandinavian presence. Graham-Campbell and Batey note that a Viking period silver hoard was found on the island of Inch Kenneth off Mull in the

¹⁸⁵ See for example Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland*, p. 97.

¹⁸⁶ Jennings, 'Norse Place-Names of Kintyre' [draft version minus pagination].

nineteenth century.¹⁸⁷ Further south, they point out that ‘Colonsay, Oronsay and Islay are relatively rich in pagan Norse burials, with a total of eleven reasonably well-documented examples and a further ten or more possible graves on record’.¹⁸⁸ Closer to Ayrshire, there is evidence of two Viking burials on Arran at Lamlash Bay, which is across the Firth of Clyde from Ardrossan.¹⁸⁹

It is true that there is little onomastic evidence of Scandinavian settlement on the western mainland of Scotland, in the region where the *bý* names are located. However, there are three Hogback sites, at Luss on Loch Lomond, at Dalserf on the upper Clyde and a major site at Govan.¹⁹⁰ Graham-Campbell and Batey note that at least one of the Govan hogbacks is very closely matched to those found in Northern England,¹⁹¹ which might suggest a connection with Scandinavian colonies in the south as well as those in the north. There are also two other *bý* names, both Busby, in East and West Renfrewshire, south of the Clyde. Additionally, there was a Viking period silver hoard found near Port Glasgow at the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁹² Also relevant is the archaeological evidence of a seasonal beach-market at Stevenson Sands, near Ardrossan, ‘where eighth/ninth century objects have been found, as well as an Arabic silver dirham of early tenth-century date’.¹⁹³

The wider Hebridean context is particularly important when considering the Ayrshire *bý* name Sorbie. The name is from ON *saur-bý* ‘mud village’ or ‘swamp

¹⁸⁷ Graham-Campbell and Batey, *Vikings in Scotland*, p. 88.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 89.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 95-96.

¹⁹⁰ Ritchie, *Viking Scotland*, p. 96.

¹⁹¹ Graham-Campbell and Batey, *Vikings in Scotland*, p. 100.

¹⁹² *Ibid*, p. 102.

¹⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 98.

village'.¹⁹⁴ As discussed in Section 2(b), there are several reflexes of this name along the Western Seaboard of Scotland, with two instances on the West Coast, one each on the islands of Tiree and Mull, and two potential instances on the Isle of Skye. This name type is also commonly found further south, in areas of Gaelic-Norwegian influence, including the Isle of Man, the North-West of England, and Yorkshire, and it seems that the instances of *saur-by* names in Galloway and in Dumfriesshire are also likely to belong to this group of names. It would appear that the Ayrshire 'Sorbie' name could also have been coined as part of this overall Gaelic-Scandinavian continuum.

However, the fact that there are so many *saur-by* names might alternatively suggest that at least some of the names were transferred to western Scotland at some point in the post-Scandinavian era, as has been suggested for some of the Central Lowlands *by* names. In this context, as discussed in Section 3, Taylor has recently demonstrated that the name Sorbie in Fife was a late eighteenth-century transplant, created when an important family from Sorbie in Galloway acquired the land where Sorbie in Fife is situated. Given this, the possibility of a similar transfer in the case of the Ayrshire Sorbie should not be ruled out entirely.

However, the large number of these names in Scotland, England and also Iceland might also indicate that it was a common name-type applied to any farm with poor soil or adverse conditions.¹⁹⁵ It should also be noted that in the case of the Icelandic instances, Guðmundsson has postulated that there may be a connection between **saur-bær* names and sacred heathen sites.¹⁹⁶ In the case of the British instances, Nicolaisen has also suggested that *saur* in these names might 'sometimes refer to mud-flats covered by water

¹⁹⁴ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 132.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ Guðmundsson is cited in Fellows-Jensen, 'Viking Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles', p. 156.

at high tide and dry at low tide'.¹⁹⁷ The Ayrshire instance of Sorbie is a mile or two inland from the coastal mud-flats, so that explanation would not be applicable here, but *saur* in the sense of marshy land liable to flooding does appear to be appropriate to this Sorbie site. Similar English or Scots names in the area include Bushy Bog, Bogside Flats, Bogend, Boghead and Meikle Myre. Sorbie itself is on a hillside above which a series of reservoirs have been formed in the modern period, fed by a number of burns, and there is a burn running right across the land at Sorbie itself. It would therefore appear plausible that the name was given by Scandinavian-speakers to describe a farm with marshy conditions. Thus, despite the existence of numerous English parallels of the name, there is no reason to suppose that the name was transferred to Ayrshire either by Anglo-Norman settlers, or at a later period.

The Crosbie names also have a number of parallels. However, there are none in the Western Isles, which might suggest an alternative connection with the secondary Scandinavian settlements along the coast of Southern Scotland and the North-West of England. As discussed in Section 2(b), instances of these names occur in Galloway and Berwick as Corsbie, and the Ayrshire names are also sometimes recorded in this metathesized form. There are two Crosby names on the Isle of Man, and in Cumberland there are three instances, two directly across the Solway Firth from Galloway and one by the River Eden close to the Dumfriesshire border. There are two further Crosby names in Westmorland and one in Lancashire.

As there are so many doublets, the possibility exists that the names are transfers from England during the Anglo-Norman period. There are no recorded forms of either name until the thirteenth century, when Crosbie near West Kilbride is recorded a.1214 as

¹⁹⁷ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 132.

Crosby, in 1230 as *Crosseby* and in 1367 as *Corsbi*.¹⁹⁸ This is perhaps the only one of the Ayrshire names to have such early historical attestations, and as such it is difficult to establish the precise linguistic and chronological background of these names.

In the case of the more northerly of the two instances of Crosbie in Ayrshire, it is significant that this was apparently an ecclesiastical site. This might suggest that the name may have been coined as a *kross-bý* name by Scandinavian-speaking immigrants from the North-West of England by analogy with the Crosby names in that region, rather than being an essentially random commemorative transfer introduced by Anglo-Norman immigrants from their estates in the Danelaw. The surrounding area provides evidence of both Christianity and Celtic ecclesiastical monuments. Crosbie is situated just outside West Kilbride, which contains *cill*, the Gaelic word for a chapel or church, and the name of St Brigid. Across the firth, on the tiny island of Inchmarnock (just west of Bute), a small fragment of a cross-slab of Scandinavian origin was found, marked with ‘a ringed cross carved in the same manner as those in the Manx monuments’.¹⁹⁹ Graham-Campbell and Batey note that the memorial inscription on the stone ‘includes the Celtic loan-word *kross*, as is the standard usage on Man, in place of the expected Norse word *steinn*’.²⁰⁰

Further south, the potential inversion-compound name Crossraguel indicates the presence of a cross,²⁰¹ and there are also six *kirk*-compounds in southern Ayrshire: Kirkbride, Kirkconstantine, Kirkcudbright, Kirkdominae, Kirkmichael and Kirkoswald. It may be significant that the *kirk*-compound name type seems to have had its origins in

¹⁹⁸ Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 146. See also Appendix D, Part Two, for a full list of the historical forms of this name.

¹⁹⁹ Graham-Campbell and Batey, *Vikings in Scotland*, p. 43.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ See Chapter Two, Section 5, for a discussion of this name.

Gaelic-Scandinavian contact.²⁰² Thus, it would appear quite plausible that Crosbie was coined by Scandinavian immigrants to describe a settlement with a cross, rather than representing a later Anglo-Norman transfer.

The second Ayrshire Crosbie name survives on the modern Ordnance Survey map as Crosbie House, and is marked as a historical monument. As it is only a few miles from Crosbie at West Kilbride, it is possible that this second Crosbie name was transferred from the site at West Kilbride, which has given its name to the Crosbie Reservoir and the Crosbie Hills in that vicinity. However, the more southerly Crosbie is situated just to the north of Prestwick, OE *prēost wīc* ‘priest’s dwelling’ or OE *prēosta wīc* ‘priests’ dwelling’,²⁰³ and is close to Monkton, which also suggests an Anglian ecclesiastical context. This might imply that the name was also coined by Scandinavian-speakers to refer to a settlement with one or more crosses, rather than being a transfer from Crosbie near West Kilbride or being an Anglo-Norman transfer of an estate name in the Danelaw.

Another pair of names is the Busbie names. The modern Ordnance Survey map reveals that at the more northerly site there is a farm called Meikle Busbie adjacent to Busbie Muir, and at the southern site there is a hamlet called Busbiehill and two nearby farms called Busbie Mains and Busbie Head. As mentioned above, there are two other Busby names in the vicinity, in East and West Renfrewshire respectively. Fellows-Jensen notes that these names usually have historical forms such as *Busby* or *Busbie*, but argues that ‘the form *Buskie*...for one *Busbie* in Ayrshire suggests that all four names are exact parallels of *Busby* in the North Riding of Yorkshire, whose specific is probably

²⁰² See Chapter Four.

²⁰³ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 103.

Scand *buski* “shrubbery”²⁰⁴ It would seem that one historical form of one of the Busby names is a somewhat tenuous basis for suggesting ON *buski* as an etymology for them all, especially since the historical forms of the Yorkshire Busby name are consistently spelled *Buschebi*, arguably rather different to the Scots spellings.²⁰⁵ However, no other obvious etymology for these names presents itself. An otherwise unrecorded personal name such as **Buski*²⁰⁶ seems unlikely to have been used in the Scottish names, given their relative frequency. If the names do indeed contain ON *buski* ‘shrubs, bushes’, then this may have a bearing on the interpretation of the Galloway name Bysbie. As discussed in Section 2(b), it has been argued that this name contains ON *biskup* or the OE cognate *biscop* ‘Bishop’s Farm’, based on the 1305 form *Biskeby* and the proximity of Whithorn, where a bishopric was established in 1128.²⁰⁷ Yet, if ON **buski-bý* is the correct etymology for four other instances in the south-west of Scotland, then this would lend weight to Fellows-Jensen’s theory that Bysbie may originally have been a *buski* name which was later altered due to the establishment of the Whithorn bishopric.

As these names have a doublet in northern Yorkshire, it is possible that the name was transferred to Ayrshire by Anglo-Norman immigrants. Yet it may be significant that the Yorkshire instance of Busby is situated in a region which is a focal point for Hogback monuments, some of which are similar to those found in Scotland. Thus it may be possible that the Ayrshire names reflect an earlier influx of Scandinavians from this part of the Danelaw.²⁰⁸ However, as established in section 2(b), it seems unlikely that the four

²⁰⁴ Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?’, p. 51. See also the discussion of the Galloway name Bysbie in Section 2(b) above.

²⁰⁵ Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire*, p. 23.

²⁰⁶ Fellows-Jensen suggests this as a possible alternative etymology for the Yorkshire name.

²⁰⁷ See Fellows-Jensen ‘Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway’, pp. 84-85, and Oram, ‘Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland’, p. 137.

²⁰⁸ Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavian Settlement in Yorkshire – Through the Rear-View Mirror’, p. 184.

or five Scottish *Busbie/Busby* names could all be commemorative transfers of a single Yorkshire name, and it is possible that the names were actually coined *ad hoc* by Scandinavian-speaking immigrants to the Ayrshire coast in reference to farmsteads at bushy sites. In the vicinity of the northern Busbie the names Bushglen and Broomhill would appear to suggest a terrain of bushes and shrubs, as would the Rowanside Hills amongst which Meikle Busbie and Busbie Muir are situated. Around the southern Busbie there is another Broomhill, together with a Rowan Hill and a Wood Hill, and there is a village named Thorntoun adjacent to Busbiehill. All of this would support the theory that the names were coined by Scandinavian-speakers in response to the terrain in the region, rather than representing later transfers in the post-Scandinavian period.

The final Ayrshire *bý* name is Magby. This is a problematic name, because the specific is unclear. Fellows-Jensen notes that ‘the specific of *Magby* AYR cannot be identified with certainty on the basis of recorded forms but it may be the Scandinavian common noun *maki* “customer, partner, mate”.’²⁰⁹ Johnston had earlier suggested ‘Dwelling of *Mæg*’.²¹⁰ This is the only one of the Ayrshire group without a parallel in either England or Scotland, and as such cannot be attributed to Anglo-Norman immigrants from the Danelaw. Yet, as the form of the name is similar to Mabie in Galloway, one possibility might be that the two names contain the same etymology. In this context it is noteworthy that the Sorbie, Crosbie and potentially the Busbie names are all paralleled in Galloway, which might suggest a link between the settlement of the two areas. However, Fellows-Jensen gives the etymology of Mabie as ‘Scandinavian *mey(ja)*

²⁰⁹ Fellows-Jensen, ‘Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?’, p. 51.

²¹⁰ Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 247.

or *mǣr* “maiden, kinswoman” or the related OE *mæge*.²¹¹ There is no obvious explanation as to how any of these specific elements might have led to the development of a velar plosive sound which is currently present in Magbie in Ayrshire. As such, it seems unlikely that the two names could be doublets.²¹² What is striking about the Magbie forms is that they all contain English ‘hill’, and Magbiehill is the form given on the modern Ordnance Survey map. As the current Magbiehill is a farm or small hamlet, rather than a topographical feature, it is possible that ‘hill’ is a later addition to what was originally a habitative *bý* name. However, the consistent *mak* forms in the historical records might also suggest a surname in Gaelic ‘mac’ functioning as a specific element, with English ‘hill’ as the generic. Interestingly, there is a very similar name, Macbie Hill, near Dolphinton in Lanarkshire, which Johnston records as being bought and named in 1712 by a man named Montgomery ‘after MacBeth or Macbie Hill, Ayrsh[ire]’.²¹³ Due to the notoriously unreliable nature of Johnston’s dictionary, it is uncertain whether his information is accurate. Yet the lack of historical forms without the element ‘hill’ attached might suggest that this name actually contains the Scottish surname MacBeth or a variant form such as MacBeith, McBay or McBey, all of which are from the Gaelic name *Mac Beatha*.²¹⁴

However, I was unable to find any historical forms of the name prior to the fifteenth century, by which time the original form could have undergone considerable alteration. If Magby were a Scandinavian name in *bý*, to which ‘hill’ was later suffixed, it is likely that by the fifteenth century its meaning would have become semantically

²¹¹ Fellows-Jensen ‘Scandinavians in Dumfriesshire and Galloway’, p. 84.

²¹² See Appendix D, Part Two, for the historical forms of these names.

²¹³ Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 246.

²¹⁴ Hanks *et al*, *The Oxford Names Companion*, p. 411.

opaque. As such, Magby could have been mistaken for a surname, which would have influenced how the name was recorded orthographically. It may be significant that there is a Hill of Beith approximately five miles from Magbiehill which may also have influenced the interpretation of the latter name. Given these difficulties, it seems impossible to determine whether or not this name originally contained Old Norse *bý*.

However, even if Magbie were excluded from the list of Ayrshire *bý* names, it should be remembered that the Sorbie and Crosbie names have parallels in Galloway and in North-West England and the Busbie names have a potential parallel in Galloway and several certain parallels in Southern Scotland. For such similar nomenclature to emerge, it is likely that these areas were all settled by the same linguistic group. As the Ayrshire names contain no English or Continental elements, there is no evidence of coinage either by a non-Scandinavian speech community utilising *bý* as a loan-word, or of post-Conquest transfer of names from the Danelaw. Rather, the essentially Scandinavian make-up of these Ayrshire names suggests that they are connected to genuine Scandinavian settlement around the coast of Western Britain. It seems likely, therefore, that the various parallel formations were coined by Gaelic-Norwegian emigrants from the Scottish Isles, who settled in Cumberland, before crossing the Solway to settle along the coast of South-West Scotland.

However, as is the case with the *bý* names in the Central Lowlands, there are no other Scandinavian habitative or topographical place-names in Ayrshire, which contrasts with the settlements in Cumberland and South-West Scotland. This might indicate that the settlement was extremely limited, with little or no opportunity for secondary expansion or utilisation of natural resources beyond the original *bý* sites. It is perhaps

significant that none of the *bý* names has a personal name as a specific element, as Oram has argued of the Scandinavian settlements in South-West Scotland that

[t]he scarcity of personal-name forms associated with any of the various generics indicates that the immigration was not sufficiently intensive for these initial settlements to be speedily broken down into smaller farms.²¹⁵

Additionally, Jennings has argued that a lack of ancillary names in areas of Scandinavian settlement might indicate that a linguistic shift occurred within one or two generations, so that the Scandinavians 'had become naturalised before any significant secondary settlement took place'.²¹⁶ Given this, it is possible that settlement in Ayrshire was a later detachment from the Scandinavian colonies in either Galloway or coastal Cumberland, who may even have been invited in a similar manner to the settlers in the Lowlands, rather than representing settlement directly from the Scottish Isles.

Yet, in the case of the coastal Ayrshire *bý* names, their proximity to the southern end of the Hebridean settlements should also be taken into consideration.²¹⁷ The Ayrshire settlements are directly across the firth from the island of Arran, and an alternative explanation for the lack of names indicating that the area was being exploited by the incoming Scandinavians is that there were better resources available on Arran. Both Nicolaisen and Fraser have commented on the lack of Scandinavian habitative names on the island, and Nicolaisen suggests that, 'Not one Norse name indicates that its giver ever stayed on during winter or had any permanent dwelling in the island'.²¹⁸ Similarly, Fraser records that the small number of Scandinavian names on Arran are

²¹⁵ Oram, 'Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland', p. 131.

²¹⁶ Jennings, 'Norse Place-Names of Kintyre' [draft version minus pagination].

²¹⁷ See Map 12 for the distribution of names discussed in this section.

²¹⁸ Nicolaisen, 'Arran Place-Names: A Fresh Look', p. 8.

purely topographical, whose content suggests that '[i]f they had a serious interest in the island, it was in terms of its natural resources – timber, fish and game'.²¹⁹ Examples include Glenashdale (ON *ask-dalr* 'ash-tree valley'), Chalmadale ('Hjalmund's valley'), Ormidale ('Orm's valley'), and Brodick and Sannox (*breda-vik* 'broad bay' and *sandr-vik* 'sandy bay' respectively). Of these two bays, Fraser notes

[i]t is significant that these are east facing, with good beaches, where ships and boats could be drawn up, and with good anchorages. Moreover, a supply of good arable land, grazing and timber would have been available during the Norse period.²²⁰

The Ardrossan area of Ayrshire, where the *bý* names are located, is directly opposite these two bays, and in fact the present day ferry to Arran runs from Ardrossan to Brodick. In the case of names such as Ashdale, where ON *-dalr* is coupled with a tree-name, Crawford has suggested that nomenclature of this type reflects Scandinavian exploitation of timber resources, particularly in areas where Scandinavian place-names are otherwise scarce.²²¹ Nicolaisen also suggests that the Scandinavian place-names on Arran are indicative of 'seasonal interlopers depleting the rivers and grazing their heifers and their yearlings on shielings on the best grassland easily accessible from the shore'.²²² He argues that these interlopers were 'water-riding Norsemen who ultimately came from Norway via the Northern Isles and the Hebrides'.²²³ Yet it seems plausible that some of these Scandinavians came from settlements slightly closer to hand, namely across the firth at Ardrossan.

²¹⁹ Fraser, *The Place-Names of Arran*, p. 53.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

²²¹ Crawford, *Earl and Mormaer: Norse and Pictish Relationships in Northern Scotland*, pp. 24-28.

²²² Nicolaisen, 'Arran Place-Names: A Fresh Look', p. 8.

²²³ *Ibid.*

However, it should be noted that the Scandinavians in Ayrshire probably did not constitute the only Scandinavian presence on Arran, and some of the Scandinavian place-names may already have been coined by settlers who had made a more direct immigration from Norway. Scholars such as Kruse and Jennings have recently argued that topographical names with generics such as *-dalr* and *-nes* are often indicative of permanent habitation. Jennings notes that Scandinavians often gave topographical names to the earliest settlements in any given area.²²⁴ Kruse suggests that a name of this type ‘will have a dual designata; it will refer both to the topographical feature and the settlement itself, and the latter will probably be the most important’.²²⁵ He argues that the survival of these names indicates that they were permanent Scandinavian settlements because ‘[t]here was no reason for locals to accept new, foreign names from visitors for a topography that they already had names for in their own language’.²²⁶ It would therefore appear that some of the Scandinavian names on the island, such as the small group of names in *-dalr*, may represent an earlier phase of Scandinavian settlement on the island, into which the Ayrshire colonists insinuated themselves in order to exploit Arran’s natural resources. A secondary influx of this type might have augmented the Scandinavian toponymy on Arran, and aided in the preservation of existing Scandinavian names on a predominantly Gaelic-speaking island.

In conclusion, it would appear that, despite being outside the regions of recognised Scandinavian settlement, the Ayrshire *bý* names show some clear affinities with the Scandinavian nomenclature of Gaelic-Norwegian colonies around the western

²²⁴ Jennings, ‘Norse Place-Names of Kintyre’, [draft version minus pagination].

²²⁵ Kruse, ‘Norse Topographical Settlement-Names on the Western Littoral of Scotland’ [draft version minus pagination].

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

seaboard, particularly in the case of Galloway. Given this, there is no reason to suppose that the names might reflect the borrowing of *bý* into a non-Scandinavian language. Similarly, as the names themselves seem to fit the topography of northern Ayrshire, there is no need to ascribe them to a later stratum of Anglo-Norman immigration from the Danelaw into this region. The lack of other Scandinavian names in the vicinity does not preclude a genuine Scandinavian presence in this area, as settlement under restrictive circumstances may have impeded any opportunity for ancillary development. Alternatively, there may be a connection with the topographical names on nearby Arran, representing a seasonal exploitation of island resources from the mainland.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear that names in *bý* around the Irish Sea Coast were not coined as part of a single wave of Danish infiltration. There is evidence that linguistic contact between Danes and Gaelic-Norwegians led to the latter group also coining names in *bý* in North-West England, the Isle of Man and Yorkshire, and then taking this element to secondary colonies in Galloway, Ayrshire and potentially to the Central Lowlands of Scotland. Although there is evidence that the element was utilised by English-speakers in Cumberland and Dumfriesshire, similar evidence is lacking for Ayrshire and the Central Lowlands, where names in *bý* do not appear to have been coined beyond the period of initial Scandinavian settlement.

Map Acknowledgements

In the production of the following distribution maps I have made use of both parish boundary maps and element distribution maps in the relevant volumes of the *EPNS* county surveys. I have also made use of the various distribution maps in Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* and Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*. I have also utilised information from the 'Landranger' series of 1:50,000 Ordnance Survey maps, and from numbers 4, 5, 6, 7, and 19 of the 'Outdoor Leisure' series of 1:25,000 Ordnance Survey maps (covering the North-West of England). Instances where I have made specific use of other maps are listed below. It should be noted that in the case of lost names, I have estimated the locations as accurately as possible based on information in the *EPNS* county volumes. Due to the somewhat speculative nature of some of these positions, the maps should be viewed as being indicative of the general distribution of these place-names, rather than as a precise guide to individual sites.

Map 1. This map is largely based on existing maps in Jackson, *Languages and History in Early Britain*, p. 220, Jennings, 'Historical and Linguistic Evidence for Gall-Gaidheil and Norse in Western Scotland', p. 65, and Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland*, p. 93.

Map 4. The positioning of the Yorkshire names is based on the map appended to Smyth, 'Some Aspects of Irish Influence on Yorkshire', and the map in Janzén, 'Are There So-Called Inversion-Compounds in Yorkshire Place-Names?', p. 49.

Maps 5 and 6. These maps are a composite of distribution maps in Higham, 'The "Erg" Place-Names of Northern England', p. 16, Whyte, 'Shielings and the Upland Pastoral Economy of the Lake District in Medieval and Early Modern Times', p. 106, Megaw, 'The Manx "Eary" and its Significance', p. 330, Oram, 'Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland with a Special Study of Bysbie', p. 133, together with maps 11a and 11b in Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* and the *EPNS* distribution maps.

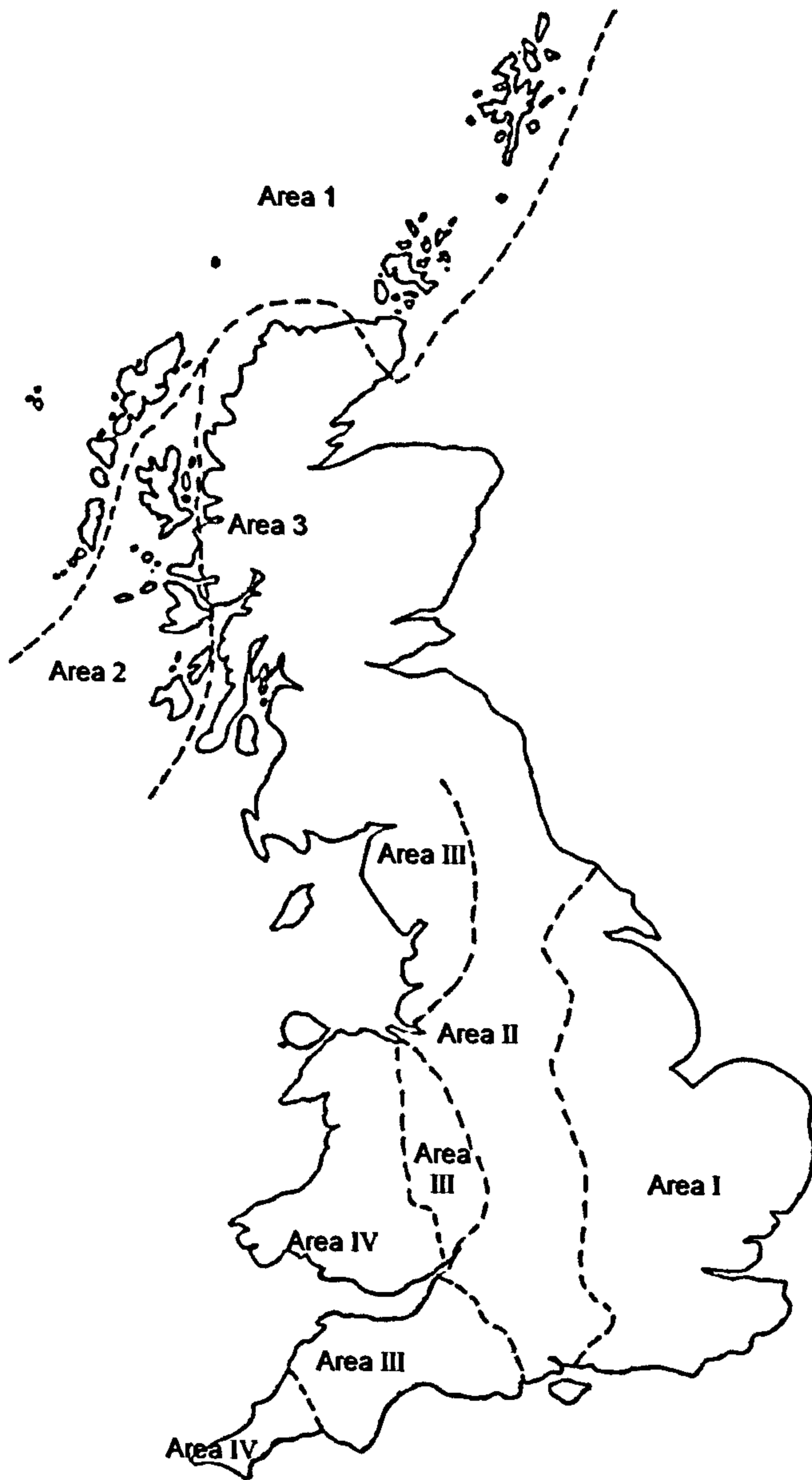
Map 8. This map is based in part on Nicolaisen, 'Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland', p. 62.

Map 9. This map is essentially a copy of the map in Nicolaisen, 'Norse Place-Names in South-West Scotland', p. 62.

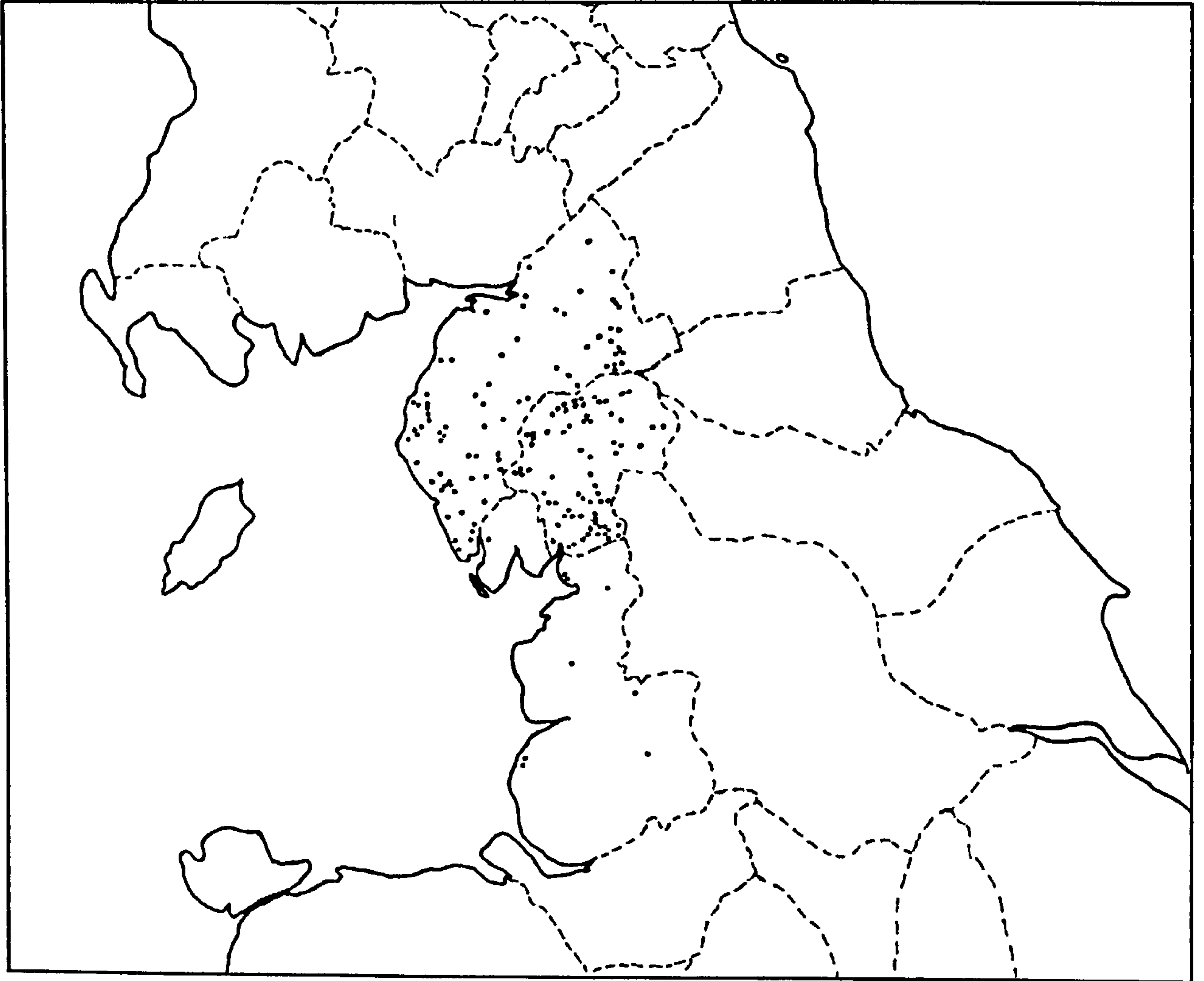
Map 10. This map is largely based on maps in Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the Isle of Man and North-West England: The Place-Name Evidence', p. 47, Oram, 'Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland with a Special Study of Bysbie', p. 129 and maps 9a and 9b in Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*.

Map 11. This map is a composite of maps in Crawford, *Scandinavian Scotland*, p. 99, and Graham-Campbell and Batey, *Vikings in Scotland: An Archaeological Survey*, p. 249.

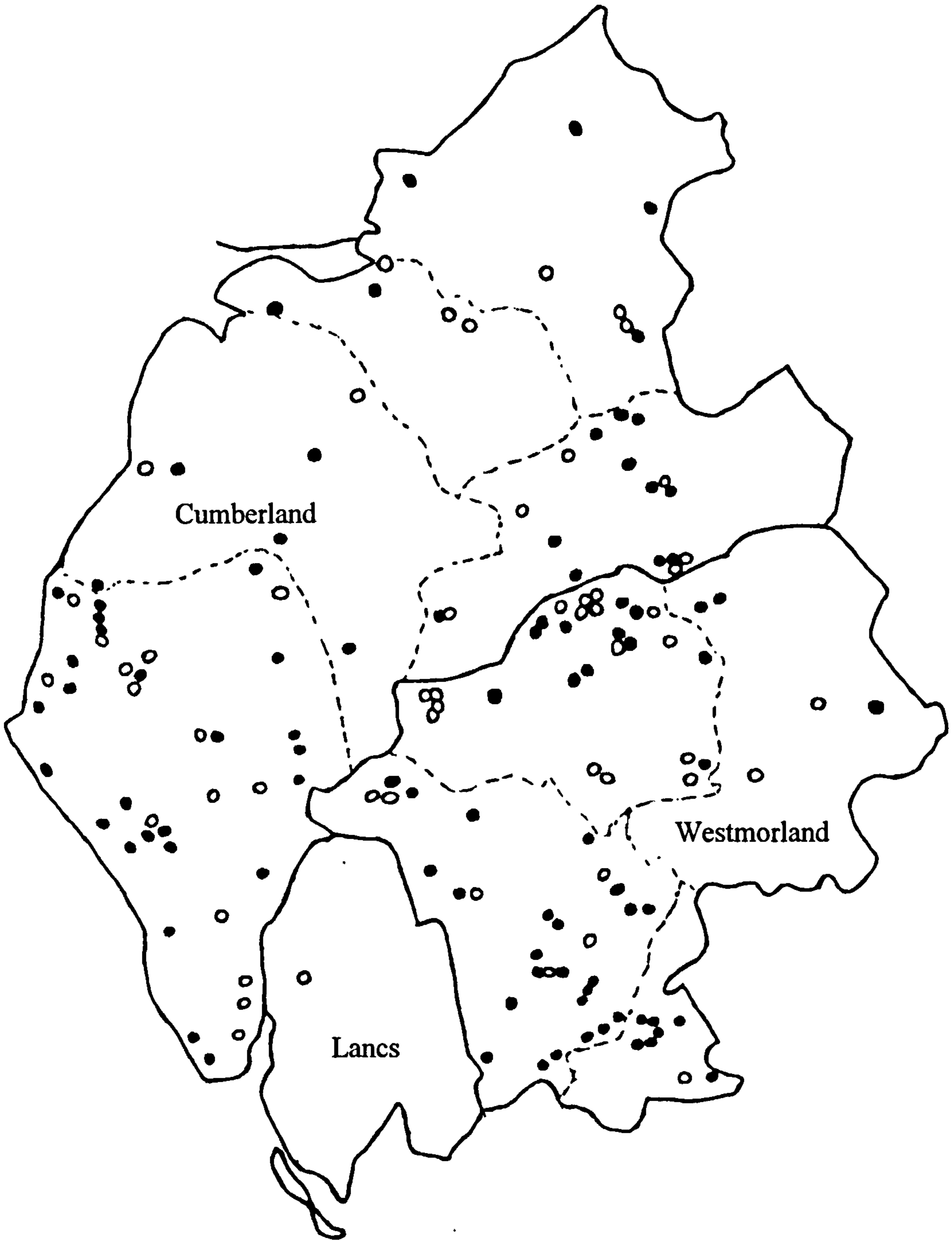
Map 1: Areas of Germanic Settlement Density



Map 2: The Inversion-Compounds of the Western Seaboard

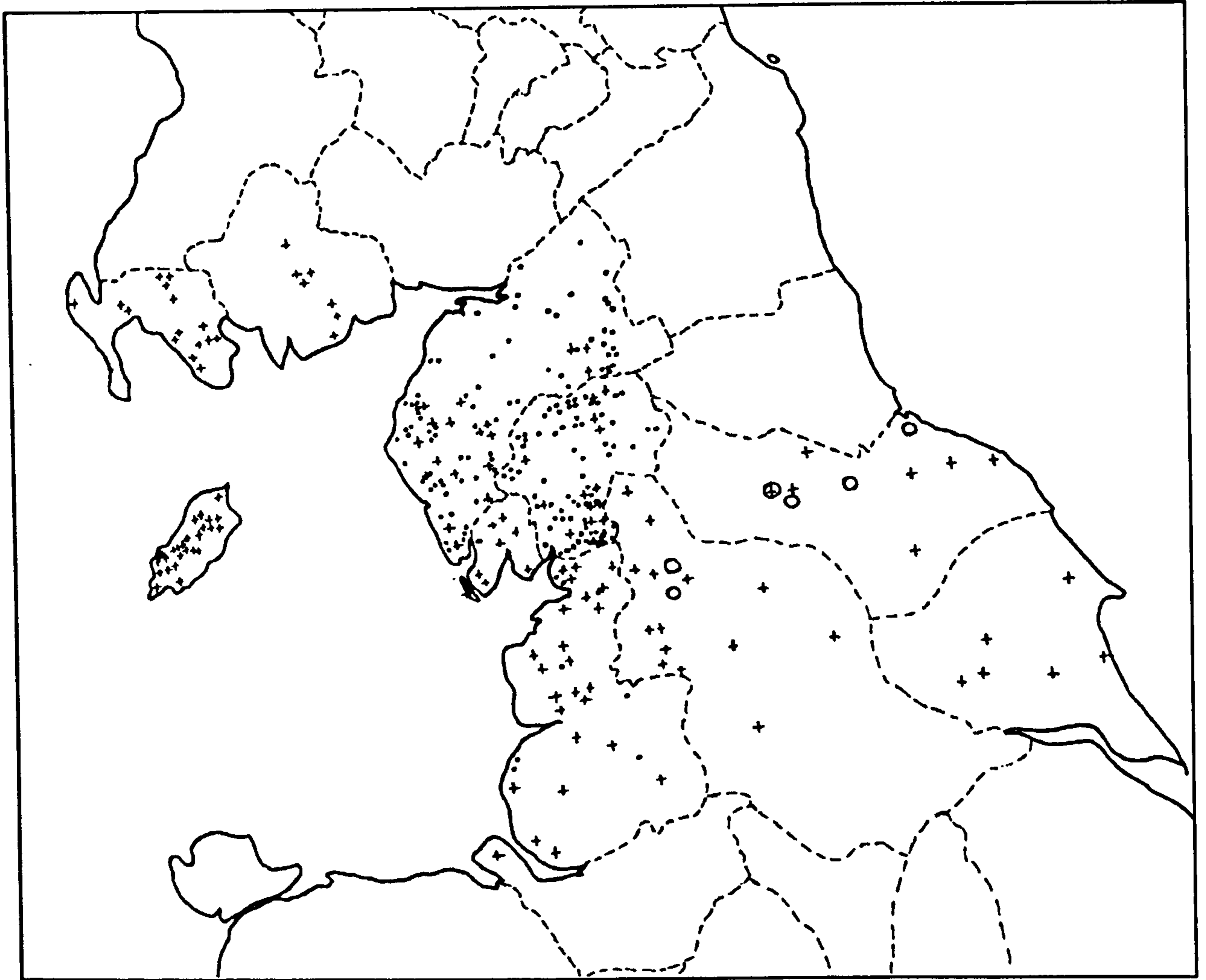


Map 3: The Dating of the Inversion-Compounds



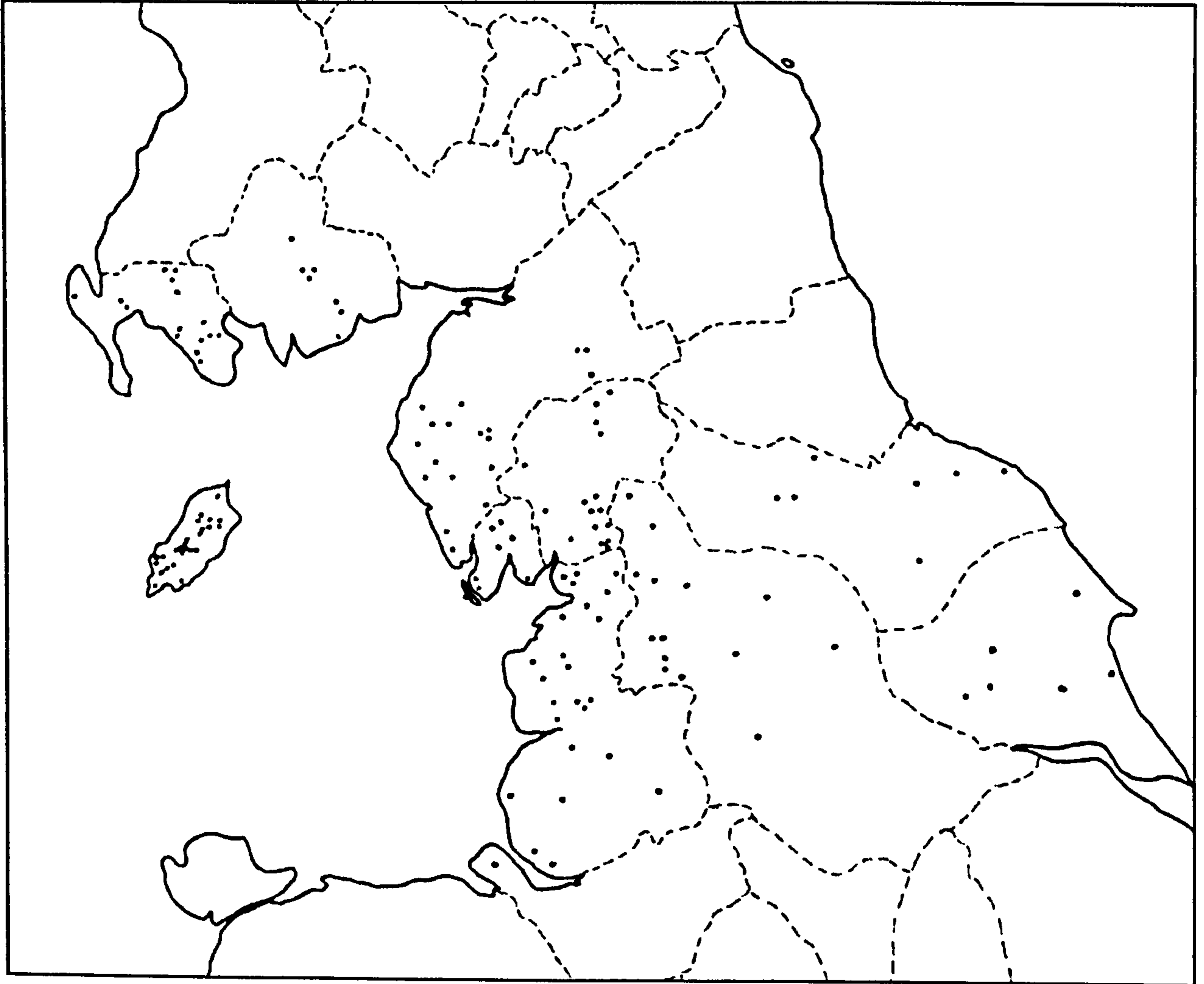
- Inversion-Compounds which are likely to pre-date the Norman Conquest
- Inversion-Compounds which are likely to post-date the Norman Conquest

Map 4: The Yorkshire Inversion-Compounds

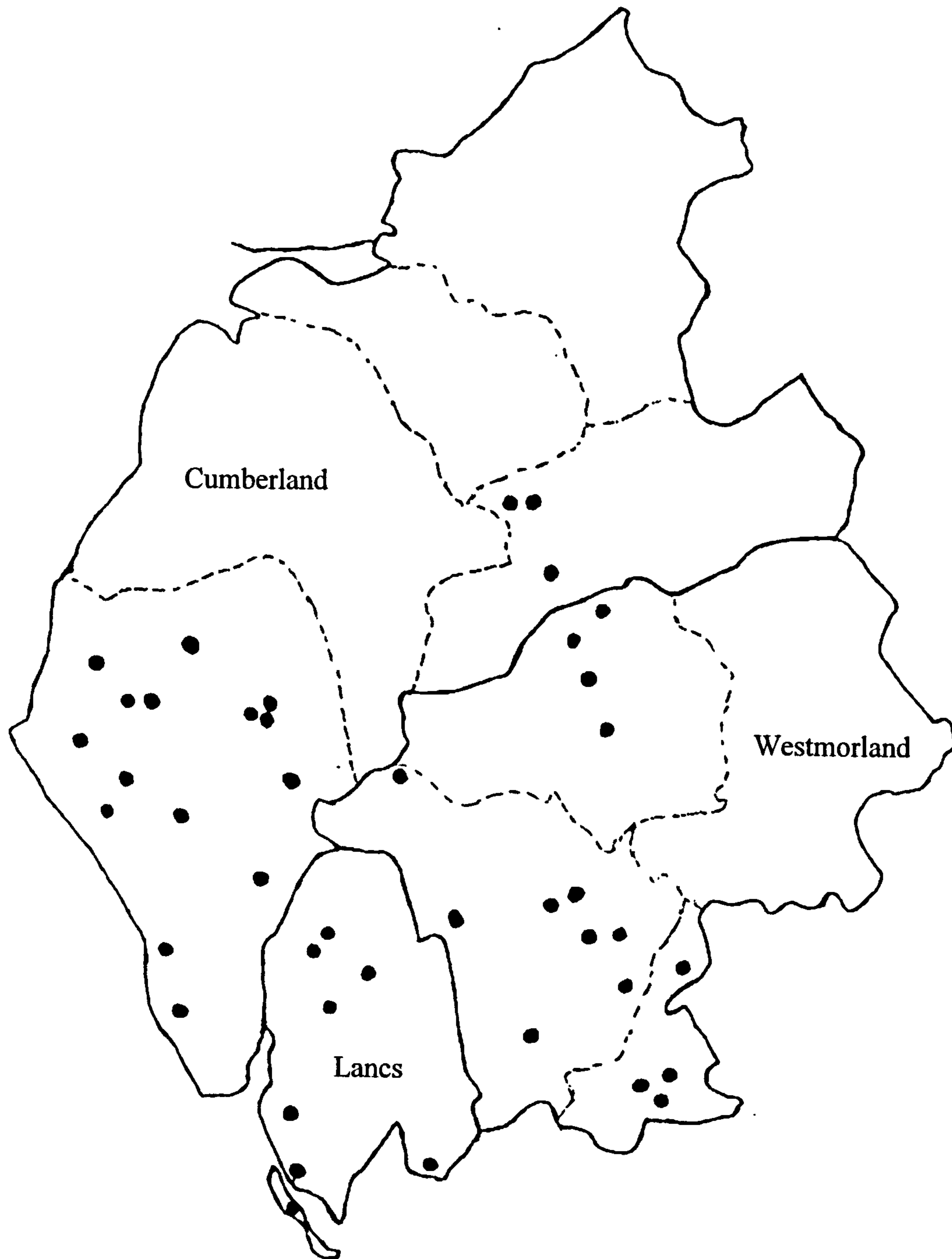


- Established Inversion-Compound Names
- + *Ærgi* Names
- Potential Inversion-Compound Names in Yorkshire

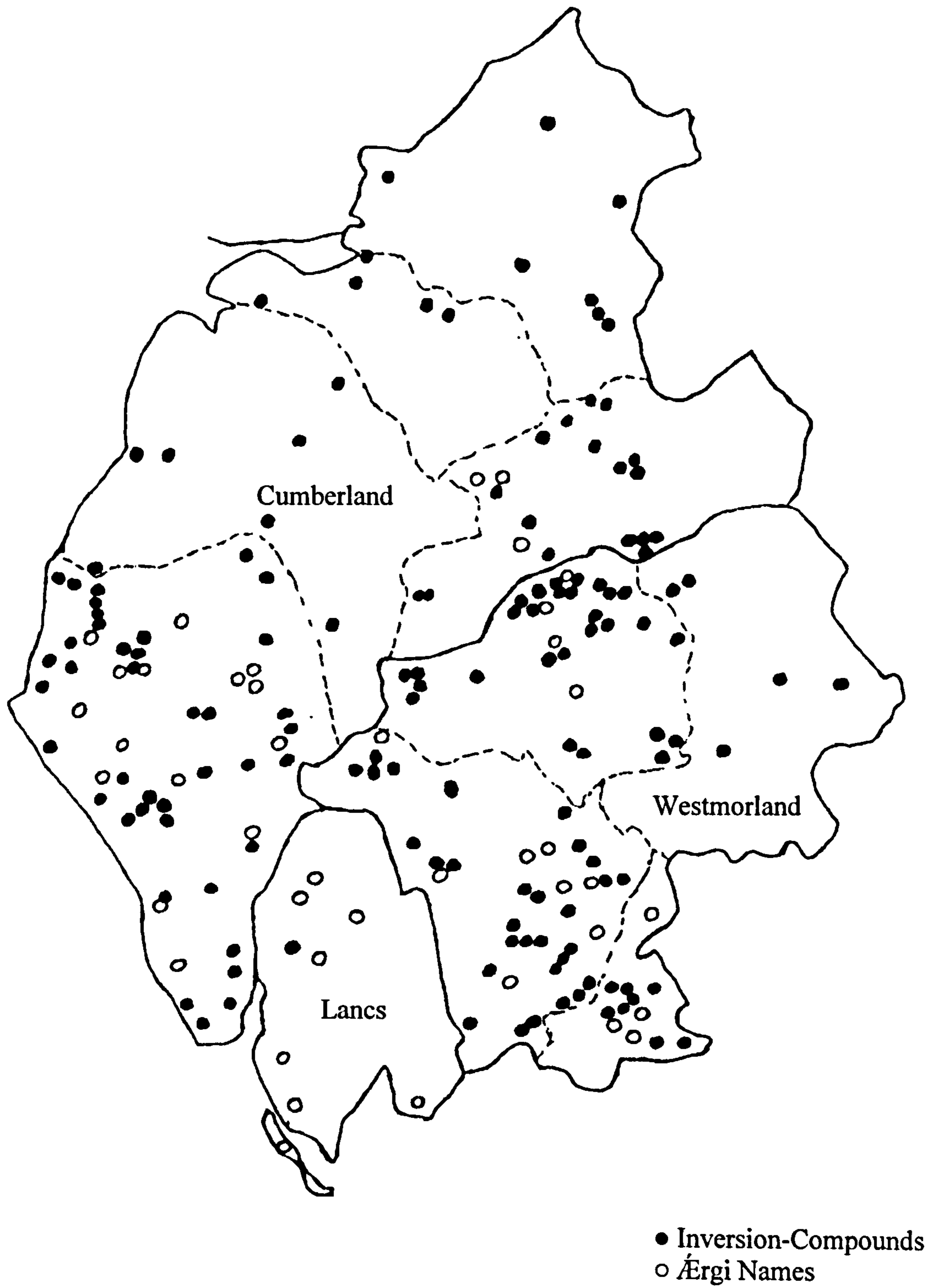
Map 5: The *Árgi* Names of the Western Seaboard



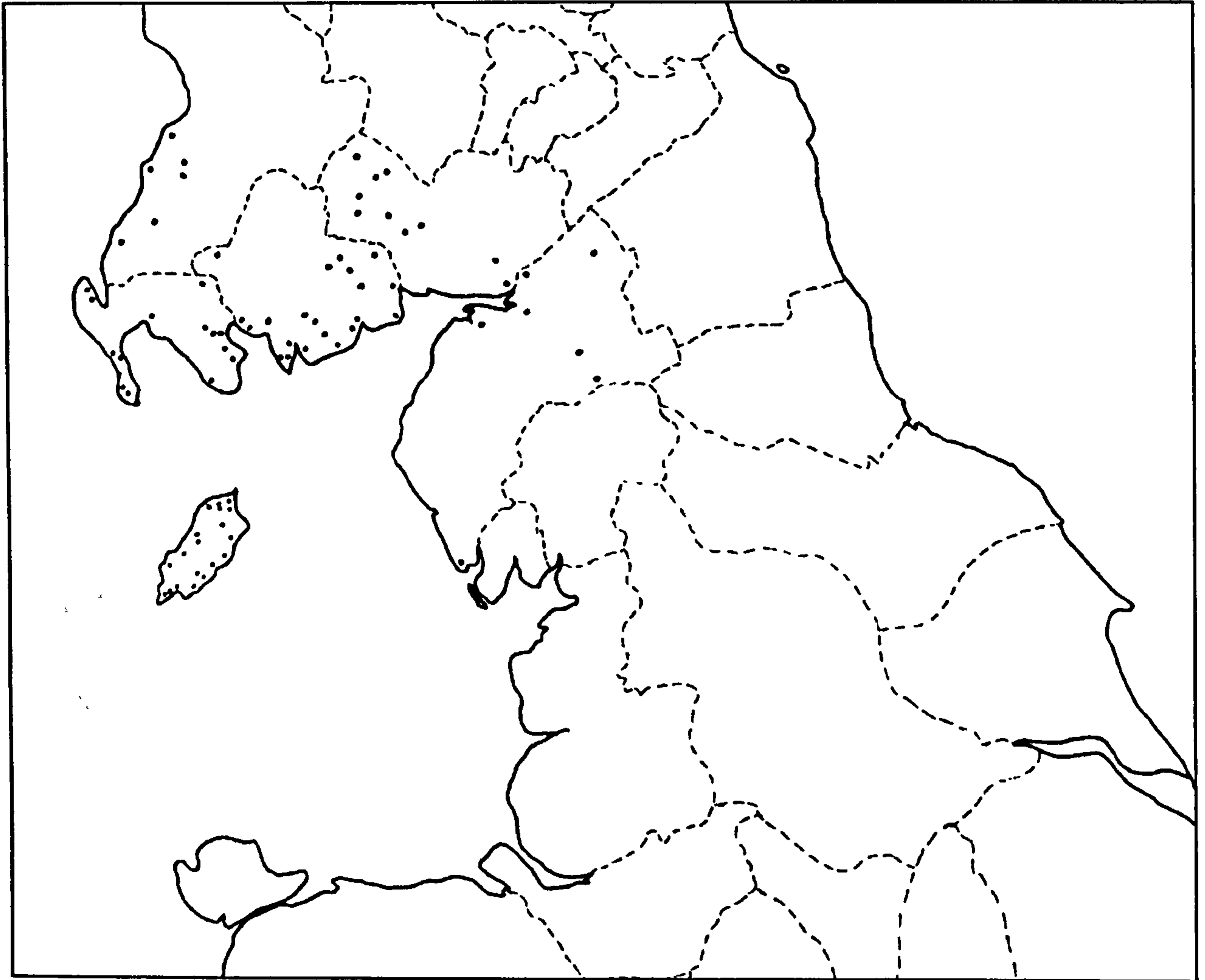
Map 6: Ærgi Names in Cumberland and Westmorland



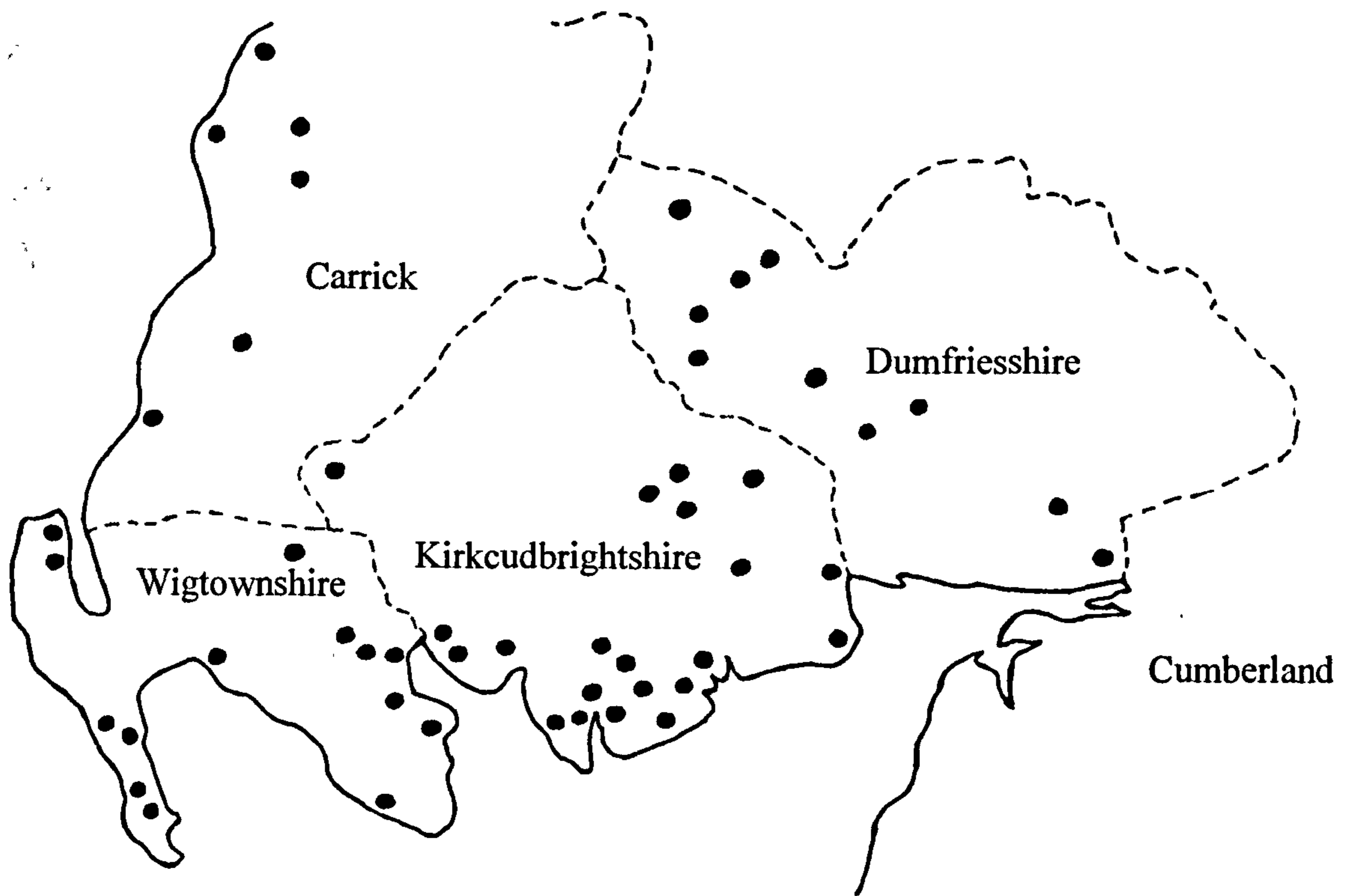
Map 7: Distribution of Inversion-Compounds and Ærgi Names



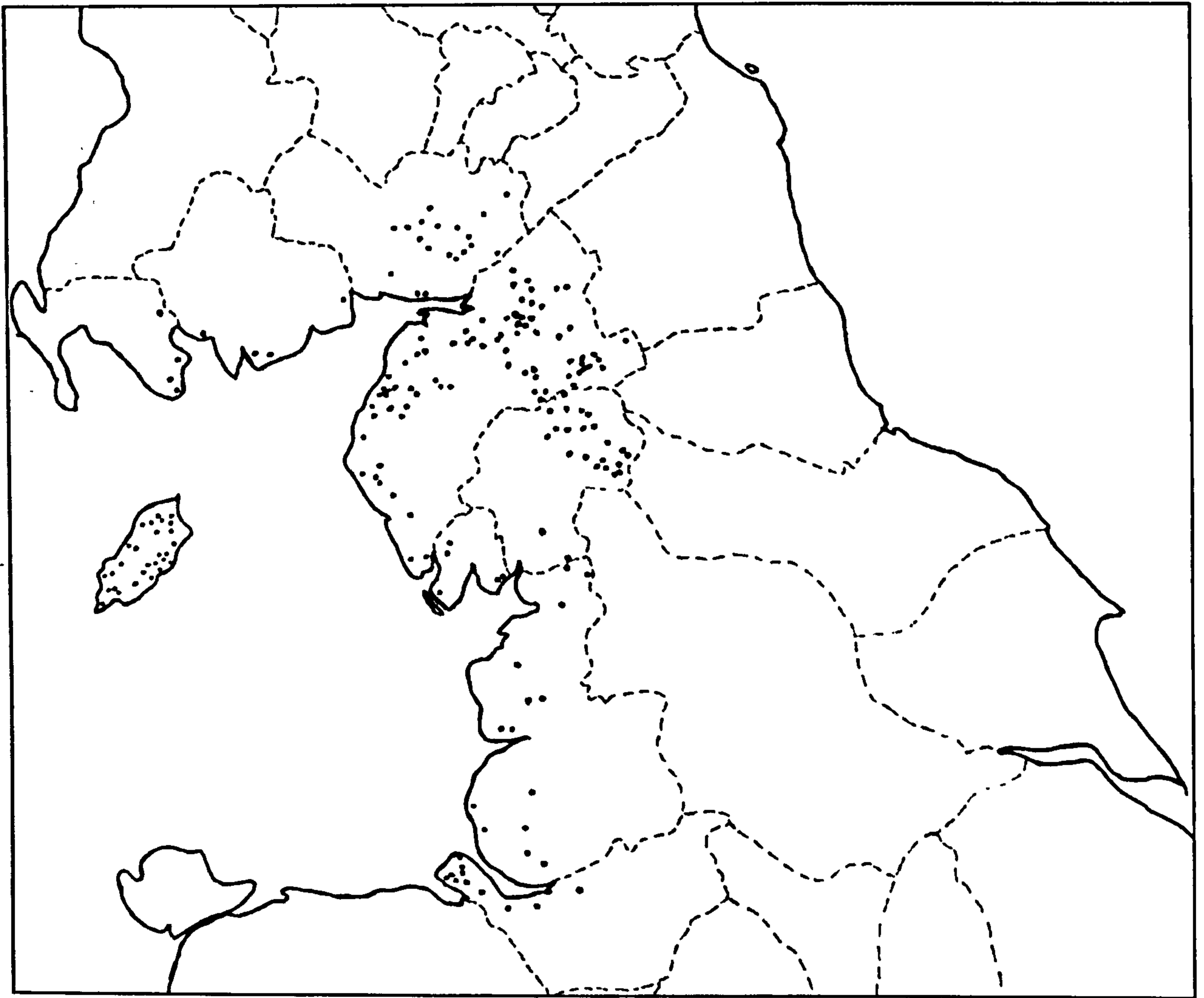
Map 8: The *Kirk-* Compounds of the Western Seaboard



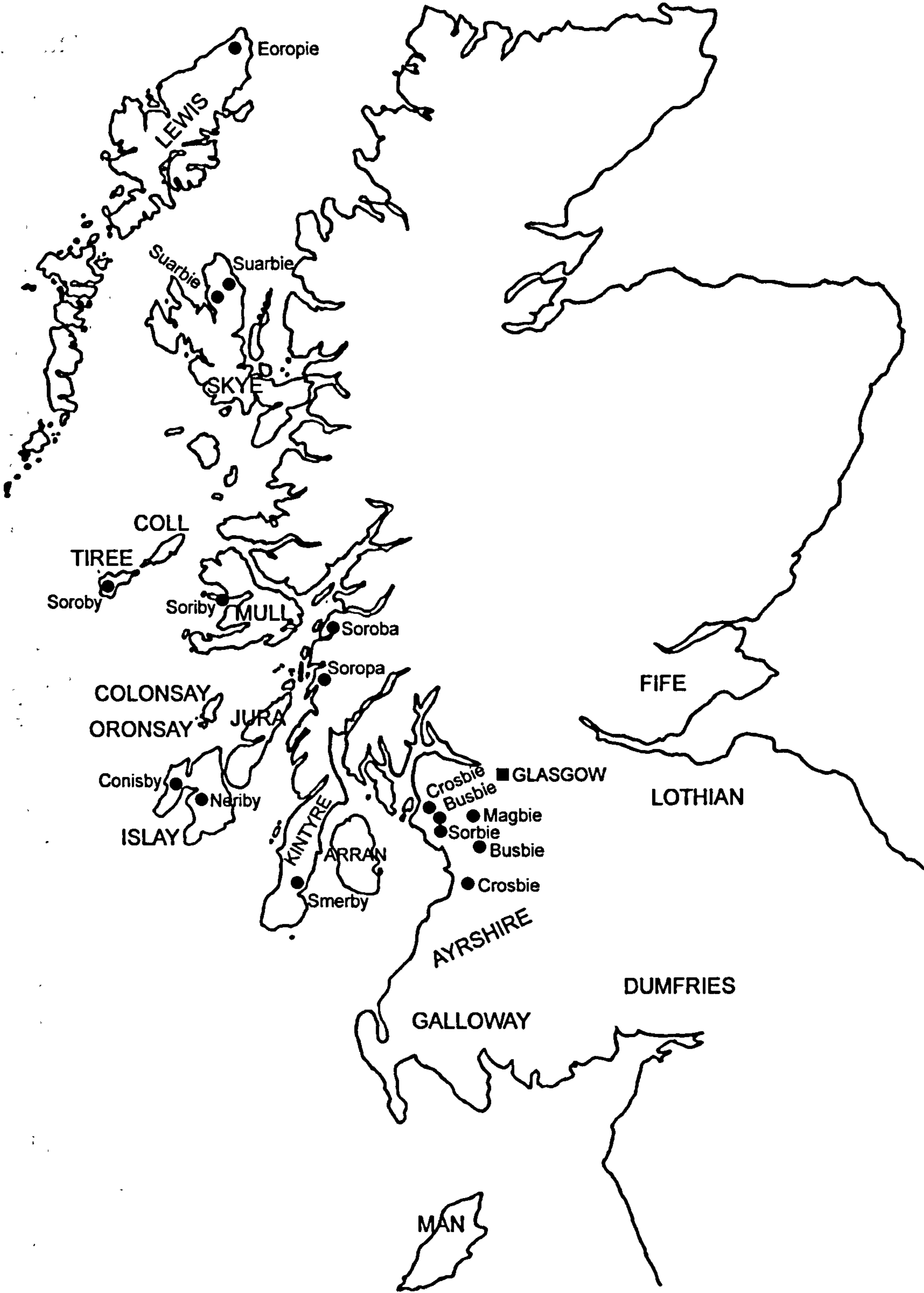
Map 9: Kirk- Compounds in South-West Scotland



Map 10: The Bý Names of the Western Seaboard



Map 12: The Ayrshire *Bý* Names and Related Place-Names



APPENDIX A: The Inversion-Compounds

Part One: The Etymologies of the Inversion-Compounds

Westmorland

- Beck Mouray:** ON *bekkr* 'stream' + pers.n.? [f]
Becmelbrid: ON *bekkr* 'stream' + Gael. pers.n. *Maelbrigde* [f]
Brigsteer: OE *brycg* [or ON *bryggja* FJ] 'bridge' + ON pers.n. *Styrr* or OE *stēor* 'young bullock' perh. as pers.n.
Bryggrys: OE *brycg* or ON *bryggja* 'bridge' + OE *hrīs* or ON *hrís* 'brushwood' [f]
Carhullan: W *cær* 'fort' or OE *carr* 'rock' or Gael *carr* 'rocky ledge' + OE p.n. *Hōland* [or a byname from ON **hollandr* 'helper']
Cnotlinild: ON *knōttr* 'rocky hill-top' + perh. OE fem. pers.n. *Lēofhild* [f]
Crag Mollet: ME *cragge* 'crag, rock' + ME surn. *Molet*
Croft Aikin: OE *croft* 'enclosure' + surn. *Ai(t)ken* [f]
Croft Drinkle: OE *croft* 'enclosure' + ? [f]
Croftgrime: OE *croft* 'enclosure' + ON pers.n. *Grímr*
Croftsnegrim: OE *croft* 'enclosure' + ON pers.n. **Snægrímr* [f]
Crosscrake: OE *cross* [ON from Gael *kross* FJ] 'cross' + ON pers.n. *Kraki* [or *Krákr* or fem *Kráka* FJ]
Cross Dormant: ON *tros* 'waste, brushwood' + ON pers.n. *Þormódr*
Dob Friear: perh. ME *dodde* 'rounded hilltop' + ME *frere* 'friar' [f]
Fitnenin: ON *fit* 'riverside pasture' + ON pers.n. *Nenninn* [byname from ON *nenninn* 'active']
Gillkicke: ON *gil* 'ravine' + perh. surn. *Kick* [f]
Gill Mickle: ON *gil* 'ravine' + perh. pers.n. *Michael* [ON *Mikiáll*] [f]
Gillthrotten: ON *gil* 'ravine' + ME *Trot(h)an* perh. from Gael *Treoddán* [f]
Gilshaughlin: ON *gil* 'ravine' + perh. Gael pers.n. *Sochlachlán* or less likely, ME byname *Scauhling* or *Shaffling* 'infirm in gait'
Glenamara: Brit *glennos*, W *glyn* 'glen' + unidentified pers.n. *
Glencoynne: Brit *glennos*, W *glyn* 'glen' + perh. W *cawn* 'reed-grass' *
Glen Dowlin: Gael *glenn*, W *glyn* 'glen'+ perh. Gael pers.n. *Dubline* *
Glenridding: Brit *glennos*, W *glyn* 'glen' + W *rhedyn* 'fern, bracken' *
Glentreske: Gael *glenn*, W *glyn* 'glen'+ perh. M.Ir *tresc* 'refuse' [f] *
Goodhamscales: ON *skálar* 'shielings' + OE pers.n. *Godwine* [recorded 1241-46 as *Skailere-goodwine*]
Halecat: OE *halh* 'nook of land' or ON *hali* 'animal's tail' + ON pers.n. *Káti* [or *Kátr* / *Kat* FJ] or OE *catt* [or ON *kōttr* FJ] 'cat'
Holehird: OE, ON *hol* 'hole, hollow' + surn. *Hird*, *Hyrde*
Holme Lyon: ON *holmr* 'water meadow' + ME pers.n. *Ligulf*, *Liolf* [or ON **Liulfr* FJ]
Hovedh Kellan: ON *hofuð* 'head(land)' + Gael pers.n. *Cellán*, *Ciallán* [f]
Howarcles: ON *haugr* 'hill' + perh. ON pers.n. *Arnketill* or ME *Arkil*
Howe Carl: ON *haugr* 'hill' + ON pers.n. *Karl*
Howe Renwick: ON *haugr* 'hill' + surn. *Renwick*
Howe Robin: ON *haugr* 'hill' + pers.n. *Robin*

How Gowen:	ON <i>haugr</i> 'hill' + Scots surn. <i>Gowan</i> [fr. Gael <i>gobhann</i> 'smith'] [f]
Hustad Heylrig:	ON * <i>hús-staðr</i> 'house-site' + perh. a mistake for surn. from <i>Hazel Rigg</i> [f]
Keldekeran:	ON <i>kelda</i> 'spring' + Gael pers.n. <i>Ciarán</i> [f]
Keldowansik:	ON <i>kelda</i> 'spring' + ME pers.n. <i>Oweyn</i> [from OW <i>Ouein</i>] [f]
Knottkanan:	ON <i>knotttr</i> 'rocky hilltop' + Gael pers.n. <i>Canainn</i> , <i>Canánn</i> or <i>Conán</i>
Long-Adam:	OE <i>land</i> , ON <i>land</i> 'estate, cultivated land' + pers.n. <i>Adam</i> [f]
Merskenen:	OE <i>mersc</i> 'marsh' + Gael pers.n. <i>Cennán</i> [f]
Moor Divock:	OE, ON <i>mōr</i> 'moor' + Celt pers.n. corresponding to W <i>Dyfog</i>
Pen Clarke:	OW <i>penn</i> 'hill' + perh. name <i>Clarke</i> [f]
Pool Darkin:	Gael <i>poll</i> 'pool' or OE <i>pōl</i> , <i>pull</i> 'pool, stream' + perh. Gael pers.n. * <i>Dercan</i> [dimin. of Gael <i>Derg</i> , <i>Derc</i>]
Powbrand Sike:	Gael <i>poll</i> 'pool' + ON pers.n. <i>Brandr</i>
Powdonnet:	Gael <i>poll</i> 'pool' + ME surn. <i>Donat</i> , or OW form <i>Dunaut</i>
Raiseherling:	ON <i>hreysi</i> 'cairn' + ON pers.n. <i>Erlingr</i> [f]
Rigg Brown:	ON <i>hryggr</i> 'ridge' + perh. ON pers.n. <i>Brúni</i>
Rigg Brunild:	ON <i>hryggr</i> 'ridge' + ON fem. pers.n. <i>Brynhildr</i> or ME <i>Brunhild</i>
Rigmaden:	ON <i>hryggr</i> 'ridge' + OE <i>mægden</i> 'maiden'
Rigrinmelsuthen:	prob. ME <i>rigging</i> 'ridge' + Gael pers.n. <i>Maelsuthan</i> [f]
Rokeraithe:	perh. ME <i>rokke</i> 'rock' + ON byname <i>Reyðr</i> or * <i>Reiðr</i>
Rongainer:	ON <i>runnr</i> 'thicket' + ME pers.n. from <i>gainere</i> 'farmer' [f]
Rus Mickle:	perh. OE <i>risc</i> 'rush bed' or ON * <i>rust</i> 'small wood' + pers.n. <i>Michael</i> [ON <i>Mikiáll</i>]
Satearngrim:	ON <i>sætr</i> 'shieling' + ON pers.n. <i>Arngrímr</i> [f]
Sattereven:	ON <i>sætr</i> 'shieling' + perh. a pers.n.
Scam Matthew:	perh. ModE dial. <i>scam</i> 'spot, stain, blemish' or an error for ME <i>scar</i> < ON <i>sker</i> 'rock, rocky outcrop' + perh. surn. <i>Mathew</i>
Scarthulfe:	ON <i>skarð</i> 'gap, pass' + ON pers.n. <i>Ulfr</i> [f]
Seat Robert:	ON <i>sæti</i> 'seat' + ME pers.n. <i>Robert</i>
Seat Sandal:	ON <i>sætr</i> 'seat' + ON pers.n. <i>Sondulfr</i>
Slack Randy:	ON <i>slakki</i> 'hollow' + pers.n. or surn. <i>Randy</i> [pet form of <i>Randolph</i>]
Stainburild:	ON <i>steinn</i> 'stone' + OE fem. pers.n. <i>Burghild</i> [f]
Stangana:	perh. ON <i>stong</i> 'post, pole' + perh. a pers.n. [maybe fem. pers.n. <i>Anna</i>]
Sti Coleman:	ON <i>stígr</i> , OE <i>stīg</i> 'path' + Gael pers.n. <i>Colmán</i> [f]
Stone Arthur:	perh. <i>stone</i> 'stone' + pers.n. <i>Arthur</i>
Swarther:	ON <i>buð</i> 'booth' + ON <i>svartr</i> , <i>hofuð</i> , 'black, head' or perh. ON pers.n. <i>Svarthofði</i> (recorded 1200-46 as <i>Bouthswardhout</i>)
Sykewillans:	OE <i>sīc</i> , ON <i>sik</i> 'stream' + ME pers.n. <i>Willen</i> , <i>Wyllyn</i> [variants of <i>William</i>] [f]
Tarn Tessick:	perh. ON <i>tjorn</i> 'tarn' + perh. a pers.n. [f]
Thwaytlenkyld:	ON <i>þveit</i> 'clearing' + pers.n. perh. from OE <i>Lēofcild</i> [f]
Trerankelborhan:	perh. W <i>tre(f)</i> 'farmstead' or ON <i>tré</i> 'tree' + p.n. with ON pers.n. <i>Hrafnkell</i> + OE <i>burgæsn</i> 'burial place' [f]
Wath Sutton:	ON <i>vað</i> 'ford' + Gael pers.n. <i>Suthán</i>
Withecat:	perh. ON <i>viðr</i> 'wood' + ON pers.n. <i>Káti</i> [f]

holme Camok:	ON <i>holmr</i> 'water meadow' + ? [f]
Holweri:	ON <i>holmr</i> 'water meadow' + cont. pers.n. <i>Werri</i>
Hou Groucok:	ON <i>haugr</i> 'hill' + perh. ME <i>Grewcok</i> [from F <i>grue</i> 'crane'] [f]
Hovedhgleuermerhe:	ON <i>hofuð</i> 'head' + ON (at) <i>gliúfrum</i> 'at the ravines' + ON <i>érgi</i> 'shieling' or ON <i>glæfra-merki</i> 'boundary-mark of the chasms'
Hovedscaldale:	ON <i>hofuð</i> 'head' + ON <i>skalli</i> 'bald' [used as nickname] + ON <i>dalr</i>
How Michael:	ON <i>haugr</i> 'hill' + pers.n. <i>Michael</i>
Keldhouse:	ON <i>kelda</i> 'spring' + ON pers.n. <i>Uspak</i>
Kirkandrews:	ON <i>kirkja</i> 'church' + Saint's name <i>Andrew</i>
Kirkandrews (Eden):	ON <i>kirkja</i> 'church' + Saint's name <i>Andrew</i>
Kirkandrews (Wood):	ON <i>kirkja</i> 'church' + Saint's name <i>Andrew</i>
Kirkbride:	ON <i>kirkja</i> 'church' + Celtic Saint's name <i>Bride</i>
Kirkbrynnok:	ON <i>kirkja</i> 'church' + Celtic Saint's name <i>Brynach</i>
Kirkebibeccoch:	ON <i>kirkiubýr</i> 'settlement with a church' + Gael pers.n. <i>Beghóc</i> [dimin. of Irish Saint's name <i>Begu</i>]
Kirkeby Crossan:	ON <i>kirkiubýr</i> 'settlement with a church' + Gael pers.n. <i>Cros(s)an</i>
Kirkoswald:	ON <i>kirkja</i> 'church' + Saint's name <i>Oswald</i>
Kirksanton:	ON <i>kirkja</i> 'church' + Celtic Saint's name <i>Sanctán, Santán</i>
Mockerin:	ON * <i>moldi</i> 'top of the head' [or ON <i>mold</i> , OE <i>molde</i> 'earth, ground, land' FJ] + Gael pers.n. <i>Cor(c)cán</i>
Polgaver:	W <i>pwll</i> 'pool, stream' + W <i>gafr</i> 'goat' *
Poll Waðæn:	Gael <i>poll</i> 'pool' + ?
Polneuton:	Gael <i>poll</i> 'pool' + OE <i>neuton</i> 'new settlement'
Poltross Burn:	W <i>pwll</i> , Cornish <i>poll</i> 'pool, stream' + ON <i>tros</i> 'waste, brushwood' or Cumbric <i>trus</i> 'doorway, gap, pass' *
Powmaugham Beck:	W <i>pwll</i> 'pool, stream' + OW pers.n. <i>Merchiaun</i> *
Satgodard:	ON <i>sætr</i> 'seat' + cont. pers.n. <i>Godard</i>
Scarrowmanwick:	ON <i>skálar</i> [ON <i>skálar</i> FJ] 'huts' + perh. pers.n. from OE <i>mann</i> or Gael pers.n. <i>Maenach</i> or Gael <i>manaich</i> [gen. sing. of <i>manach</i> 'monk']
Seatallan:	ON <i>sætr</i> 'seat' + Breton pers.n. <i>Alein</i>
Seatoller:	ON <i>sætr</i> 'seat' + OE <i>alor</i> 'alder tree' or ON pers. n. <i>Halldor</i>
Seteknoc:	ON <i>sætr</i> 'seat' + Gael <i>cnocc</i> 'hillock' or Gael pers. n. * <i>Conoc</i> , <i>Conmac</i> [f]
Setforn:	ON <i>sætr</i> 'seat' + ON pers.n. <i>Forni</i> [f]
Setmabanning:	ON <i>sætr</i> 'seat' + Gael pers.n. <i>Banán</i> [with prefix <i>ma-</i> or <i>mo-</i> 'my']
Setmurthy:	ON <i>sætr</i> 'seat' + Gael pers.n. <i>Muiredach</i>
Skalmallok:	ON <i>skálar</i> [ON <i>skálar</i> FJ] 'huts' + Gael pers.n. <i>Macóg</i> [dimin. of <i>Mac</i>]
Snabmurris:	ME <i>snabbi</i> 'steep place, point' + F. pers.n. <i>Maurice</i>
Stanbrennan:	ON <i>steinn</i> 'stone' + Gael pers.n. <i>Branán</i>
Staynlenoc:	ON <i>steinn</i> 'stone' + Gael pers.n. * <i>Lennóc</i> [dimin. of <i>Lend</i>]
Stibenet:	OE <i>stīg</i> , ON <i>stígr</i> 'path' + pers.n. <i>Benedict</i> [f]
Styalein:	OE <i>stīg</i> , ON <i>stígr</i> 'path' + Breton pers.n. <i>Alein</i>
Tarngunerigg:	ON <i>tiqrn</i> 'tarn' + ON pers.n. <i>Gunnar</i> + ON <i>hryggr</i> 'ridge' [f]
Tarn Wadling:	ON <i>tiqrn</i> 'tarn' + OW pers.n. <i>Gwyddelan</i>
Ternmeran:	ON <i>tiqrn</i> 'tarn' + prob. W pers. n. <i>Meriaun</i>
Thueitdounegaleg:	ON <i>þveit</i> 'clearing' + Gael pers.n. <i>Dungal</i> + ME <i>haye</i> 'enclosure' added later [or Gael pers.n. <i>Dūngalach</i> FJ]

Warthcreggles: ON *varði* 'cairn' + ? [f]
Watchcomon: ON *varði* 'cairn' [or ON *vorðr* 'watch, look-out' FJ] + Gael pers.n.
Colmán

Lancashire

Halecath: OE *halh* 'nook of land' or ON *hali* 'animal's tail' + ON pers.n.
Káti [or *Kátr* / *Kat* FJ] or OE *catt* [or ON *kaþtr* FJ] 'cat'
Rigsumerild: ON *hryggr*, OE *hrycg* 'ridge' + ON pers.n. **Sumarhildr* or ON
Sumarliði or OE *Sumarlidi*
Rudswain: perh. ON *ruð* 'clearing' + ON pers.n. *Sveinn*
Scartherwimer: ON *skarð* 'notch, cleft' [plu.] + OE pers.n. *Wulfmóer*
Starhouraven: ON **storrhaugr* 'star, hillock' + ON pers.n. *Hrafn*
Twaitkendenan: ON *þveit* 'clearing' + perh. a pers.n.

Doubtful

Bryning: ON **Bjárstaðr* 'farmstead' + ON pers.n. *Brýningr*, or OE p.n.
**Bryningas* (recorded 1200 as *Birstaf Brinning*)
Laithgryme: ON *leið* 'path' + ON pers.n. *Grímr* or ON *leið-gríma* 'path-marker'
Leagram: ON *hlaða* 'barn' + ON pers.n. *Grímr* or ON *leið-gríma* 'path-
marker'

Sources and Abbreviations

Information on the specific elements of the Cumberland and Westmorland names is principally from the respective EPNS county volumes. Information on the Lancashire names is principally from Ekwall's *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England* and *The Place-Names of Lancashire*. Etymologies marked [FJ] are from Fellows-Jensen's more recent work *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, and as such, are to be considered more reliable than those given in older works.

Entries followed by a * symbol could well be ordinary Celtic compounds, rather than genuine inversion-compounds.

[f] – field-name

F - French

Gael – This refers to the Goidelic language in general, without distinction between Irish and Scots Gaelic.

pers.n. – personal name

p.n. – place-name

W - Welsh

Part Two: Historical Forms of the Inversion-Compounds

Westmorland

- Beck Mouray:** *Beck Mouray* (1847)
- Becmelbrid:** *Becmelbrid* (1274)
- Brigsteer:** *Brig(ge)stere, Brigestere, Bryg(ge)stere* (1227-37)
Brygster (1265-75)
Brygsteer(e) (1553)
Brygstear(e) (1559)
Brygestre (1537)
Brigstre (1569)
Brygsteire (1608)
- Bryggrys:** *Bryggrys* (1452)
Briggres (1530)
- Carhullan:** *Carholand* (1420)
Carehullend (1540)
Carehullan (1540)
Carhullan (1617, 1653)
Carhullon (1658)
Charhullen (1698)
Carehullen (1777)
- Cnotlinild:** *Cnotlinild, Knotlinild* (1154-89, 1214-20)
- Crag Mollet:** *Crag Mollet* (1857)
- Croft Aikin:** *Croft Aikin* (1839)
- Croft Drinkle:** *Croft Drinkle* (1840)
- Croftgrime:** *Crofte(s)grime, Croftscrim* (a.1300)
Croftgryme (1376)
- Croftsnegrim:** *Crof(t)snegrim(e)* (1179)
- Crosscrake:** *Croskrake, Croscrak(e)* (1275-79, 1282-90)
Crossecrack (1310)
Crostrake (1547)
- Cross Dormant:** *Trostermod* (1202)
Trostormot (1256)
Trostormode (1275)
Strostermod (1276)

	<i>Trosthormot</i> (1278) <i>Trostormoth</i> (1279)*
Dob Friear:	<i>Dobfreer</i> (1584) <i>Dobbe Freer</i> (1594) <i>Dob-ffreare</i> (1613) <i>Dobbfryer</i> (1653) <i>Dob Friear</i> (1706)
Fitnenin:	<i>Fithnenin</i> (1170-75) <i>Fyt(e)nenyn</i> (1290)
Gillkicke:	<i>Gilkicke</i> (1836)
Gill Mickle:	<i>Gill Mickle</i> (1836)
Gillthrotten:	<i>Gil(l)throton</i> (1690) <i>Gillthrotten</i> (1836)
Gilshaughlin:	<i>Shawglynge</i> (1523) <i>Guillshafling</i> (1611) <i>Gillshaflinge</i> (1626) <i>Gil(l)shaf(f)lin</i> (1702, 1740) <i>Gylsauhfiling</i> (1675)*
Glenamara:	<i>Glemorye parke</i> (1588) <i>Glenmer park</i> (1589) <i>Glenner park</i> (1629) <i>Glenmara park</i> (1777) <i>Blemara park</i> (1860)
Glencoyne:	<i>Glencaine</i> (1212) <i>Glenekone</i> (1255) <i>Clencon</i> (1291) <i>Glencone</i> (1377, 1399) <i>Glenkun</i> (1425) <i>Glencoyne</i> (1443)*
Glen Dowlin:	<i>Glen Dowlin</i> (1843)
Glenridding:	<i>Glenredyn</i> (1292) <i>Glenridding(e), Glenriddyng</i> (1426, 1588) <i>Glen Roden</i> (1577) <i>Glenkroden</i> (1622) <i>Glenrhodden Beck</i> (1777) <i>Glenridden(beck)</i> (1777)
Glentreske:	<i>Glentreske</i> (a.1184)

Goodhamscales:	<i>Skaillere-goodwine</i> (1241-46) <i>Godwinscales</i> (1283) <i>Goodhamscales</i> (1836)
Halecat:	<i>Hale Cat, Hale kat</i> (1256) <i>Halkat</i> (1280, 1354) <i>Hall catt</i> (1631) <i>Halecatt</i> (1770)
Holehird:	<i>Holehird</i> (1865)
Holme Lyon:	<i>Holmlyolfbank</i> (1349) <i>Holmliosbank</i> (1349) <i>Holme Lion</i> (1836)
Hovedh Kellan:	<i>Hovedh Kellan</i> (1175-84)
Howarcles:	<i>How harkles</i> (1841)
Howe Carl:	<i>Howe Carl</i> (no date)
Howe Renwick:	<i>Howrennok(e)</i> (1539, 1631) <i>Howrenick</i> (1637) <i>How-Rennick</i> (1704)
Howe Robin:	<i>Howe Robin</i> (1859)
How Gowen:	<i>How Gowen</i> (1843)
Hustad Heylrig:	<i>Hustad Heylrig</i> (1235-68)
Keldekeran:	<i>Keldekeran</i> (a.1276)
Keldowansik:	<i>Keldowansik</i> (13 th C) <i>Chelhowaynsike</i> (1202)
Knottkanan:	<i>Knottkanan(e), Knotcanane</i> (1220-47, 1278) <i>Knotcanen, Knochanan</i> (1279)
Long-Adam:	<i>Landadam</i> (1366) <i>Long-Adam</i> (1704)
Merskenen:	<i>Merskenen</i> (1235)
Moor Divock:	<i>Moreduvock</i> (1278) <i>Moor-dovack</i> (1793) <i>Dovach Moor</i> (1823) <i>Moor-Divock</i> (1865)

Pen Clarke:	<i>Pen Clarke</i> (1578)
Pool Darkin:	<i>the great Powdarkin, little Powdarkin</i> (1707) <i>Pow-darking Bridge</i> (1771) <i>Pool Durkin</i> (1845)
Powbrand Sike:	<i>Powbrand Sike</i> (no date)
Powdonnet:	<i>Powdonet</i> (1637) <i>Powdonad</i> (1705)
Raiseherling:	<i>Raiseherling</i> (1220-46)
Rigg Brown:	<i>Rigg Brown</i> (no date)
Rigg Brunild:	<i>Rigbrunild</i> (1180-1200, c.1207, 1243-45)
Rigmaden:	<i>Rig(g)maiden, Ryg(g)maiden</i> (1255, 1292) <i>Ryggemaiden, Ryggemayden</i> (1255, 1292) <i>Rigmaddin</i> (1610) <i>Rigmaden</i> (1647)
Rigrinmelsuthen:	<i>Rigrinmelsuthen</i> (1190-99)
Rokeraithe:	<i>Rokeraithe</i> (1216-72)
Rongainer:	<i>Rongainer</i> (c.1240) <i>Rungayner, Rongayner</i> (1260, a.1286) <i>Langrongayner</i> (a.1300)
Rus Mickle:	<i>Rusmickle</i> (1535, 1667) <i>Rushmickle</i> (1785)
Satearngrim:	<i>Satearngrim</i> (1180-1206)
Sattereeven:	<i>Sattereeven</i> (1859)
Scam Matthew:	<i>Scam Matthew</i> (1859)
Scarthulfe:	<i>Scarthulfe</i> (c.1195)
Seat Robert:	<i>Seat Robert</i> (1859)
Seat Sandal:	<i>Satsondolf</i> (1274) <i>the Sate Sandall, the Heid of Sandall</i> (16 th C) <i>Seat Sandall</i> (1614) <i>Seat-sandle</i> (1793) <i>Seat Sandel</i> (1823)

Slack Randy:	<i>Slack Randy</i> (1859)
Stainburild:	<i>Stainburild</i> (1220-46)
Stangana:	<i>Stangana Moss</i> (1837)
Sti Coleman:	<i>sti Coleman</i> (1205-16)
Stone Arthur:	<i>Stone Arthur</i> (no date)
Swarther:	<i>Wardhoush, Ruthwardhoush</i> (1200-46) <i>B(o)uthswardhout</i> (1200-46) <i>Swarther Plant</i> (1865)
Sykewillans:	<i>Sykewillans</i> (1839)
Tarn Tessick:	<i>Tarn Tessick</i> (1836)
Thwaytlenkyld:	<i>Thwaytlenkyld</i> (1256)
Trerankelborhan:	<i>Trerankelborhan</i> (1200-26)
Wath Sutton:	<i>Wathsuthenam</i> (1184-90) <i>Wathsuthenan</i> (1190-1220) <i>Wathsudden</i> (1191-1200) <i>Warthsudden (Beck)</i> (1731)
Withecatt:	<i>Withecatt, Wythecat</i> (1179)

Cumberland

Aspatria:	<i>Aspatrik</i> (c.1160) <i>Aspatrik, Aspatrik(e)</i> (c.1160) <i>Espatrik</i> (1171-75, c.1220, 1291) <i>Ascpatrik</i> (c.1220) <i>Estpateric</i> (1224) <i>As(ke)paterk</i> (1279) <i>Assepatri(c)k'</i> (1285, 1302, 1303) <i>Askpatri(c)k</i> (1291, 1292, 1305) <i>Astpatrik</i> (1292)*
Aykcris:	<i>Aykcris</i> (1375)
Aynthorfin:	<i>Aynthorfin</i> (c.1260)
Becblenekar:	<i>Becblenekar</i> (1201)
Bechwythop:	<i>Bechwythop'</i> (1247)

	<i>Bekwythop</i> (1448) <i>Beck Wedop</i> (1618)
Beckermeth:	<i>Bechermet</i> (c.1130, 1262, 1279) <i>Becheremet</i> (c.1160) <i>Beccheremed</i> (c.1180) <i>Bechiremā</i> (c.1180) <i>Beckirmeth</i> (c.1180, c.1185) <i>Bekyrmeth</i> (1188)*
Beckfarlam:	<i>Beckfarlam</i> (1387)
Beckfellican:	<i>Becfillykin</i> (1677)
Becksenowyate:	<i>Becksenowyate</i> (1657)
Beksneuell:	<i>Beksneuell</i> (1338) <i>Beksueuel</i> (1338)
Becksonen:	<i>Becksonen</i> (1702)
Becsnari:	<i>Becsnari</i> (c.1203) <i>Becsnarry</i> (1230)
Becstervild:	<i>Becstervild</i> (1210)
bek Troyte:	<i>bek Troyte</i> (11 th C) <i>Truttebeck'</i> (1300) <i>Troutebek'</i> (1331) <i>Trowtebeke</i> (1540)*
Bewaldeth:	<i>Bualdith</i> (1255, 1260) <i>Bowaldef</i> (1260) <i>Boaldith</i> (1278, 1292) <i>Boildyth</i> (1279) <i>Bowaldif</i> (1284) <i>Boualdych</i> (1292) <i>Boualdik'</i> (1292) <i>Bowaldeth</i> (1292)
Bocblencarn:	<i>Bocblencarn</i> (1228)
Bridge Petton:	<i>moram de Brigerpetin</i> (c.1285) <i>Briggepeting</i> (1303) <i>Briggepetton</i> (1586)
Briggethorfin:	<i>Briggethorfin</i> (c.1260)
Brotherilkeld:	<i>Butherulkul</i> (c.1210)

	<i>Butherulkil</i> (1242, c.1280) <i>Brutherulkil</i> (1242) <i>Botherulkil(l)</i> (c.1260, 1292) <i>Brothurulkulle</i> (1292)*
Burntippet:	<i>Brenkibeth</i> (1169, 1181, c.1195) <i>(mora de) Brenkibet</i> (1181) <i>Brenkbet</i> (1183) <i>Brenkybet</i> (1256) <i>Brekibet(burne)</i> (c.1265)*
Castelyadolfbek:	<i>Castelyadolfbek</i> (1278)
Corkickle:	<i>Corkekyll</i> (c.1210) <i>Corkykyll</i> (1321) <i>Corkikel</i> (1334, 1338) <i>Corkekel</i> (1334) <i>Corkekyll in villa de Egremont</i> (c.1382)*
Croftbathoc:	<i>villa de Croftbathoc</i> (c.1205)
Croftbladen:	<i>Croftbladen</i> (1646)
Croftmorris:	<i>croftum Mauricii anglice Croft morez</i> (1500)
Croscrin:	<i>Croscrin</i> (c.1200)
Crosslacon:	<i>Crosslatun</i> (1777)
Dalemain:	<i>Daleman</i> (early 12 th C, 1285) <i>Dalman Ald</i> (1252) <i>Dalman</i> (1285, 1316) <i>Dalmayne in Neubynging'</i> (1292)*
Dale Raghon beck:	<i>Dale Raghon becke</i> (1610)
Fitbrandan:	<i>Fitbrandan</i> (c.1250) <i>Sitbrandan</i> (c.1260) <i>Fit Brundon</i> (1789)
Gilcambon:	<i>Gillecamban</i> (1254) <i>Gillogampan</i> (1257) <i>Gilkanban, Gilkamban</i> (1285, 1300) <i>Gilcamban</i> (1295)*
Gillefinchor:	<i>Gillefinchor</i> (1230)
Gilgarran:	<i>Gillegarran</i> (a.1230) <i>Gilgerra</i> (1292)

Gilgarran (1321, 1334, 1348)
Gilgaran (1348)*

holme Camok: *holme Camok* (1538)

Holweri: *Holweri* (1201)
Holmus Werri (1201)
Holmwerry (1230)
Weriholm' (1242)
Homwerry (1245)*

Hou Groucock: *Hou Groucock* (c.1225)

How Michael: *How Michael* (no date)

Hobcartan: *Hopecartan* (1260)
Hobbecartan (1290)

Hovedhgleuermerhe: *Hovedhgleuermerhe* (1209-10)
Gleuermerghe (1211)
Glaramara (1784)

Hovedscaldale: *Hovedscaldale* (c.1210-12)

Keldhouse: *Cheldehuspat* (c.1242)
Kelduspaksic (c.1260)

Kirkandrews: *Kirchand'r'* (1165)
Kirkeandres (c.1230)
Kirkanders (1257)
Kircandres (1298)*

Kirkandrews (Eden): *Kirkanders* (c.1200)
Kirkeandreas juxta Burgh (c.1235)
Kircandr' (1249)
Kirk(e)andres (1261)
Kircandres (1263)
Kircandres (1272)
Kirkandres (1272)
Kirkandres by Karlisle (1285)*

Kirkandrews (Wood): *Hermitorium Sancti Andreæ* (c.1140)
Kirkandreas (a.1147, c.1160)
Hermitorium quod vocatur Kirkandreas (c.1158)
Kyrkandres (1344)

Kirkbride: *Chirchebrid* (1163)
Kirkebride (c.1185, 1189 etc)
Kirkbrid (1190)

	<i>Kyerkeb'</i> (1201)
Kirkbrynnok:	<i>Kirkebrynnok'</i> (1339)
Kirkebibeccoch:	<i>Kirckebybechoc</i> (1282) <i>Kirkebibeccoch</i> (1308) <i>Kirkebybeghog</i> (1331) <i>Kyrkebybeghok</i> (1334)*
Kirkeby Crossan:	<i>Kirkeby crossan</i> (mid 13 th C) <i>Kirkecrossan</i> (13 th C) <i>Kyrcros</i> (13 th C)
Kirkoswald:	<i>Karcoswald</i> (1167) <i>Kierkoswald</i> (1201) <i>Kirkos(e)wald</i> (1212) <i>Kirkoswald</i> (1219) <i>Kirkehosewald</i> (1258) <i>Kirkeosewod</i> (1265) <i>Kyrkehosewald</i> (1292) <i>Kirkebyossewald</i> (1292)*
Kirksanton:	<i>Santacherche</i> (DB) <i>Kirkesant'</i> (1152) <i>Kirkesantan</i> (1152) <i>Kirksanton</i> (1175-90) <i>Kyrksanton</i> (1278) <i>Kyrkesande</i> (1292)*
Mockerin:	<i>Moldcorkyn, Moldcorkin</i> (1208) <i>Molcorkilne, Molkorkilne</i> (c.1225) <i>Morcorkin</i> (1230) <i>Molcornekynne</i> (1285) <i>Moltcornkyn</i> (1292) <i>Molcerkyn</i> (1369) <i>Molkorkyn</i> (1370) <i>Molkirkyn</i> (1390)*
Polgaver:	<i>Polgauer</i> (1279)
Poll Waðæn:	<i>poll Waðæn</i> (11 th C) <i>Wathenpoll</i> (1190) <i>Wathepol'</i> (1189) <i>Wathepol</i> (1201)*
Polneuton:	<i>Polneuton</i> (1189, 1201)
Poltross Burn:	<i>Poltros</i> (1169) <i>Poltrosse</i> (1184, c.1260)

Pultrosk (c.1280)
Potrosse (1660)*

Powmaugham Beck: *Polmeryhowbeck, Polmeryhowbek* (c.1415)
Polmergham (1485)
Pow Maugham beck (1777)

Satgodard: *Satgodard* (c.1205)

Scarrowmanwick: *Marisci Scalremanoch* (c.1240)
Scaldermanoc (1258)
Scalremanoc (c.1260)
Schalermanoc (c.1260)*

Seatallan: *Settallian* (1783)

Seatoller: *Settaller* (1563)
Seitaller, Seataller (1566)

Seteknoc: *Seteknoc* (c.1240)
Setikonoc (c.1260)

Setforn: *Setforn'* (1215)

Setmabanning: *Satmabannyngg'* (1292)
Setmabannyngg' (1292)
Setmabaning (1564)
Settmayblessinge (1570)*

Setmurthy: *Satmerdac* (1195)
Satmyrthac (c.1220)
Satmerdoc (c.1240)
Satmyrthath (1246)
Satmurda (c.1255)
Satmurthac (1260)*

Skalmallok: *Schallermakek in Allerdale* (1292)
Scallermakek (1292)
Skelmerakeck', Sckalermakek' (1292)
Schallermarkek', Scallermakek (1292)
Scalermaket (1292)
Scalermakek (1296)

Snabmurris: *Snabmorris* (1684)
Snab Murris (1809)

Stanbrennan: *Stainbrannan* (c.1205)
Stanbrenan (1291)

Staynlenoc:	<i>Staynlenok</i> (1260-80)
Stibenet:	<i>Stibenet</i> (1278)
Styalein:	<i>Styalein</i> (1230)
Tarngunerigg:	<i>Tarngunerigg</i> (1725)
Tarn Wadling:	<i>Terwathelan</i> (1285) <i>Ternwathelan</i> (1319, 1380) <i>Terne Wathelan</i> (early 14 th C) <i>Ternewathelan</i> (1338, 1339)*
Ternmeran:	<i>lake called Thermeran</i> (1230) <i>water of Ternmeran</i> (1343) <i>Mockerkin Tran or Tarn Marron</i> (1734)
Thueitdounegaleg:	<i>Thwitengales</i> (c.1235) <i>Thueitdounegaleg'</i> (c.1260) <i>Thitdunegalieges</i> (c.1260) <i>Chaitduneleg'</i> (c.1260) <i>Chaitdunegalheg</i> (c.1260) <i>Chaitmegalherg</i> (c.1260)
Warthcreggle:	<i>Warthcreggele</i> (1263) <i>Wardrengel</i> (1292)
Watchcomon:	<i>Warthcoleman</i> (c.1169) <i>Werwerthecoleman</i> (1183) <i>Wathecolman</i> (1537) <i>Warth Colman</i> (1543) <i>Watchcomon Parke</i> (1672)

Lancashire

Halecath:	<i>Halecath</i> (1212) <i>Halechat</i> (1213-42)
Rigsumerild:	<i>Rigsumeryld</i> (c.1230) <i>Rigarsemerild</i> (c.1230) <i>Rigsmernab</i> (c.1230) <i>Rigsumerild</i> (1246-67)
Rudswain:	<i>Rudswain</i> (1268-79)
Scartherwlmer:	<i>Scatherwlmer</i> (1190-1213) <i>Scartherwlmer</i> (1213-19)

Starhouraven: *Starhouraven* (c.1220-50)

Twaitkendenan: *Twaitkendenan* (1318)
Twitknedenan (1318)

Doubtful

Bryning: *Birstaf brinn(ing)* (1200)
Birstatbrunning (1236)
Burstad Brining (1242)
Burstad Brunigg (1249)*

Laithgryme: *Laithgryme* (1230-46)

Leagram: *Lathegrim* (1282)
Laythgryme (1348-49)
Laithgryme (1362)
Laregrem (1485)
Lagram, Lathgrym (1556)

Sources

Historical forms of the Westmorland and Cumberland names are from the respective *English Place-Name Society* county volumes. Historical forms of the Lancashire names are from Ekwall's *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England* and *The Place-Names of Lancashire*.

Lists which conclude with an * are instances where only the earliest historical forms have been reproduced in this appendix. The later forms have been omitted as they have no bearing on the origins of the inversion names. For a full list of these later forms, see the respective EPNS and Ekwall volumes.

APPENDIX B: The Ærgi Names

Part One: The Specific Elements of the Ærgi Names

Cumberland

Berrier:	ON <i>berg</i> 'hill'
Birker:	ON <i>birki</i> 'birch tree'
Cleator:	ON <i>klettr</i> 'rock / cliff'
Crookley:	ON <i>krókr</i> 'crooked / bent'
Glaramara:	ON (<i>at</i>) <i>gliúfrum</i> 'at the ravines'
Helewynherge:	ME pers.n. <i>Herlewin</i> [f]
Hewer:	ON <i>haugr</i> 'hill'
Inweregh:	ON pers. n. <i>Inwær</i>
Langley:	ON pers. n. <i>Langlif</i>
Mosser:	ON <i>mosi</i> / OE <i>mos</i> 'moss'
Ranner:	
(a) Rannerdale:	ON <i>hrafn</i> 'raven' + <i>ærgi</i> (+ ON <i>dalr</i> 'valley')
(b) Rannerhals:	ON <i>hrafn</i> 'raven' + <i>ærgi</i> (+ ON <i>hals</i> 'neck, pass')
(c) Rannerthwate:	ON <i>hrafn</i> 'raven' + <i>ærgi</i> (+ ON <i>þveit</i> 'clearing') †
Salter:	OE <i>salt</i> 'salt'
Stepney:	ON <i>stafn</i> 'stock/pole'
Stockdalewath:	ON <i>stokkr</i> / OE <i>stocc</i> 'stock/stump' + <i>ærgi</i> (+ ON <i>vað</i> 'ford')
Winder:	ON <i>vindr</i> / OE <i>wind</i> 'windy, shelter from wind'
Winder:	ON <i>vindr</i> / OE <i>wind</i> 'windy, shelter from wind'

Westmorland

Docker:	ON <i>dōkk</i> / OE <i>docce</i> 'hollow, dock'
Mansergh:	ON pers. n. <i>Mann</i> / OE pers. n. <i>Mann</i>
Moser:	ON <i>mosi</i> / OE <i>mos</i> 'bog or moss'
Moserthwaite:	ON <i>mosi</i> / OE <i>mos</i> 'bog or moss' or ME surn. <i>Moser</i> (+ <i>þveit</i> 'clearing') *
Muserg:	ON <i>mosi</i> / OE <i>mos</i> 'bog or moss' / ON by.n. <i>Mus(i)</i> [f]
Ninezergh:	ON pers. n. <i>Hnígandr</i> / <i>Hnígandi</i>
Potter:	ME <i>potte</i> 'pit or hole'
Seuerhbec:	ON <i>sef</i> 'sedges' + <i>ærgi</i> + ON <i>bekkr</i> 'stream' [f]
Sever:	ON <i>sef</i> 'sedges'
Sizergh:	ON pers. n. <i>Sigriðr</i>
Skelsmergh:	ON pers. n. * <i>Skaldmarr</i>
Tirril:	ON <i>tyri</i> 'tarry firewood, pinewood'
Tosca:	? + <i>ærgi</i>
Winder:	ON <i>vindr</i> / OE <i>wind</i> 'windy, shelter from wind'
Winder:	ON <i>vindr</i> / OE <i>wind</i> 'windy, shelter from wind'
Windyhill:	ON <i>vindr</i> / OE <i>wind</i> 'windy, shelter from wind' + <i>ærgi</i> + <i>haugr</i> 'hill'

West Riding of Yorkshire

Alder Ho:	<i>ald</i> ‘old’
Beatrix:	ON pers. n. <i>Boðvarr</i>
Calder Ho:	<i>cald</i> ‘cold’
Cawder:	<i>cald</i> ‘cold’ + <i>áergi</i> [or W <i>caled</i> + W <i>dwfr</i> ‘hard water’] *
Feizor:	Gael pers. n. <i>Fíach</i>
Gammellesarges:	ON pers. n. <i>Gamall</i> [f]
Golcar:	ON pers. n. <i>Guðleikr/ Guðlaugr</i> , Anglicised as ‘Guthlac’
Launeserges:	perh. ON byname from <i>laun</i> ‘secrecy’ [f]
Moser Hill:	ON <i>mosi</i> / OE <i>mos</i> ‘bog or moss’
Siwardherges:	ME pers. n. <i>Siward</i> [f]
Snelser:	ON pers. n. <i>Snjallr</i>
Starkerghs:	ON pers. n. <i>Starkulfr</i> / OG pers. n. <i>Starculf</i>
Wincaterhes:	perh. OE <i>wind-geat</i> ‘windswept pass’ [f]
Winder:	ON <i>vindr</i> / OE <i>wind</i> ‘windy, shelter from wind’
Windros:	ON <i>vindr</i> / OE <i>wind</i> ‘windy, shelter from wind’

North Riding of Yorkshire

Airy Hill:	Dative Simplex Plural
Airyholme:	Dative Simplex Plural
Airy Holme:	Dative Simplex Plural
Arrathorne:	<i>áergi</i> + <i>þorn</i> ‘thornbush’
Colman Hargos:	Gael pers. n. <i>Colman</i>
Eryholme:	Dative Simplex Plural
Oran:	<i>áergi</i> + prob. pers. n.

East Riding of Yorkshire

Alderges:	<i>ald</i> ‘old’
Argam:	Dative Simplex Plural
Arram:	Dative Simplex Plural
Arram:	Dative Simplex Plural
Arras:	Simplex Plural
Arras:	Simplex Plural

Lancashire

Aldearghes:	OE <i>ald</i> ‘old’
Anglezark:	ON pers. n. <i>Oláfr</i>
Archole:	<i>áergi</i> + ON / OE <i>hol</i> ‘pool or valley’
Arkholme:	Dative Simplex Plural
Aynesargh:	ON <i>einn</i> ‘one (person)’ / ON pers. n. in <i>Ein-</i>
Barker:	ON <i>bǫrkr</i> ‘bark’ / pers. n. <i>Bǫrkr</i>
Bethecar:	Gael pers. n. <i>Beathag</i>

Biggar:	perh. ON <i>bygg</i> 'barley'
Brettargh:	ON <i>Bretar</i> 'Britons'
Cobbanarghe:	Gael pers. n. <i>Gobban</i>
Dandy Birks:	Gael pers. n. <i>Dunan</i>
Docker:	ON <i>dōkk</i> / OE <i>docce</i> 'hollow, dock'
Goosnargh:	Gael pers. n. <i>Gussan</i>
Grimsargh:	ON pers. n. <i>Grímr</i>
Hauedarhe:	perh. OE <i>heafod</i> / ON <i>haufuð</i> 'head'
Houkler:	? + <i>áergi</i>
Kellamergh:	ON pers. n. * <i>Kelgrímr</i>
Little Arrow:	Eng. little [as affix]
Medlar:	ON <i>meðal</i> 'middle'
Midelare:	ON <i>meðal</i> 'middle'
Natler:	Gael pers. n. <i>Naile</i>
Oddisherhe:	ON pers. n. <i>Oddr</i>
Ortner:	OE p.n. <i>Overton</i>
Robsawter:	? + OE <i>salt</i> 'salt' + <i>áergi</i>
Salter:	OE <i>salt</i> 'salt'
Scambler:	ON pers. n. <i>Skamel</i>
Sholver:	OE pers. n. <i>Sceolh</i> / ON pers. n. <i>Skjalgr</i>
Siverthesarhe:	ON pers. n. <i>Sigfrøðr</i> / OE pers. n. <i>Sigefrið</i>
Stewnor:	ON <i>stofn</i> 'stump / stem / trunk'
Torver:	ON <i>torf</i> 'peat' / ON pers. n. * <i>Þorfi</i>
Winder:	ON <i>vindr</i> / OE <i>wind</i> 'windy, shelter from wind'
Winder:	ON <i>vindr</i> / OE <i>wind</i> 'windy, shelter from wind'
Winder:	perh. ME <i>whin</i> + ON <i>haugr</i> / OE <i>hoh</i> 'whin mound' or ON <i>vindr</i> / OE <i>wind</i> 'windy, shelter from wind' + <i>áergi</i> *

Cheshire

Ark Wood:	ON <i>áergi</i> / OE <i>earc</i> or ME <i>arke</i> 'box, trap' + 'wood'*
Argan:	Dative Simplex Plural
Arrowe:	ON <i>áergi</i> / Brit <i>arg</i> 'white, bright river' *
the Arrows:	Simplex Plural [now Bickerton Farm]
Aynesargh:	ON <i>einn</i> 'one (person)' / ON pers. n. in <i>Ein-</i>
Blake Hereye:	OE <i>blæc</i> 'black' [f]
Cold Airs:	ON <i>kaldr</i> / OE <i>cald</i> 'cold' + <i>áergi</i> / OE <i>ears</i> 'rounded hill' / ModE <i>air</i> [f] *
Colders:	ON <i>kaldr</i> / OE <i>cald</i> 'cold' + <i>áergi</i> / OE <i>ears</i> 'rounded hill' [f] *
Erwe brok:	ON <i>áergi</i> + <i>brook</i> [now Ashton Brook]
the Harowe:	Simplex Plural [f]
Harrow Flan:	ON <i>áergi</i> + ? [f]
Organ:	Dative Simplex Plural [f]

Sources and Abbreviations

Information on the specific elements is from the relevant EPNS volumes, together with Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*, Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England* and *The Place-Names of Lancashire*.

[f] – field-name

Gael – This refers to the Goidelic language in general, without distinction between Irish and Scottish Gaelic.

pers. n. – personal name

† - There are no extant forms of the lost name *Ravener*, and it survives only as part of the three names listed above. Since all three names are therefore given in the list of historical forms in Part Two, they have also been listed individually in this section for the sake of congruity.

Names marked * are instances where an alternative etymology which does not include *áergi* has been suggested.

Part Two: Historical Forms of the *Ærgi* Names

Cumberland

- Berrier:** *Berghgerge* (1166)
Berherge (1167)
Bergher (1242)
Berier(e) (1285)
Beryer(e) (1292)
Berriar (1487)
Beeryer (1610)
- Birker:** *Birkergh* (1279)
Byrker (1432)
Birker (1560)
Birkera (1762)
Birkere (1769)
- Cleator:** *Cletertha* (c.1185)
Cletern(e) (c.1220)
Kletern(e) (c.1220)
Cleterhe (c.1225)
Cleter(e) (c.1250)
Cletergh (c.1260)
Cleterwe (1279)
Cleterh' (1291)
Cleterue (1301)
Cletter (early 14th C)
Cleeter (1502)
Clotter (1526)
Cleytor (1569)
- Crookley Beck:** *Crokerbec* (c.1200)
Crokerhebech (c.1205)
Crockerbech (a.1210)
Crocherhe (1210)
- Glaramara:** *Hovedgleuermerhe* (1209-10)
Gleuermerghe (1211)
Glaramara (1784)
- Helewynherge:** *Helewynherge* (c.1230)
- Hewer:** *Houerg* (1292)
Houhere (1292)
Hogher (1332)
Hwer (1371)
Hewer (1664)

Hewer Hill (1677)

Hewinhill (1794)

Inweregh: *Inweregh* (late 15th C)

Langley: *Langliuerh'* (c.1225)
Langelivere (c.1225)
Langlivere (c.1225)
Langliferhe (1228-43)
Langlivregh (1235)
Langauergh (1235)
Laglivesherge (1236)
Langeliuerh (c.1240-50)
Langelyve Erghe (1240-56)
Langliuerhg (1252)
Langalyver (c.1275)
Langelive (c.1290)
Langler (1397)
Langley (1572)

Mosser: *Moserg(e)* (1203)
Moserwe (1212)
Mosergh(e) (1279)
Musergh (1294)
Mesergh (1296)
Mosehare (1397)
Mosser (1575)

Ranerthwate: *Ranerthwate* (1507)

Rannerdale: *Ranerdall* (1508)

Ravenerhals: *Ravenerhals* (c.1170)
Ravenhals (c.1250)

Salter: *Salterge* (c.1150)
Salterergie (c.1150)
Salterghe (c.1160)
Saltargha (c.1190)
Salterga (c.1190)
Salterre (c.1200)
Salterra (c.1205)
Salter (c.1210)
Saltere (c.1210)
Salterg' (1278)
Saltergh (1279)
Salterw (1279)
Saltherge (1308)
Sater (1591)

Stephney: *Stavenerge* (1231)
Stevenay (1597)
Stephnay (1612)
Steveny (1754)

Stockdalewath: *Stokerwath* (1340)
Stokkerwath (1372)
Stokhalwath (1440)
Stockaldwath (1470)
Stokelwath (1488)
Stockallwaith (1608)
Stockellwath (1608)
Stoclewaithe (1636)

Winder: *Winder* (1578) [Haile]

Winder: *Winderye* (c.1200) [Lamplugh]
Wyndergh (c.1210)
Wynderve (1277)
Wyndeyre (1285)
Wynder (1535)

Westmorland

Docker: *Docherga* (1154-89)
Docherge (1154-89)
Docarhe (1214-20)
Dokker (1431)
Docker (1431)
Dockar (1615, 1618)

Mansergh: *Manzerge* (1086)
Manserg (1187-1200)
Manisherga (12th C?)
Manesargh(e) (1200-70)
Mannissergh (1206,1207)
Malesereghe (1256)
Mandeserghe (1256)
Maneserg(h) (1260,1279,1492)
Maneserwe (1279)
Manneshergh (1279)
Manesherke (c.1280)
Maneserg (1282)
Mandesarghe (1292)
Manesherre (1301)
Mansergh(e) (1301, 1332)
Manesergh (1303)

Mandeshergh (1332)
Maneser (1343)
Manser (1359, 1451, 1461)
Mansargh (1293)
Mansarre (1417)
Manshargh (1537)

Moser: *Moserga* (1196)
Mosergha (13th C?)
Mosehergh (1332)
Moserghfeld (1349)
Moyserth (1461)
Moser (1836)

Mosertwaite: *Mosertwayt* (1341)
Mosertwayt(e) (1345)
Mosertthewayte (1383)
Mosergh thwayt (1383)

Muserg: *Muserg* (1235)

Ninezergh: *Niendesherche* (1190-1201)
Nyendesherche (1190-1201)
Niandes(h)ergh(e) 1227-37)
Nyandes(h)ergh(e) (1227-37)
Nyandeshereghes (1257)
Nyendesherche (1282)
Nyandesherewe (1292)
Nyanddesergh (1292)
Nyandisergh (1308)
Nyandesherge (1332)
Nyandeser (1357)
Niandser(gh) (1449,1458)
Nyandser(gh) (1449, 1458)
Nyanzar (1568)
Nyendesargh (1569)
Nyansergh(e) (1586)
Nyensergh (1606)
Nyenser (1606)
Ninesergh (1815)

Potter: *Pot(t)ergh(a)* (13th C?)
Pot(t) herg (1278)
Pot(t)ergh(a) (1279)
Potherwe (1292)
Pottehergh (1292)
Potterfell (1570)
Pottersfeild (1655)
Potter Tarn (1723)

- Seuerhbec:** *Seuerhbec* (1186-1268)
- Sever:** *Severgh(e)* (1297, 1375, 1383, 1570)
Sever (1332)
Seuer (1332)
Saberghe (1580)
Sever (1649)
- Sizergh:** *Sigaritherge* (1170-80)
Sifrahetheres (1190-1200)
Siritisherche (1190-1200)
Siheriderhe (1190-1210)
Siyeritheherk (c.1240)
Sisergh(e) (1246)
Sysergh(e) (1246)
Siritherhe (1249)
Sywirtherwe (1250-65)
Sithereshergh (1274, 1301)
Syreshergh (1279)
Siresserwe (1279)
Syresserwe (1279)
Syressergh (1286, 1300-05)
Sigrittserh (1292)
Syredesergh (1292)
Sigerethesherg (1294-1300, 1295)
Sygerethesherg (1294-1300, 1295)
Sigrideshergh (1303)
Sighritheserd (1321)
Syricheserd (1324)
Syresargh (1332)
Sigredhergh (1334)
Syritherd (1336)
Schireserd (1341)
Sciresergh (1375)
Sireseigh (1401)
Syrsser (1462)
Cyssar (1488)
Sizer (1501)
Syzer (1501)
Siersard (1516)
Sizar (1529)
Syssergh (1530)
Sissegher (1568)
Syrisarghe (1569)
Syserge (1692)
- Skelsmergh:** *Skelmer(e)s(h)erg(h)* (12th C?, 1216-72, 1279)
Scelmer(e)s(h)erg(h) (12th C?, 1216-72, 1279)

Skelmer(e)sherhe (12th C?, 1216-72, 1279)
Scelmer(e)sherhe (12th C?, 1216-72, 1279)
Skelmessergh (1222-46)
Scelmergha (13th C?)
Skelmesherch (1256)
Skelmeshergh (1292)
Skelmeser(e) (1292, 1296)
Skelmesergh(e) (1301)
Skelmushergh (1332)
Skelmiser (1361)
Skelmerssh(e) (1375)
Schelesmergha (14th C?)
Skelmsar (1504-15)
Skelmesar (1506)
Skelmeser (1523)
Skelmesarwe (1524)
Skelsmer (1525)
Skelmersharthe (1550)
Skellymser (1556)
Skelsmergh (1558)
Skelmyserghe (1580)
Skellymsergh (1589)
Skellesmere (1589)
Skelsmergh (1597)

Tirril:

Tirerhge (c.1189)
Tyrerhge (c.1189)
Tyrer(h)e (c.1200)
Tyrergh(a) (c.1200)
Tyrrer (1247)
Tyreghe(e) (1256)
Tyreher (1278)
Tirel(l) (1265)
Tyrel(l) (1265)
Terregh (1279)
Tyrehg' (1283)
Tyrherg' (c.1290)
Tyrer (1329)
Terrergh (1337)
Tyrehr (1348)
Tyreth (1377)
Tyrehegh (1383)
Tirrel(l) (1540)
Tyrrel(l) (1540)
Tyrril(l) (1619)
Tyrill (1676, 1679)
Ter(r)ill (1678)

Tosca:

Toskerth (1231)

Toscar (1466)
Tosca Beck (1809)

Winder: *Winderge* (1170-80) [High Winder]
Winderes (1190-1200)
(*Nethere-*) *Winderge* (1203)
Winder (1220-47)
Wynder (1220-47)
Winderhe (c.1240)
Wynderhe (c.1240)
Wynderegh (1256)
Wynderwe (1278)
Windergh (1279)
Wyndergh (1279)
Wyndere (1279)
(*Over-*) *Wynder* (1333)
Wynderu (c.1360)
(*Owuir-, Neyer-*) *Wynder* (1407)
(*Nether-*) *Wynder* (1437)
(*High(e)-*) *Wynder* (1572)
(*Low-*) *Wynder* (1572)
(*Lawe-*) *Wynder* (1584)
(*Hy(e)-*) *Wynder* (1626)

Winder: *Winder* (1501, 1634)
Wynder (1501, 1634)

Windy Hill: *Windy Hill* (1829)

North Riding of Yorkshire

Airy Hill: *Ergum* (1090-96)
Hergum (1155-56)

Airyholme: *Erghum* (1138)
Ergum (1218, 1236)

Airy Holme: *Ergun* (1086)
Ergum (1281)

Arrathorne: *Ergthorn* (13th C?)
Erchethorn (1259, 1278, 1285)
Erg(h)ethorn (1259, 1278, 1285)
Erethorn (1285)
Arrowthorne (16th C?)
Arathorne (1581)

Coldman Hargos: *Colemanergas* (1119, 1129)
Col(l)emanhergas (1170-90)

Eryholme: *Argun* (1086)
Argum (1179)
Erg(h)um (c.1281)
Eryom (1285)
Eriholme (1665)

Oran: *Archorouen* (12th ?)
Archorhouen (c.1281)

East Riding of Yorkshire

Alderges: *Alderges* (1200, 1285)

Argam: *Ergone* (1086)
Ergum (1162-75)
Ergom (1170-75)
Erghum (1285)
Herghum (1290, 1343)
Erghom (1292)
Ereghom (1304)
Ereghum (1304)
Arholme (1525)
Argam (1549)
Ergham (1650)

Arram: *Argun* (1086) [Atwick]
Erghum (1157-70)
Erghom(a) (1180-97)
Ergum (late 12th C, 1246)
Ergom (late 12th C)
Erhome (1536)
Ar(r)am (1564)
Earham (1585)
Ar(r)am (1650)

Arram: *Erghom* (c.1200) [Lewnfield]
Ergum (1205)
Herghum (1251)
Erghum (1293, 1294, 1349)
Arrun (1462)
Arruners (1462)
Arrham (1613)

Arras: *Erghes* (1150-60) [Warter]
Herghes (1156)

Erges (1156)
Sutherghes (1199)

Arras: *Herges* (1156) [Market Weighton]
Erevhes (1253)
Erchys (1260)
Erghes (1268)
Erghus (1465)
Arows (1535)
Arras (1553)

West Riding of Yorkshire

Alder Ho: *Aldherges* (c.1227-72)
Halderhes (c.1227-72)
Alderghis (c.1227-72)
Aderghes (1328)
Alderhouse (1561)
Alderhowse (1561)
O(u)ldarrowes (1597)
Oulderhouse (1598)
Auderhowse (1653)
Aldrass (1693)
Awderis (1753)

Beatrix: *Batherarghes* (1343)
Batharar(s) (1367)
Bateray (1423)
Batt(e)resse (1579)
Baytricks (1817)
Batterax (1822)

Calder Ho: *Caldreyes* (1693)
Caudras (1753)

Cawder: *Colder* (1266)
Kalder (1314)
Calder (1314)
Caldre (1327)
Cauder (1607)
Cawderhouse (1609)

Feizor: *Fegesargh* (12th C?)
Fehhesherge (12th C?)
Fegheserche (12th C?)
Fegheseres (1214-33)
Freghesergh (1251)
Fegeseres (1265)

Feysergh(e) (1294)
Feghesargh (1299)
Fisserghe (1383)
Pheser (1500)
Phezer (1500)
Feiser (1538)
Feazor (1597)
Pheizore (1622)
Feisor (1658)
Feizer (1686)

Gammellesarges: *Gammellesarges* (c.1220)

Golcar: *Gudlagesarc* (1086)
Gudlagesargo (1086)
Gouthelaghcharthes (1272)
Gourocarhes (1284)
Goutlackarres (1286)
Govalacres (1286)
Gulakarres (13th C?)
Goulakarres (13th C?)
Guthlacharwes (1306)
Gouthlacharwes (1306)
Goulayecarches (1307)
Goulaghcarthes (1309)
Gouthelakkerres (1316)
Goldecar (1337)
Gouleker (1361)
Guldecar (1398)
Goldkar(r) (1427)
Gouthlokeres (1428)
Goldkard (1437)
Gowlkar' (1439)
Goulekar (1451)
Gowlecar(r) (1466)
Gowelkar (1466)
Goulkery (1481)
Gouldekar (1488)
Gouleker (1488)
Golker (1504)
Golcar (1534)
Golkar(re) (1567)
Goulecare (1578)
Goolker (1608)
Gowker (1715)

Launeserges: *Launeserges* (1256)
Louneserges (1256)

Moser Hill: *Mosergh hill* (1613)
Moser-hill in Dent (1695)
Moiser Hill (1771)

Siwardherges: *Siwardherges* (1225)

Snelser: *Scelesherge* (1235-55)
Snellesherg(he) (1240-60)
Snelser (1847)

Starkerghs: *Stratesergum* (1086)
Starkesbergh (1251)
Starkeshergh (1251)
Startholfhisherix (1216-72)

Wincaterhes: *Wincaterhes* (1203-09)

Winder: *Winderge* (1193)
Winder (1429)
Wynder (1429)
Winder (1647)

Windros: *Winder House Croft* (1843)
Windros Laithe (1857)

Lancashire

Aldearghs: *Aldearghes* (1326)

Anglezark: *Andelevesarewe* (1202)
Milafesharh [? for *Anlafesharh*] (1212)
Anlauesargh (1224)
Anlewes(e)arehe (1232-45)
Anleshargh' (1232-45)
Anlewesearche (1246)
Anlawesaregh (1246)
Anlawesarwe (1246-47)
Annelesherg (1246)
Anlauesarewe (1268)
Anlaseharghe (1285)
Alasehargh (1288)
Analeshargh (1292)
Anleshara(g)th (1292)
Anelesar(e)gh (1292)
Anlaghesarghe (1302)
Anlasargh (1339-41)
Aynsargh (1374)
Anlasargh (1376)

Aynesargh (1380)
Anlesargh (1402-03)
Anlezargh (1514)
Anlezgarth (1521)
Anlazarghe (1559-70)
Anlazaurghe (1609)
Anlizarke (1686)
Annlezarke (1691)

Archole:

Archole (1206)
Argolepul (1206-46)
Arghole (1235-62)
Argolestan (1235-62)

Arkholme:

Ergune (1086)
Argun (1195)
Argum (1196)
Argun (1227-29)
Hergun (1243)
Erghum (1246)
Ergum (1271-79)
Erghum (1319)
Erwhum (1343)
Erghom (1372)
Argholme (14th C)
Arrome (1437)
Erwom (1441)
Argham (1501)
Ergholme (1508-09)
Arwyn (1519)
Erholme (1529-39)
Arham (1586)
Argholme (1616)
Arholm (1634)
Arholme (1689-1702)

Aynesargh:

de Aynesargh (1350, 1380)
Aynesargh (1394)
Avanessergh (1501)

Barker:

Barker (1513, 1514)

Bethecar:

Bothaker (1509)
Bethokar (c.1535)
Betaker (1537)
Betacre (1539)
Bettaker (1539)

Biggar:

Bigger (1292)

Bugger (1537, 1539)

Brettargh: *Brettarghe* (c. 1178-90)
Bretharue (13th C)
Bretharwe (13th C)
Bretarwe (13th C)
Bretharche (1292)

Cobbanarghe: *Cobbanarghe* (1247)
Cobbanarghe (1267-68)

Dandy Birks: *Dounaneshereg* (1241)

Docker: *Dokker* (1505, 1507)
Docker (1547-48)
Docker (1577)

Goosnargh: *Gusansarghe* (1086)
Gusenarhe (1200-06)
Gunanesarg (1206)
Gosenare (1206-20)
Gosenarge (1206-20)
Gosenarghe (1206-20)
Gosannesareghe (1226)
Gosanesarwe (1226)
Gosnar (1241)
Gosenharegh (1246-47)
Gosenargh (1246)
Gosanarch (1246)
Gusenhach (1246)
Gozenarch (1246-47)
Gosenarche (1251)
Gosenhar' (1257)
Gosnarhe (1269)
Gosenarwe (1269)
Gosenarewe (1269)
Gosenarw (1270)
Gosnar (1273)
Gosenarch (1277)
Gosenare (1283)
Gosenargh (1284-92)
Gossenarwe (1290)
Gosnargh (1297)
Gossenargh (c. 1300)
Gosenargh (1315)
Gosenalgh (1316)
Gosenarghe (1320-46)
Gosnargh (1322)
Gosenarch (1330)

Gosenaigh (1342)
Gosenare (1411)
Gosnergh (1468)
Goosenergh (1509)
Goosener (1544-45)
Gosenarth(e) (1549)
Gosenarth (1575-76)
Goosnargh (1593)
Gosenar alias Gosenarghe (1595)
Gousnor (1597)
Gousner (1597-98)
Goosnergh (1680)

Grimsargh:

Grimesarge (1086)
Grimesherham (1189)
Grimesage (1230-55)
Grimishargh (1242)
Grimisharg (1242-43)
Grimsarche (1244)
Grimsharg (1244-45)
Grimisarche (1245)
Grimesargh (1246)
Grimeshark (1246-47)
Grimesaruwe (1246-47)
Grimisharg (1249, 1251)
Grimeshergh (1253)
Grimesharche (1257)
Grimesarg (a.1258)
Grimmisarche (a.1262)
Grimesargh (1262)
Grimesarghe (1262)
Gymesargh (c.1265)
Grimeserk (1282)
Grimisherhe (1284)
Grimeserg (1290)
Grimesharch (c.1290)
Grimesharwe (c.1290)
Grymesharth (1292)
Grymesharuth (1292)
Gremes(h)argh (1292)
Grymesarg (1293, 1329, 1331)
Grymeshargh (1297)
Greymesargh (1301)
Grymesarghe (1320-46)
Grymesargh (1324)
Grymysargh (1346)
Grymesargh (1351)
Grymsar (1378)
Grimesarth (14th C?)

Grymmysargh (1460-61)
Grymssargh (1461-83)
Grymesarghe (1485-86)
Grymsar (15th C)
Grymssargh (1513)
Grymshore (1525)
Grymsor (1544)
Grimsore (1572)
Grimsargh (1597)
Grimser (1632)
Grimsar (1638-39)
Grimsargh (1672)

Hauedarhe: *Hauedarhe* (1206-30)
de Anedargh (1246)
Anedarwelache (post 1246)

Houkler: *Hoglerhowe* (1609)
Houghler Hall (1637)

Kellamergh: *Kilgrimol* (1189-94)
Kelfgrimeshereg(h) (1200-01)
Kelgrimisarhe (1236)
Kelgrimesarge (a.1246)
Kergrimesarh (1246-47)
Kelgrimesarewe (1246-47)
Kelgrimisharg (1249)
Kelsimshargt (1249)
Kelegrymesarch (1251)
Kelgrimeshar' (1254)
Kelgrimisarth (1254)
Kilgrimeshar(gh) (1254)
Kelgrymessaregh (1276)
Kelghgrymeshare (1285)
Gelgrumysharegh (1292)
Kelgrimeshargh (1297)
Kelgrimesargh (13th C)
Kelgrimesargh (1301-03)
Kilgrymesargh (1320-46)
Kelgmesargh (1332)
Kelgrymesargh (1336)
Kelgrimsarghe (1346)
Kilgrymesargh (1346-47)
Kilgrymshargh (1348)
Kylgrimeshargh (1348)
Kelgremargh (1404-45)
Kellermargh (1444)
Kellermere (1462, 1478)
Kellamyre (1472-77)

Kellamer (1514)
Kelgrimsargh (1521)
Kelemere (1521)
Kellermagh (1547)
Kyllarmargh (1551)
Kellermarshe (1595)
Kelermewr (15th-16th C)
Kellermarg' (15th-16th C)
Kellamer (1682)
Kellamoor (1817-1900)

Little Arrowe: *Litelherga* (a.1220)?
Little Array (1610)
Little Harrow (1671)

Medlar: *Midelare* (1190-1230)
Midelarge (1215)
Midleharye (1215)
Midilharie (1216)
Middelharg (a.1220)
Midelarghe (1220-46)
Middelarghe (1226)
Middelerwe (1227)
Midelergh (1235)
Middelare (1235)
Midelare (1250-75)
Middilhargh (1292)
Midelargh (1292-1324)
Mithelargh (1292-1332)
Midelherg (1299)
Midelhergh (1299)
Midelhargh (1299)
Midelarghe (1320-46)
Mithelarghe (1332)
Mydlargh (1451, 1461)
Mydlerghe (1539)
Middelhagh (16th C)
Middhaugh (16th C)
Middelhagh (16th C)

Midelare: *Midelare* (1262-68)
parva Midelare (1262-68)
Petitmiddelhargh (13th C-15th C)
Middelarghsike (15th C)

Natler: *Nathelarghe* (1221)
Naihalathe (1200-46)
de Nathelarg (1246)
Natlergh (1246)

- Natlargh* 1248)
Natler (1249)
Naithalargh (no date)
Naithalarwe (no date)
Nazelarwe (no date)
- Oddisherhe:** *Oddisherhe* (1190-1213)
Oddisharie (1213-19)
- Ortner:** *Overtounargh* (1323)
Hortounargh (1323)
Overtounargh (1325)
- Robsawter:** *Robsawter* (1539)
- Salter:** *Salter* (1612, 1625)
lower Salter (1613)
- Scambler:** *Scamler* (1536)
Scambeler (1569)
- Sholver:** *Solhher* (1202)
Shollerg (1246)
Sholleregh (1246)
Shollere (1246)
Chawler (1246)
de Shollere (1246)
Sholuer (1246)
Shollers (1246)
Shawler (1246)
Showler (1246)
Choller (1246)
Sholver (1278)
Sholgher (1291)
de Swlher (13th C)
Scholmer (1323)
Sholler (1323)
de Sholghre (1332)
Scholver (1346)
- Siverthesarhe:** *Siverthesarhe* (1190-1212)
Siurdthesarthe (1220-50)
Siverthesarge (1220-51)
Siuritharghe (1230-50)
- Stewnor:** *Stonenernbech* (c.1190)
Stonerbek (1412)
Stoner (1421)
Stevenor (1603)

Torver: *Stevener* (1603)
Thoruergh (1190-99)
Thorwerghe (1202)
Thorfergh (1246)
Torver(e)gh (1246)
Torweg (1252)
Thorbre (1268)
Toruerg (1272-80)

Winder: *de Windergh* (1225-45) [Cartmel Parish]
de Wynder (1279)
de Winderh (1323)
Ravynse Wynder (1491)
Chanon Wynder (1491)
Chanon Wynder (1537)
Ravenswynder (1537)

Winder: *Hye Winder* (1618) [Melling Parish]

Winder: *Quinehou* (1220) [Lancaster Parish]
Windergh (1301)
Wynder (1501)

Cheshire

Ark Wood: *the Dark Ark* (1812)

Argan: *Argan* (no date)

Arrowe: *Arwe* (1240-49)
Haree (1278)
Argh' (1296)
Harugh (13th C?)
Harghee (13th C?)
Harette (13th C?)
Harough (13th C?)
Haregh (1305)
Eyre (1307)
Arghe (1307, 1347)
Areghe (1311)
Eyre (1347)
Arhe (1347)
Arwey (1347)
Erwe (1348)
Arewe (1351)
Arowe (1397)
Arrowe (1397)
Harrow (1727)

the Arrows: *the Arrows* (1831)
Ashton Brook: *le Erwe...brok* (1347)

Aynesargh: *Aynesargh* (1371)

Blake Hereye: *le Blake Hereye* (1312)

Cold Airs: *Cold Airs* (1839)

Colders: *Colders* (1337)

the Harowe: *the Harowe* (1519)

Harrow Flan: *Harrow Flan* (1838)

Organ: *Organ Lane* (1831)
Organ (1843)

Sources

The historical forms are drawn from the relevant EPNS county surveys, and the *Addenda and Corrigenda* of the JEPNS volumes, with the exception of Lancashire, for which no EPNS volumes have yet been published. Additional forms are taken from Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*.

Lancashire forms are drawn from Ekwall, *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England* and *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, Wyld & Hirst, *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, Kenyon's *Addenda and Corrigenda* to Ekwall's *The Place-Names of Lancashire*, (JEPNS vol. 17, pp. 20-106) and Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*.

Part Three: Galloway and Man

1. The Galloway 'Airy' Names

Wigtownshire

- Aries (Airies):** Plural Form (1452) [Kirkcolm]
Airihemming: ON pers. n. *Hemingr* (1625) [Old Luce]
Airieolland: *olluin* 'of the wool' or Gael pers. n. *Faolán* (1498) [Old Luce]
Airiewiggle: *cuigeal* 'a distaff' [Old Luce]
Arieglassen: *glassan* 'green', *glaisín* 'burn' or pers. n. *Glassan* (1698) [Kirkcowan]
Airielig: *airigh luig* 'shieling of the hollow' (1667) [Kirkcowan]
High and Low Aries: Scots/Eng *high* and *low* + *airigh* [Kirkcowan]
Arielick: *airigh leac* 'of the flagstones' (pont) [Mochrum]
Airieolland: *olluin* 'of the wool' or Gael pers. n. *Faolán* (1538) [Mochrum]
Airiequillart: *airigh abhal ghoirt* 'of the apple orchard' (pont) [Mochrum]
Airlour: *airigh* + ?, or perhaps *urlar* 'threshing floor' [Mochrum]
Airihassan: *airigh chasain* 'of the path or track' (Pont) [Kirkinner]
Meikle Airies: Scots *meikle* 'big' + *airigh* 'big, large' [Kirkinner]
Little Airies: Scots/Eng *little* + *airigh* 'little' [Kirkinner]
Aries Knowes: *airigh* + Scots/Eng *knowe* 'knoll, head' [Glasserton]
Garrarie: perhaps *gar airigh* 'near' (1497) [Glasserton]
Craigarie: *creag* 'crag' [or *creag aedhaire* 'shepherd's crag'] (pont) [New Luce]

Kirkcudbrightshire

- Airie:** Simplex Form [Kells]
Airiebennan: *airigh beinnan* 'hill, mountain' [Kells]
Garrarie: perhaps *gar airigh* 'near' [Kells]
Airie: Simplex Form [Balmaghie]
Airyland: *airigh leathan* 'broad' (pont) [Kelton]
Areeming: ON pers. n. *Hemingr* (1604) [Kirkpatrick-Durham]
Shannarie: *sean airigh* 'old' [Urr]
Airyhill: *airigh* + Scots/Eng 'hill' [Rerrick]

Ayrshire

- Arecleoch:** *airigh* + perhaps Scots *cleuch* 'ravine, narrow glen'? [Ballantrae]
Airyewn: *airigh* + ? [Colomonell]
Airries: Plural Form [Colomonell]

2. Manx 'Eary' Names

Ayre Sheading

- Airey Killip:** 'Killip's Shieling' (1834-35) [f]
Block Eary: [ON *blakk* or Gael *bloc*] 'Black, Dark Shieling, or Round Shieling' (1704)
Block Eary: [QL] 'Black, Dark Shieling, or Round Shieling' (1741)
Drimnahairey: 'Ridge, Back of Shieling, the Shieling Ridge' (1721)
the Eary: 'The Shieling' (1827) [f]
the Eary: 'The Shieling' (1822)
the Eary: 'The Shieling' (1822) [f]
Eary Beg: 'Little Shieling' (1640)
Eary Greiney: 'Sunny, Well-lit Shieling' (1642)
Earykelliu / Earykellue: 'Kelliu's Shieling' (1704)
Eary Vane: 'White Shieling' (1774-75)
Eerey Gloney: 'Glen Shieling' (1733)
Garey Ny Hary Biggy: 'Garden of/at the Shieling' (1746-47)
Gloone Heary: 'Glen of the Shieling' (1811-13)
Hath Arygegormane: 'Ford of/by (O) Gorman's shieling' (1280)
Laragh Eary: 'Shieling Slope' (20th C) [f]
Nary: 'The Shieling' (1768-71)
Neary: [QL] 'The Shieling' (1647)
Neary: 'The Shieling' (1772) [f]
Neary Mooar: 'The Big Shieling' (1709)
the Neary Mooar: 'The Big Shieling' (1704)
Neary Veg: 'The Little Shieling' (1728)
Neary Veg: 'The Little Shieling' (1741) [f]

Garff Sheading

- Arey Roy River:** 'Red Shieling (River)' (1745)
Cronk Aeradh: 'Hill of Shielings' (1703)
Cronk Eairy: 'Shieling Hill' (20th C)
Curragh Redary: '? Shieling Road Curragh, Curragh of/by the Shieling Road' (1726)
the Eairy Veg: 'The Little Shieling' (20th C)
the Eary: 'The Shieling' (1720) [f]
Eary Creggan: 'Rocky Hill Shieling' (1998)
Gredary: '? + Shieling' (1737)
Monary: 'Shieling Turbary, Turbary by a Shieling' (1725-36)
Tramsarie: '? Treen meeting, Tremode Shieling' (1507)

Glenfaba Sheading

- Aryrody:** [TR] '(O) Rody's Shieling' (1515)
Ayry Creegen: 'Creegen's Shieling' (1714)

Close Neary: ‘Shieling Enclosure’ (1858)
Drim Airy Woarie: ‘Big Shieling Ridge’ (1769)
Earey Vooar: ‘Big Shieling’ (1836) [f]
Eary: ‘Shieling’ (1737)
Eary: ‘Shieling’ (1851)
Eary Bane: ‘White Shieling’ (20th C)
Eary Beg / Eary Veg: [QL] ‘Little Shieling’ (1704)
Eary Braaid: ‘Shieling on the Breast of the Hill, at the Pass’ (1882)
Eary Cushlin: ‘Cosnahan’s Shieling’ (1751)
Eary-foal-woare: ‘? Shieling of the Big Pool’ (20th C) [f]
Eary Glass: [QL] ‘Green / Grey shieling’ (1704)
Eary Glen: ‘Shieling Glen’ (20th C)
Eary Himmin: ‘Shimmin’s Shieling’ (1704)
Eary Lhane / Eary Lhean: [QL] ‘Broad Shieling’ (1704)
Earylieau: ‘Mountain Shieling’ (20th C)
Eary Mooar / Eary Vooar / Eary Wooar: [QL] ‘Big Shieling’ (1709)
East Eary Wooar: ‘East Big Shieling’ (1810)
Sliddary: [? ON *slakki*] ‘Shieling Hollow, Edge’ (1827-31)
The Earys: ‘Shieling House’ (20th C) [f]
The Earys: ‘Shieling House’ (20th C) [f]

Michael Sheading

Airey Cottiman: ‘Cottiman’s Shieling’ (1704)
Airey Doule: ‘(O) Doule’s Shieling’ (1784-87)
Airy-yooan: ‘Juan’s Shieling’ (1772-73) [f]
Analonga: ‘The Glen Shieling’ (1704)
Aryhorkell: [TR] ‘Thorkell’s / Thorkill’s Shieling’ (1515)
Drimnahairy: ‘Ridge of the Shieling’ (1728)
the Eary: ‘The Shieling’ (1742)
Eary Doo: ‘Black Shieling, or (O) Doole’s Shieling’ (1763)
Eary Forster: ‘The Forester’s Shieling’ (1811-12)
Eary Ghowr: ‘Goats’ Shieling’ (1927) [f]
Eary Kelly: ‘Kelly’s Shieling’ (1715)
Eary Ny Gione: ‘? Shieling of/at the ends, extremities’ [or as below] (1734-35)
Eary Ny Gowan: ‘Shieling of the Young Cows’ (1869)
Errey Forteraugh: ‘The Forester’s Shieling’ (1775-79)
Nary Dressough: ‘The Briary Shieling’ (1671)
Neary: [QL] ‘The Shieling’ (1704)

Sheading of Middle

Airy Kermode: ‘Kermode’s Shieling’ (1736-39)
Aree: ‘Shieling’ (1704)
Are Rogan: [TR] ‘O’Rogan(e)’s Shieling, Summer Pasture’ (1507)
Arragon: [QL] ‘O’Rogan(e)’s Shieling, Summer Pasture’ (1748)
the Ary: ‘The Shieling, Summer Pasture’ (1703)
Ary Bet: ‘? Bet’s (Betty, Elizabeth) Shieling’ (1716-20)
Ary Wise: ‘? Shileing’ (1757)

Cronk Eary: ‘Shieling Hill’ (1871)
Curragh Na Ayry: ‘Curragh of/by the Shieling’ (1703)
Eary: ‘Shieling, Summer Pasture’ (1709)
the Eary: ‘Shieling, Summer Pasture’ (1720-23)
Eary Dam: [Reservoir] (1911)
Eary Jora: ‘? Shieling of the Dewar’ (1653)
Eary Kellag: ‘Kellag’s Shieling’ (1703)
Eary Kelly: ‘Kelly’s Shieling’ (1871)
Eary Liauyr: ‘Long Shieling’ or ‘Ploughed Long Strip’ [from Manx *eerey*] (1945)
Eary Mooar: ‘Big Shieling’ (1990)
Eary Ny Suie: ‘? Shieling of the Learned’ (1723)
Eary Ny Suie (Cottage): ‘Cottage of the Shieling of the Learned’ (1956)
Eary Ploydwell: ‘Ploydwell’s Shieling’ (1798)
Eary Vane: ‘(the) White Shieling’ (1710)
Eary Veg: [QL] ‘(the) Little Shieling, Summer Pasture’ (1833-34)
Earyween: [QL] ‘Fine, Fair Shieling (i.e. lush ground)’ (1680)
Eary Woar: ‘Big Shieling’ (1835-37)
Eirey: ‘Shieling’ or ‘Strip of Ploughed Land’ [from Manx *eerey*] (1810-22)
Neary: ‘The Shieling’ (1704)
Neeghrebeg, Neighrebeg: ‘? The Little Shieling’ (1802-07) [f]

Rushen Sheading

Ardary: [TR] ‘High Shieling’ or ‘High Wood’ [from Manx *ard doire*] (1507-79)
Ardary: [QL] ‘High Shieling’ or ‘High Wood’ [from Manx *ard doire*] (1712)
Arernan [Aryeuzryn]: [TR] [Gael pers. n. *Ahmrán* or *Earnán*, or ON pers. n. *Iörundr*, or Manx pers. n. *Ó Uidhrin*] ‘Ahmrán’s/ Earnán’s/ Iörundr’s/ Ó Uidhrin’s Shieling’ (1280)
Aresteyn: [TR] ‘Steinn’s Shieling’ (1507)
Aryshinnok: [TR] ‘Fox Shieling, or Foxglove Shieling’ (1511)
Eairy: ‘Shieling’ (1956)
Earystane: [QL] ‘Steinn’s Shieling’ (1631)
Karran’s Thie Airy: ‘Karran’s Shieling House’ (no date) [f]
Near y Cam: ‘The Winding Shieling or Summer Pasture’ (1945) [f]
Neary Liauyr: ‘The Long Shieling’ (1990)
Slieau Earystane: ‘Earystane Mountain’ (1956)
Thie Eary: ‘Shieling House’ (1898) [f]
Thie Eary: ‘Shieling House’ (1945) [f]
Thie Eary(s): ‘Shieling House’ (1772-73) [f]
Thie Eary Billy Bill Harry: ‘Billy (son of) Bill (son of) Harry’s Shieling House’ (1932) [f]
Thie Eary Kelly: ‘Kelly’s Shieling House’ (no date) [f]
Turnbull’s Thie Eary: ‘Turnbull’s Shieling House’ (1990) [f]

Sources and Abbreviations

Information on the Galloway names is from Maxwell, *The Place-Names of Galloway*, Megaw, 'The Manx "Eary" and its Significance', Oram, 'Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland with a Special Study of Bysbie' and Collingwood, 'Norse Influence in Dumfriesshire and Galloway'. Information on the Manx names is from Broderick, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man* (6 vols so far). As the records for minor names such those in *Airy* are so poor in Scotland, historical forms of these names are virtually non-existent before the first Ordnance Survey maps. As such, I have not attempted to compile a list of historical forms, and have only given the earliest date of a name where it was recorded significantly earlier than the Ordnance Survey forms. Thanks to the recent Manx Place-Name Survey, the Manx *Eary* names are somewhat better attested, and I have given the earliest recorded dates of each name in brackets. However, because the majority of these names are only recorded once or twice in recent records, I have omitted the historical forms from this appendix.

In the Galloway names, all specific elements are Scottish Gaelic, unless otherwise stated, and in the Manx names, all specific elements are Manx Gaelic, unless otherwise stated.

[f] – Field Name.

pont – The earliest form of the name is recorded on one of Pont's maps.

QL – Quarterland Name.

TR – Treen Name.

APPENDIX C: The *Kirk-* Compounds

Part One: The Dedications of the *Kirk-* Compounds

Wigtownshire

- Kirkbride:** ‘St Brigid’s Church’ (Kirkmaiden Parish)
Kirkbryde: ‘St Brigid’s Church’ (Kirkcolm Parish)
Kirkchrist: ‘Christ’s Church’ (Old Luce Parish)
Kirkchrist: ‘Christ’s Church’ (Penninghame Parish)
Kirkcolm: ‘St Columba’s Church’ (Kirkcolm Parish)
Kirkcowan: ‘St Eoghan’s Church’ (Kirkcowan Parish)
Kirkfolan: ‘St Faolan’s Church’ (Sorbie Major Parish)
Kirkhobble: Gael *ceathramh* ‘quarterland’ + Gael *caipel, capall* (Penninghame Parish)
Kirkinner: ‘St Cainer’s Church’ (Kirkinner Parish)
Kirklauchline: Gael *ceathramh* ‘quarterland’ + pers. n. Lochlinn (Stoneykirk Parish)
Kirkmabreck: ‘Church of Aedh mac Bric or Mo-Bhric’ (Stoneykirk Parish)
Kirkmadrine: ‘Church of my Draighne’ (Sorbie Parish)
Kirkmadrine: ‘Church of my Draighne’ (Stoneykirk Parish)
Kirkmagill: Gael *cathair*, Welsh *caer* + surn. Mic Giolla (Stoneykirk Parish)
Kirkmaiden: ‘Church of my Étain’ (Kirkmaiden Parish)
Kirkmaiden: ‘Church of my Étain’ (Glasserton Parish)

Kirkcudbright

- Kirkanders:** ‘St Andrew’s Church’ (Borgue Parish)
Kirkandrews: ‘St Andrew’s Church’ (Balmaghie Parish)
Kirkandrews: ‘St Andrew’s Church’ (Parton Parish)
Kirkbean: ‘St Bean’s Church’ (Kirkbean Parish)
Kirkbryde: ‘St Brigid’s Church’ (Kirkgunzeon Parish)
Kirkbryde: ‘St Brigid’s Church’ (Kirkcudbright Parish)
Kirkbryde: ‘St Brigid’s Church’ (Kirkmabreck Parish)
Kirkcarswell: ‘St Oswald’s Church’ (Rerwick Parish)
Kirkchrist: ‘Christ’s Church’ (Kirkcudbright Parish)
Kirkconnel: ‘St Conall’s Church’ (Tungland Parish)
Kirkcormack: ‘St Cormac’s Church’ (Kelton Parish)
Kirkcostyntin: ‘St Constantine’s Church’ (Urr Parish)
Kirkcudbright: ‘St Cuthbert’s Church’ (Kirkcudbright Parish)
Kirkennan: ‘St Enan’s Church or St Finnian’s Church’ (Buittle Parish)
Kirkennan: ‘St Enan’s Church or St Finnian’s Church’ (Minigaff Parish)
Kirkeoch: ‘St Eochaidh’s Church?’ (Twynholm Parish)
Kirkgunzeon: ‘St Finian’s Church’ (Kirkgunzeon Parish)
Kirkinna: ‘St Cainer’s Church or Cainnach’s Church’ (Parton Parish)
Kirklaugh: Gael *ceathramh* ‘quarterland’ + ? (Antwoth Parish)
Kirkilbride: ‘*kirk* + St Brigid’s Church’ (Kirkpatrick Durham Parish)
Kirkmabreck: ‘Church of Aedh mac Bric or Mo-Bhric’ (Kirkmabreck Parish)

Kirkmirran: 'St Mirren's Church' (Kelton Parish)
Kirkpatrick-Durham: 'St Patrick's Church' (Kirkpatrick-Durham Parish)
Kirkpatrick-Irongray: 'St Patrick's Church' (Kirkpatrick-Irongray Parish)

Dumfriesshire

Kirkbride: 'St Brigid's Church' (Durisdeer Parish)
Kirkbride: 'St Brigid's Church' (Keir Parish)
Kirkconnel: 'St Conall's or Convallus' Church' (Kirkconnel Parish)
Kirkconnel: 'St Conall's or Convallus' Church' (Formerly Kirkconnel Parish)
Kirkconnel: 'St Conall's or Convallus' Church' (Tynron Parish)
Kirkcudbright: 'St Cuthbert's Church' (Glencairn Parish)
Kirkmahoe: 'St Mochoe's Church' (Kirkmahoe Parish)
Kirkmichael: 'St Michael's Church' (Kirkmichael Parish)
Kirkpatrick-Fleming: 'St Patrick's Church' (Kirkpatrick-Fleming Parish)
Kirkpatrick-Juxta: 'St Patrick's Church' (Kirkpatrick-Juxta Parish)

Carrick

Kirkbride: 'St Brigid's Church' (Maybole Parish)
Kirkbride: 'St Brigid's Church' (Straiton Parish)
Kirkconstantine: 'St Constantine's Church' (Colmonell Parish)
Kirkcudbright: 'St Cuthbert's Church' (Ballantrae Parish)
Kirkdomine: 'The Lord's Church' (Girvan Parish)
Kirkmichael: 'St Michael's Church' (Kirkmichael Parish)
Kirkoswald: 'St Oswald's Church' (Kirkoswald Parish)

Cumberland

Kirkandrews: 'St Andrew's Church' (Kirkandrews-upon-Eden Parish)
Kirkandrews: 'St Andrew's Church' (Kirkandrews Middle, Moat and Nether Parish)
Kirkandrews: 'St Andrew's Church' (Culgaith Parish)
Kirkbride: 'St Brigid's Church' (Kirkbride Parish)
Kirkbrynnock: 'St Brynach's Church' (Bewcastle Parish)
Kirkoswald: 'St Oswald's Church' (Kirkoswald Parish)
Kirksanton: 'St Sanctan's Church' (Millom Parish)

Sources

Information on dedications of Scottish *kirk*- names is derived from MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names' and 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick'. Information on dedications of English *kirk*- names is from Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, and Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*.

Part Two: Historical Forms of the *Kirk-* Compounds

Wigtownshire.

- Kirkbride:** *Kirkbride* (1462) [Kirkmaiden]
Kirkbryde (1545)
Kirkbryd (1577)
Kilbryd (1678, 1691)
Killbryd (1672)
- Kirkbryde:** *Kirkbryde* (1587,1591) [Kirkcolm]
- Kirkchrist:** *Kirkchrist* (1574) [Old Luce]
Kirkcryst (1599)
Kilchrist (1614)
- Kirkchrist:** *Kirkchrist* (pont) [Penninghame]
- Kirkcolm:** *Kerkecolemm* (1186)
Kyrcum (1275)
Kyrkum (1295-96)
Kirkom (1302)
Kyrceum (1358)
Kyrkcum (1448)
Kirkcum (1551)
- Kirkcowan:** *Kirkkewan* (1435)
Kirkewane (1471)
Kirkewane (1485)
Kirkcowane (1498)
Kirkewane (1499)
- Kirkfolan:** *ecclesia S. Foylani de Sowrby* (1185-1200)
Sowrby (1221)
Soureby (1281)
Kirkfolan (1282)
- Kirkhobble:** *Keirchappell* (1645)
Kerychappell (1662)
- Kirkinner:** *Carnemal* (1275)
ecclesia Sancte Kenere de Carnesmall (1325-26)
Kykynner alias Carnismole (1400)
Linkynner (1428)
Carnismule alias Kyrckynner (1460)
Kirkynnir (1503)
Kirkynner (1538, 1544)
Kirkinver (1584)

Kirkynnuir (pont)

Kirklauchline: *Kererlauchlin* (1515-16)
Kirulauchlie (1543)
Kerelauchleine (1596)
Keirlachlyn (1662)
Keirlauchline (pont)
Kerlauchlin (1675)

Kirkmabreck: *Kirkmakbrick* (pont)

Kirkmadrine: *Kirkmadryne* (1562) [Sorbie]

Kirkmadrine: *Kirkmakdryn* (pont) [Stoneykirk]

Kirkmagill: *Karmagell* (1487-88)
Carmagill (1506)
Keromagill (1571)
Carmagyll (1616)
Kyrmagil (pont)

Kirkmaiden: *Kirkemethen* (1275) [Kirkmaiden]
Kirkmaiden (1393)
S. Medan de le Rynnys (1393)
Kyrkmedin (1444)
Kilmedun (1469)
Kirkmedyn (1493)
Kyrkmadan (1529)

Kirkmaiden: *Kikmethin* (1306) [Glasserton]
Kyrckemethym (1307)
Kirkmidyne (1473)
Kirkmedin (1543)
Kirkmadin (1545)
Kirkmaiden (pont)

Kirkcudbrightshire

Kirkanders: *Kirkeandres* (1234) [Borgue]
Eglise de Kircandres (1296)
Kirkandris (1306-29)
Kirkandris (1315-21)
Kirkandres Plunton (1335-36)
Kirkandris (1426)
Kirkandris (1459)
Kirkandriss (1550-85)

Kirkandrews: *ecclesia de S. Andree* (1165-1215) [Balmaghie]

Kyrcanders (1189-1209)
Kirkanders Balemakethe (1255-93)
Kircander Balimeth (1275)

Kirkandrews: *Kirkandrum Purten* (1275) [Parton]
Partone (1296)
Kirkandres Porton (1335-36)
Perton (1414)

Kirkbean: *Kirkbene* (1272)
Kyrkebebe (1275)
Kyrkben (1425)
Kirkben (1427)
Kylbieni (1468)
Kirkbane (1548)
Kirbene (1587, 1606)
Kirbyinn (pont)

Kirkbride: *Markisworth de Kilbride* (1456) [Merksworth]
Merkeland de Killbryde (1456)

Kirkbride: *ecclesia de S. brigide de Blachet* (1164-74) [Blaiket]
Ecclesia Sanctae Brigide de Blaiket (1170)
Blacket (1175-99)
Blakhet (1214-34)
Blacketh (1233-41)
Kirkbride (1249)
Kilbride (1488)

Kirkbryde: *Kyrkbryde* (1534) [Kirkambreck]
Kirkbryd (vel Kilbryd) (1597)

Kirkcarswell: *Kirkassudie* (1329-71)
Kyrassalda (1365)
Kirkcassald (1468)
Kirkcassall (1481)
Kirkassail (1537)
Kyrcarsall (1562)
Kyrcastell (1562)
Kirkcossald (1567)
Kirkcaswell (1571-72)
Kirkcossald (1602)

Kirkchrist: *Kirkcrist* (1294)
Kyrcrist (1331)
Kyrccrist (1345)
Kyrkrist (1416)
Kirkcrist (1540)
Kirkchristie (1589)

Kirkcryst (1592)

Kirkconnel: *Kirkconnel* (1200-34)
Kirkeconeuel (1235-53)
Kyrconeuel (1270-80)
Kirkconnevill (Holm Cultram)
Kyrkoneville (Holm Cultram)
Kirkconnell (1549)
Karkonnel (pont)
Kirkonnell (pont)

Kirkconstantin: *Hur* (1185)
S. Constantini de Hur (1233-41)
Kircostyntin (1262)
Hurr (1290)

Kirkcormack: *Kirhecormach* (1165-1206)
Kirhecormach (1172-74)
Kyrkecormac (1200-06)
Kirkormock (1329-71)
Kirkcormok (1475)
Kirkcormok (1605)

Kirkcudbright: *Cuthbrictis Khirche* (1164)
Kyrkecuthbert (1200-06)
Kircudbriht (1200-14)
Kirkcudbrit (1218)
Kircuthbright (1296)
Kirkcudbrich (1325)
Kirkupbrich (1458)
Kirkcubricht (1459)
Kirkcudbrith (1495)
Kircubright (pont)

Kirkennan: *Kirkkenane* (1428) [Buittle]
Kirkennan (1453)
Kirkunzane (1453)
Kirkynnane (1453-54)
Kirkkenan (1458)
Kirkennane (1464)
Kirkenane (1484-85)
Kirkennane (1490)
Kirkcunan (1611)

Kirkennan: *Kerykennan* (pont) [Minnigaff]

Kirkeoch: *Priory of S. Evoca* (1423)
Kirkevok (1464)

- Kirkgunzeon:** *Cherchwinnin* (1159-81)
Kirkewinnen (1174-99)
Kirkewynnyn (1175-85)
Kyrkegunni (1185-1200)
Kirkwynnin (c.1200)
Kirkgunyen (1275)
Kyrguny (1291)
Kirkgunny (1291)
Kirkewynny (1291)
Kirkewinny (13th C)
Kirkewenny (13th C)
Kirkgunyane (1368)
Kirkginyane (reign of David II)
Kirkgunzane (1458, 1495)
Kirkgunzean (1465)
Kirkgunzeane (1499)
Kirkguinnan (pont)
Carguinnan (pont)
- Kirkinna:** *Kirkkynner* (1581)
Kirkener (1586)
Kirkinar (1595)
- Kirklaugh:** *Kareclaugh* (pont)
Kirreclaugh (1605)
- Kirklebride:** *Kirkilbrid* (1593)
Kirkilbryde (pont)
- Kirkmabreck:** *Kyrkmaberc* (1351)
Kirkmakbrik (1468)
Kirkmabrek (1468)
Kirkmakbrek (1501)
Kirkmabreck (1534)
Kirkmakbreck (1534)
Kirkmakbreck (1537)
Kirkmackbreck (pont)
- Kirkmirran:** *Kirkmirrein* (1605)
Kirkmirren (1606, 1607)
Kirkmyrring (1615)
- Kirkpatrick:** *Kirkpatrick Dorand* (1272) [Durham]
Kyrkepatric Duraunt (1275)
Kirkpatrick Durand (1296)
Kirkepatric Duraund (1305)
Kirkpatrik (1538)
Kirkpatrick Dirrame (1607)

Kirkpatrick: *Kyrkpatric Cro* (1275) [Irongray]
Kirkepatrick (1304)
Kircpatric juxta Travereglis (1347)
Kylpatrikcro (1394)
Kirkpatric-Garngray (1463)
Kirkpatrik-Irenggray (1501)

Dumfriesshire

Kirkbride: *Kyrkbrid* (1471) [Durisdeer]

Kirkbride: *Brydeburgh* (1320) [Keir]
Kirkbridis (1552)

Kirkconnel: *Kirconnel* (1296) [Parish]

Kirkconnel: *Kircconveth* (1427) [Old Parish]
Kyrkconnell (1486)
Kirkconvell (1506)

Kirkconnel: *Kyrkcunel* (1327) [Tynron]

Kirkcudbright: *Kirkcubre* (1511)
Kirkcudbrecht (1549)
Kirkowbrik (1660)

Kirkmahoe: *Kirk(e)maho* (1251)
Kirkmaho (1275)
Kirkmaho (12580)
Kirkmahook (1319)
Kirkemogho (1319)
Kirk(e)mahook (1428)
Kirkmocho (1430)
Kirkmahoo (1522)
Kyrmahewe (1563)

Kirkmichael: *Kermyghkel* (1296)
Kircmichelle (1315)
Kyrmichell (1329)
Kirkmichhel (1384)
Kirkmighell (1574)
Kirkmeichall (1583)

Kirkpatrick: *Kirkepatric* (1179, 1189)
Kirchepatric (1181)
Kirkepatrick (1291)
Kirk Patrick (1291)
Kilpatrick (1296)

Kirk Petry (1660)

Kirkpatrick: *Kirkpatrick juxta Moffet* (1355) [Juxta]
Kilpatrick Juxta (1528)

Carrick

Kirkbride: -----

Kirkbride: -----

Kirkconstantine: -----

Kirkcudbright: *Innertig* (1275)
Inntug (1404)
Invertig (S. Cuthberti) (1444)
Kyrkubry de Entertig (1484)

Kirkdominae: *Kyldormne* (1391)
Kuldomine (1404)
Kildomine (1444)

Kirkmichael: *S. Michael de Munthyrduffy* (1270-80)
Kirkmichell (1275)
Kircmichel (1333)
Kyrkmichel (1362)
Kyrcmychel Munterduffy (1370)

Kirkoswald: *Kykoswald* (1324)
Kircoswald (1326)
Kyrassalda (1365)
Kirkoswald (1374)

Cumberland

Kirkandrews: *Hermitorium Sancti Andreæ* (c.1140) [Penrith]
Kirkandreas (a.1147, c.1160)
Hermitorium quod vocatur Kirkandreas (c.1158)
Kyrkandres (1344)

Kirkandrews: *Kirkanders* (c.1200) [Eden]
Kirkeandreas juxta Burgh (c.1235)
Kircandr' (1249)
Kirk(e)andres (1261)
Kircandres (1263)
Kircandres (1272)
Kirkandres (1272)

Kirkandres by Karlisle (1285)
Kyrkandres iuxta Karliolum (1393)
Kirkanders (1576)
Kirk Andrews upon Eden (1777)

Kirkandrews: *Kirchand'r'* (1165) [Esk]
Kirkeandres (c.1230)
Kirkanders (1257)
Kircandres (1298)
Kirkanders (1576)
Kirkanders upon Eske (1658)
Kirkandrews-upon-Esk (1695)

Kirkbride: *Chirchebrid* (1163)
Kirkebride (c.1185, 1189)
Kirkbrid (1190)
Kyerkeb' (1201)

Kirkbrynnok: *Kirkebrynnok'* (1339)

Kirkoswald: *Karcoswald* (1167)
Kierkoswald (1201)
Kirkos(e)wald (1212)
Kirkoswaud (1219)
Kirkehosewald (1258)
Kirkeosewod (1265)
Kyrkehosewald (1292)
Kirkebyossewald (1292)
Kirkuswald (1375)
Kirkhozewold (1552)
Kirkeswald(e) (1586)
Kirkcouswald (1659)
Kirkcuzalt (1665)

Kirksanton: *Santacherche* (DB)
Kirkesant' (1152)
Kirkesantan (1152)
Kirksanton (1175-90)
Kyrksanton (1278)
Kyrkesande (1292)
Kirkesanton (1333)
Kirksancton (1629)

Sources and Abbreviations

Historical Forms of the Galloway names are from MacQueen, 'Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names' and 'The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick', the appendix to Brooke's article, 'Kirk- Compound Place-Names in Galloway and Carrick' and Maxwell, *The Place Names of Galloway*. Historical forms of the Dumfriesshire names are from Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* and Johnson-Ferguson, *The Place-Names of Dumfriesshire*. Historical forms of the Cumberland names are from Armstrong *et al*, *The Place-Names of Cumberland*, Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* and Mills, *A Dictionary of English Place-Names*. Some additional forms of the Scottish names were taken from Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* and Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland*.

DB – Domesday Book.

Holm Cultram – The historical Form is from Holm Cultram.

pont – The historical Form is from a Pont map.

Part Three: Historical Forms of the *Kirkby* Names

- East Kirkby:** *Cherchebi* (DB)
Chirchebia (1142)
- Kirby Bedon:** *Kerkebei* (DB)
Kirkeby Bydon (1291)
- Kirby Bellars:** *Chirchebi* (DB)
Kirckeby super Wreic (1242)
Kirkeby Belers (1428)
- Kirby Cane:** *Kerkeby* (DB)
Kyrkeby (c.1095)
Kirby Cam (1282)
Kirkebycaam (1375)
- Kirby Grindalythe:** *Chirchebi* (DB)
Kirkebi in Krandale (1180-95)
Kirkeby Crandala (c.1190)
Kirkby in Crendalith (1367)
- Kirby Hall:** *Chercheberie* (DB)
Chirchebi (1163)
- Kirby Hill:** *Chirchebi* (DB)
Kirkeby in Mora (1224-30)
- Kirby Hill:** *Kirkebi* (c.1160)
Kyrby Hylle (AD i)
- Kirby in Cleveland:** *Cherchebi* (DB)
- Kirby Knowle:** *Chirchebi* (DB)
Kirkeby subtus Knoll (1230)
Kirby Knol (1279)
- Kirby le Soken:** *Kyrkebi* (1181)
Kyrkeby (1254)
Kirkeby in the Sokne (1385)
- Kirby Misperton:** *Chirchebi* (DB)
Mispertona Kirkeby (c.1090)
Kircabi-mispertun (1157)
- Kirby Ravensworth:** *Kirkeby Ravenswathe* (1280)
- Kirby Sigston:** *Kirchebi* (1088)

- Kirby Underdale:** *Chirchebi* (DB)
Kircabi in Hundolvesdala (1157)
Kirkeby Hundoldale (1254)
- Kirby Wiske:** *Chirchebi* (DB)
Kirkeby super Wisc (c.1180)
Kirby Wisch (1212)
- Kirkby:** *Cherchebi* (DB)
Kirkeby (1207)
- Kirkby cum Osgodby:** *Kyrchebeia* (1146)
Kirkeby (1254)
- Kirkby Fleetham:** *Chirchebi* (DB)
Kirkby et Fleteham (1287)
Kyrkbyfletham (1291)
- Kirkby Green:** *Cherchebi* (DB)
Kirkebi (1202)
- Kirkby in Ashfield:** *Chirchebi* (DB)
Kirkeby in Esfeld (1216)
Kirkeby in Essefeld (1237)
- Kirkby Ireleth:** *Kirkebi* (c.1195)
Kirkby (1227)
Kirkby Irelith (1278)
- Kirkby Laythorpe:** *Chirchebi* (DB)
Kirkebi et Leitorp (1206)
Kirkeby Leylthorp (1316)
- Kirkby Lonsdale:** *Cherchebi* (DB)
Cherkeby Lonnesdale (1090-7)
Kircabilauenesdala (1090-7)
Kircabi Lauenesdale (1090-7)
- Kirkby Malham:** *Chirchebi* (DB)
Kirkeby Malgam (1250)
- Kirkby Mallory:** *Cherchebi* (DB)
Kyrkeby Malure (1285)
- Kirkby Malzeard:** *Chirchebi* (DB)
Kirkebi Malesard (c.1105)
Malassart (1155-95)
Kirkeby Malesard (1242)
- Kirkby Moorside:** *Cherchebi* (DB)
Kirkeby Moreshered (c.1170, 1282)

- Kirkby on Bain:** *Chirchebi* (DB)
Kyrkeby super Bein (1226)
- Kirkby Overblow:** *Cherchebi* (DB)
Kirkeby Oreblowere (1211)
Kirkby Oreblawer (1242)
Kirkby Ferers (1291)
- Kirkby Stephen:** *Cherkaby Stephan* (c.1094)
Kircabi Stephan (1157)
- Kirkby Thore:** *Kirkebythore* (1179)
Kirkebithore (1223)
- Kirkby Underwood:** *Cherchebi* (DB)
Kyrkeby (1242)
- Kirkby Wharfe:** *Chirchebi* (DB)
Kyrkeby upon Werf (1254)
- Monks Kirby:** *Chircheberie* (DB)
Kirkebi (Henry II)
Kirkeby Moynes or Monachorum (1305)
- South Kirkby:** *Cherchebi* (DB)
Sudkirkebi (c.1124)
Suthkyrkeby (1226)
- West Kirby:** *Cherebia* (DB)
Kirchebi (1154-81)
Kirkebei (1205)
Westkirkeby (1289)

Sources and Abbreviations

This section contains all the *Kirkby* names which have Domesday forms, together with those that have historical forms dating back to the relevant period. All historical forms in this section are taken from Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* and Mills, *A Dictionary of English Place-Names*.

DB – Domesday Book

AD *i* – Catalogue of Ancient Deeds.

Part Four: Kirk- Compounds on the Isle of Man

Section One: The Dedications of the Manx Kirk- Compounds

Ayre Sheading

Kirk Andrews Parish: 'St Andrew's Church'
Kirk Andrews: 'St Andrew's Church'
Kirk Andrews Village: 'St Andrew's Church'
Kirk Bride Parish: 'St Brigid's Church'
Kirk Bride: 'St Brigid's Church'
Kyrkebride: 'St Brigid's Church'
Kirk Christ Lezayre Parish: 'Church of the Holy Trinity'
Kirk Christ Lezayre: 'Church of the Holy Trinity'

Garff Sheading

Kirk Conchan Parish: 'St Christopher's Church' > Gael ?*Conchenn* 'dog/wolf head'
Onchan: 'St Christopher's Church' > Gael ?*Conchenn* 'dog/wolf head'
Kirk Lonan Parish: 'St Adomnan's Church'
Kirk Lonan: 'St Adomnan's Church'
Kirk Maughold Parish: 'St Maughold's Church' > Lat *Machut(us) / Machaldus*
Kirk Maughold: 'St Maughold's Church'

Glenfaba Sheading

Kirk German Parish: 'St Germanus' Church' [replacing earlier Mx dedication]
Kirk Patrick Parish: 'St Patrick's Church'
Kirk Maloney: 'The Lord's Church' > Gael *Maol Domhnaigh*

Michael Sheading

Kirk Michael Parish: 'St Michael's Church'
Kirk Michael Village: 'St Michael's Church'
Kirk Cooslan: 'Constantine's Church'?

Middle Sheading

Kirk Braddan Parish: 'Braddan's Church' [Mx saint > Gael *Bradán*]
Kirk Braddan: 'Braddan's Church' [Mx saint > Gael *Bradán*]
Kirk Marown Parish: 'St Runius' Church' [Mx saint > Gael **Rúine*]
Kirk Marown: 'St Runius' Church' [Mx saint > Gael **Rúine*]
Kirk Santan Parish: 'St Santan's Church' [Mx saint], or 'St Sanctan's Church'
Kirk Santan: 'St Santan's Church' [Mx saint], or 'St Sanctan's Church'

Rushen Sheading

Kirk Malew Parish: 'St Mo-Lúa's Church'
Kirk Malew: 'St Mo-Lúa's Church'

Kyrkemychell: 'St Michael's Church'
Kirk Arbory Parish: 'St Cairpre's Church'
Kirk Arbory: 'St Cairpre's Church'
Kirk Christ Rushen Parish: 'Church of the Holy Trinity'
Kirk Christ Rushen: 'Church of the Holy Trinity'
Kyrke Patryk: 'St Patrick's Church'
Kyrke Sansan: 'St Santan's Church', or 'St Samson's Church' ?

Section Two: Historical Forms of the Manx *Kirk*- Compounds

Ayre Sheading

Kirk Andreas Parish: *Parochia Sct. Andre* (1515-75)
Parochia Sti. Andr. (1524)
Parochia Sti. Andr[ea]s (1527)
Paroch. Scti Andres (1568)
Saint Andrewas (1585)
Andrews (1589)
Paroch. Sct. Andreas (1594)
Par. Sct. Andrew (1633)
Parroch. Sti. Andreas (1671)
Paroch. Sct. Andreas (1685)
Parochia Sct. Andreas (1686, 1696, 1709)
Parochia Sct. Andreas (1750)
Andreas (1797-1911)

Kirk Andrews: *S. Andro* (1564)
Kirk Androwe (1583)
Kirk Androw (1595)
KK Andrase (1659)
K Andrews (1662)
KK Andresse (1666)
St. And[r]jew (1693)
Kk Andrews (1720)
Kk Andreas (1730)
K. Andrew (1789)

Kirk Andreas Village: *Kirk Andreas Village* (1836)
Kk Andreas Village (1841)
Village of Andreas (1844)

Kirk Bride Parish: *Parochia Scte brigide* (1515, 1526)
Parochia Stæ brigide (1527)
Parochia Ste brigid (1529)
Paroch. St. brigide (1542)
Paroch. Scte Brigid (1575)
Paroch. St. Brygid (1575)
Saint Bryde (c.1585)
Brygitt Paroch (1589)

Paroch. St Bryde (1680)
parochia St. Bride (1709)
Parochia Sct. Bride (1750)
Kk Bride (1797)
Bride (1869, 1911)

Kirk Bride:

ecclesie Sancte Brigide in Layr (1376-77)
S. Brigide (1564)
Kirk brigid (1583)
Kirk Bridge (1595)
KK Bride (1662)
Kyrke bryde (1662)
KK brigyd (1675)
St. Bridget (1693)

Kyrkebryde:

Kyrkebryde (1515)
Kyrkebride (1524, 1526)
Kirkebryde (1527)
Kyrk bride (1542)
Kirk bryde (1594)
KK bryde (1680)
KK Bride (1686, 1704, 1709-1869)
Kirk Bride (1891, 1911)

Kirk Christ Lezayre Parish: *Parochia Scte trinitatis* (1515, 1526)

Parochia Sctæ trinitatis (1527)
Parochia Sce Trin[i]te (1529)
Parochia Ste trinitattes (1542)
Paroch. Scte Trinitate (1568)
Paroch. St. Trinitates (1575)
Sancte Trinitate les Ayre (1585)
Paroch. Sct. Trinit. lez Ayre (1594)
Paroch. Sct. trinit. lez Ayre (1633)
Parroch. Sct. Trint Ayre (1671)
Paroch. Sct. Trint. ayre (1685)
Parochia Sct. Trinit. lezayre (1686)
Parochia Sct. Trinity Lezayre (1695)
Parochia Trinit. Lez Ayre (1704, 1709)
Lezayre (1750)
Paroch. Trinitat. Lezayre (1797)
Lezayre (1869-1911)

Kirk Christ Lezayre:

Kk Christ Lez Ayre (1641)
Kk Christ of the Ayre (1642)
Kk Christ lezayre (1656)
Trint Ayre (1662)
Christ Church (1693)
Kk Christ le air (1694)
Kk Christ L'Ayre (1707)
Kk Christ L'Ayre (1716)

KK Christ of Air (1763)
K. Christ Lizare (1789)

Garff Sheading

Kirk Conchan Parish: *Poche Sct Conchan (1507)*
Parochia Scti Coinchand (1511)
Proch Scti Conchan (1523)
Proch. scti. Conch. (1570)
Proch. Scti. Conchani (1580)
Kirk Concane (1583)
Kirk Conchan (1593)
Kirk onkon (1595)
The pish of kk Conchan (1600)
Paroch. Sct. Conchan (1622)
Paroch. Sct. Conchan (1643)
Kk Conchan (1643)
Poch. Sct. Conchan (1665)
KK Koncan (1682)
Parochia Sct. Conchan (1694)
Parochia Sct. Conchan (1702)
KK Conchan (1702)
Parochia St. Conchan (1703)
KK Conchan (1704)
Parochia St. Conchan (1709)
Parochia St. Conchan (1750)
KK Conchan (1750)
KK Conchan (1797)
Conchan (1797)
Kirk Onkan (1810)
Conchan (1870)
Onchan (1911)

Onchan: *KK Onchan (1821)*
Village of Onchan (1840)
Onchan Village (1861)
Village of Concan (1861)
Village of Onchan (1861)
Conchan Village (1861)
Onchan Village (1871)
[Onchan] Village (1881, 1891)

Kirk Lonan Parish: *Poche Sct Lonan (1507)*
Poche Scti Lonan (1511)
Poche Sct Lonan (1523)
Paroch. Scti Lonan (1570)
Paroch Scti Lonan (1580)
Kirke Lonan (1593)
the parish of KK Lonan (1600)
Paroch. St. Lonan (1622)

Paroch. Sct. Lonan (1643, 1665)
Parochia Sct. Lonan (1694, 1702)
Parochia St. Lonnan (1703)
KK Lonan (1704)
Parochia St. Lonnan (1709)
Parochia St. Lonnan (1712-14)
KK Lonnan (1712-14)
KK Lonnan (1797)
Lonnan (1797)
Lonnan (1870)
Lonan (1911)

Kirk Lonan:

Kirk louell (1583)
Kirk lennons (1595)
K Lonan (1662)
St. Loman (1689)
Kk Lonnan (1719)
K. Lonnon (1789)

Kirk Maughold Parish: *Poche Sct. Maghaldi* (1507)

Parochia Scti Maghaldi (1511)
Paroch. Scti Maghald (1523)
Poch. Scti Maghald (1570, 1580)
Kirke Maghald (1593)
The psh of KK Maughold (1600)
Paroch. St. Maughold (1622)
Paroch. Sct. Maguld (1643)
Paroch. Sct. Maughold (1665)
Parochia Sct. Maughold (1694)
Parochia St. Maughold (1712-14)
KK Maughold (1712-14)
parochia Sct. Maughold (1750)
KK Maughold (1750)
Parochia Scti. Maughold (1783)
KK Maughold (1783)
KK Maughold (1797)
Maughold (1797)
Maughold (1869, 1911)

Kirk Maughold:

Kirke Maghald (1302)
Kirk Maghhaul (1595)
KK Maughall (1637)
KK Maughel (1712)

Glenfaba Sheading

Kirk German Parish: *(in) ecclesia sancti Germani* (1257)
Keel Charmane (1500)
Keel Charmaan (1500)
Parochia Scti. germani (1515)

Kirke Garman (1592)
Kirk Jarman (1595)
Ecclesia Cathedralis Sancti Carmani (c. 1600)
Kirk Jerman or German (1648-56)
Kirke Germane (1656)
Kk German (1706)
Kk Germin (1710)
(in the) parish of German (1711)
Kk Garman (1718)

Kirk Patrick Parish: *Parochia Sti. Patrick* (1515)
Kirk patrik of the peel (1595)
Kirk Patrick of Peel (1648-56)
Kirke Patrick of Peel (1656)
Kk Pattericke (1682)
St. Patrick of Peele (1693)
KK Patterick (1704)
Kk patricke (1736)
K. Patrick (1789)
Kirk Patrick (1826)

Kirk Maloney: *Kirk Maloney* (1585)

Michael Sheading

Kirk Michael Parish: *Kirk Michaell* (1422)
Parochia Scti Michaelis (1515, 1526)
Parochia Scti michelis (1539)
Parochia Scti michelis (1575)
Parochia Scti Michaellis (1594)
Kirke michaelle (1595)
Paroch. St. Michaell (1627)
Kk Michael (1648)
Parroch. Scti Michell (1650)
Parochia Scti micha (1673)
Parochia Scti Michaelis (1702)
Kk Michell (1704)
Parochia Scti Michael (1728)
Kk Michael (1797)
Michael (1858-1911)

Kirk Michael Village: *Kirk michaell* (1583)
Kirk Mighhill (1595)
KK Michaell (1634)
Kk Michell towne (1643)
K[irk] Michaell (1662)
Kk Michell Town (1693)
Kk Michaell Town (1703)
Kk Michel towne (1704)
the towne of KK Michael (1705)

Kk Michael (1708)
Kk Michell (1709)
Kk michaell town (1709)
KK Michael Town (1743)
KK Mickal (1759)
KK Michael's church-Town (1763)
K[jirk] Michael (1789)
KK Michael (1797)
K. Michael (1826)
Michael Village (1851)
Michael Town (1858)
KK Michael Town (1869)
Michael Village (1891)
Kirk Michael (1956)

Kirk Cooslan (Jurby Parish): *Kirk Cooslan* (20th C)

Middle Sheading

Kirk Braddan Parish: *Poche Sct. Bradan* (1507)
Parochia Sct. Bradan (1511)
Paroch. Sct. Bradan (1523, 1570)
Paroch. Sct. Brandan (1577)
Kirk Bradan (1593)
The prish of kk Bradan (1600)
Paroch St. Bradan (1622)
Paroch. Sct. Bradan (1643)
Poch. St. Braddan (1665)
The Parish of KK Braddan (1666)
Parochia Sct. Braddan (1673)
Parch. St. Braddan (1683)
Parochia St. Braddan, KK Braddan (1703)
Parochia St. Braddan, KK Braddan (1709)
Parochia Sct. Braddan, KK Braddan (1750)
KK Braddan, Braddan (1796)
Braddan (1870, 1911)

Kirk Braddan: *Kirk Bredon* (1595)
Sancti Bradarni (PB 1231, c. 1600)
St. Brandon (1693)
Kk Braddan (1719)
Kk Breddan (1773-1792)
K. Bradden (1789)

Kirk Marown Parish: *Poche Sct. Marown* (1507)
Parochia Sct. Runi (1511, 1523)
Parochia Scti Runi (1570, 1577)
Kirk Marowne (1593)
The Phe of kk Marowne (1600)
Paroch. St. Runij (1622)

Paroch, Scti Runy (1643)
Poch. St. Runij (1665)
The Parh. Of KK Marowne (1666)
Parochia Scti Runij (1673)
Parch. St. Runy (1685)
Parochia Sct. Marowne / KK Marowne (1703)
Parochia St. Marowne / KK Marowne (1709)
Parochia Sct. Marowne / KK Marowne (1750)
KK Marown (1796)
Marown (1869, 1911)

Kirk Marown: *Eccles. Scti Runa, Runani, Rune* (CWP 1193, ca.1504)
Kirksayntronyan (1428)
Kirk Mortown (1595)
de Kyrkemarona (PB 1231, ca. 1600)
K. Marrowne (1662-65)
St. Marrune (1689-93)
Kk Ma-rowne (1701)
kk maround (1723)
Kk Marowne (1723-24)
Kk maround (1736-37)
K. Marown (1789)

Kirk Santan Parish: *Poche Sct. Santon* (1507)
Parochia Sct. Santan (1511)
Prochi Sct. Santan (1523)
Prahi Scti Santan (1570)
Prochi Scti Santan (1577)
Kk Santan (1593)
The parish of kk Santan (1600)
Paroch. St. Santan (1622)
Paroch. Sct. Ann (1643)
Poch. St Ann (1665)
The Parish of KK Santan (1666)
Parochia Sctae Anne (1673)
Parochi St. Ann (1683)
Parochia St. Ann / KK St. Ann (1703)
Parochia St. Ann / KK St. Ann (1709)
Parochia St. Ann / KK St. Anne (1750)
The Parish of Santan / KK Santan (1796)
Santon (1870, 1911)

Kirk Santan: *Kirk Santon* (1595)
St. Ann (1689-93)
Kk St. Anne (1720-24)

Rushen Sheading

Kirk Malew Parish: *villam Sancti Melii* (1152-53)
Monasterium Sancti Leoc (1152-53)

Ecclesia Sti. Moliwe (1377)
Poche St. Lupie (1507)
Parochia Sct. Lupi (1511)
P[a]rochia Sct. Lupi (1523)
Proch. Sct. lupi (1525)
Prochia Sti. lupi (1530)
Proch. sti lupi (1539)
Proch. Sti lupi (1540)
Poch. Scti Lupi (1570)
Poch. Sact. Lupi (1580)
Poch. Sct. lupi (1591)
The par. of St. Malewe (1599)
Poch. Sct. Lupi (1615)
Paroch. St. Lupi (1622)
Poch. Sct. Lupie (1635)
Paroch. Sct. Lupi (1643)
Parroch. Sct. Lupi (1651, 1660)
Poch. St. Lupi (1664)
Paroch. St. Lupi (1680)
Parochia Sct. Lupi (1689-90)
Parochia Scti Lupi (1703)
KK Malew (1704)
Malew (1704)
Malew (1704)
Parochia Scti Lupi / KK Mallew (1712)
Parochia Sct. Lupi (1750)
The Parish of Malew (1796)
Malew (1870, 1911)

Kirk Malew:

Kirk mala (1583)
Kirk Male (1595)
KK Malew (1662-64)
Kk Mallew (1727-31)
Kk mallew (1736-37)
K. Mallew (1789)

Kyrkemychell:

kyrkemychel (1280)
[Ky]rke michi[ll] (1507)
Kyrkemychell (1511)
Kyrke mychell (1525)
Kyrke Michell (1530)
Kyrkmyghell (1539, 1540)
kyrkmychell (1570)
Kyrkemyghell (1579)
Kyrke michell (1580)
KK michael (1591)
kk. Michaell (1599)
kk Michell (1615)
KK Michaell (1622)
KK Michell (1635-60)

KK Michaell (1664, 1665)
KK Michell (1680, 1689-90, 1703)
KK Michell (1704, 1712, 1750)
KK Michael (1796-1911)

Kirk Arbory Parish: *terram S. Carebrec* (1152-53)
Ecclesia Sancti Carber (1291)
Poche. Sct. Columbe (1507)
Parochia Sct. Columb (1511)
Prochia Sct. Columb (1523, 1525)
Prochia Scti Columb (1530)
Proch. sti. columb (1539)
Proch scti Columb (1540)
Poch. Scti Columb (1570, 1579)
Poch. Sctæ Columbæ (1591)
The par. of kk. Arbory (1599)
Terra Sti. Columbe herbery vocatem (PB 1231, ca. 1600)
Parrish St. Columbi (1615)
Paroch. st. Columbi (1622)
Poch. St. Collumbi (1635)
Paroch. Sct. Collumbe (1640, 1643)
Parroch. Sct. Collumb. (1651)
poch. Sct. Columb. (1664)
Poch. Sct. Colomb (1665)
Paroch. Sct. Columb (1680)
Parochia Sct. Collumbi (1689-90)
Parochia Sti Columbi (1703)
KK Arbory (1704)
Parochia Sti. Columbi (1709)
Parochia Sct. Columbi (1750)
The Parish of Arbory (1796)
Arbory (1870, 1911)

Kirk Arbory: *Kirkeharbery* (1540)
Kirk Karbery (1595)
KK Arborie (1631)
KK Arbory (1633)

Kirk Christ Rushen Parish: *ecclesiam sancta trinitatis in russin* (1257)
Parochia Sct. Trinitatis in Rushen (1511)
Proch Sct. Trinitat. in Rushen (1523)
Proch. Sct trinitat. in Rushen (1525)
Prochia Sct. Trinitat (1530)
Poch. Scte Trinitat. (1539)
Proch ste trinitatis (1540)
Poch. ScteTrinitat (1570)
Poch Scte Trinitatis (1579)
Trinitatis Rushene (1580)
Trinitatis (1591)

Poch. of Russhen (1599)
Poch St. Trinitat Russhen (1615)
Parochia St. Trinitat. Rushen (1622)
Poch St. Trinit. de Russhen (1635)
Paroch. Sct. Trinitatis de Rushen (1643)
Poch Ste Trinit. de Rushen (1651)
Poch. Sct. Trint. de Rushen (1665)
Paroch Sct. Trint. Rushen (1680)
Parochia St. Trinitat. Rushen (1689-90)
Parochia Trinitat^s de Rushen (1703)
KK Christ Rushen (1703)
Parochia Trinitat^s de Rushen (1709)
Parochia Trinitat de Rushen (1750)
KK Christ Rushen (1796)
Rushen (1870, 1911)

Kirk Christ Rushen: *Kirk Christ* (1583)
KK Christ Rushen (1662)
K. Christ Rushen (1789)

Kyrke Patryk: *Kyrke patryk* (1511)
[Kyrk]e patric (1525)
Kyrke patric (1530)
Kyrkepatric (1539)
Kyrkpatric (1540)
Kyrk patric (1570)
Kyrk patr. (1579)
Kirke Patrick (1580)
KK Patricke (1591)
KK Patrick (1615-35)
Kk Patrick (1642, 1643)
KK. patrick (1651)
KK patrick (1664)
KK patricke (1665)
KK Patr. (1680)
Ballakilpatr. (1689-90)
Ballakilpatrick (1703)
Ballakillpatrick (1709-96)
Ballakilpatrick (1870-1911)

Kyrke Sansan: *Kyrke sansan* (1511)
Kyrkesansan (1523)
Kyrke sansan (1525)
Kyrke sanson (1530, 1539)
Kyrkesanson (1540)
Kyrke sanson (1570)
Kyrke Sanson (1580)
KK Sanson (1591, 1599)
KK Sansan (1615)
kk Sanson (1622)

KK Sansan (1635)
KK Sanson (1642, 1643)
KK. sanson (1651)
KK Sanson (1660)
KK Sansan (1664)
KK. sanson (1665)
KK Sanson (1680)
KK Sansan (1689-90)
Suasan (1703, 1709-96)
Suason (1870-1911)

Sources and Abbreviations

All historical forms and information on the hagiological dedications of the Manx *kirk*-compounds are taken from Broderick, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man* (6 vols so far).

PB 1231 – the Papal Bull which purports to date from 1231, but which may in fact be a much later forgery. See Section 7.

CWP – The Charters of Whithorn Priory of the 12th and 13th Centuries. The originals of these manuscripts are lost, and the text survives only in a copy from 1504.

APPENDIX D: The *Bý* Names

Part One: The Specific Elements of the *Bý* Names

Galloway

- Appelbie:** OE *æppel* 'apple'
Bagby: ON pers.n. *Baggi*
Bombie: ON *bóndi* 'farmer'
Bysbie: OE *bisceop* 'bishop' / ON *buski* 'shrubbery'
Corsby: ON *kross* 'cross'
Gribdae [Gretby]: ON *grjót* 'rocks, boulders' / OE *grēot* 'gravel'
Mabie: ON *meyja* / *mær*, OE *mæge* 'maiden'
Sorbie: ON *saurr* 'mud, dirt, sour ground'

Dumfriesshire

- Bombay:** ON *bóndi* 'farmer'
Bombie: ON *bóndi* 'farmer'
Canonbie: ME *cano(u)n* 'canon'
Denbie: ON *Danir* 'Danes'
Dunnabie: Gael p.n. **Dún Dubh* 'Black Fort'
Esbie: ON *eski* 'place growing with ash-trees'
Gillenbie: Gael pers.n. *Gill'Eoin* 'Servant of St. John'
Gillesbie: Gael pers.n. *Gillae* 'Servant'
Gimmenbie: Cont pers.n. *Gimmund* / ON pers. n. *Geirmundr*
Gotterbie: Cont pers.n. *Godefrid*
Lamonbie: Cont pers.n. *Lambin* < *Lambert*
Lindbi: ON *lind*, OE *lind* 'linden or lime tree'
Lockerbie: Cont pers.n. *Lochard*
Middlebie: OE *middel* 'middle'
Milnby: OE *myl(e)n*, ON *mylna* 'mill'
Newbie: OE *nīwe*, *nēowe* 'new'
Ouseby: ON pers.n. *Ulfr*
Pearsby: OFr. pers.n. *Piers*
Roberdesbi: Cont pers.n. *Hrodebert*
Sibbaldbie: OE pers.n. *Sigebald* / Cont pers.n. *Sigibald*
Sorbie: ON *saurr* 'mud, dirt, sour ground'
Warmanbie: Cont pers.n. *Warimund*, *Werimund* / OE pers.n. *Wærmund* / ON pers.n. *Vermundr*
Willambi: Cont pers.n. *Willhelm*

Cumberland

- Aglionby:** Norman-French pers.n. *Agyllun*
Aldby: OE *ald* 'old' [Allerdale Above W]
Aldby: OE *ald* 'old' [Leath W]
Aldby: OE *ald* 'old' [Eskdale W]
Aldby: OE *ald* 'old' [Allerdale Below W]

Allerby [*Crosseby aylward* in 1258]: ON *kross* 'cross'
Allonby: French pers.n. *Alein*
Alston [*Aldenby* in 1164-71]: ON pers.n. *Halfdan* / OE pers.n. *Aldhūn*
Alstonby: Anglo-Scand pers.n. *Astin* [from ON *Asketill*]
Arkleby: ON pers.n. *Arnketill*
Arnaby: ON pers.n. *Arnulfr* / Cont pers.n. *Arnulf* / OE pers.n. *Armwulf*
Birkby: ON *Bretar* 'Britons' [Allerdale Below W]
Birkby: ON *Bretar* 'Britons' [Allerdale Above W]
Boothy: pers.n. *Bueth* < Gael *Buidhe* 'yellow'
Botcherby: French pers.n. *Bochard*
[Castle] Sowerby: ON *saurr* 'mud, dirt, sour ground'
Corby: Gael pers.n. *Corc(c)*
Crosscanonby: ON *kross* 'cross' [ME *canon* is a later addition]
Crosby on Eden: ON *kross* 'cross'
Dolphenby: ON pers.n. *Dolgfinnr*
Dovenby: Gael pers.n. *Dubhān*
Easby: ON pers.n. *Ēsi* [influenced by ON *eski* (place growing with ash-trees)]
Ellonby: French pers.n. *Alein*
Etterby: Cont pers.n. *Etard*
Farmanby: ON pers.n. *Farmann* / ON *farmann* 'merchant'
Flimby: ON *Flāmingr*, ME *Flæming* 'native of Flanders'
Gamblesby: ON pers.n. *Gamall*
Gamelsby: ON pers.n. *Gamall*
Glassonby: Gael pers.n. *Glas(s)ān*
Gutterby: OE pers.n. *Godrīc* [Egremont]
Gutterby: OE pers.n. *Godrīc* [Whitebeck]
Harraby: Cont pers.n. *Henric*
Hornsby: ON pers.n. *Ormr*
Hunsonby: ON *hunda-sveinn* 'dog-keeper'
Ireby: ON *Írar* 'Irishmen'
Isaacby: biblical pers.n. *Isaac*
Johnby: biblical pers.n. *Johannes*
Kirkeby Crossan: ON *kirkja* 'church'
Lamonby: Cont pers.n. *Lambin* < *Lambert*
Langwathby: ON p.n. **lang-vað* 'long ford'
Lazonby: ON *leysingi* 'freed man'
Maughonby: OW pers.n. *Merchiaun*, OBret pers.n. *Merchion*
Melmerby: OCelt pers.n. *Māel-Muire*, *Māel-Maire*
Moresby: French pers.n. *Maurice*
Motherby: ON pers.n. *Móðir*
Netherby: OE *neoðera*, ON *neðri* 'lower'
Newby: OE *nīwe*, *nēowe* 'new' [Cumberland W]
Newby: OE *nīwe*, *nēowe* 'new' [Eskdale W]
Newton Arlosh [*Kirkebi Johannis* in 1305]: ON *kirkja* 'church'
Ormesby: ON pers.n. *Ormr*
Oughterby: OE pers.n. *Ūhtræd*
Ousby: ON pers.n. *Ulfr*
Overby: OE *ofer* / ON *ofar* 'above / higher up'
Parsonby: ME *persone* > OFr *persone* 'parson, beneficed clerk'
Ponsonby: French pers.n. *Puncun* 'awl, punch'

Raby: ON *rá* 'boundary mark'
Rickerby: Cont pers.n. *Ricard*
Robberby: Cont pers.n. *Hrodebert*
Scaleby: ON *skáli* 'shieling-hut'
Scotby: ON *Skotar*, OE *Scottas* 'Scottish Gaels'
Skitby: Cont pers.n. *Scothard* / folk-name *Scotard* 'man from Scotland'
Sowerby: ON *saurr* 'mud, dirt, sour ground'
Soulby: ON *súla* 'pillar, post / fork, cleft'
Southernby: OE *sūðerne* 'southern'
St. Bees [*Cherchebi* in c.1125]: ON *kirkja* 'church'
Swaby: ON bird-name *svala*, or related byname 'swallow'
Tarraby: OFr pers.n. *Terri* < Cont *Theodric*
Thirneby: ODan *þyrni* / Scand *þyrnir*, OE *þyrne* 'thorn-scrub / thorn-bush'
Thornby: ON *forn* 'old, well-established'
Thursby: ON pers.n. *Þórir*, Dan *Thūrir*
Upmanby: ME *hukkeman* 'pedlar'
Upperby: Cont pers.n. *Hubert*
Ureby: OE *uferra* 'higher, upper'
Walby: OE *wall* 'wall'
Wiggonby: French pers.n. *Wigan*, *Wigayn*
Wormanby: Cont pers.n. *Winimar* / OE pers.n. **Winemær*, **Wilmær*

Westmorland

Appleby: ON *epli*, OE *æppel* 'apple'
Asby: ON *askr* / *eski* 'ash-tree'
Bomby: ON *bóndi* 'farmer'
Boneby: ON *baun* 'bean'
[Brough] Sowerby: ON *saurr* 'mud, dirt, sour ground'
Colby: ON *kollr* 'rounded top [of hill]' / ON pers.n. *Kolli*
Crosby [Garrett]: ON *kross* 'cross'
Crosby [Ravensworth]: ON *kross* 'cross'
Dalebi: ON *dalr* 'dale'
Hornby: ON *horn* / **horni*, OE *horn* / **horna* 'projection, spit of land'
Kirkby [Kendal]: ON *kirkja* 'church'
Kirkby [Lonsdale]: ON *kirkja* 'church'
Kirkby [Stephen]: ON *kirkja* 'church'
Kirkby [Thore]: ON *kirkja* 'church'
Nateby: ON **nata* 'nettle'
Newby: OE *nīwe*, *nēowe* 'new'
Rookby: ON *hrókr*, OE *hrōc* 'rook'
Soulby: ON *súla* 'pillar, post / fork, cleft'
[Temple] Sowerby: ON *saurr* 'mud, dirt, sour ground'
Thrimby: ODan *þyrni* / Scand *þyrnir*, OE *þyrne* 'thorn-scrub / thorn-bush'
Traneby: ON *trana* 'crane'
Waitby: ON *vátr* 'wet'

Lancashire

- Aschebi*: ON *askr* 'ash-tree'
Birkby [Hall]: ON *Bretar* 'Britons'
Cartmel [Cherchebi in 1086]: ON *kirkja* 'church'
Crosby: ON *kross* 'cross'
Formby: ON *forn* 'old, well-established'
Greetby: ON *grjót* 'rocks, boulders' / OE *grēot* 'gravel'
Hornby: ON *horn* / **horni*, OE *horn* / **horna* 'projection, spit of land'
Ireby: ON *Írar* 'Irishmen'
Kirkby: ON *kirkja* 'church'
Kirkby [Ireleth]: ON *kirkja* 'church'
Nateby: ON **nata* 'nettle'
Ribby: ON *hryggr* 'ridge'
Roby: ON *rá* 'boundary mark'
Sowerby: ON *saurr* 'mud, dirt, sour ground'
Sowerby [Hall]: ON *saurr* 'mud, dirt, sour ground'
Sulby: ON *súla* 'pillar, post / fork, cleft'
Thrinby: ODan *þyrni* / Scand *þyrnir*, OE *þyrne* 'thorn-scrub / thorn-bush'
Westby: ON *vestr*, OE *west* 'west'
[West] Derby: ON *djúr* 'deer [park]'

Cheshire

- Assheby*: OE *æsc* 'ash-tree'
Frankby [Hall]: ON pers.n. *Franki* / ME *Franke*, ON *Frankar* 'Frenchman, Frank'
Helsby: ON *hjallr* 'ledge on a hill-side'
Hesby: ON *eski* 'place growing with ash-trees'
Irby: ON *Írar* 'Irishmen'
[Kiln] Walby: OE p.n. **Gildewalle* 'guildsman's spring'
Pensby: Brit. hill-name **Penn* [perh. with OE *hyll*] 'hill [hill]'
Raby: ON *rá* 'boundary mark'
Wallasey [Kirkeby in Waleya c. 1180-1245]: ON *kirkja* 'church'
[West] Kirby: ON *kirkja* 'church'
Whitby: ON *hvítr*, OE *hwīt* 'white'

Isle of Man

- Balleby*: ON *hali* / *hellir* / *hjallr* 'tail / rocky cavern / flat shelf' [*Balla* is a later prefix]
Brottby: ON *brot* 'steep slope'
Colby: ON *kollr* 'rounded top [of hill]' / ON pers.n. *Kolli* [Kirk Lonan Parish]
Colby: ON *kollr* 'rounded top [of hill]' / ON pers.n. *Kolli* [Kirk Arbory Parish]
Cragby: Gael *creag*, Manx *creg* 'rock'
Crosby: ON *kross* 'cross' [Kirk Bride Parish]
Crosby: Ir *cros* 'cross-road, market-place' [Kirk Marown Parish]
Dalby: ON *dalr* 'dale'
Greenabye: ON *grænn* 'green, lush' [Kirk Santon Parish]
Gren[a]by: ON *grænn* 'green, lush' [Kirk Malew Parish]
Gren[a]by: ON *grænn* 'green, lush' [Kirk Bride Parish]

Gresby: ON *gres* 'grass, pasture' / ON pers.n. *Greipr*
Jurby: ON *djúra* 'deer, animal'
Kirby: ON *kirkja* 'church'
Raby: ON *rá* 'boundary' [Kirk Patrick Parish]
Raby: ON *rá* 'boundary, nook' [Kirk Lonan Parish]
Regaby/Rygby: ON *hryggar* / *ráki* / *rák* 'ridge / wet, moisture / cattle path, grassy path'
Scaleby/Scholaby: ON pers.n. *Skolli* / ON *skolli* / *skáli* / *skalli* 'fox /shieling/bare-area'
Slekby: ON *slakki* 'hollow, slope' [Jurby Parish]
Slegaby/Slekby: ON *slakki* 'hollow, slope' [Kirk Conchan Parish]
Staarvey: ON pers.n. *Starra* / ON *stari* [bird name]
Strenaby: ON *strendi* / *strönd* 'angular / edge, border'
[le] Soulby: ON *súla* 'cleft, fork' [Jurby Parish]
Sulby: ON *súla* 'cleft, fork' / ON pers. n. *Sóli* [Kirk Christ Lezayre Parish]
Sulby: ON *súla* 'cleft, fork' [Kirk Conchan Parish]
Surby: ON *saurr* 'dirt, mud, sour'
Tosaby: ON *toftamanna* 'toft-holders'
Trolby: ON pers.n. *Trolli*

Sources

All information on the Dumfriesshire, Cumberland, Westmorland, Lancashire and Cheshire names is from Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West*. Information on the Galloway names is from Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?'. Information on the Manx names is from Broderick, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*, and Fellows-Jensen, 'The Mystery of the *bý*-names in Man'. I have not included historical forms for these names, as they are not directly relevant to the arguments presented in Chapter Five. However, lists of historical forms of these names are included in Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* and Broderick, *The Place-Names of the Isle of Man*. For historical forms of the Galloway names, see Part Two of this Appendix.

Part Two: The *Bý* Names of the Scottish Lowlands

Fife

Ashmabee / Ashingbee - ?

Ashmabee (1781-1820) (5 occurrences)

Ashingbie (1781-1820) (5 occurrences)

- Corbie** – 1. Celt. pers. n. *Corcc*
2. OE **corf* ‘cutting, pass’
3. ON pers. n. *Kori*

Corby (c.1212)

Corbi (c.1231)

Corbiden (1234)

Cortiby or *Corciby* (c.1240)

Gedbys – perhaps OScand. *geit* ‘she-goat’

Gaidbie (1647)

Gaitvie (17th C)

Geddy (17th C)

- Humbie** – 1. gen. plu. of OScand. *hund(r)* ‘dog’
2. Scand. common noun, perhaps meaning ‘kennels’
3. ON pers. n. *Hundi*
4. OE *Hund* ‘dog’ (as nickname)
5. ‘town of the Holmes’

Humbie (1574)

Sorbie – ON *saurr* ‘mud, dirt, sour ground’

Sorbie (19th C)

Weathersbie – ON *veðr* ‘wether, castrated lamb’

Weathirsbie (1659)

Weathersbie (1757)

Weathers Brae (OS)

Weddersbie - ON *veðr* ‘wether, castrated lamb’

Wedderisbe (1509)

Wedderisbye (1515)

Angus

Ravensby – ON pers. n. *Hrafn*

Ravenisbie (1595)

Ravynnisbie (1600)

Ryvynnusky [vel *Ravynnisbie*] (1603)

Ravinskie (1614)

ly Grymmysbe

ly Grymmysbe (1525)

Berwick

Corsbie – ON *krossa-býr* ‘farm with crosses’

Crossebie (1309)

Crosbe (1309)

Corseby (1309)

Crosby (1506-7)

Corsby(e) (1558)

Corsb(i)e (1573)

Corsbie (1632)

Schatterby – 1. ON pers. n. *Skati*
2. *skata* ‘skate’

Schatterby (1300)

Renfrewshire

Busby – ON *buski* ‘shubbery’ [East Renfrewshire]

Busbie (c.1300)

Busby (1489-90, 1502-3, 1529-30)

Busbie (1569, 1599, 1626)

Busbie – ON *buski* ‘shubbery’ [West Renfrewshire]

East Lothian

Begbie – 1. ON pers. n. *Baggi*
2. ‘dwelling of *Bæga*, *Beagu* or *Begu*’
3. OE *beag*, ON *baugr*

Bagby (1458)

- Blegbie** – 1. OE *blæc* ‘black’
2. OE *blāc* ‘pale, bleak’
3. ON *bleikr* ‘pale, livid’
4. ON pers. n. *Bleici*

Blackbie, Blaikbie (1659)

- Humbie** – 1. O. Scand. *Hunda-býr* ‘Hundi’s farm’ (pers. n.)
2. gen. plu. of Oscand. *hund(r)* ‘dog’
3. Scand. common noun, perhaps meaning ‘kennels’
4. OE *Hund* ‘dog’ (as nickname)
5. ‘small hill’ from Gael. *toman, thoman*

Hundeby (c.1250)

Leaston - **leysinjabý* ‘farm of the freed men’

Laysynbi (?1201-1346)

- Pogbie** – 1. OE pers. n. *Poca*
2. personal byname *Pohha* ‘bag, pouch’
3. OE **pohha / pocca* ‘fallow deer’

Pokby (1238-70)

Pokbie (1640)

Pockbie (1642, 1646)

Pokbie (1666)

Mid Lothian

- Humbie** – 1. O. Scand. *Hunda-býr* ‘Hundi’s farm’ (pers. n.)
2. gen. plu. of Oscand. *hund(r)* ‘dog’
3. Scand. common noun, perhaps meaning ‘kennels’
4. OE *Hund* ‘dog’ (as nickname)

Humby (1546)

Smeaton – *smeotha tun* ‘smiths’ town’

Smithetune (1124-53), *Smithetun* (1150)

Smithebi (1153-65), *Smithebi* (1154-59)

Smihet[un] (1170)

Smetheby (1232)

Smithetune (1234)

West Lothian

- Humbie** – 1. O. Scand. *Hunda-býr* ‘Hundi’s farm’ (pers. n.)
2. gen. plu. of Oscand. *hund(r)* ‘dog’
3. Scand. common noun, perhaps meaning ‘kennels’

4. OE *Hund* 'dog' (as nickname)
5. 'small hill' from Gael. *toman, thoman*

Hundeby (1290)

Perthshire

Busby – ON *buski* 'shubbery'

Ester Busbye et Wester Busby (1510)

Ester-Busby et Wester-Busby (1511)

Wester Busbyis (1551)

Eister et Wester Busbies (1616)

Busbeis Eister et Wester (1617)

Eister Busbie (1620)

Wester Busbie (1621)

Eister et wester Busbies (1621)

Busbies Eister and Wester (1654)

Ayrshire

Busbie – ON *buski* 'shubbery' [West Kilbride]

Busby (1527)

Busby (1539)

Busbie-Lytil (1582)

Busbie (1583)

Busbie (1607, 1611)

Busbie Meikill et Littill (1612)

Busbeyis (1623)

Busbie (1625, 1628)

Busbies (1628, 1636)

Busbie (1667)

Busbie - ON *buski* 'shubbery' [Kilmaurs]

Busby (1467-68)

Busbeyis (1599)

Busbeyis (1611)

Busbyes (1613, 1614)

Busbie(s) (1614)

Busbie (1620-33)

Busbiehead (1620-33)

Busbie-Fergushill (1621, 1628, 1636, 1667)

Busbieheid (1625)

Busbeyis (1635)

Busbie(s) (1636)

Busbies (1663)

Busbiehead (1663, 1667)

Crosbie - ON *kross* 'cross' [West Kilbride]

Crosby (a.1214)
Crosseby (1230)
Corsbi (1367)
Corsbe (1549-50)
Corsbie (1626, 1634)
Corsbie (1637)

Crosbie - ON *kross* 'cross' [Prestwick]

Corsby (1464)
Corsbie, Corsby (1548)
Corsbie (1587)
Corsby (1590)
Corsbie (1591-2)
Corsbie (1603)
Corsbie (1634)
Carsbie (1642)

Magby – ON *maki* 'customer, partner, mate', pers. n. *Mæg*, or surn. *MacBe(i)th*

Makbehill (1451)
M'behyll (1451)
Makbihill (1476)
Makbehill (1507)
Makbehill (1537)
Makbehill (1587)

Sorbie – *saurr* 'mud or swamp'

Sorbie (1612)
Sorbie-craigs (1612)

Galloway

Appelbie: OE *æppel* 'apple'

Aplebi (1131)
Apilbie (1643)
Aplebie (1658)

Bagby: ON pers.n. *Baggi*

Bagby (1537)
Baigbie (c.1584)

Bombie: ON *bóndi* 'farmer'

Bombie (1597)

Bomby (1600)
Bombie (1624, 1631, 1642, 1643 etc)

Bysbie: OE *bisceop* 'bishop' / ON *buski* 'shrubbery'

Buskeby (1296)
Biskeby (1305)
Busbye (1592)

Corsby: ON *kross* 'cross'

Korsbuy (1600)

Gribdae [Gretby]: ON *grjót* 'rocks, boulders' / OE *grēot* 'gravel'

Gretby (1356)
Litilgretby (1365)
Litill Gradby (1329-71)
Littlegrewy (1329-71)
Gridbie (1547)
Gridbie (1626)
Gridbie (1642)
Gribtie (1655)

Mabie: ON *meyja* / *már*, OE *mæge* 'maiden'

Mabey (1329-71)
Maybie (1329-71)
Maby (1424-1513)
Mabya (1424-1513)
Maby (1530-51)
Mabie (1594)

Sorbie: ON *saurr* 'mud, dirt, sour ground'

Soreby (1306-29)
Soureby (1306-29)
Soreby (1451)
Sorby (1488, 1491, 1499)
Soirbuy (1600)
Sorbie (1602, 1612, 1617, 1622, 1630 etc)

Sources

Information on the specific elements and historical forms of these names is taken from The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, Fellows-Jensen, 'Scandinavians in Southern Scotland?', Taylor 'The Scandinavians in Fife and Kinross', Oram, 'Scandinavian Settlement in South-West Scotland' and Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, with some additional information from Johnston, *Place-Names of Scotland* and Barrow, 'The Uses of Place-names and Scottish History'.

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