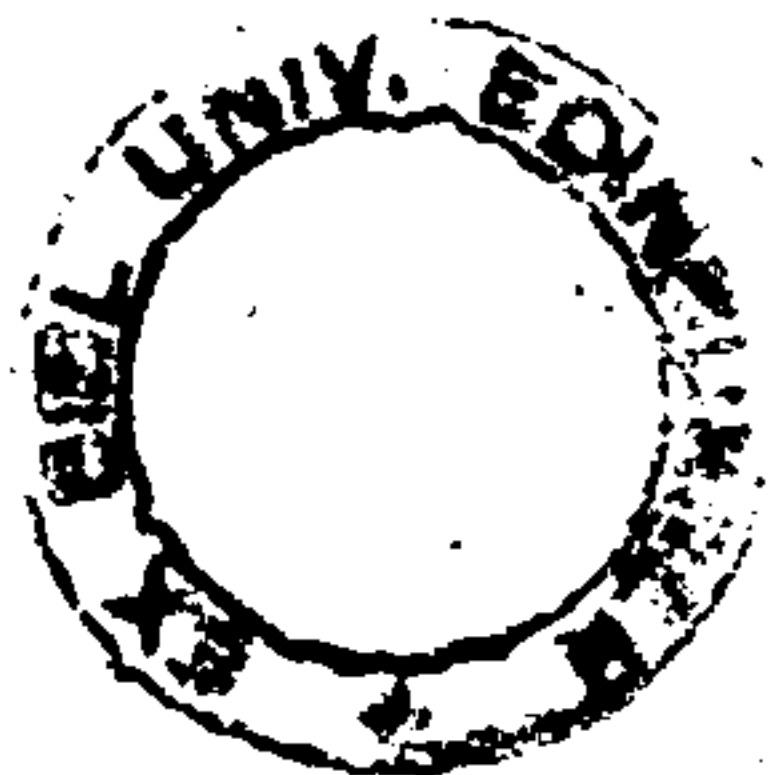


THE NON-CELTIC PLACE-NAMES  
OF THE SCOTTISH BORDER COUNTIES.

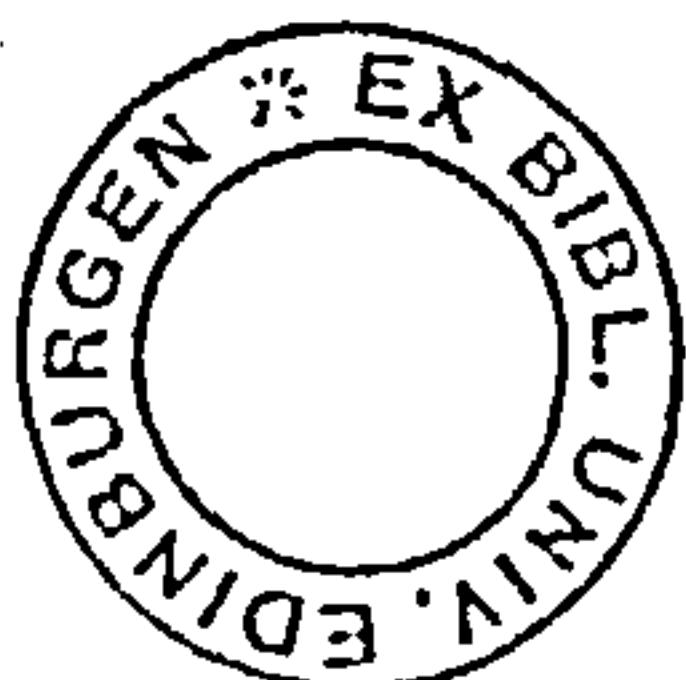
A thesis for the degree of Ph.D.  
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submitted by

MAY GORDON WILLIAMSON, M.A.



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P R E F A C E.

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

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

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

It is almost impossible to date Scottish place-names with any certainty since spellings for the majority are not found before the 13th Century, but

generally they may be classified under three headings:-

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

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

Names which do not appear in the 1 inch Ordnance Survey maps, but which are found in sources before 1600, have been used for purposes of illustration and comparison. In most cases I have not consulted the



iii.

6 inch maps in attempts to locate these or other minor names.

The phonetic symbols used in the transcription of place-name pronunciations are those normally employed by the E.P.N.S.

GEOGRAPHY and DIALECT.

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

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

The main districts of Roxburgh are the valleys of the Tweed, Teviot and their tributaries. In the south are the Cheviot Hills through which passes lead to England. To the west is the watershed between Roxburgh and Dumfries. At least half the area of the county lies more than 500 feet above sea-level. The parish of Castleton is mainly on the Liddel which

drains to the Solway, and is really a separate dialect area from the rest of Roxburgh, having affinities in speech and in place-name forms with Dumfries and Cumberland (Watson, 6).

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

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

Place-name forms before 1600 do not give much

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

x                    x                    x

Modern Lowland Scots is a development of the Old Northumbrian dialect of Old English, through Northern Middle English and Middle Scots:

Only some half dozen place-names have spellings which go back to the OE period. A few late 11th Cent. spellings found in the Durham Chartulary may be classed as very late OE or early ME. From late 12th Cent. to mid 14th Cent. the language of the examples is Northern ME. Middle Scots continues until the late 16th Cent.

Below are listed some of the developments observable between O Nb. and Mod.Sc. in the place-name forms which have been collected.

1. ME ǣ, whether from OE ǣ or ON ǣ, is frequently fronted to ě in M Sc. or early Mod.Sc. ME braken (from ON brakni) becomes brecken in Breckenside: (Glc): Brekensyd, 1636, and in the modern forms of Breconrae, Brecken Rig, etc. (No. XXXII).  
ME Alis is the first element of Ellisland (No. LII).
2. OE ā is already fronted to [ɛ:] in N ME. In spellings up to 1400 it is still a, but in the M Sc. period is represented ai, ay. The i, y is used with all vowels in M Sc. to represent length. That the pronunciation of ai, ay was [ɛ] or [ɛ:] at this period, however, and not yet [e:] is seen by the frequent substitution of ai for the sound [ɛ], for ME ě, e.g. Graitnay, 1598; Kailsoo, Blaeu; Fairnilee, 1599; Haitschaw, 1536.
3. ME ai and ei interchange to represent ME ē from OE ē or ON ei, e.g.-
  - (a) OE grǣge; ONb. grēge-denu, ME grē-dene:  
Greidene, 1095-1100; Grayden, c 1288.
  - (b) OE ēg-tūn: Eitun, 1095-1100; Eyton, 1253;  
Aytone, 1296.
  - (c) ON grein: Greymland, 1542; Graines, 1635.
  - (d) ON þveit: -thuayt, c 1218; -thweyte, 1304;



-twayt, 1317; -pheit, 1194-1214.

4. In O.Northumbrian there was no Breaking of a before l plus consonant. Mod.Sc. haugh, saugh are developments of O Nb. halh, salh (W.S. healh, sealh). O Nb. walh is seen in Wauchope (No. LX). Before r plus consonant æ, a, rarely Breaks in this area, e.g. O Nb. faern, aern, -waerd (in pers. n's.).
5. In M.Sc. al, ol are vocalised to au, ou. ME halh > M.Sc. haugh; O Nb. ald > M.Sc. auld; ME hol > M.Sc. how. An inverted form of this process frequently appears: cf. Falside for ME faw-side.
6. OE æ<sup>i</sup> is e in non-W.S. dialects. OE stræt > N ME stræte: Derestrete, 1150. Leitholm: Letham, 1165-1214, from OE læt, O Nb. lēt.
7. ON au > ME ou, later o in some cases. Copland is Coupland, c 1230 from ON kaupa-. Gowkhall (KF) contains ON gaukr.
8. OE ea undergoes Smoothing to e before -h in O Nb. W.S. heah, O Nb. hēh > M.Sc. heiz, hei, hie: cf. Hielawes, 1621. W.S. leah, O Nb. lēh > M.Sc. leiz, ley, Mod.Sc. -lie.

9. ME i from any source is frequently lowered to e in Mod.Sc., e.g. OE hrīs-tun > ME Rīstun > Reston; ME Iliveston > Elliston. Cf. PN Nb. Du., 257, para. 10. Conversely, Mod.Sc. e is sometimes raised to i, e.g. Redpath: Ridpetth, Blaeu; Fenwick: Fynnik, 1547. Cf. PN Nb. Du., 256, para. 7.
10. OE ō in N ME was by the 14th Cent. probably identified in pronunciation with Fr. ū. ME spellings in o, oi, give place later to M Sc. u, ui, e.g. Lombormore, c 1050 (from OE mōr); Ekfurde, c 1400 (from OE ford, ME fōrd); Brumelandis, 1569 (from OE brōm); Lammermuir, c 1485. In modern Lowland Scots dialects pronunciation varies between [ɹ], [ϕ] and [e:]. The confusion of the OE ending -mere with OE mōr is caused by similarity of pronunciation (Cf. No. XLI).
- OE -ōh, as in clūh, hūh, plūh became M Sc. clouch, cluh, etc., later written as cleuch, heuch, pleuch. Only heuch is pronounced [hju:χ]: the others are [clu:χ] and [plu:χ]. Cf. PN YER, xxx.
11. M Sc. ū from OE ū shortened, is usually fronted to [i.ə] in modern pronunciation, e.g. Billerwell

(Bullirwell, 1553); Philliphaugh (Fulhopehalche, 1317). Cf. PN Nb. Du., 258, para. 13.

12. OE ū becomes ou in ME and M Sc. In the modern dialects there is a tendency for this to become ō before liquids and nasals, e.g. Solway, Bonchester, Bonshaw.
13. Final -b disappears in Mod.Sc. kaim from OE camb, l.OE cāmb.  
Medial -mb- is assimilated to -mm- in Cummertrees (Cumbertres 1215-45); Lammermoor (Lambremore, 1120).
14. M Sc. substitutes d, dd medially for OE ð in many cases, e.g. wēðer > M Sc. wedder in Wedderburn, Wedderlairs, etc. Early examples of this are seen in Broderstanis, 1489 and Ruderforde, 1165-88.
15. Final -f may be lost in the hill-name, The Schill, from OE scýlf. It disappears in compounds with wulf-, e.g. Wolstruthir, 1506; Wowley, 1590.
16. A prosthetic h- is common in N ME and M Sc. This is a mere scribal device and does not denote a dialect tendency to place an aspirate/initial before vowels: cf. Hekfurde, c 1400; Hellum, c 1270.

17. M Sc. guh- represents OE hw- [ ʍ ], e.g. Quhit- for OE hwit-.
18. In M Sc., sch- frequently replaces initial s-. The reverse process is also common, e.g. M Sc. buss for ME busch; M Sc. flass for ME flasse.
19. Initial to- is occasionally represented as tho-, e.g. Thotheryg, 1550; Thorbrecc, 1194-1214.
20. Metathesis is a very common feature of M Sc., especially with r. Brunt- for burnt- occurs frequently in place-names. A few names display elaborate metathesis in early forms, e.g. Tushielaw, Annelshope.
21. Epenthesis occurs in several cases. In Rumbleton, ml > mb1; in Stantling nl may become ntl; in Standhill nl may become ndl. 16th Cent. spellings of Amisfield as Hempsfeild, etc., show ms > mpos (No. XIX).
22. Assimilation and dissimilation are frequent. Various examples are noted in the text.
23. Few OE grammatical case-endings are preserved. Four examples of the dative plural in -um occur in Denholm, Whitsome, Hume and Ellem.



Oblique endings in -an were lost in O Nb. and do not therefore appear in N ME. Spellings for Brunanburh and Degsastan which exhibit weak endings in -an may be due to scribes unfamiliar with northern usage.

The M Sc. present participle in -and is seen only in a spelling for Trottingshaw, as Trottand-schaw, 1492.

M.Sc. past participles in -it appear in Kippit-law, 1557-8, and Senegideside, late 13th C., which may represent sengit-side.

x                    x                    x

#### PALATALISATION:

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

Initial č [ tʃ ] is found in the modern form chester, from OE caester. The e is not a development of OE ea, but a fronted form of O Nb. æe, ME a. A similar case, but without l.ME fronting of the vowel, is seen in



Chatto, from an OE pers. n. \*Ĉætt.

OE ĉiriĉe > ME chirche was early replaced by ME kirke (Mod. Sc. kirk) from ON kirkja. Spellings in chirche in the 12th and 13th Cents. might already represent [kirk ə] since ch- was frequently written for [k] in the Anglo-Norman script (IPN 1, 102). Norman influence is practically non-existent in place-name material in this area, however, and it is doubtful whether chi- ever represented anything but [tʃi] in our spellings. Forms for Channelkirk show that in one case at any rate ch- was a palatal sound, since in the 12th Cent. form Childenchirch it is certain that the first ch- represented [tʃ], and it is therefore unlikely that the other two had a different pronunciation.

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

OE sc- becomes M Sc. sch- [ʃ]. OE scāga gives M Sc. schaw; OE stānca gives M Sc. schank. OE \*scel > ME shele > M Sc. schele, scheil > Mod.Sc. shiel. Shearington may be from an OE pers. n. \*Sĉtra.

Medial and final palatalisation of -ĉ, -ĉġ and

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

Most of the other elements which exhibit a back consonant before or after a front vowel are of Norse origin, e.g. kelda, gata, garð, gil, sker, skáli, mikill, bekkr, bigging. A few are Celtic:- caer, carse, calc, kil.

THE ROMAN PERIOD.

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

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

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

Birrens has been identified with Blatobulgium of the Antonine Itinerary. The name has not been

preserved in any later source. The first element appears in several Celtic compounds: cf. Blatomagus, the 3rd Cent. form of Blonde, Haute-Vienne (Lognon, 44), and represents O.Celt. \*blat, "flower", the source of W. blawd, "flower, meal", and O.Ir. bláth, "flower" (Holder, s.v.). The terminal represents O.Celt. \*bulgion, derived from bulga: cf. O.Ir. bolg, "bag, sack", O.Brit. bolg (Holder, 630). The meaning of the compound is perhaps "flowery hollow", rather than Watson's suggestion of "meal-sack place". Blebo, Fife, is the Gaelic form of the same name: Bladebolg, 1144 St. And.; Blathbolg, 1165-1214 ib.

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

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



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

The usual term for a Roman station in England is chester or caster (OE ceaster, caester), but of the seventeen names in -chester in Roxburgh and Berwick,



not one refers to a Roman site. The form in Cumberland and Westmorland is mainly castle, e.g. Bewcastle, Papcastle, etc., but most of these names have early forms in -caester. This terminal is also applied to non-Roman sites in one or two cases. Names in -castle in Dumfries denote Celtic or mediaeval fortifications: there are no examples of early spellings in -caester.

#### ROMAN ROADS:

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

Two routes led into Scotland from the south, the eastern one a continuation of Ermine Street through Habitancum, Bremenium and the camp at Pennymuir in the Cheviots to Cappuck on the Scottish side of the

watershed, then across country to Newstead, and up the valley of the Leader to cross into Lothian at Soutra and so perhaps to the station at Inveresk; the western one from Luguvallum running north-west to Birrens and up Annandale to the camp at Clyde Burn, from where the course of the road is indistinct. It may be that unpaved routes used only in emergency ran from there to connect with the station at Lyne on upper Tweedside, and with the western end of the Northern Wall.

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

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



from original place-names, but grammatically they are comparable to Dere Street.

#### BRITONS IN SOUTH SCOTLAND.

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

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

Ptolemy supplies a list of the cities of the various tribes but since those in South Scotland, with

the exception of Trimontium, cannot be identified, they are of interest mainly to the Celtic scholar.

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

Antiquity, 1935: Arthur and his Battles, by O. G. S. Crawford, pp. 277-291.

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

The survival of a greater number of British place-names and place-name elements in South Scotland than in any other area colonised by the Anglo-Saxons seems to indicate that a British population existed side by side with the Anglian one for a considerable period. Mr Myres believes that the earliest English settlers in Bernicia constituted a "military aristocracy", which was not sufficiently numerous to drive out the Celts completely, but which was powerful enough to make of them "tributary subjects" (Myres, 422). The kingdom of Strathclyde remained a British confine until the early 11th Century, so that throughout the period of Northumbrian supremacy over Southern Scotland, there was always a large British community within a few days' march of central Bernicia. No doubt there was considerable intercourse between Strathclyde and the upland districts of Dumfries, Roxburgh and Selkirk.

#### BRITISH PLACE-NAMES.

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

A rough summary of some of the more important



elements would not be out of place here, since they are frequently coupled with English terms in later formations.

O.Brit. caer, "a fort", which perhaps occurs independently in Keir (CPNS, 368), and is seen in Carfrae (ib, 369) and Carruthers (ib, 368), appears also in Caerlaverock which may be a British-English hybrid: Karlaveroc, 1159-81 (1300) H.C.; Carlaverok, 1335-6 CDS. The second element seems to be an OE pers. n. Lāferce: cf. Wm. Laveroc, or Wm. son of Leveric, c 1234 H.C. There is no instance of the OE word for "lark" used as a pers. n. unless it occurs in Laverstock, W., and Laverstoke, Ha. (DEPN, 276).

O.Celt. <sup>ℝ</sup>cumbā, "valley", W. cwm, is found in Cumrue (Kkm), which is a parallel form to Cumrew, Cu. (DEPN, 130).

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

Eccles is O.Brit. <sup>ℝ</sup>eclēs, a loan from Latin. Ecclefechan, however, is Gael.: Egil fechan, 1249 CDS; Egglesfeyan, 1296 ib.

Melrose has been thought to be Gaelic, since Gael. ros, "promontory", seems to suit the situation of Old Melrose better than W. rhos, "moor, meadow", but as the first element is O.Brit. \*mail-os, "cropped, tonsured", the compound probably means "bare moorland" (cf. CPNS, 496). Early spellings are: Mailros, c 700 (late 9th or early 10th C.), Anon. L. St. C.; Mægil-, c 900 (c. 1000) A-S Bede; Mal-, 1146 (c. 1185) C de M.

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

Plenderleith (Oxn) and Plendernethy (Duns) appear to have the same first element as Prenderguest (Ayt) but its nature is doubtful. O.Celt. \*prenno, "tree",



is seen in Printonan (Cdstr) and Primside (Mrb), which are O.W. pren tonnen, "tree of the bog", and pren gwyn, "white tree" (CPNS, 351). O.W. tref, "place, farm", is found in Trabroun (Laud) and Trailtrow (Cum.), (ib., 359).

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

Examples of early Anglo-Saxon formations incorporating British elements are not uncommon in this region. Coldingham is formed from Colud, seen in Caer Golud, the Celtic fortress on St. Abb's Head: v. No. II. Tynninghame in E.Lth. contains a British river-name. The only comparable forms in England are

three -ingas names, probably from pre-English river-names:- Avening, Glo. (PN. -Ing, 70), Ulting, Ess. (ib, 50) and Spalding, L., (ib, 87). Ednam contains the name of the River Eden and OE hām: cf. Alnham Nb. (PN, Nb. Du., 4).

British-English hybrids have mostly been mentioned already in this chapter. There remain, however, two in both of which a British element precedes OE hōh, "hill spur, height". Minto is W. mynydd, "hill", and OE hōh, a combination in which the later element explains the earlier. Kelso is W. calc, "chalk", and OE hōh. It may be a translation of the Welsh form Calchuynid, which appears in Taliessin (CPNS, 343), into O Nb. calc-hōh, but the initial back consonant makes it probable that the British element was retained or at least influenced the English pronunciation:

v. No. XXX.

THE ANGLIAN SETTLEMENT OF BERNICIA.

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

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



sources are agreed that Hengist was called in by Vortigern to assist him against the Picts and Scots.

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

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

This scarcity of remains in the north has led Professor Baldwin Brown to believe that the area was not settled until after the influence of Christianity had led to the discontinuance of cremation. Mr Hodgkin

declares that such a view "demands miracles . . . . of rapid settlement and propagation" (Hodgkin, 152). It is noticeable nevertheless, that in the districts where Romano-British resistance was greatest, pagan customs disappeared most rapidly (Dauncey, 55). This would certainly apply to Bernicia where British opposition was strong and prolonged.

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

The latest theories are that the Anglo-Saxons did not sail up the rivers much beyond the first few miles in the Wash area, but pursued campaigns of conquest along the Roman roads. The Tweed is not navigable by any craft of deeper draught than a canoe more than ten

miles from its mouth, but no doubt the invaders followed the river-bottoms as the easiest routes of penetration into the country.

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

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

A tradition is preserved in Symeon of Durham that Ida journeyed north by sea and landed with his followers at Flamborough Head (i, 338). This is a peculiar statement unless it means that Ida came to Deira from farther south. If he left Deira for Bernicia he would be more likely to leave from Flamborough Head than to



land there.

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

Some further information about the earliest years of the Bernician kingdom may be gleaned from the genealogies of the royal house. The most interesting, although not the most authentic, version is to be found in the continuation of Florence of Worcester (ii, 250), immediately after a transcription of Edward I's letter to the Scottish Claimants bidding them place themselves in his judgment. It forms a preface to a genealogy



of the Scottish royal family and its source is unknown. It begins "Hyring fuit primus rex qui regnavit post Britannos in Northumbria", and then gives Hyring's descendants, who were Wodna, Withglis, Horse, Uppa, Eppa, Ermering, and Ida. All are styled "rex". The list is followed by a statement: "Omnes enim isti reges ab Hyring usque ad Idam regem ab omnibus historiographis vel omissi vel ignorati sunt, et eorum gesta sive in patria combusta, sive extra patriam deleta sunt", which may be merely an attempt to brazen out an imaginary Bernician family tree, but which, coming at this point in the chronicle, may contain some truth, since Edward is suspected of the destruction of documents which he considered unfavourable to his claim of overlordship. John of Eversden, the author of this part of the chronicle, may actually have known of sources which perished in this manner.

Obviously, if Hyring was seven generations above Ida, it is unlikely that he ruled in Bernicia, since he must have lived about the year 340. Several generations, however, can be discounted. Wodna must be the god degraded to the status of king; Withglis is plainly the Wilgisl of the Deiran royal house, three generations above Ælle (ASC., A, a. 547); Horse may owe the initial consonant and medial -r- to confusion

with Horsa, and the form may really be the same as Oesa, Esa (ASC, ib, and OET, 170), who was Ida's grandfather; Uppa may be Yffi of Deira, or merely a repetition of Eppa who corresponds to Eoppa, Eobba, in the other texts; Ermering is not represented elsewhere. Hyring, by these eliminations, may be considered as only four generations above Ida, which brings him into clearer historical focus. It is notable that the names which remain all alliterate: Ida, Ermering, Eppa, Esa, but that Hyring does not. Anglo-Saxon kings in direct succession usually bore alliterating names, so the probability is that the first four names are those of reigning monarchs.

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

Nennius adds a note to the Deiran table to the effect that Soemil (the great-grandfather of Ælle), "ipse primus separavit Deur o Birneich" (MGH, 111, 204). This Soemil does not appear in the ASC genealogy where he is replaced by Westerfalca.

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

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

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



EARLY TYPES OF PLACE-NAMES  
AS EVIDENCE OF ANGLIAN SETTLEMENT.

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

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

The only certain example of an -ingas name in the Bernician area is Birling, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 23). Simprim may be another. Crailing is more than doubtful. Binning Wood, E.Lth., mentioned by Ekwall (PN -ing, 98) is named from Binning, W.Lth., which is of Gaelic origin (PN W.Lth., 49).

Ekwall attempts to account for the scarcity of -ingas names in Northumbria by Scandinavian influence, and in South Scotland by Gaelic influence. Neither of these excuses is valid, as it has been proved elsewhere that both Scandinavian and Gaelic influences were negligible in this area. It seems plain that the paucity of -ingas names bears out the contention



that there was little or no primary settlement in Bernicia.

Names in ingahām are, however, much more numerous in this area; there are eleven in Northumberland, one in Berwickshire, and two in East Lothian. It has been remarked that -ingahām and -ing(a) tūn compounds occur in western counties of England where -ingas names are very rare, from which it has been deduced that these were of later formation than names in -ingas, or at least that they continued to be formed when -ingas names were no longer in living use (PN -Ing, 114 ff). The same conclusion may be drawn in Bernicia. Fresh Anglo-Saxon settlements were being established there at a period when -ingas names were already almost obsolete. Nevertheless, the sources containing some of the -ingahām names for this area are quite as early as those in which -ingas names appear farther south. The Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert was written about 700 which compares favourably with the date of sources for some of the Anglian -ingas names. Ekwall concludes that "there seems no reason . . . to ascribe a much later age to the type -ingham than to the type -ingas".

Names in -ingas and -ingahām are generally to be found near the coast, in easily accessible river-valleys

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

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

Names in -ington are more common in South Scotland, and are almost certainly later than the two previous classes. There are five examples in Berwickshire and one in Dumfriesshire. In East Lothian there are two at least, Bonnington and Haddington. There are twenty-eight examples in Northumberland and five in Cumberland. They are to be found farther inland and often on slightly higher levels than the ingahām names,



but always in accessible positions. It is doubtful whether OE -ingatūn is represented to any great extent in Northern England and Southern Scotland: an ending with singular -ing plus tūn seems more common. In our area there are no ME spellings in -ingetun to suggest a form in the genitive plural.

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

It will be noted from the presence of an -ingtūn and a -hām name in Dumfries-shire that Anglian settlement of that district took place contemporaneously with, or quite soon after, the colonisation of Berwickshire. Two -ingahām names occur in Galloway: Penninghame in Wigtown, and <sup>2</sup>Edingham in Kirkcudbright, commemorated in Edingham Loch, (v. Kermack).

An examination of the map on which these names are plotted shows the area of earliest Anglo-Saxon settlement. It is plain that colonisation was by sea,

perhaps directly from Deira and the settlements in the Humber area. A few names on the course of Dere Street in Northumberland suggest that it was used in the penetration of Bernicia, but it is clear that the invaders did not follow this route into Scotland over the Cheviots.

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

The colonisation of Dumfries and Galloway must either have been from the settlements in Cumberland or from upper Tynedale in Bernicia. The position of the names, which are near the coast or on rivers draining to the Solway, suggests that the Anglo-Saxons crossed the firth from Cumbria, and there is no concentration



in the most easterly districts to suggest that they came across the Roman Wall.

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

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

THE BATTLE OF DEGASTAN.

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

The reason of Æðan's rising against Æðelfrið is not stated. It is unlikely that Æðelfrið had penetrated to Scottish territory but no doubt he had advanced sufficiently far into the British area to endanger Scottish integrity. That Æðan received support from Ireland we learn from the Annals of Ulster. Mael-umae, who came to his aid, probably sailed up the

Firth of Clyde to meet him, for Ædan's seat was at Aberfoyle (CPNS, 129, 225).

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

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

A point near the Dawston Burn in Castleton parish is usually accepted as the site of the battle. As a meeting place it is very convenient. The Angles could have come up Tynedale and the Scots up Liddesdale from



the shores of the Solway where the Irish had perhaps landed. A stream called Day Sike, running to join the Border at Bell's Burn, may also have taken its name from the Dægsa stān. This was according to Bede "a famous place", and some kind of obelisk may have marked the limit of British territory, for it is here that the Catrail ends, an ancient earthwork which may have marked the boundary between Anglian and Celtic lands before this decisive battle drove the Britons farther westward. The name is variously spelt:-

æt Egesan stane, 603 ASC A; æt Dægstane, 10th C. gloss on this text; æt Dægsan stane, 603 ASC E; Degsastan, c. 730 Bede HE; Flo. Wig.; Degsa stone, ib.

The first element seems to be an OE pers. n. Dæg(i)sa, an -isa derivative of Dæg-, seen in Dæghræfn, Beowulf, etc. This recalls the unexplained runes on the Ruthwell Cross:  $\mathfrak{M} \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{H} \mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{R} \mathfrak{F}$  dægisgæf, which seem to contain the same name, which is of a very early type: cf. Dickins and Ross, 4 n<sup>4</sup>. The association with the Cross strengthens the belief that the battle was fought in Dumfriesshire.



THE RUTHWELL CROSS.

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

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

grounds the cross can justifiably be dated about 680 A.D.

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

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

The evidence of the runes and lettering on the cross is inconclusive. The Roman characters are similar, with minor alterations, to those used in Lindisfarne, Durrrow and Kells: they might belong to any time between 650 and 850. The futhorc corresponds to that in the older inscriptions up to about 700 A.D., but with certain additional characteristics. The

development of the D from  $\text{D}$  to  $\text{H}$  corresponds to that on the Hartlepool stones and the Thames Sword and this might point to a later date. The most important difference to be observed between the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses on the one hand and the chief English inscriptions of known date on the other, is the employment of special symbols for velar g and k. The fact, however, that Ruthwell and Bewcastle distinguished between back and front consonants does not necessarily point to a later date than <sup>that of</sup> inscriptions which do not employ such symbols, but merely to a more exact phonetic consciousness.

Linguistic evidence indicates a date between that of the earliest Northumbrian texts and the Lindisfarne Gospels. The language of the Dream of the Rood which appears upon the Ruthwell Cross is slightly less archaic than that of Caedmon's Hymn, Bede's Death-Song, and the Leiden Riddle. The e in men, the Back-Mutation in heafunæs, and the form of the unstressed vowels in one or two cases are later developments than are found in the earliest poetry. The absence of syncope, however, in heafunæs, the retention of certain primitive forms in unstressed vowels, and the form hiæ, must belong to an earlier period than the language of Lindisfarne, Ritual and Rushworth<sup>2</sup>. The first half of the



8th Century is, on these grounds, the most likely date for the language of the poem (Dickins and Ross, 12-13).

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

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

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

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

Ryvell, c 1320 HMC (Var. Coll. v); 1529 RMS; Rewel, 1452 RMS; Reuell, 1477 HMC (Drml); 1570 CSP; Ruvale, 1507-8 RMS; 1509, 1517 APS; -vel, 1536 RMS; Riffel K., Rifwell, Blaeu; Rivell, 1662 RMS.

The present pronunciation is [ r i v ə l ]

Spellings in Ruth- may be due to association with the numerous Ruthvens, which are usually pronounced [ r i v ə n ]. The first element, however, cannot have the same origin as that in Ruthven which is consistently Roth-, e.g. Rothuan, 1236 (Strathnairn); Rotheuen, c 1233 (Perth); Rothfan, c 1224 (Banff); Rothuan, c 1208 (Huntly), (CPNS, 387). The interchange of y, e and u in the M Sc. forms of Ruthwell point to an original y or i, which in ME are unstable vowels in the Border area. OE ryge wáella, "rye well", is possible, but forms in well are unusual at such an early date.

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

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



SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENT AND PLACE-NAMES.

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

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

EAST COAST:

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



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

The main centre of Danish activity was York, but in 875 the ASC recounts that "the army" took up winter quarters on the Tyne, conquered the countryside, and often harried the Picts and Strathclyde Britons. Lindkvist points out that these expeditions were

organised with the object neither of plunder nor settlement, but were intended by Halfdan to subdue the territories surrounding York, and so make it safe from attack in the rear (Lindkvist, xxiv).

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

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

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





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

Place-names which appear to be Danish in origin are Corsbie (No. LXXXI) and the lost <sup>Æ</sup>Skaitbie (ib). Drakemire, for which there are no spellings, might be O.Dan. drak(a) myrr "strip (of) moorland": cf. Drakemire, Cu., and Drakemyre, Ayr.

Other names merely incorporate Danish elements. O Dan. klint (cf. ON klettr) is seen in Clints (Chan.)



and Clinthill (Mrt). It may also be the first element of a lost <sup>Æ</sup>Clinkskailis, near Coldingham, the terminal of which, however, appears to be Norse.

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

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

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

#### WEST COAST:

The first Norwegian settlements on the west coasts were in the Hebrides, Man, and Ireland where the Norse kingdom of Dublin was established in the latter half of the 9th Century. It was from these bases, and not directly from Norway, that the Vikings descended upon North-West England. Intensive settlement may have

begun in the first years of the 10th Cent., when King Ingemund, expelled from Dublin, was given land near Chester by Eðelfrída.

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

The colonisation of North-West England appears to have been carried out mainly by individual companies,

and was not an organised process as in the Danelaw. There is no evidence of formal division of land. Whether the settlement was peaceable or not is a matter for conjecture. The fact that the Norse and Strathclyde Britons were allied against the English by 937 points to a friendly conquest, but the lines of "Wargraves" at Bromborough, if not marking the site of Brunanburh, attest at least to a local encounter of some magnitude, perhaps between Norse and British.

It is very doubtful whether Dumfries was colonised from Ireland and the Hebrides. It is more probable that there was a gradual penetration from the previously established settlements on the Southern shore of the Solway. The almost complete absence of Irish and Gaelic loan-words in the Norse place-names, especially the absence of ON erg from Gael. airidh, Irish airge which is extremely common in the Scandinavian districts of England, and the fewness of Inversion Compounds in Dumfries-shire, point to a later colonisation than in NW England, and a further remove from contact with the Goidelic languages. Irish-Gaelic personal names in compounds are prominent in Cumberland but rare in Dumfries.

The chief test for names formed in their own language by Scandinavian settlers is the retention of



Norse inflectional forms. Examples of this are few although Butterwhat and Butterdales may contain the plural búðir of ON búð. Early spellings of Annandale show a genitive ending for ON Qnundr, while Dryfesdale contains ON Drífs, the genitive of the personal name Drífr.

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

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

All the pure Norse compounds are to be found within a twenty-mile radius from Annan, and the largest

number are close to the sea.

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

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

There is a surprising paucity of English endings prefixed by Norse personal names. In Berwickshire compounds with a Scand. name plus tūn are common, but in Dumfries-shire fewer are to be found. Ormiston, Dolphinton, Elliston and perhaps Thowliestane in Roxburghshire contain W.Scand. pers. names. In Dumfries the only compound of this kind which can be

proved to have a Norse name for first element is Arkleton. Davington, Kettletonhead and Dalvingswalls may, however, incorporate ON Dagfinnr, Ketill and Dolgfinnr, while Rögnvaldr may appear in Rennald Burn.

Scandinavian common nouns attached to English terminals are common but not numerous. They belong to a period when Norse speech was no longer in use, but when the English dialect had absorbed and still employed a large number of Scandinavian words.

Examples are Beckton (Dryfe), Boothfaulds Plantation (H & C), Kelwood (Dmf), Holmshaw (KJ), Myreside (Hlw), Raffles (Msw), Scalehill (Tun), Thwaite Burn (Rth).

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



THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH.

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

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

In 934 Æðelstan made a determined attempt to stop the continual raiding forays by which the Scots had harassed the north of England for the past hundred years. He set out up the east coast, where the Scots were accustomed to obtain help from the Danes, and reached "Dunfother and Wertermor" (SD., H.R., 93). In the Alia Miracula Sci. Johannis it is recounted that he paid his respects to St. John of Beverley on his way north. The Scots retreated before him and "transfretaverunt flumen, quod dicitur Scotorum Vadum, ut inter proprios terminos securius se in bello ad resistendum parare possent" (p.295). A vision of St. Cuthbert came to Æðelstan bidding him cross the Vadum and conquer, which he obeyed, and returned victorious

via Dunbar to Beverley. This passage has been taken to refer to the campaign of 937, but it is clearly an east coast affair. The mention of Scotorum Vadum has led to the belief that Æðelstan crossed the Solway on this occasion, but this name could apply to either the Forth or the Solway. Fordoun speaks of the "Flumen de Forth ... quod ... dicitur mare Scoticum; flurium Esk quod dicitur Scotiswath sive Sulwath", and in the Vita Sci. Oswaldi there is a reference to the "Scotwad, quod in Scottorum lingua Forth nominatur". The editor of the Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel notes that both estuaries received their names because Scotland proper began on the far side of them, and quotes the above passages in support of his statement (ASC ii, 267).

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

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

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

Anlaf Sigtryggsson advanced far into England and Æðelstan drew back, "pour mieux sauter", before meeting him at Brunefeld and defeating him (W.M., G.R., 142).

The Battle was fought on Anglian soil, "tantumque sanguinis quantum catenus in Anglia nullo in bello est fusum" (Flo. Wig., i, 132) and Æðelstan finally drove the enemy "de regno suo" (SD., HDE., 76). Apart



from that, all we know of the site was that it was near enough to the coast for the defeated Norse to reach their ships before the end of the day and "ofer deop wæter Difelin secan" (ASC, a 937). It must also have been within possible distance of safety for the Britons and Scots. A place on the west coast, some miles from the sea and accessible from Dumbarton and York is indicated.

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

The actual topography of the battlefield is minutely described in Egils Saga. Mr W. S. Angus has gone into this matter very thoroughly and he shows that Dr Neilson practically proved the case for Burnswark from the details provided by the poem. Mr Angus disposes of the difficulty of the date, declaring that the story is so obviously the Icelandic tradition of Brunanburh that the date is irrelevant so far as

determining the battle-site is concerned. He demonstrates that the battle could have been fought on the lower slopes of Middlebie Hill between Blatobulgium and Burnswark. None of the other sites which have been suggested for the battle can produce topographical features to agree so completely with the details in Egils Saga.

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

Place-name evidence is inconclusive. Burnswark might be a development of Gaimar's Bruneswerc, and the various other forms, but spellings for the modern name are so late that no connection can be fairly assumed.

between the two forms (See No. XLV).

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



PERSONAL NAMES IN PLACE-NAMES.

OLD ENGLISH (the Northumbrian forms are given).

Aldhere (? Halterburn); Aldwine (Addington, Annelshope, Eldinhope); Alfhere (\*Alwardene); Ælberht (\*Ethebredscheillis); Ælstan, Alfstan or Aldstan (\*Elstaneshalche); Bēda (? Bedshiel); \*Branoc (Branxholme); Brūn(a) (Burnswark); \*Gæd {~~ÆGÆSÆÆ~~}; Cāfhere (Cavers, Caverton); \*Čaett (Chatto); Ceōlwulf (? Choicelee); Cola (? Coliforthill); \*Cwic (Quixwood); \*Dæg(i)sa (\*Degsastan); Eada (Edington); Eadmaer (Edmond's Dean); Eadred (Adderstoneshiels, \*Ederesete); \*Earn (Earnslaw); Earnwulf (Arnton Fell); \*Ecc(a), (Eckford); Ecghere (Edgerston, Edgarhope Law); Eli (Elibank); Etla (Ettleton); \*Haustān (Hassendean); Hrōc (Roxburgh); Ill (Elisheugh Hill); Leodgaerd (Legerwood); Leofwine (Lewenshope); Lill (Lilliesleaf); \*Mersa (Mersington); \*Midele (Middlesknowes); \*Pæc(c) (Paxton); \*Pyttel (Pittlesheugh); Regenwald (Renniaston); \*Regna (Renton); Ricel (Riccarton); Richærd (Riccarton); Rimhild (F) (Rumbleton); Scīra (Shearington); Seaxa (Cessford); \*Sela (Selkirk); \*Spott (Spottiswood).

SCANDINAVIAN (the names are ON unless otherwise stated).

Alli (Albie); Arnketill, O.Dan. Arnkell, ME Arkil

(Arkleton, Erkinholme, <sup>Æ</sup>Arkilly); Bóndi (Bombie Hill);  
 O.Dan. Colbrand (Cockburnspath); Dolgfinnr, ME Dolfin  
 (Dolphinston); Drífr (Dryfesdale); Eilífr (<sup>Æ</sup>Hailise-  
 peth); <sup>Æ</sup>Gillan (Gillenbie); Gilli (Gillesbie);  
Grímr, O.Dan. Grím, ME Grim (Graham's Law); Gunni,  
 ME Gunn (Gunsgreen); Guðfróðr, ME Godfrey (<sup>Æ</sup>Godfraby);  
Hróðbiartr, -biorg (Robiewhat); Ísleifr, ME Iliff  
 (Elliston); Ketill (Kettleshiel); Lí(g)ulfr, ME  
Li(g)ulf (Lyleston); O.Dan. <sup>Æ</sup>Lum (Lumsdaine); Músi  
 (? Mouswald); <sup>Æ</sup>Mylsan (Milsington); Qnundr (Annandale);  
Ormr, ME Orm (Ormiston); Skati (? <sup>Æ</sup>Skaitbie);  
Snæbjorn (? Snaberlee Rig); Þoráldr (? Thorlieshope);  
 O.Dan. Ulfkell (Oxton); Ulfr, ME Ulf (Ulston, Usby);  
Vermundr (Warmanbie).

### CELTIC.

O.Gael. Blaán (Blainslie, Kirkclain); OW Mabon  
 (Mabonlaw); O.Gael. Maccus (Maxpoffle, Maxton, Maxwell);  
 O.Gael. <sup>Æ</sup>Malcarf (Makerstoun); O.Gael. Maldred  
 (Manderston); OW Merefin (Mervin's Law); OW Pūh  
 (Putton).

### CONTINENTAL and MIDDLE ENGLISH.

N.Fr. Aleyn (Allanton); ME Alis(F) (Ellisland);  
 N.Fr. Bochard (<sup>Æ</sup>Bochardbech); N.Fr. Bouche (Butcher-  
 coat); ME Daniel (Dingleton); ME Gerard (Garrogill);

ME Grubbe (Grubbit Law); ME <sup>Fr</sup>Grundi (Groundistone);  
ME John (Johnstone); N.Fr. Locard (Lockerbie); ME  
Paul (Polwarth); N.Fr. Pier (Pearsby Hall); N.Fr.  
Raoul (Rulesmains); ME Robert (Roberton); N.Fr.  
Roland (Rowlestane); ME Sibbald (Sibbaldbie).



NOTE ON SOURCES.

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

The earliest material relating to the Border area appears in Bede and in the Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert, but it is very scanty. By the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, when monastic houses were being established in considerable numbers in the North of England and South of Scotland, charters detailing grants of land begin to appear. The earliest of these have been collected in Sir Archibald Lawrie's "Early Scottish Charters". Unfortunately some of the most important from the place-name point of view are suspected forgeries, and some are printed from very late copies. In one or two cases it has been better

to ignore the document given by Lawrie, and apply to one of later date but existing in an earlier copy.

An example of this is No. CLXXXIX, King David's foundation charter to Jedburgh Abbey, which is a late 17th or early 18th Cent. transcript made by Sir Lewis Stewart from Robert the Bruce's confirmation of the charter in 1325: a much more reliable document containing the same material can be found in the "National Manuscripts of Scotland", where there is a facsimile of William the Lion's confirmation.

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

the Chronicle of Melrose has demonstrated this.

Next to the chartularies in point of detail is the Register of the Great Seal. Unhappily the forms of place-names in the first volume are not entirely trustworthy, as not only was the collection compiled from 16th and 17th Cent. transcripts, but the editor has frequently taken the liberty of amending spellings.

Other Scottish records listed below are of less value for detail, but are usually more accurate.

Documents written in England or by English scribes are collected in "Documents Illustrating the History of Scotland" and the "Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland". Occasional references to Scottish towns are found in the English Pipe Rolls, Close Rolls, etc.

I have made no attempt to consult manuscript sources. Had I been concerned with a single county this would have been necessary, but this study is merely a survey of a large area and does not pretend to be a work of great detail. General sources beyond 1600 have also been avoided although local records of later date have been used. These provide names not previously mentioned in other sources. The forms given must be taken to represent local 17th and 18th Cent. pronunciation rather than historical spellings. The volumes of the Historical Manuscripts Commission



contain much valuable local detail, but unless actual transcripts of documents are printed, one cannot be certain that the place-name forms have not been modernised. It is here that inspection of the originals would be most important.

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

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

LIST OF SOURCES AND ABBREVIATIONS.SOURCES.

- Alia. Mir. ... Alia Miracula Sancti Johannis, in Historians of the Church of York, ed. J. Raine, Rolls Series.
- ALC ..... Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs (1501-54), ed. R. K. Hannay, 1932.
- Anon. L. St. C. Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert in Two Lives of St. Cuthbert, B. Colgrave, 1940.
- APS ..... Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, Vol. I, 1834; Vol. II, 1814.
- ASC ..... Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel, Earle and Plummer, 1892.
- Bede ..... Opera Historica, ed. Charles Plummer, 1896.  
H.E.: Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum.  
H.A.: Historia Abbatum.  
L. St. C.: Life of St. Cuthbert (in Colgrave).
- BF ..... Book of Fees (Testa de Nevill); 1920, 1923.
- Blaeu ..... Geographiae Blavianaee, Vol. 6, Bks. 12 & 13. Scotia and Hibernia, 1662.
- BM ..... Index to Charters and Rolls in the British Museum, ed. H. J. Ellis and F. B. Bickley, 2 vols., 1900-12.
- Boldon ..... The Boldon Buke: Surtees Soc. No. 25 ii, 1852.
- BP ..... Benedict of Peterborough, Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi, Rolls Series.
- Brus ..... The Bruce by John Barbour, ed. W. M. Mackenzie, 1909.

- Bullock ..... Map of the Debateable Land on the West Borders, 1552, in National Manuscripts of Scotland.
- C-B ..... History of Selkirkshire, T. Craig-Brown, 1886: contains many original documents.
- CBP ..... Calendar of Border Papers (1560-1603), ed. J. Bain, 2 vols., 1894, 1896.
- C de M ..... The Chronicle of Melrose, Facsimile edition, ed. A. O. and M. O. Anderson, 1936.
- CDS ..... Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland (1108-1509) ed. J. Bain, Vols. I-IV, 1881-8.
- Cdstr ..... Chartulary of the Cistercian Priory of Coldstream, ed. C. Rogers, Grampian Club, 1879.
- Ch ..... Calendar of Charter Rolls.
- Cl ..... Calendar of Close Rolls.
- Cold ..... The Correspondence, Inventories, Account Rolls and Law Proceedings of the Priory of Coldingham, ed. J. Raine: Surtees Soc., 1841.
- Colgrave .... Colgrave, B., Two Lives of St. Cuthbert, 1940.
- Com. Rec. Dmf. .. The Commissariat Record of Dumfries, Scottish Record Society, 1902.
- Com. Rec. Laud. .. The Commissariat Record of Lauder, Scottish Record Society, 1903.
- CSP ..... Calendar of Scottish Papers (1547-95), 11 vols.
- CSP(Th) ..... Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland (1509-1603), ed. M. J. Thorpe, 2 vols., 1858.
- DIHS ..... Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland (1286-1306), ed. J. Stevenson, 1870, 2 vols.



- Dryb ..... Liber Sancti Marie de Dryburgh,  
Bannatyne Club, 1847.
- Dugd ..... Dugdale, W., Monasticon Anglicanum,  
6 vols., 1817-30.
- Eddi ..... Eddius Stephanus, The Life of Bishop  
Wilfrid, ed. B. Colgrave, 1927..
- ESC ..... Early Scottish Charters, ed. A. C.  
Lawrie, 1905.
- Fine ..... Fine Rolls.
- Flo. Wig. .... Chronicon ex Chronicis, Florentii  
Wigorniensis monachi, ed. B. Thorpe,  
English History Soc., 1848.
- G.C. .... Gervase of Canterbury, Chronica, ed.  
W. Stubbs, Rolls Series.
- Ham. Pap. .... The Hamilton Papers (1532-90), ed.  
J. Bain, 2 vols., 1890-2.
- H.B. .... Historia Brittonum, ed. T. Mommsen,  
in Chronica Minora, Vol. III, 1898.
- H.C. .... Register and Records of Holm Cultram,  
ed. F. Grainger and W. G. Collingwood,  
CWAAS, Record Series, 1929.
- HMC ..... Historical Manuscripts Commission.
- (Drml) ..... MSS of the Duke of Buccleuch at  
Drumlanrig, 1897.
- (Home) ..... MSS of the Earl of Home, 1871.
- (Jhn) ..... MSS of J. J. Hope Johnstone, 1897.
- (March) ..... MSS of Sir H. Campbell of Marchmont,  
1894.
- (Rxb) ..... MSS of the Duke of Roxburghe, 1894.
- (Var. Coll. v) . MSS in Various Collections, Vol.v.,  
1909.
- (Wed) ..... MSS of Col. D. Milne Home of Wedder-  
burn, 1902.

<u>Hen. VIII</u>	...	<u>State Papers of Henry VIII.</u>
<u>Holyrood</u>	....	<u>Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis</u> , Bannatyne Club, 1840.
<u>Inst. Pub.</u>	..	<u>Instrumenta Publica super Scotorum Factis</u> , Bannatyne Club, 1834.
J.G.	.....	<u>John of Gaunt's Register</u> , Camden 3rd Series LVI, LVII, 1937.
<u>Kelso</u>	.....	<u>Liber S. Marie de Calchou</u> , Bannatyne, 1846.
<u>L.Ch.</u>	.....	<u>The Laing Charters</u> , ed. J. Anderson, 1899.
LSMM	.....	<u>Liber Sancte Marie de Melros</u> , 2 vols., Bannatyne Club, 1837.
LVD	.....	<u>Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis</u> , Surtees Soc., 1841.
<u>Mel. Reg. Rec.</u>	..	<u>Melrose Regality Records</u> , 3 vols., Scottish History Soc., 1914-17.
MGH	.....	<u>Monumenta Germanica Historica</u> , 1826-1913.
<u>Morton</u>	.....	<u>Monastic Annals of Teviotdale</u> , J. Morton, 1832; contains original documents.
MP	.....	Matthew Paris, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series.
NMS	.....	<u>National Manuscripts of Scotland</u> , ed. J. Murray-Craig.
<u>Not. Dig.</u>	...	<u>Notitia Dignitatum</u> , ed. A. Böcking, 1839-53.
Pat	.....	<u>Patent Rolls.</u>
<u>Percy</u>	.....	<u>Percy Chartulary</u> , Surtees Soc., 1911.
<u>Pont. Off. St. And.</u>	.....	<u>Pontificale Ecclesiae Sancti Andreae</u> , ed. C Wordsworth, 1885.
RC	.....	Robertson, Wm., <u>An Index of Records of Charters</u> , 1798.

<u>Reg. Sas. Bwk.</u>	<u>Index to the Particular Register of Sasines for the Shire of Berwick and Bailiary of Lauderdale, 1928.</u>
<u>Reg. Sas. Dmf.</u>	<u>Index to the Particular Register of Sasines for the Sheriffdom of Dumfries and the Stewartries of Kirkcudbright and Annandale, 1931.</u>
R.H: .....	Richard of Hexham, <u>Historia de Gestis regis Stephani</u> , ed. R. Hewlett, Rolls Series.
RMS .....	<u>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum (1306-1668), 11 vols.</u>
Rog. Hov. ...	Roger Hoveden, <u>Chronica</u> , ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series.
<u>Rot. Scac.</u> ..	<u>Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum, (1264-1487), 9 vols.</u>
RPC .....	<u>Register of the Privy Council of Scotland (1545-1689), Series 1, 2, 3: 36 vols.</u>
RS .....	<u>Rotuli Scotiae, 1814, 2 vols.</u>
RSS .....	<u>Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum (1488-1548), Vols. I-III, 1912, 1921, 1936.</u>
<u>St. And.</u> ....	<u>Liber Cartarum Sancte Andree, Bannatyne Club, 1841.</u>
<u>St. B.</u> .....	<u>Register of the Priory of St. Bees, Surtees Soc., 1915.</u>
<u>S. Trin. Edin.</u>	<u>Registrum Ecclesie Collegiate S. Trinitatis de Edinb. in Charters of Collegiate Churches in Midlothian, Bannatyne Club, 1861.</u>
<u>Scal</u> .....	<u>Scalacronica, Sir Thomas Gray, Maitland Club, 1836.</u>
SD .....	Symeon of Durham, Rolls Series.
(HDE) .....	<u>Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae.</u>
(HR) .....	<u>Historia Regum.</u>
(HSC) .....	<u>Historia Sancti Cuthberti.</u>



- Soltre ..... Registrum Cartarum Domus de Soltre in Charters of Collegiate Churches in Midlothian.
- Speed ..... John Speed, Map of Scotland, in Early Maps of Scotland by H. R. G. Inglis.
- Stitchill ... Records of the Baron Court of Stitchill, S.H.S., 1905.
- Vita Kentig. .. Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern, ed. Forbes, 1874.
- Wallace ..... Schir William Wallace, ed. J. Moir, S.T.S. 6, 7, 17.
- Whitby ..... Whitby Cartulary, Surtees Soc., 2 vols., 1879-81.
- Wyntoun ..... Andrew of Wyntoun, ed. F. J. Amours, STS, Vols. 50, 53, 54, 56, 57, 60.

(C) Cottonian MS.

(W) Wemyss MS.

ABBREVIATIONS, and Other Works Consulted.

- Abd ..... Aberdeenshire.
- AHMC (Bwk) .. Ancient and Historical Monuments Commission, Berwickshire 1915.
- AHMC (Dmf) .. Dumfriesshire 1920.
- Allen ..... Allen, J. Romilly, Early Christian Monuments of Scotland, 1903.
- AN ..... Anglo-Norman.
- Anc ..... Ancrum (Rxb).
- Anderson .... Anderson, A. O., Scottish Annals from English Sources, 1908.
- Angus ..... Angus, W. S., The Battlefield of Brunanburh, in Antiquity, 1937.

Ann	.....	Annan (Dmf).
<u>Antiquity</u>	...	<u>Antiquity</u> , ed. O. G. S. Crawford, 1927-
Apl	.....	Applegarth (Dmf).
A St. B	.....	Abbey St. Bathans (Bwk).
Ask	.....	Ashkirk (Slk).
Ayt	.....	Ayton (Bwk).
Bannockburn	..	<u>The Battle of Bannockburn</u> , W. Mackay Mackenzie, 1913; <u>Bannockburn Myth</u> , 1932.
B. B.	.....	Brown, G. Baldwin, <u>The Arts in Early England</u> , Vol. VI, part 2; <u>Anglo- Saxon Sculpture</u> , 1937.
Bdr	.....	Bedrule (Rxb).
Beds	.....	Bedfordshire.
Birley	.....	Birley, Eric, <u>Excavations at Birrens</u> , PSAS, Vol. LXII.
Bk	.....	Buckinghamshire.
BM	.....	British Museum.
Bow	.....	Bowden (Rxb).
B & Pr	.....	Buncle and Preston (Bwk).
Brit	.....	British.
B-T	.....	<u>An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary</u> , J. Bosworth, ed. T. N. Toller, 1898; Supplement 1921.
Bwk	.....	Berwickshire.
C	.....	Cambridgeshire.
Cad	.....	Caddon (Slk).
Can	.....	Canonbie (Dmf).

Cash	.....	Cash, Caleb George: <u>The First Topographical Survey of Scotland</u> , Scottish Geographical Magazine 1901.
Cav	.....	Cavers (Rxb).
Cdstr	.....	Coldstream (Bwk).
Celt	.....	Celtic.
Ch	.....	Cheshire.
Chan	.....	Channelkirk (Bwk).
Chrn	.....	Chirnside (Bwk).
Ckb	.....	Cockburnspath (Bwk).
Clb	.....	Closeburn (Dmf).
Cld	.....	Coldingham (Bwk).
Clg	.....	Crailing (Rxb).
Cl-V	.....	<u>Icelandic-English Dictionary</u> , R. Cleasby-G. Vigfusson, 1874.
Collingwood, R.G.		Collingwood, R. G. and Myres, J. N. L., <u>Roman Britain and The English Settlements</u> , 1936. <u>Roman Britain.</u>
Collingwood, W. G.		<u>Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre- Norman Age</u> , 1927.
CPNS	.....	Watson, W. J., <u>The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland</u> , 1926.
Cr1	.....	Caerlaverock (Dmf).
Crn	.....	Cranshaws (Bwk).
Cst	.....	Castleton (Rxb).
Cu	.....	Cumberland.
Cum	.....	Cummertrees (Dmf).
Curle	.....	Curle, James, <u>A Roman Frontier Post and its People</u> , 1911.



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

Earl	.....	Earlston (Bwk).
Ecc1	.....	Eccles (Bwk).
Eckf	.....	Eckford (Rxb).
EDD	.....	<u>English Dialect Dictionary.</u>
Edn	.....	Ednam (Rxb).
Edr	.....	Edrom (Bwk).
EETS	.....	<u>Early English Text Society.</u>
EHR	.....	<u>English Historical Review.</u>
E.Lth.	.....	East Lothian.
EPNS	.....	<u>English Place-Name Society.</u>
ERN	.....	Ekwall, E., <u>English River-Names</u> , 1928.
Esk	.....	Eskdalemuir (Dmf).
Ess	.....	Essex.
Ettr	.....	Ettrick (Slk).
Ew	.....	Ewes (Dmf).
Ewen	.....	Ewen, C. L'E., <u>A History of the Surnames of the British Isles</u> , 1931.
Eym	.....	Eyemouth (Bwk).
Feilitzen	...	Feilitzen, O. von, <u>The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book</u> , in <u>Nomina Germanica</u> , vol. 3, 1937.
Fick	.....	Fick, August, <u>Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen: Vol. II Urkeltischer Sprachschatz</u> von Whitley Stokes, 1894.
Fld	.....	Foulden (Bwk).
Fogo	.....	Fogo (Bwk).
Förstemann	...	Förstemann, Ernst, <u>Altdeutsches Namenbuch</u> , Band I, <u>Personennamen</u> , 1900.

Fürster	.....	Fürster, Max, <u>Keltisches Wortgut im Englischen</u> , 1921.
Fritzner	....	Fritzner, Johan, <u>Ordbog over det Gamle Norske Sprog</u> , 1867.
Gael	.....	Gaelic.
Gala	.....	Galashiels (Slk).
G.A.S.	.....	<u>Glasgow Archaeological Society, Transactions</u> .
Gl	.....	Gloucestershire.
Glwy	.....	Galloway.
Grd	.....	Gordon (Bwk).
Grn	.....	Greenlaw (Bwk).
Grt	.....	Gretna (Dmf).
Ha	.....	Hampshire.
Hardie	.....	Hardie, R. P., <u>The Roads of Mediaeval Lauderdale</u> , 1942.
Haverfield	..	Haverfield, F., <u>The Roman Occupation of Britain</u> , revised G. Macdonald, 1924.
Hbk	.....	Hobkirk (Rxb).
H & C	.....	Hutton and Corrie (Dmf).
He	.....	Herefordshire.
Herts	.....	Hertfordshire.
Hfm	.....	Halfmorton (Dmf).
<u>History</u>	.....	<u>History</u> .
Hlw	.....	Holywood (Dmf).
Hod	.....	Hoddon (Dmf).
Hodgkin	.....	Hodgkin, R. H., <u>A History of the Anglo-Saxons</u> , 2 vols., 1935.
Holder	.....	Holder, Alfred, <u>Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz</u> , 3 vols., 1896-1904.



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

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

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



Nb	.....	Northumberland, Northumbrian.
NCH	.....	<u>Northumberland County History</u> , 10 vols., 1893-1914.
NED	.....	<u>New English Dictionary</u> .
Neilson ( <u>Ann</u> )	.	Neilson, George, <u>Annals of the Solway</u> - <u>until A.D. 1307</u> , in G.A.S., No.7, p.245 ff.
Neilson ( <u>Peel</u> )	.	Neilson, George, <u>Peel: its meaning</u> <u>and derivation</u> , in G.A.S., No.4, p.121 ff.
Nf	.....	Norfolk.
N.Fr.	.....	Norman French.
Nnt	.....	Nenthorn (Bwk).
NSA	.....	<u>New Statistical Account of Scotland</u> , 1845.
Nt	.....	Nottinghamshire.
Nth	.....	Northamptonshire.
O	.....	Oxfordshire.
O.Bret.	.....	Old Breton.
O.Brit.	.....	Old British.
O.Corn.	.....	Old Cornish.
O.Dan.	.....	Old Danish.
OE	.....	Old English.
OET	.....	<u>Oldest English Texts</u> , ed. H. Sweet, EETS, No.83.
O.Fr.	.....	Old French.
O.Gael.	.....	Old Gaelic.
OGN	.....	<u>Oud Gentsche Naamkunde</u> , J.Mansion, 1924.
OHG	.....	Old High German.

O.Ir.	.....	Old Irish.
Oman	.....	Oman, Charles, <u>England Before the Norman Conquest</u> , 1910.
ON	.....	Old Norse.
O Nb	.....	Old Northumbrian.
<u>Onom</u>	.....	<u>Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum</u> , Searle, W. G., 1897.
O.W.	.....	Old Welsh.
O.W.Scand.	...	Old West Scandinavian.
Oxn	.....	Oxn (Rxb).
(P)	.....	Place-name caused as a pers. name.
Par	.....	Parish.
Pbl	.....	Peeblesshire.
Pers. n.	.....	Personal name.
P.n.	.....	Place-name.
Pnp	.....	Penpont (Dmf).
PN Beds. Hu.	..	<u>Place-Names of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire</u> , A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, 1926. EPNS.
PN Bk.	.....	<u>P-n's of Buckinghamshire</u> , A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, 1925, EPNS.
PN Bwk.	.....	<u>P-n's of Berwickshire</u> , J. B. Johnston, 1940.
PN C.	.....	<u>P-n's of Cambridgeshire</u> , W. W. Skeat, 1911.
PN Cu. We.	...	<u>P-n's of Cumberland and Westmorland</u> , W. J. Sedgefield, 1915.
PN D.	.....	<u>P-n's of Devonshire</u> , J. E. B. Gover, A. Mawer and F. M. Stenton, 1931, EPNS.
PN Ess.	.....	<u>P-n's of Essex</u> , P. H. Reaney, 1935, EPNS.

- PN Glwy ..... P-n's of Galloway, Sir H. Maxwell,  
1930.
- PN Herts ..... P-n's of Hertfordshire, J. E. B. Gover,  
A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, 1938, EPNS.
- PN. -Ing ..... Ekwall, E, English Place-Names in -Ing,  
1923.
- PN I.O.M. .... P-n's of the Isle of Man, J. J. Kneen,  
1925.
- PN La. .... P-n's of Lancashire, E. Ekwall, 1922.
- PN Mx ..... P-n's of Middlesex, J. E. B. Gover,  
A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton and S. J.  
Madge, 1942, EPNS.
- PN Nb. Du. ... P-n's of Northumberland and Durham,  
Sir A. Mawer, 1920.
- PN Nt. .... P-n's of Nottinghamshire, J. E. B.  
Gover, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton,  
1940, EPNS.
- PN Nth. .... P-n's of Northamptonshire, J. E. B.  
Gover, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton,  
1933, EPNS.
- PN R & Cr .... P-n's of Ross and Cromarty, W. J.  
Watson, 1904.
- PNS ..... P-n's of Scotland, J. B. Johnston,  
1934.
- PN Sh. .... P-n's Shetland, J. Jakobsen, 1936.
- PN Sr. .... P-n's of Surrey, J. E. B. Gover, A.  
Mawer, F. M. Stenton, A. Bonner,  
1934, EPNS.
- PN Sx. .... P-n's of Sussex, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton,  
J. E. B. Gover, 1929, EPNS.
- PN W. .... P-n's of Wiltshire, J. E. B. Gover,  
A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, 1939, EPNS.
- PN Wa ..... P-n's of Warwickshire, J. E. B. Gover,  
A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, F. T. S.  
Houghton, 1936, EPNS.
- PN W.Abd. .... P-n's of West Aberdeenshire, James  
Macdonald. New Spalding Club, 1899.



PN W.Lth.	.....	<u>P-n's of West Lothian, Angus Macdonald, 1941.</u>
PN Wo.	.....	<u>P-n's of Worcestershire, A. Mawer, F. M. Stenton, F. T. S. Houghton, 1927, EPNS.</u>
PN YER	.....	<u>P-n's of the East Riding of Yorkshire, A. H. Smith, 1937, EPNS.</u>
PN YNR	.....	<u>P-n's of the North Riding of Yorkshire, A. H. Smith, 1928, EPNS.</u>
Pol	.....	Polwarth (Bwk).
PSAS	.....	<u>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.</u>
R	.....	Rutland.
Rbt	.....	Roberton (Rxb).
Ritual	.....	Durham Ritual.
Rth	.....	Ruthwell (Dmf).
Ru <sup>2</sup>	.....	Rushworth <sup>2</sup> .
Rxb	.....	Roxburghshire; Roxburgh par.
Sa	.....	Shropshire.
Scand	.....	Scandinavian.
Sc. & C.	.....	<u>Ekwall, E., Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England, 1918.</u>
Sdn	.....	Southdean (Rxb).
Sf	.....	Suffolk.
S.H.S.	.....	<u>Scottish History Society.</u>
Slk	.....	Selkirkshire; Selkirk par.
Smh	.....	Smailholm (Rxb).
Smith	.....	<u>Smith, A. H., The Site of the Battle of Brunanburh, in L.M.S., Vol.I, part 1, 1937.</u>

So	.....	Somerset.
Spr	.....	Sprouston (Rxb).
Sqr	.....	Sanquhar (Dmf).
Sr	.....	Surrey.
St. B.	.....	St. Boswells (Rxb).
Stenton	.....	Stenton, F. M., <u>The Historical Bearing of Place-Name Studies: Anglo-Saxon Heathenism, in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, ser.IV, vol.23.</u>
Stl	.....	Stichill (Rxb).
St. M.	.....	St. Mungo (Dmf).
S.T.S.	.....	<u>Scottish Text Society.</u>
<u>Studies</u> <sup>2</sup>	.....	Ekwall, E., <u>Studies on English Place-Names, 1936.</u>
Swt	.....	Swinton (Bwk).
Sx	.....	Sussex.
Tnw	.....	Tinwald (Dmf).
Tor	.....	Torthorwald (Dmf).
Tranter	.....	Tranter, N. G., <u>The Fortalices and Early Mansions of Southern Scotland, 1935.</u>
Tun	.....	Tundergarth (Dmf).
Tvt	.....	Teviothead (Rxb).
Tyn	.....	Tynron (Dmf).
VCH-Cu.	.....	<u>History of Cumberland, Victoria County Histories.</u>
Vernon	.....	Vernon, J. J., <u>The Ecclesiastical Place-Names of Roxburghshire in Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, Vol. II.</u>

W	.....	Wiltshire.
Wa	.....	Warwickshire.
Wam	.....	Wamphray (Dmf).
Watson	.....	Watson, George, <u>The Roxburghshire Word-Book, 1923.</u>
We	.....	Westmorland.
Wht	.....	Whitsome (Bwk).
Wo	.....	Worcestershire.
W.S.	.....	West Saxon.
Wst	.....	Westruther (Bwk).
Wstk	.....	Westerkirk (Dmf).
Y	.....	Yorkshire.
Yar	.....	Yarrow (Slk).
YER	.....	East Riding of Yorkshire.
YNR	.....	North Riding of Yorkshire.
Yth	.....	Yetholm (Rxb).
YWR	.....	West Riding of Yorkshire.
Zachrisson	..	Zachrisson, R. E., <u>Romans, Kelts and Saxons in Ancient Britain, 1927.</u>
Zach. EPN	...	Zachrisson, R. E., <u>English Place-Names and River-Names containing the Primitive Germanic roots *ris, *rask, 1926.</u>
ZEN	.....	Björkman, E., <u>Zur Englischen Namenkunde, 1912.</u>



I. OE -ingas.

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

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

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

RXB. CRAILING (Clg): (81, 5G).

Craling, 1147-50 (17th) ESC; 1301 BM; -ingis  
(plur.) 1147-50 (17th) ESC; Creling, 1147-52  
(Morton) ib; 1296 Inst. Pub; Craaling, 1165-1214  
NMS; Treilin (P) 1180 APS (T - C); Creglinge,  
1256 C.D.S.; Crelinge, 1296 ib; Cralyng, 1456 HMC  
(Rxb).

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

An OE  $\text{*Crā}$ , cognate with ON Krā, "nook, corner" prefixed to OE hlync, "ridge, slope", is more probable. The forms quoted above may be later copies representing the l.ME fronting of ā. Crailing lies in an almost imperceptible hollow in the gradually sloping banks of the Oxnam.

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

Simprinc, 1153-65 (c1320) Kelso; -rig, 1159 ib;  
1246 Pont. Off. St. And.; Semprinc, 1251 (c 1320)

Kelso; Sympring, c 1280 ib; 1370 CDS; Sempring,  
 c 1300 Cold; 1335-6 CDS; Symoryng, c 1415 Kelso.

Simp<sup>i</sup>nge,  
St.

The base of the patronymic may be an OE pers. n. Simper, related to the verb "to simper" which Ekwall at first postulated as the source of Sempringham, L. (PN - Ing, 142), and later rejected in favour of a form without medial -r- (DEPN, 393). There is no proof that this was originally a formation in -ingas, but neither is there any proof that it was not. In the Midlands and Northern Counties of England, final -s rarely appears in ME sources.

The modern ending in -im is due to assimilation by the preceding labials -mp.



II. OE -ingahām.

The names in -ingahām belong to the same period as those in -ingas, or are only very slightly later. Their first elements are mainly personal names of the same type as is found in the -ingas formations. Disyllabics are more common in the northern counties. The distribution of these names is similar to that of the -ingas names.

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

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

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

St. Abb's Head: Colde-burcheshevet, 12th Lb. El.

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

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

\*Hruringaham, mentioned in the Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert, has been assigned to this area by various scholars, but may prove to be Risingham Nb. Spellings are: Hruringaham 699-705 (late 9th - early 10th) Anon. L. St. C.; hruringaham, (late 10th - MS.A) ib.; runingaham (c. 1235 - MS.T) ib.; Hruningaham, c.730 (12th) Bede, L. St. C.; Runingaham (MS.03) ib.

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

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

If Chapters 5, 6, 7 of the Anonymous Life are closely consulted it will be seen that Cuthbert was on a journey which led up the Teviot, and southwards into the Cheviots: "iuxta flumen Tesgeta tendens in meridiem inter montana" (Bk. II, Chap. 5: Colgrave, 90). It was on this expedition that he visited Hruringaham, which must therefore lie somewhere in the Cheviot Hills. Risingham is some distance south of the Teviot, but it is on the Roman Road which was the main line of communication through the Cheviots and which must have afforded the only possible route to Jarrow from Teviotdale. At Bellingham Nb., about four miles from Risingham is a road known as Cuddy's Yett (Vernon, 371) which points to a tradition, if nothing more, that Cuthbert frequented that district.

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



III. OE -ingtūn.

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

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

Hadynton, 1095 (15th) ESC; Hoēdentun, 1095-1100 (15th) ib; Edingtonam (acc), 1095 (15th) ib; -ton, 1465 HMC (Var. Coll. v); Edintun (P), 1165-82 LSMM; Edynton (P), 1182 (1434) Cdstr, 1296 CDS.

The first two spellings are dubious and may have been influenced by Haddington (E.Lth). A pers. n. Ead(d)a might be the base of the forms in -ing: cf. Addington Bk. (DEPN, 2), A~Nth. (PN Nth., 177).

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

Hadryngton, 1095 (15th) ESC; Hoēdrinton, 1095-1100 (15th) ib; Edringtoun, 1309 RC; 1328 Rot. Scac; Ederington, 1330 Rot. Scac.

The first two spellings are to be compared to the first two above. The vowels are similar.

The first element of the compound is OE aēdre, the original name of the Whiteadder on which Edrington is

situated. OE aēdringtūn is "the farm of the settlers by the Adder" or "the farm by the Adder". A similar example of a river-name with -ingtūn is Sinnington (PN YNR., 76).

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

Assinden, c 1200 (1434) Cdstr; Halsinton (P), 1230 CDS; c 1248 LSMM; Halsingtune, c 1248 LSMM; -ton, 1248 APS; Halsigton, c 1270 (1434) Cdstr; Halsyngtoun, 1309 RC; -ton, 1336-7 CDS; 1406 RMS; Hawsintoun, 1516-17 RMS; Hassintoun, c 1564 Me1.  
Reg. Rec.

An ONb hals, "neck", cognate with ON hals, in the sense of a small valley which broadens at both ends, might be the base of this formation, since Hassington Mains stands not far from such a valley.

Otherwise the name must be associated with the Hælsingas who appear in "Widsið" (Malone, 153-4). It might be that members of that tribe joined in the migration to Britain, since they were neighbours of the Angles. A descendant of one of the original settlers may have preserved the name Hælsing.

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

Mersington, 1291 Inst. Pub.; c 1390 L.Ch.;  
Mersin-, c 1300 Cold; Mersyngtone, 1336-7 CDS;  
Mersintun, 14th C. St. And.

OE Maērsige, ONb. Mērsige in a shortened form, Mērsa may be the base of this compound.

RENTON (Clā): (75, 11 G):

Regninton, 1095 (15th) ESC; c 1100 ib; Reinintun, 1095-1100 (15th) ib; Rayntonam (acc), 1095 (15th) ib; Reningtona, 1235 Cold; -tone (P), 1297 DIHS; Reynton, 1253 CDS; Rennyngton, 1296 ib.

OE Regna, a short form of the pers. n. Regenwald, is the basis of this compound: cf. Rainton, Du., and Rennington, Nb. (PN Nb Du, 162, 165).

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

Upsetintun, 1095-1100 (15th) ESC; Hupsetligtun (P), 1153-65 (c 1320) Kelso; Upsedilington, c 1240 ib; Hupsetl-, c 1288 HMC (Var. Coll. v).

OE setl, "seat, bench", must be used here in a topographical sense, denoting "shelf, ledge". OE Setling-tūn was "the farm or village on or by the ledge". The prefix upp(e)- may have distinguished an upper farm from one on a lower level.

DMF. SHEARINGTON (Cr1): (88, 12 G):

Sherington, 1570 CSP; Shirringtoun, Blaeu;

Schyrington, ib; Shireingtoun, 1716 Com. Rec. DMF.

Since the spellings are so late, it is open to doubt whether this is truly an original -ingtūn formation. If so, the basis may be an OE pers. n. Scīra:



cf. Sherington, Bk., and Sheringham, Nf. (DEPN, 397).

RXB. Little Warrington Sike (Cst) is unlikely to have the same history as Warrington, La. It may represent M.Sc. wardand doun, "watch hill".

BWK. Thirlington (Eccl) might contain an OE pers. n. ~~xxx~~yrla or ~~xxx~~yrel but this is doubtful. Compare Thirlmere, Cu., the etymology of which is also obscure (DEPN, 444).

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

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

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

BWK. Titling Cairn (Lgf) contains ON titlingr, "meadow pipit".

DMF. Palling Burn (Mid) is obscure. Raking Gill (Mof) may be a derivative of ON rak, "a path".

SLK. Stantling Craig (Cad) may be OE stān hlync: cf.

No. LXX(S).

(2) Names in -ing with terminal attached.

RXB. Kinninghall (Cav) has been transferred from Norfolk. Millingwood Fell (Gst) perhaps contains Mod. Sc. mailing "a rented farm". Runningburn (Stl) is probably OE runiende burna, "whispering burn": cf. No. LXXV.

BWK. Darlingfield (Earl) may contain the surname Darling.

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

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

IV. OE hām,

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

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

It is notable that in four examples - Smailholm, Yetholm, Leitholm and Smallholm - OE hām has become modern - holm.

Five names in -hām have become names of parishes - Ednam, Oxnam, Smailholm, Yetholm and Edrom.

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

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

Ædnaham, c 1105 ESC; Edna-, 1107-17 ib; Eden-, 1117-24 ib; 1165-1214 LSMM; 1159 (c 1320) Kelso;



Hedin-, 1147-53 (16th) Dryb.; Ednahim, 1165-77  
(c 1500) LSMM; Hedenham, 1165-1214 (c 1320) Kelso.

"The hām on the River Eden", which is: Edene,  
1178-98 (c 1320) Kelso; c 1300 ib; Etinn, Edna,  
Blaeu, from O. Brit.  $\text{ᚱitunā} > \text{ᚱEodene} > \text{ME Edene}$ .  
Compare Eden We., and Eden Burn Du. (ERN, 142-3).

Other examples of pre-English river-names with  
-hām are Alnham Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 4 ), Warenton Nb.  
(ib, 207), Cockerham (PN La., 170), Irlam (ib, 39).  
Compare Eðrom (infra).

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

Middelham, c 1120 (c 1320) Kelso; 1159 ib; Medil-,  
c 1300 ib; Myddil-, 1429 HMC (Drml.)

"The middle village": cf. Middleham (PN YNR, 252).

The reason for the epithet is not obvious, unless it  
is because Midlem lies in a small valley which is more  
or less in the middle of a ridge.

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

Oxenham, 1165-1214 NMS; 1354 Kelso; Oxana-,  
1152-3 (15th) Whitby; Oxene-, ib.

OE Oxena hām, "village or farm of the oxen".

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

Smalham(e), c 1160 (16th) Dryb; c 1300 Cold; 1248  
C de M; Smailhame, 1465 Dryb.

OE Smael hām, "small village".

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

Gatha'n, c 1050 (12th) HSC; Yetham (P), 1165-1214  
LSMM; 1296 RS; 1296 CDS (Seal); 1335-6 CDS;  
Yatheam, 1214-43 LSMM.

OE gæet, "gate", in the sense of "pass" is used here. Yetholm is situated where the Bowmont Water traverses a narrow gap in the hills. For this use of OE gæet (geat), compare Yatton He., W., (DEPN, 518), Yettington D. (ib, 519).

BWK. BIRGHAM (Eccl): (81, 8 B): [bɜ:rdʒəm]

Brygham, 1095 (15th) ESC; 1260 (c 1320) Kelso;  
Bricg-, 1095-1100 (15th) ESC; Birgham(e), 1165  
(1434) Cdstr; c 1200 ib; Briggeham, c 1300 Cold.

OE brycg must be the first element although there is now no stream of any size here for a bridge to cross. The modern pronunciation shows that the final consonants of brycg remained palatalised in spite of metathesis. Birgeane cruk, c 1490, Wallace, may be the land enclosed by the bend in the Tweed, or may be the present farm of Crooks near The Hirsell.

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

Edrem, 1095 (15th) ESC; Ederham, 1095, 1095-1100,  
1138 ib; Edir-, 1248 LSMM; Heddre-, 1248 APS;  
Heder-, 1263 C de M.

"Hām on the Adder". Edrom is near the Whiteadder

Water: cf. Edrington (No. III).

KIMMERGHAME HO. (Edr): (75, 9 L): [kimardgam]

Chynbrygham, 1095 (15th) ESC; Cynebritham, 1095-1100 ib; Kynbriggheham, 1296 CDS; Kymbregam, ib; Kymbrigham, ib; Kymbridgeham, 1330 Rot. Scac; Kymbringham, 1330 Cold; Kymbirgame, 1332 Rot. Scac; Kymmerjame, 1536 RMS.

OE cȳna-brycg-hām, "hām at the cows' bridge", is suggested by the earliest spellings.

A patronymic based on OE Cyneberht is possible, as OE Cyneberhtinga-hām: cf. Habergham La., (PN -Ing, 146, 171), for a similar modern form.

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

Letham, 1165-1214 LSMM; c. 1200 (1434) Cdstr;

Letam, c. 1230 ib; Lethame (P) ib.

"Hām on the Leet Water": cf. Leet (No. XXXVIII).

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

Smalham, 1304, 1374-5 CDS; Smalehame, 1429-30 RMS.

OE Smael(e) hām: cf. Smailholm (supra).

A "lost" name <sup>Æ</sup>Wrangham, a little north of Brotherstone (Mert) may be a form in -hām: Wranghame, 1505 HMC (Home); c. 1535, c. 1540 etc. Dryb; Wrangholme, 1560-70, 1596, 1630 Dryb; -um, c. 1620 ib; -umm, Blaeu. Wranghomehill, 1535 RMS is mentioned with lands in the



vicinity of Coldstream. Compare Wrangham (Abd):  
Warngham, 1366, Wranghame, 1644, 1696 (PN W. Abd.,  
346).

V. OE tūn.

"Enclosed homestead, dwelling, village, farm".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Edristona, 1271 (16th) Dryb; Edrystona, 1378-82 RMS; Ederstona, 1378-82 ib; Edgarstoun, 1481 (15th, 16th) APS; Edyarestoun, 1492 RMS; Edgaristoun-scheles, 1510 RMS.

The site of the original Adderston is now lost.

This name seems to be similar to Adderstone Nb.:

Edredeston 1233 (PN Nb. Du., 2), from OE Eadredes tūn.

The later spellings must be an attempt at substituting a known name for one which had passed out of use.

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

Ernilten, Blaeu; Erniltoun fell, ib.

Arnton is now lost. It may have been OE Ærnwulfes tūn. One Earnulf is a signatory to a charter in 1094 (ESC, 10).

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

Aldetuneburne, 1200-2 (c 1320) Kelso; Altonburn, 1354 HMC (Rxb); Aldtonburne, 1357-8 ib.



The Atton Burn was ME alde tūn burne, "burn by the old homestead", which later became a place-name.

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

Camayston, 1306 LSMM; Cambeston, 1402 ib;

Cammetoun, 1540 RMS; c 1620 Dryb.

The first element may be Gael. camas < O. Gael. cambas, "a bend", since Cammieston lies in the bend of a stream where the contours make a sharp curve. Compare Old Cambus (PN Bwk, 19: CPNS 138).

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

Cauertone, 1296 CDS; Caverton, 1328 Rot. Scac.

OE \*Cāfhere as in Caversfield O. (DEPN, 87) seems to be the first element: cf. Cavers, No. LI(v).

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

Cliftun, c 1050 (12th) HSC; 1165-92 LSMM.

OE Clif-tūn, "dwelling by a steep hillside". Clifton lies under the slopes of Shereburgh which are very abrupt.

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

Danyelstona (P), 1343 Rot. Scac; Danyellyston,

1359 ib; Danyelstone (P), c 1400 (1475-1500)

Wyntoun; Danzieltoune, 1654 Mel. Reg. Rec.

"Daniel's tūn": cf. Daniel prior of Jedburgh in 1139 (ESC, 93). The change to Dingleton must have occurred in the early 18th Cent. for in 1682 the form

is still Danyeltone (Mel. Reg. Rec.). By then the pronunciation must have been [dɛnltan], later [dɛŋltan] or [dɪŋltan].

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

Dolfinestone, 1296 CDS; Dolfynston (P), 1354 Kelso;

Dolphington, 1454, HMC (Rxb); Dolphingston, 1475 ib.

ON Dolgfinnr (ZEN, 28), ME Dolfin, is the first element. Compare Dolphinston Pbl., E.Lth., W.Lth.

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

Edgerstoun, 1541 RSS; 1590 CBP; Egyrstain Cast.,

Blaeu; Iedgerton, 1630 Speed; 1639 Campden.

OE Ecghere's tun: cf. Edgarhope Law (No. XXV).

OE Eadgar would not yield a palatalised medial consonant group.

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

Ylistoun, c 1220 Dryb; Iliuestun, 1214-49 LSMM;

Ilefestone, 1315 RMS; Ileffeston, 1329-71 LSMM;

Eleistoun, 1599 Dryb.

An ON pers. n. Ísleifr (ZEN, 50) is the first element. "Johannes filius Yliff de Ylistoun" grants land to Dryburgh, c 1220.

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

Ettiltoun spa, Blaeu.

An OE pers. n. Etla may be the base of this name

but there is not sufficient evidence.

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

Fowmertoun, 1590 CBP.

Mod. Sc. foumart, "polecat", plus toun.

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

Fougheltone, 1296 CDS; Foultone, 1296 ib; le

Fultoun, 1432 HMC (Rxb).

OE fugol-tūn, "bird farm", perhaps because it was frequented by unusual numbers of them.

GATTONSIDE (Mel): (80, 140):

Galtunesside, c 1136 LSMM; Galtounsyd, 1564 Mel.

Reg. Rec.; cf. Galtuneschalech, 1143-4 ESC.

The first part of both compounds is ME Galtun; but if this represents an OE compound in -tūn, it is difficult to determine what the first element gal- may be. There is no evidence that it might have been OE gafol, "tribute", gagol, "bog-myrtle" or galga, "gallows". The place is more than two miles from the mouth of the Gala Water which rules out the possibility of the stream-name.

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

Grundieston, 1380 CDS; Groundestoun, 1535 RSS;

Grundiston, 1551 HMC (Home).

ME <sup>\*</sup>Grundi from OE Gundred may be the first element.



HARPERTOUN (Edn): (81, 7 B): so spelt in Blaeu.

"Harper, or minstrel's farm": the occupational title may have passed into a surname by the period that this name was formed.

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

Hetona, 1152 (c 1320) Kelso; Hetun, c 1230 (1434) Cdstr; Hettun, 1296 CDS (seal).

ME heizh tūn, "high farm". It stands on the edge of a ridge above the Tweed.

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

Hirdmanestun, 1165-88 LSMM; Hirdemaneston, 1296 Inst. Pub.; Hirmaneston, 1296 ib; Hirdmanstone, 1305 CDS.

"Dwelling of the herdsman", OE hiordemann: cf. Herdmanstown (E. Lth): Hirdmanston, Hirdmaneston, 1296 CDS.

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

Est Manis of the Kirkton, 1470 HMC (Drml); Kirkton-  
Manis, 1547 RMS.

"Village by the church". See Mains (No. LV).

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

Langton, 1147-52 (Morton) ESC; Langetun, 1165-1214 NMS.

"Long Village".

LARRISTON (Gst): (85, 14 G):

Lareston burne, 1590 CBP.

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

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

Lintun(e), c 1160 Glas.; c 1175-89 LSMM; Lyntone, 1296 CDS.

W. Llyn, "lake", must be the first element, as in Linlithgow (PN W.Lth., 53-4). A great part of Linton parish was formerly under water.

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

Longa neuton, 1296 CDS; Langnewtoun, 1555 Reg. S. Trin.

"Long new village": the houses were probably disposed in a single row.

MAKERSTOUN HO. (Mak): (81, 5 E):

Malcarvastun, 1159 Kelso; Malkarwestun, 1182-1214 LSMM; Malkarvistoun, 1200-53 (1400) Soltre; Malcaruiston, c 1228 (c. 1500) LSMM.

A form \*\*Maelcærf of an O. Ir. pers. n., may derive from \*Maglo-carvos > \*Mail-, Mael-carf: cf. Maelsuithan, Maelmuire (PN YNR p. 324).

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

Mayngertoun, 1531 ALC; Maungerton, 1569 CSP;

Mangertoun, 1583 CBP.

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

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

Mackistun, 1187-99 LSMM; Mackustun, c 1226 ib;

Macston, 1263 C de M.

The homestead of Maccus, a Celtic name: cf.

Maxwell.

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

Milsintoun, Blaeu.

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

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

Chambrelein-Neuton, 1335-6 RMS; Chambirlaynewtona,

1374 ib.

"The new village where the chamberlain lived". Whether it was named after a national official, or



whether it was the residence of the chamberlain of the local estate I cannot say."

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

Hormiston (P), 1214-49 LSMM; Ormistoun, 1452 RMS  
Ormeestoun, 1567-8 ib; Orrerstoun (Cav), Blaeu;  
Ormistoun (Clg) ib.

"The tūn of Orme": ON Ormr > ME Orm. In 1147-50 Crailing is described as villa Orme (ESC, 152), perhaps the same person as Orm "presbitero de Edenham" who witnessed a Durham charter in 1127 (ESC, 60).

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

Prestowme, 1567 Kelso.

"Priest's village". Land here was held by Kelso Abbey.

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

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

OE Regenwaldes tūn.

RICCARTON (ċst): (85, 14 G):

Ricardeston, 1296 CDS; Ricard tona, 1370 RMS.

OE Riċhærd must have developed a back medial consonant in passing into ME to account for the modern pronunciation. This must have been due to Scand. influence. Compare Riccarton (Mdl) and (Ayr).

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

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

ME Robertes toun.

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

Semanstoun, 1452 RMS; Simalstoun, 1471 ib;

Sammelstoun, 1489 RMS; Symestoun, 1523 ib;

Samestoun, 1541-2 ib; Samelstoun, Blaeu.

"Samuel's farm". The second spelling shows dissimulation m-l > m-n, or perhaps confusion with seaman, but this has not persisted.

SPROUSTON (Spr): (81, 70):

Sprostona, c 1120 Kelso; Sprostune (P) c 1160 ESC;

Sproustona, 1175-1214 (c 1320) Kelso; Sproueston,

c 1279 LSMM; Sprowiston, 1279 ib.

The first element is an OE pers. n. Sprow: cf. Sprowston Nf. (DEPN 414), and a "lost" Sprouisdene, 1204 LSMM in Bowden.

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

Ulvestoun, 1147-52 (Morton) ESC; Ulvestona, 1165-1214 NMS.

ON Ulfr, ME Ulf is the first element.

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

Waquirtun, c 1050 (12th) HSC; Hwitheton (P), 1165-

88 LSMM; Hwittona, 1165-1214 ib; Withetun, 1175-89

ib; Wichetun, 1214 ib (c - t).

In the first spelling, waqu- probably represents OE hw-. OE hwīt tūn, "white homestead"; this is a common place-name in England. Ekwall suggests that the first element may be a pers. n. Hwīta (Whitton Du. etc., DEPN, 491).

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

Wiltuna, c 1050 (12th) HSC; Weltoun, 1511 RMS.

Perhaps OE wilg tūn, "farm by the willows".

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

Auldenestun, 1165-77 LSMM; Aldenistoun, 1222 Dryb.

Aulddynstone, 1371 RMS.

OE Aldwines tūn or \*Aldenes tūn.

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

Alenton (P), 1214-49 LSMM; Alington (P), c 1248 ib;

Alewenton (P), 1306-29 ib.

The Norman name Aleyn, Alain is no doubt the first element. The third spelling may have been influenced by the contemporary form of the Allan Water (Alewent, 1165-1214 LSMM) or may represent a "lost" place on that stream.

ATTON BURN (Clā): (75, 9 F):

Altounburne, 1596, CBP.

"The burn by the old village". Compare Attonburn (Rxb).



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

Eitun, 1095-1100, 1126 ib; Ayton(e), 1095 (15th) ESC; 1296 COS; 1297 DIHS; c. 1300 Cold; (two) Eytones, 1253 CDS; Eytone, Etone, Haytone, Aiton, 1296 CDS; Atone, 1311-12 CDS; Aytoun, 1360 Rot. Scac.

OE ēg-tūn is suggested by the spellings in ei-. The meaning of ēg- in this case must be "island of land in the midst of marshes". Compare the numerous Eaton~~s~~s with forms in ei- (DEPN, 151).

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

Haliburtun (P), c 1230 (1434) Cdstr; Halibortone, c 1244 CDS; Haliburton, 1296 DIHS.

OE hālig bur (or burh) tūn seems to be the origin of this compound. The "supposed site" of a chapel here is mentioned in AHMC (Bwk), p. 96. "Farm by the sacred building".

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

Hilton, 1095 ESC; Hyltun, 1095-1100 ib.

OE hyll-tūn, "hill farm".

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

Hotun, 1095-1100 ESC; Hoton(e), 1296 RS; c 1300 Cold; Hutoun, 1426 RMS.

OE hōh-tūn, "farm on a hill". Old Hutton Castle stands on a spur of higher ground above the Whiteadder.

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

Lambertun, 1095-1100 ESC; Lambretone, 1296 CDS;

Lambirton, c 1300 Cold.

OE Lambra-tūn, "farm of the Lambs": cf. Lammer-  
moor (No. XL).

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

Langtoun, 1206-53 (1400) Soltre; Langetone, 1287

DIHS.

M.Sc. Lang toun, "long village": cf. Lanton  
(Jed).

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

Lematon, 1296 Inst. Pub.; Lemontoun (P) c 1304

(c 1320) Kelso; Lemonkton, 1306 LSMM; Lemminden,

Blaeu.

This example shows a blend of the two types of spellings quoted for Lemmington Nb. (PN Nb. Du. 133) and no doubt has the same origin, OE hleomoc-tūn, "farm where speedwell grows".

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

Liolftoun, c 1222 Dryb; Lyalstoun, c 1230 ib;

Liolleston, 1296 Inst. Pub.

On \*Li(g)ulfr, pers. n., is the first element.

In c. 1100 Ligulf witnesses a Durham charter (ESC, 17):

cf. Lyulf "filio Uhctredi" 1119-24 (c. 1320) Kelso;

Liulfo "filio Macus" 1174 ib. For the origin of this

name cf. Feilitzen, 319; ZEN 60n.2; Sc.&.C., 39.

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

Mandrestow, 1336-7 RMS; Mandredestonam, 1366-7 ib;

Manderstoun, 1329-71 RS, 1494 HMC (Var. Coll. V).

The ending of the first spelling is probably an error. It is unlikely that a p.n. ending in -stow would be constructed with a ME pers. n. The latter may be a form \*Mandred from Maldred, a Celtic name: cf. "Ulkillio filio Meldredi", 1147 Kelso.

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

Myrtona, 1221 Dryb; Mertun, 13th Reg. Dnf.;

Mertona, 1343 Rot. Scac; Meritun, 14th St. And.

OE mere-tun, "tūn by the lake". A mention of "piscaria lacus de Mertoun" in 1515 RMS proves that there was a lake there at one time, perhaps where Bemersyde Moss is now.

MORDINGTON HO. (Mrd): (74, 13 J):

Morttringtonam (acc) 1095 ESC; Morthintun, 1095-

1100 ib; Morthyngton, 1095 (15th) ib; -ington,

1214-49 (c 1500) LSMM; -intona, 1235 Cold; -intun,

c 1244 CDS; -ingtoun, c 1276 HMC (Wed).

An -ingtūn name formed on OE morǫ, "muder", is possible but unlikely. The first spelling suggests OE morǫ-hring, "murder ring", perhaps an allusion to some stone circle or circular camp not now visible.



The second -r- might speedily have been lost.

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

Moriston(e), 1335-6 CDS; 1571 RMS.

Perhaps OE mōres-tūn, "farm of the moor": cf. Mosbrough, Db. (DEPN, 516). But a diminutive Mōri from OE Mōrgrim etc. may be the first element.

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

Ullfkeliston, 1206 (c 1320) Kelso; Hulf-, ib;

Ulkilstoun, c 1220 (16th) Dryb; Ulkes-, 1273 ib;

Ugis-, 1463-4 RMS; Ux-, Blaeu.

O. Dan. Ulfkell is the first element: cf.

Ulfchillo, 1124-53 LSMN; Ulkillo, 1147 Kelso.

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

Paxtun, 1095-1100 ESC; 1100 ib; -tona, 1235 Cold;

Paxiston, 1296 CDS.

A strong form, Paēc(c), of the OE pers. n.

Pac(c)a suggested as the base of Packington, Le.,

St., Wa. (DEPN, 359) may be found here.

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

Pewtoun, 1496 RMS; Putoun, 1547 ib.

A long vowel seems to be required by the first spelling: a Celtic pers. n. Pūch, Pūn may be indicated.

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

Ristun, 1095-1100; 1126 ESC; 1214-49 NMS; Reston,

1095 (15th) ESC; c 1300 Cold; 1345 ib; Ryston(e),

1253 CDS; 1296 Inst. Pub.; 1296 CDS.

OE hr̄is-tūn, "farm by the brushwood": ME R̄istun  
with the i later lowered to e.

ROWIESTON LODGE (Grn):

Rowiston, 1567 Kelso; Rowenstoun, Blaeu;

Rowingstoune, 1654 Com. Rec./Laud.

A family name Rowan may be contained in this compound. The two latest spellings may show an earlier form of the name.

ROWLESTANE (Eccl):

Rollandston, 1390 L.Ch; -toune, 1451-2 RMS.

A N. Fr. name Roland is the first element.

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

Suineston, 1095-1100 ESC; Swintun(a), c 1100 ib;

1107-24 NMS; Suinton, 1165 (1454) Cāstr.

Swein, son of Ulfill held Swinton in 1100 (ESC, 18), so it is possible that the first element is ON Sveinn, ME Swein, Swain, which has been confused with OE swīn, "pig".

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

Aleynton, 1304 CDS; Alayn-, 1335-6 ib.

N. Fr. Aleyn, Alain, is the first element: cf. Allanton (Eār).

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

Arkiltoun, 1532 RMS; Arkyldon, 1583 CBP;

Erkiltounfeld, Blaeu.

ME Arkil from ON Arnketill, O. Dan. Arkell, occurs here: cf. Arkleby Cu. (PN Cu. We., 6).

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

Behtoun, 1484 RMS; 1498 ib.

"Farm by the beck". Dial. beck from ON bekkr.

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

Dobtoun, Blaeu.

Dob is a common shortened form of Robert: cf. the surname Dobson. But perhaps this may be Sc. dial. dub, "muddy place"; cf. Dubwath Cu. (PN Cu. We., 45).

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

Dalswynton (P), 1290 CDS; Dalsuyntone (P), 1292

DIHS; Dalswingtoun, 1309 RC; Dalscuentoun, c.1360

Scal.; Dawswyntoun, c.1490 Wallace.

The first element may be Gael. dail or ON dalr "valley". The second part of the name is OE swin-tūn "pig farm".

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

Daltun (P), 1165-1214 LSM; 1215 CDS; Daltoun,

1379 Rot. Scac.

Probably OE dæl-tūn "farm in a valley", but the first element may be ON dalr.

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

Davitoun, Blaeu; Deiwintin, C-B (a letter heading);



Davington, 1770 Com. Rec. Dmf.

The forms are so late that no definite conclusion can be reached about the origin of the name. It may be simply "Davy's farm" or it may incorporate ON Dagfinnr (Lind. 190). An -ingtun name based on OE ƿDafa as in Davington K (DEPN, 134) is unlikely.

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

Dempstertoun, 1652 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

From the surname Dempster.

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

Doungalston, 1583 HMC (Drml).

Gael. dun "a hill" plus Galston which is Gael. Gall "a stranger" and OE tūn: cf. Galston (Ayr).

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

Edzertoun, 1629 Reg. Sas. Dmf.; Edgartone, 1650 ib.

A family named Edgar was living here at the time these entries were made.

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

Fentoun, 1583-4 RPC.

"Farm by a swamp".

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

Fiddeltoun, 1506 RMS, Blaeu.

The first element may be OE filede "hay", or an OE pers. n. Fidela.

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

Garristone, 1629 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

A name Garry may be the first element.

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

Gordastoun, Blaeu.

The pers. n. Geordie, Scots diminutive of George, may be the first element. The surname Gordon is possible.

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

Grantone, 1635 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

Perhaps from an ON pers. n. Grani: cf. Granby (PN Nt, p. 225) but the spelling is so late that it may represent the surname Grant.

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

Hotune, 1210-12 CDS; Hottone, 1296 (14th) ib;

Hutoun, 1459 RMS.

OE hōh-tūn: cf. Hutton, Bwk. (supra).

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

Jonistune (P), 1194-1214 HMC (Drml); Jonestone, 1296 CDS.

"John's tūn".

KELTON (Cr1): (88, 11 F):

So spelt in 1296 CDS.

ON kelda "spring" is probably the first element, but cf. Kelton (Kirkcudbright) from Gael. cell (CPNS, 168).

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

Makchymstoun, 1618 Reg. Sas. Dmf.; Makchynestone,  
1618 ib.

The farm of the MacCheyne family.

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

Makcubbeintoun, 1645 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

A family named Mac Cubbin owned it at this period.

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

Macmurdiestoun, 1625 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

The farm was owned by John MacMurdie at the above date.

MILTON (K.J.): (84, 14 E):

MyIntoun, 1550 RMS.

OE mylen tūn "farm with, or beside, a mill".

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

Morreintoun, 1628 Reg. Sas. Dmf.; Morringtoun,  
1671, ib.

The first element is the surname Morin, a Gaelic name, common in Galloway.

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

Mortoun, 1529-71 RC; Mortoun-Woddis, 1510 RMS.

EO mōr-tūn "farm by the moor".

PORTERSTOWN (Keir): (84, 7 H):

Pottistoun, 1630 Reg. Sas. Dmf.; Porterstone,  
1642 ib.



The farm was owned by James Porter at this time.

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

Plunton, 1210-12 CDS.

"Plum-tree farm": cf. Plumpton, Pluntune DB.

(PN.Nth, 43).

STAPLEGORDON (Lang): (85, 3 J):

Stapel..rtune, 1124-40 CDS; Stabil gortoun, 1325

RMS; Stapelgorton, 1335-6 CDS.

The second part of the name is OE gōr-tūn "muddy farm": cf. Gorton (PN La, 55). The first element is OE stapol "post, staple". Gortun may have become -gordon on the analogy of the surname Gordon.

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

Stabiltoun, Blaeu.

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

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

Stelstoune, 1654 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

This name probably incorporates the surname Steil rather than dial. steil "precipice" etc.

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

Stewartoun, 1646 Reg. Sas. Dmf. Stewarton, 1657

L.Ch.

The farm belonging to the Stewart family.

SLK. SYNTON (Ask): (80, 12 H):

Sintun, 1165-1214 LSMM; 1208 APS; 1265 Rot. Scac.;  
1296 CDS (seal).

Since there are no alternative spellings, OE Sin- or Syn- must be assumed as the first element. OE synn "sin, transgression" is unlikely as a pl. n. element.

Perhaps to be compared is The Synhams, Synholms 1570 (PN Nth., 231), for which no etymology is offered.

It may be that OE Sind-, the prefix of such names as Sindwulf, Sindbeorht is in this case used as an independent name. OE Sind-tūn might already be Sintun in the 12th Cent.

VI. OE worð,

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

Jedburgh, Cessford and Polwarth all lie in the main Tweed-Teviot basin.

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

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

RXB. CESSFORD (Eckf): (81, 7 C):

Cesseworth(e), 1296 CDS; 1309-29 (15th) RC;

1315-21 RMS; Gesword, 1341-71 Cold; Sesworth,

1415-16 HMC (Rxb); Cesforth, 1547-8 CSP;

Cessiwurthe, c 1560 RMS (Index); Cesworthe, ib.

The persistent initial C- indicates an OE form with a palatal initial consonant pronounced [ç] under



A.N. influence: cf. Sedgefield Du. and other examples quoted (PN Nb. Du., 173). An OE pers. n. <sup>IX</sup>Cessa, a variant of Cissa (cf. Chisworth Db., DEPN, 101), must be postulated as the first element.

It is possible that an early form of Eng. dial. cess "peat - bog" may be the first element. There are no instances of the use of the term in ME, but it must be connected with cess-pool which is of Latin origin. This would account for the initial sibilant. Cessford stands on moorland soil.

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

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

Gedwearde, c 1050 (12th) SD; -wirth, 1177 (16th) Dryb; Geddewrd(e), c 1130 (12th) SD; 1139 ESC; -wrth, 1174 (c 1320) Kelso; Jedword, 1147-50 (17th-18th) ESC; -worthe, 1147-52 (Morton) ib; -wortha, c 1150 St. And.; Jeddeword, c 1147-52 (c1320) Kelso; 1165-1214 ib; -werd, 1153, Cold; -wrth, 1180-5 LSMM; Jeddwr, 1165-1214 NMS; Jaddeurd, c 1150 Holyrood; Chedewurthe, 1153-65 LSMM; Gedew, 1165 (1175-1200) C de M.

The pre-English river-name Jed is the first element. A similar construction is Tamworth, St. (ERN,

390). The first spelling contains the OE variant form weorð, with N.Nb. substitution of ea for eo in cases of fracture of e before r plus consonant.

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

Bonjedworth, 1321 RMS; Bondeidde ford, 1339;

Boniedworth, 1342 ib; Bonjeddeworth, 1556 RS;

Bond Jedworthe, 1397 CDS; Bune Jedworth, 1398 RMS.

The prefix is Gaelic: cf. CPNS, 137.

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

Paulewrhe (P), 1182-1214 LSMM; c 1250 ib; -wurth

(P) 13th LSMM; Pollevrch (P) c 1200 (1434) Cdstr;

Powward (P), c 1230 ib; Powlew (P), c 1230 LSMM;

Polwort (P), c 1250 (1434) Cdstr; Poulesworth (P)

1296 RS; Paulyswyrth (P), 13th Reg. Dnf.;

Poylleworth (P), 1329 LSMM; Poulwrd, 14th St. And.

A pers. n. Paul, is perhaps the first element.

The 12th-13th Cent. pronunciation was no doubt [pou] which would account for early spellings in Poll- and

Pow-: cf. Polsham So.: Paulesham, 1065. (DEPN, 353).

Two other names end in -ward, Oxward (Chrn) which

may be OE ox-worð, and Galloward (Dmf) which may be

OE gallowa-worð.

Le Markisworth, 1542 RMS, in Greenlaw, is described as a "marcatūra", so that -worth here must have the sense of "value" as in "pennyworth" etc.

VII. OE wīc,

an early loan-word from Latin, means "dwelling, village, hamlet, farm, especially a dairy-farm".

In the Scottish names the sense of "farm" is usually implied. Borthwick, the <sup>Fr</sup>Berwick commemorated in Berwick Burn, Sunwick and Birswick have an agricultural or pastoral significance. In the other names, "dwelling" or "hamlet" must be the interpretation of -wīc.

All the examples are situated on or near large streams and on low-lying ground. They are grouped in Bwk. and Rxb., on the plain of the Merse and in the valleys of the Tweed, Teviot and Borthwick Water.

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

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

Bordewich, 1165-69 LSMM; Borthewyk, 1335-6 CDS;

1374 HMC (Drml). Borthwyke, 1391 HMC (Rxb).

Cf. Borthwickshiels: Borthwykschelys, 1374 RAS.

<sup>Fr</sup>Borthwick (near Duns), Bwk.: Borthwic, 1501 RNS



-uick, Blaeu.

OE bord wīc, "home farm", the farm which supplied the board or table of the lord of the district. Compare the numerous Borelands in Dmf. and Galloway:-

Boreland (H & C): Bordland, 1583-4; B~ (Glwy): Bordland, 1497 (PN Glwy., 45). The same term, bord, is the first element of Borthaugh, near Borthwick Mains: cf. No. XXIII.

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

Dernewic, c 1136 LSMM.

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

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

ffenwic (p), c 1280 (c 1320) Kelso; Fenwyk (p), 1374 HMC (Drml); Fynnrik, 1547 RMS.

OE fenn wīc, "farm by the bog".

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

Hawic, 1165-69 LSMM; 1214 C de M; -wyc, 1264-6 Rot. Scac; Havewyk, 1296 CDS; Hawwic, 1296 CDS (seal).

This is probably OE haga wīc, "village surrounded by a hedge": cf. Hawick Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 106)

BWK. FISHWICK (Hut): (75, 12 L):

Fyschewike, 1095 (15th) ESC; Fiscwic, c 1100 ib;  
Fiswic, 1126 ib; -wihc, 1124-53 NMS.

OE fisc wīc, "village where fish was obtainable".  
Fiswic is mentioned as a "piscatura" in a Durham  
Charter of c 1135.

A "lost" name is Hatherwik, 1509 RMS, in Lauder:  
cf. Heatherwick Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 108) and Hedderwick,  
E.Lth., which is Hatheruuich, 1094 ESC; -vic, 1165-  
1214 LSMM. All probably represent NME, M Sc. hathir,  
"heather".

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

VIII. OE burh,

"fortified place", is applied in England to Roman stations (e.g. Salisbury), to Celtic fortresses (e.g. Bamborough), or to Anglo-Saxon fortified sites (e.g. Hertingfordbury).

A pre-English camp exists at Scraesburgh, Bede's Coludesburgh refers to the Celtic fort on St. Abb's Head (see No. II), but at the other places in S. Scotland whose names end in -burgh, there is no trace of early fortification.

By the 12th Cent. burgh denoted a town in Scotland, when King David established the first "Royal Burghs" and had the table of "Burgh Laws" compiled.

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

Rokesburge, c 1120 LSM; c 1128 (12th) Glas;  
-burc, 1125 (1175-1200) C de M; 1147-53 (13th)  
 APS; -burch, 1127 (12th) LVD; -burgh, early 13th  
Scal (App); -burge, 1289 DIHS; Rochesburg, c 1126  
St. And.; -burch, 1137 (13th) Cold; Rochasburgh,  
 1138 (13th) ib; -burgh, ib.

Old Roxburgh: Vetus Rokesburgh, 1214 BM;  
Alde Roxburgo, 1342 Rot. Scac.

The first element is an OE pers. n. Frōc, not on



independent record (Redin), but found in DB for Suffolk (Feilitzen, 295). It is of frequent occurrence in English pl-n's; e.g. Rockingham (PN Nth., 171), Roxham, Nf. (DEPN 376), Roxholm L. (ib). The Continental parallel, OLG Hrōc, occurs in Roxem, West Flanders and Rokegem, East Flanders (CGN, 29).

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

Scrauesb, 1165-1214 NMS; -burghe, 1147-52 (Morton)

ESC; Skreesburgh, 1296 CDS; Scrasbro (P), 1296

CDS (Seal); Stresburgh, 1466-7 RMS (t = c);

Scraisburgh, 1510 RMS:

cf. SCRAESBURGH HOPE (How): Screisbrughsheels,  
Blaeu.

The first element is OE sċraef in the sense of "hollow, ravine", found in Scrafton (PN YNR, 255), Schrawley (PN Wo., 78) etc. A parallel case of sċraef in the genitive singular with a habitative suffix is seen in Charlston, YWR: Scharvestona, 1180-5, "tūn by a sċraef" (DEPN, 395). As in Scrafton and Scriven, YWR., initial Sc- [ ] must be due to Scand. influence.

The ending in -burh is on account of the great circular camp on the hillside above: "Skraysburgh the greatest towne in all Teviotdale" (Lang, 101). Burh- in association with a common noun in the gen. sing. is

rare, but compare Mosbrough, Db, from OE mōres burh (DEPN, 316).

Scraesburgh Hope is on Scraesburgh Fell, the main part of which is in Nb. The ending here may be OE berg, "hill".

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

Driburgh, c 1150 (16th) Dryb; Dry-, ib; Drueburch, 1150 (1175-1200) C de M; Drieburh, 1159-61 LSMK; -burc, 1152 (1175-1200) C de M; Dreyeburgh, early 13th, Scal (App.)

OE dryge burh, "dry fort". The adjective "dry" is usually associated in p.n's with streams or valleys; e.g. Dryburn, Du., Drybeck, Wm., Dry Burn, E.Lth., Dry Cleuch (Yar), Dryden (Ask).

The original dryge burh may have stood on rising ground which escaped the flooding to which the lands on the river banks must have been subject at certain seasons.

Drygrange nearby was not the "dry granary", but the grangia belonging to Dryburgh Abbey.

DMF. BARBURGH (MILL) (Clb): (84, 8 J):

Brygburghe, 1409-10 RMS, a "baronie"; Birdburgh, 1470 ib; Brid-, c 1560 (Index) RMS; Braid-, ib.

It is doubtful whether the spellings refer to Barburgh, but they denote a place in this district.

A form Birdburgh with i lowered to e and then becoming a before r plus cons., would give <sup>h</sup>Bardburgh which might drop the d to become Barburgh.

The spellings may represent OE brycg-burh, "fort at the bridge", or Brīd-burh, "Bride's fort".

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

Iarburgh, Blaeu; arcem Jarburgum (acc), c 1630  
Blaeu (Notes).

Lat. arx implies a fortification which may have been the mote at Ingleston, half a mile distant.

The first element may be dial. yare, "a fishery", or a Celtic stream-name: cf. R. Yare, Nf. (ERN, 477-8). The phonetic change operating in Yarburgh, Li., from OE eor-burg is unlikely to occur in this area.

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

is so spelt in 1595 C-B.

No "fort" is marked near. The farm may have been named from some other Newburgh.

<sup>h</sup>WINTERBURGH was part of the present estate of Crosslee.

Wyntirburgh, 1456 Rot. Scac.; Wynter-, 1561-2 HMC  
(Drml); Winterbrug, Blaeu.

No doubt there was some sort of earthwork here in which cattle were kept in winter. For the use of winter- in this sense compare Wintersett, YWR (DEPN, 501), Winterton, Nf. (ib).



IX. OE bōtl, bōl,

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

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

? Scerbedle, c 1050 (12th) HSC; Mereboda, c 1124 (12th) Glas; Merbot (P) 1165-92 LSM; -botil, 1174-99 (1500) ib; -botyl, 1170 (c. 1320) Kelso; -botele, ib; Marbottil, 1309 RC; Morbottle, 1590 CBP; Moirbottil, Blaeu.

OE mere-bōtl, "dwelling by the lake". Between this and Linton there was a considerable loch which was drained in the 19th Cent.

The o of the first element may have developed from the 14th Cent. form mar- by rounding, due to the influence of the lip-consonants m- and -b on either side.

The change from -bottle to -battle may be ascribed to the late 16th or early 17th Cents.

The first spelling may be a scribal perversion or may contain the first element of Shereburgh, a hill three miles east of Morebattle.

X. OE (ge)set,

"dwelling, residence", also "place where animals are kept, fold".

RXE. PRIMSIDE (Mrb):

Prenwen(e)sete, c 1200 LSMM; 1204 APS; Promset, late 13th LSMM; -side, 1430 HMC (Rxb).

The first part of the name is British: cf. Introduction. OE prenwen-(ge)set is "the house at Prenwen".

"Lost" names are Ederesete, 1165-1214 LSMM; Eddridesete, c 1190 (c 1320) Kelso, in Mow (Rxb). OE Eadredes (ge)set.

Keluesete, 1165-88, LSMM; Celfeseteste, Kelf—, Chelfe—, 1165-88, c 1226 ib, near Rutherford (Rxb). OE caelf geset, "calf enclosure". -Stele is Mod. Sc. steil, steel, and is preserved in Steelmoor Plantation (Mxt).

Several of the names ending in -side whose first elements are personal names may contain (ge)set.





XI. OE cīrice,

"church", was at an early date replaced by ME kirke from ON kirkja. It is unlikely that the consonants of the English term were affected by Scand. influence, since it was never very strong in S.E. Scotland. Rather the ME development, chirche, seen in early spellings of Channelkirk, dropped out of use and was replaced by the dialect kirke.

Late ME and M Sc. names in -kirk are included below.

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

Hoppkirck, Blaeu.

"Church in an enclosed valley": ME hope-kirke.

DNK. CHANNELKIRK (Chan): (74):

Childenchirch, 1153-65 (16th) Dryb; Cheldynkirk, c 1200 (1400) Soltre; Childyn-, ib; Childenechirch(e), 1242 Pont. Off. St. And.; 1290 Dryb; c 1300 (1434) Cāstr; Childinchurche, 14th C. St. And; Cheindilkirk, 1566 Com. Rec. Laud.; Chingilkirk, Blaeu.

OE cildena cīrice, an irregular gen. plur. of OE cild, the sense of which may here be "knight" as in ME usage. From children(e), there was a change by metathesis to chindil, and so to chingil for which was substituted channel, which in M Sc. was synonymous with

chingle, meaning "shingle, gravel".

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

Our Lady Kyrke, 1542 Ham. Pap.; Our Lady Kerk, 1585  
HMC (Home).

This church was dedicated to the Virgin in 1500 by James IV in gratitude for an escape from drowning in the Tweed.

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

Barmenkirk, 1517 RMS; Barme-, 1536 ib; Barmo-,  
1541-2 ib; Barne-, 1637 L. Ch.

This may be a corruption of M Sc. barmkin, barnekin: cf. No. LI (L). No trace of either church or fortification is noted here by AHMC (Dmf). If the terminal is indeed -kirk, the first element may be Barnie (m - ni), a shortened form of Barnabas.

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

Red Kirke, 1552 Bullock.

The church must have been built of the local red sandstone.

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

Ascheschyrc, c 1124 (12th) Glas; Hassechirke, 1165-  
1214 LSMM; Askirk(e), 1214-49 ib; 1535-6 CDS.

OE æsc-cirice, "church by the ash-tree". Later forms in As- represent M Sc. asch: cf. fis for fisch in Fishwick (No. VII).

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

Selechirche, c 1120 (c 1320) Kelso; 13th, C de M;  
-chyrca, c 1120 Kelso; -schirche, c 1156 LSMM; c  
 1160-70 BM; -kirke, 1165-1214 ib; -kirche, ib;  
-krik, 1265 Rot. Scac.; Sellekirke, 1263 C de M;  
Sel-, 1296 DIHS.

The first element may be OE Sele, "hall, dwelling",  
 or a short form, <sup>xi</sup>Sela, of names in Sele-: cf. Selsdon,  
Sr., for which a strong form <sup>xi</sup>Seli is suggested (PN  
Sr., 54).

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



XII. OE helm.

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

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

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

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

Brankishelme, 1315-21 RMS; Branxelm, 1463-4 ib;  
-haim, 1479 HMC (Rxb); -helme, 1540 RMS.

Compare Branxton Nb: Brankeston, 1249, Branxston, 1346, which contains the same first element, evidently a pers. n. <sup>Æ</sup>Brán(n)oc (PN Nb. Du., 50). Branxton,

E.Lth., is Brankestun (P), c 1300 (1434) Cāstr.

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

Bucchehelm, 1180 APS; Buc-, 1189 LSM; Buk-, 1548  
RSS.

OE bucca, "he-goat", is the first element, later associated with the more common buck, "male deer".

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

Chesehelm(e), 1296 Inst. Pub.; 1296 CDS; Chesolm.  
ib; Cheiselm, ib (seal); Chesholm(e) (P), c 1300  
Cold; 1335-6 RS; -helme (P), c 1300 (1434) Cāstr;  
1335-6 Rot. Scac.

O Nb. cēse-helm, "barn or shed where cheese was made".

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

Staney Hill (Tvt) is Stonyhelme, Blaeu.

XIII. OE ceaster

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

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

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

Bunchester, 1588 L. Ch; Bonnechesterr, Blaeu.



The first element may be the same as appears in Edward (No. VI). OE bune, "dogweed", may also be considered: cf. Bumpstead (PN ESS., 508) and Bonwick (PN YER, 80). Bonchester Hill bears a large pre-English earthwork.

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

Chesterr, Blaeu.

There are several "forts" within a mile.

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

Haychester, Blaeu.

The hill has a "fort" upon it. The first element is probably ME heigh, "high".

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

Rughechestre, 1165-1214 NMS; 1325 RMS; Ruhcestr' (P) c 1228 (c 1320) Kelso.

"Rough castle", so named probably from the type of ground at the "fort". Compare Rowchester (Grn).

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

Whitchechestire, 1511 RMS.

"White camp": there is a "fort" on the hill above.

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

Belchester, c 1269 HMC (Home); 1533 RMS.

The first element is perhaps OE belle, "bell", in the transferred sense of "bell-shaped hill". Compare however, Bellister, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 17) and

(Studies<sup>2</sup>, 160):

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

Blakchester, 1502 HMC (Wed).

"Black fort".

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

Chesteris, 1516-17 RMS.

Chesters lies between two "forts" half a mile apart.

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

Derchester, 1250 (1434) Cdstr; -chestre, 1296 Inst.

Pub; -cestria, 13th (1434) Cdstr; -cestyr, c 1300

ib.

OE dēor, "wild animal", is the first element.

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

Hoechesters, Blaeu.

Perhaps OE hōh-caester, "fort on a hill-spur".

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

Rutchester, 1529 RMS; Row-, 1615 HMC (Wed):

The first element may be OE rūh, "rough", as in Rowchester (Bow). The medial -t- perhaps represents an attempt to reproduce (as -tch-) the sound [c].

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

Witechestre, Witcestyr, Witcestyr, c 1300 (1434)

Cdstr.

"White fort": cf. Whitcheesters (Hwk).

"Lost" names are:-

Blackchester, Blaeu, near Souden Kirk.

Subchesters, 1165-1214 LSMM, in Mow. Sub- may be a scribal mistake for OE sūð, "south".

Abchester, 1596 L. Ch; 1663 RMS. The first el. is the OE fem. pers. n. Æbba. This is another name for Bastleridge (Ayt).

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

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



XIV. OE Cot,

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

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

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

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

Gaithouscat, 1566 RMS; -cott, 1588 L. Ch.

This may be OE gāt-hūs-cot, "dwelling by the goatshed", but is more likely to be ME gate-hous-cote, "cottage by the gatehouse or lodge".

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

Thoftcotys, 1410 RMS; Thoscot, 1493-4 HMC (Home);

Hostcotis, 1494 C-B; -cotts, 1510 ib; Hoscotts, 1522 HMC (Home).

The f of the first example must be a scribal error for long s. This may represent ME ost-cotes

"the cots by the knob or hillock", OE ost. Initial th- is occasionally reduced to h- in Lowland Scots: cf. hree, hing for "three," "thing" in the dialect of Edinburgh. There are, however, no other examples of this in the Border area.

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

Stobby cott, Blaeu.

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

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

Bouchecoitis, 1465 Dryb; Buscheourcoit, 1538 ib;

Boutschorcott, 1574 ib; Bowchacoitts, 1580 ib;

Bautshacott, Blaeu.

The first element is a surname Bouche of N Fr. origin: cf. Sir Alan Bouche, Buche, 1200-40 H.C. It was associated with M Sc. buchour etc., "butcher".

DMF. SALTCOAT HILLS (Cr1): (88, 12 H):

Le Saltcottis, 1517 RMS; Saltcotts, Blaeu.

There were salt-pans here. See Neilson - Annals, 280-7.

In Rxb. there are also Cliftoncote (How) and South Cote (How).

XV. OE stede,

"place, position, site". In Northern England the term is found mostly in names of modern origin in the sense of "property, estate" (PN Nb. Du., 239). Stead or Steading is a common word for "farm-buildings" in S. Scotland.

Names in -stead, like those in -cote, do not belong to such an early period in this area, as do the examples in S.E. England.

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

Nusteyd, 1548-9 Ham. Pap; Newsteid, 1568 RMS;

Neu-, 1682 L. Ch.

"New farm". It is impossible to say to what period the name belongs: for the local tradition, see Curle, p.7. The field in which the Roman remains were discovered at Newstead was known as the "Redabbeystead", and perhaps marked the site of Melrose Abbey's dairy-farm: cf. Abbeystead La. (DEPN, 420).

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

Millsteads, Blaeu.

"Farm by the mill", or perhaps "mill place".

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

"Place of the church". The site of St. Mary's Chapel is here.



Millstead and Kirkstead are common in England.

In these earliest examples, -stede means "site, place".

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

Mydlested of Windidurris, 1510 HMC (Wed); Middil-  
stead, Blaeu.

This must have been the central farm on the estate of Windydoors.

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

Byrsted, Blaeu, near Dawston Burn; M.Sc. byre-  
steid, "cow-shed place".

Selestede, 1165-1214 LSM, in Mow; perhaps OE sele, "hall" is the first element.

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

XVI. OE heall,

O Nb. hall, "hall, mansion-house": Dilsterhalle, 1095 (15th) ESC, is described as a "mansio".

This element is apt to be confused with OE halh. The spellings are rarely sufficiently early to determine the correct ending, as M Sc. haw may represent either. Much of the confusion has been caused in modern Scots.

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

RXB. NEWHALL:

Finlaws called Newhall, 1588 L. Ch.

A recent name, no doubt conferred on a newly-built dwelling-house.

BWK. TEMPLE HALL (Cld):

Templishalle, 1367 RMS; Tempil-, 1368 ib.

Probably so named from the Priory of Coldingham which stood close by.

DMF. REDHALL (KF):

Redhall, 1583 CBP; Ryidt-, Blaeu.

House built of red stone.

There are 54 other names ending in -hall. In

Bwk. and Rxb. they are mainly farm-names, and tend to occur in groups.



XVII. OE hūs,

M Sc. hous(e), "house". Most of the examples in this class may belong to almost any period. Whitsome alone must be definitely assigned to the OE period since it exhibits an OE grammatical ending. Charterhouse and Sligh Houses belong on historical evidence to the 15th century, and it is probable that several others were constructed about the same time.

The majority of the examples have been named from some natural feature beside which the house stands. They are all farm-names..

The type seems to be less common in Nb. and Du. where Mawer notes only eleven names ending in -house.

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

Chartehou (P), 1454 LSM; Charterhous, 1541-2 RSS;  
Chartrouse, Blaeu.

In 1433-4 land in this district was granted by Archibald, Duke of Touraine, to the Carthusian monastery at Perth (FMC 14th Report, App. 5, p. 24). Although there was no building here, the ground was called after the monastery to which it belonged: cf. Charterhouse on Mendip (So), which was the site of a priory (DEPN, 92).

CHESTERHOUSE (How), so spelt by Blaeu.

"The house by the fort".

HILLHOUSE (Cst), so spelt in 1516 HMC (Rxb).

"The house by or on the hill".

MOSSHOUSES (Mel): Moshous, 1568 Mel. Reg. Rec.

"House on the moss or moor".

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

Bourehous, 1511 RMS; Bure- 1571 ib.

Perhaps OE būr-hūs, "dwelling house": cf. Bowerhouse (Msw).

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

Brunhus, 1296 CDS; Burnhous(e), 1479 RMS; 1546 HMC (Var. Coll. v); Burnehowsis, 1493 ib.; Brunnhouse, Blaeu.

ME burne-hous, "house by the burn", became by metathesis brunhous and by the influence of the initial labial consonant became broomhouse (b - n > b - m).

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

Sleichis house(s), 1495 HMC (Home); 1497-8 ib.; 1528 RMS; Slychthoussis, 1590 RPC; Slyichshouses, Blaeu; Sleiche houses, 1625 Reg. Sas. Bwk.

The first element is a surname: cf. William Sleich in a charter concerning the mill of Duns 1494, HMC (Var. Coll. v), and Patrick Sleich of Cumlich in the document of 1497-8 quoted above.

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

Wittusme, 1214-49 LSM; Whytesum, 1296 RS;

Whytehosme, c 1300, Cold; Quitusum, 1300 CDS;

Whitousom, 1336-7 ib.

OE (æt faem, hwīta(n) } hūsum "at the white houses".

For a similar construction with OE hūs in the dat. plur.

compare Newsham Nb. and N. Du., which represent OE

(æt faem) nīwa(n) hūsum.

The forms for Whitsome suggest ME hwite husum  
from O Nb. hwīta hūsum

DMF. BROOMHOUSE (Dmf): Brunnhouse, Blaeu.

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

HILLHOUSE (Wam): Hil house, 1578 HMC (Jhn).

"House on, or by, a hill".

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

Holehouse, 1463-4 RMS; the Holhous, 1544 HMC (Drml);

Hollus, 1583 CBP; Hoilhous, 1590 RPC; Hollowes,  
1596 CBP.

OE hol hūs, "house in, or by, a hole" is most probable. There are two other examples of the name in Dmf., one in Kkm. and one in Drā.

MOORHOUSE (KJ):

Morhouses, 1304 CDS; Murhouse, 1529 RMS.

"House on the moor". OE mōr, M Sc. muir, in an anglicised form. The Scots spelling is preserved in



the modern form of -

MUIRHOUSE (Dor):

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

STENHOUSE (Tyn):

Stanehous, 1637 Reg. Sas. Dmf.; Stenhous ib.

OE Stān-hūs, "stone house", becomes M.Sc. stain-  
hous. This is not necessarily from ON steinn.

"Lost" names:-

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

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

Firthhouse, Blaeu, (Rxb. S. of Edgerston). OE  
fyrhæ, "woodland".

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

XVIII. OE Leah,

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

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

"The main characteristic of a 'plain' is presumably a piece of ground which is comparatively level, and also comparatively open or clear, not encumbered with wood." (Hardie, 61). This might be taken as the 12th Cent. definition of leah in the Border area.

Names in -lee are grouped in certain definite districts where a tradition of ancient woodland is still maintained. Jedforest and the Forest of Ettrick contain a great number. There is a large group centred about Melrose in the area where the Ettrick, Gala and Leader join the Tweed; and where names ending in

-wood, or employing names of trees, are an additional indication of the existence of forest at one time.

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

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

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

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

Bleineslei, 1178-1204 LSM; Blainesleie, 1175-89  
ib; Blanesleye, 1175-92 ib.

The first element may be the pers. n. Blahanus, Bleinus which is found among the signatures to charters in 1127 and c 1130 (ESC, 60, 119). This may represent O. Gael. Bláan, which Watson claims as the second element of Dunblane (CPNS, 164).



BRAIDLEY (Cst):

Braidleis, 1572 HMC (Jhn).

M Sc. braid ley, "broad open space", the anglicised form of which is seen in

BROADLEE (Rbt):

Bradeley(e) (P), 1296 CDS (Seal); 1296 Inst. Pub.;

Braidle, 1511 RMS.

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

Cumbesley, c 1160 (16th) Dryb; 1153-65 (c 1280)

LSMM; -leia, 1189 ib; Colmislle, 1543 ALC;

Coumsly, Blaeu.

OE Cumbes-leah from OE cumb, "valley", in the genitive singular. Examples of cumb- in this case are rare, although it frequently occurs in the plural when in independent use.

In ME, cumb was spelt coumb, which, after the loss of the final b, was represented as colm by M Sc. copyists.

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

Fodderlie, 1566 RMS, Blaeu; Fodderley, 1588 L.Ch.

"Clearing, or pasture, where fodder was obtained".

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

Hardley, 1288 Rot. Scac.

There is an area of "rough pasture" marked here in the O.S. Map, so that "hard" must refer to the poor

quality of the soil. Lee may mean simply "grassland".

HORSLEYHILL (Mto): (80, 13 J):

Horsleye (P), 1251 (c 1320) Kelso; Horsliehill,  
1564 RPC.

OE hors leah, "horse pasture".

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

Hundole(e), 1491-2 RMS; 1524-5 ALC; Hundellie,  
1598 CBP; Hundallie, 1598 ib.

OE Hunda-leah, "clearing of the dogs", probably  
deer-hounds. Cf. Houndalee, Nb.

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

Caddysleya, 1150-2 (16th) Dryb; Cadesley, 1208  
LSMM; Caideslie, 1568 HMC (Home); Keiddsly, Blaeu.

An OE pers. n. <sup>≠</sup>Caēdd, a strong form of (W.S.)  
Ceadda, might be the first element. <sup>≠</sup>Caēd is also  
possible: cf. Caēdþaēd and Caēdmon (Onom., 124). The  
initial back consonant in the modern form suggests,  
however, Celtic origin, perhaps from a pers. n.

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

Lyntoun-le, c 1375 (1487) Brus, MS C; Lyntaile, c  
1375 (1489) ib, MS E; Lintole(y), 1457 HMC (Rxb);  
1553 RMS; Lyntellie, 1590 RPC; Lyntaly, Blaeu.

If the first spelling is trustworthy, this represents

OE hlynn-tūn-leah, "the clearing at <sup>3</sup>Linton", which is "the village by the waterfall or torrent".

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

Mensles, 1516 HMC (Rxb); 1541 RSS; Menslawis, 1573-4 RMS; Menssles, Blaeu.

The terminal may be OE leas, the plural of leah, with OE gemāennes, "common property", as the first element.

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

Meussly, Blaeu.

Perhaps OE mōs-leah, containing mōs, "sustenance", in the sense of "fodder": cf. Fodderlee (supra).

OE mōs > M Sc. muis. The local pronunciation is

[mɔz ! i t] which suggests original ō.

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

Knotty Lees, 1604 Johnson's Survey in NCH iii.

Knotty may here be used in a dialect sense of "hillocky". But knot, in Upper Liddesdale is the fruit of the cloudberry (Watson, s.v.), and that may be the meaning here.

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

Rowchleis, 1571 RPC; Roughley, 1590 CBP.

M Sc. rough ley, "rough pasture".

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

Snebirly, Blaeu.



Perhaps an ON pers. n. Snaebjorn (Feilitzen, 368), is the first element.

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

Stowislie, 1551 HMC (Home).

This may be ME stowes lēz, "Church's pasture", but the evidence is insufficient.

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

Witheleia, 1189 LSMM; Quhitlie, 1568 RMS.

"White glade", probably from the nature of the ground which may have been flinty, daisy-covered, etc.

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

Wlleys, 1500-1 CDS; Wolle, 1436 HMC (Home); Wolfle, 1528 RMS; Wowley, 1590 CBP.

OE wulf-leah, "wolf wood". For loss of medial -f-, compare Wooley Hill, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 220) and Woolley, YWR. (DEPN, 507).

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

Chow(i)slie, 1518 HMC (Var. Coll. V); 1590 RPC;  
Schos-, 1537-8 Cdstr; Schows- (P), 1572 HMC (Var. Coll. V); Chaussley, Blaeu; Chouslie, 1664 Com. Rec. Laud.

The first recorded spelling is so late that considerable corruption, or, at least, simplification, may already have taken place. The compound might represent OE Ceolwulfes leah: cf. Chollerton, Nb.,

from OE Cēolferdes-tūn (PN Nb. Du., 46). OE Cēolwulf would become ME Chelf, with a variant Cholf (caused by the influence of the w), M.Sc. Chowf. The final -f would disappear before the following -l: cf. spellings for Wolfelee (infra).

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

Croncle, 1535 RMS; Cruinkle, 1539 ib.

OE (ge)crunc, "twisted", the past part. of crincan, "to turn, bend", is the first element.

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

Horsleye, 1296 CDS.

"Horse pasture": cf. Horsleyhill (supra).

LEES (Cāstr): (81, 10 B):

Leyis, 1576 RMS; Lies, Blaeu.

"Pastures" or "grasslands".

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

Outlawcleuch, Blaeu.

"Outlaw" or "oat lee" is equally possible.

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

Wederleie, c 1250 (c 1320) Kelso; -ley 15th Reg.

Dnf; Wedderlee, 1494 HMC (Var. Coll. V).

OE weder-leah "ram pasture".

DMF. BRANDLEYS (Scr): (84, 5 B):

Brandley, 1583 CBP.

OE, ME brant, "steep", may be the first element:

the place is on a fairly steep hillside.

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

Holly, Blaeu.

OE hol-leah "clearing in a hollow".

SLK. BROADLEE HILL (Ask):

Braidly, Blaeu.

Self-explanatory: cf. Broadlee (Cst).

CADDONLEE (Cad):

Cadanly, Blaeu.

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

CROSSLEE (Ettr):

Corslie, 1766 C-B.

An ancient cross has been found in the vicinity, from which the place no doubt took its name.

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

Farnyle(y), 1405 Rot. Scac; 1455 ib; Fairnilee, 1599 L. Ch.

OE faernige-leah, "ferny glade". For the modern spelling of the first element, compare Fairnington (M Sc. ai = [ ai ] ).

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

Hunteleghe, 1296 CDS; Huntlie, 1494 C-B.

"Wood for hunting": cf. Huntley, Glo. (DEPN, 246).

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



Senglee, 1368 LSMM; Seyngillie, 1494 C-B; Synglie, 1511 RMS; Singill E, Blaeu.

Compare Singdean (Cst): Singdenn, Blaeu.

The first element may be Mod. Sc. sing, a form of "singe" (Jam., s.v.).

"Lost" names are:-

Arkilly, c 1200 (16th) Dryb., described as "longas fossas", near Fans (Earl), which contains ME Arkil, from O. Dan. Arnkell.

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

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

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

Schotynle, 1423 RMS; Schutynle, ib; Schuittingeyes, 1573 C-B, near Glengaber (Yar), denotes a place where shooting contests were held.

There are forty other names ending in -lee.

XIX. OE feld,

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hynehoufeild, 1566 RMS; Henhoufeild, 1588 L.Ch.

It is not certain whether the above spellings

refer to Henfield. They may represent "hind-house-field", where hind denotes a farm-worker. Otherwise the name must be fairly modern.

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

Sorulesfeld, 1208 LSM; Sorweles-, 1215 ib.

This land was held by Willielmus Sorules who gave his name to it (LSM i, 90).

STOTFIELD (Jed):

Stobfold, Blaeu.

Blaeu's spelling must mean "a fold, or pen, made of tree-trunks". The present form means "a field in which stotts (3 year old bulls or oxen) are kept".

The name may however be Stotfold, which is common in English place-names: cf. Stotfold (PN Beds., Hu., 178) and Stotfold, YWR (DEPN, 426).

BWK. JARDINEFIELD (Wht):

Jardinfeild, 1476 HMC (Wed).

In the document quoted, John Jardin of Appilgarth sells his lands of Jardinfeild to George Hume of Wedderburn. Plainly the place was named from his family.

NORTHFIELD (Cld), is so spelt in 1621 HMC (Wed).

"North field".

SHIELFIELD (Earl):

Scheilfeild, 1537 Dryb; Sheelfield, Blaeu.

ME Schele feild, "land with a hut on it".



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

Swanisfield, 1546 HMC (Var. Coll. V); Swannisfeild, 1580 RMS; Swansfeld, 1595-6 HMC (Wed).

A ME pers. n. Swan(n), from OE swān, "herdsman" is the first element.

WHITFIELD (Ayt):

Quhytfield, 1557 HMC (Home).

"White field".

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

Amysfeild, 1288 Rot. Scac.; Amesfeld, 1355-6 CDS; Aymisfelde, 1434 Rot. Scac.; (H)empsfeild, 1586 CBP; 1592 ib; Hemosfiell or Amisfeeld, Blaeu.

The first element is a ME pers. n., Ames, Amis. Johnston claims that one Ames or Amyas de Charteris was an early lord of the manor here (PNS, 82).

Spellings in Empo- are due to epenthesis: ms > mbs. The initial H- was added later by association with the surname Hemp.

CALFIELD RIG (Lang):

Cawfeld, 1583 CBP.

ME Cald feld, "cold, bleak, exposed stretch of ground".

SEAFIELD (Ann).

Seyfeild, 1624 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

"Field by the sea": cf. Seafield, Edinburgh.

SPRINGFIELD (Grt):Springkells, Blaeu.

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

TULLIESFIELD (Dor):Tuvillgis field, Blaeu.

"Field belonging to Tullie", a family name.

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

XX. OE wudu, "wood".

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

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

Klintwood, Blaeu.

This is a hybrid with O Dan. klint, "rock", as first element. It must have been formed at a time when klint had been accepted into the general Southern Scots dialect, since the site is in the W. Scand. area where ON klettr might normally have been expected.

GIRNWOOD (Rbt):

Girnwoode, Blaeu.

The first element is perhaps Mod. Sc. girn, "snare, gin", a metathesised form of OE grin.

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

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

HARWOOD (Hbk):

Harewood, Blaeu.

OE hara, "hare", or OE hār, "grey", may have been the first element.

The modern forms with short a are due to Shortening



in the ME period before the consonants -rw: cf. Harewood Burn (Esk), Harewood Glen (Slk), where this has not taken place.

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

Þrepuude, 1180 APS; Threpuude, 1186-1214 (c1400) LSMM; Trepewod, c 1220 Dryb.

"Disputed wood", from OE þreapian, ME threpen.

The Dryburgh charter quoted above says that this land "erat in litegio".

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

Gleddiswod, c 1602 Dryb; Gladis-, c 1620 ib;

Gladiswood(e), c 1620 ib; Blaeu.

Mod. Sc. gled, "kite or hawk", from OE glida "kite" is the first element.

GREENWOOD (Cld):

Greinwood, 1621 HMC (Wed).

"Green wood".

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

Ledgardeswde, 1127 ESC; Legardsuode, 1153-65 (16th) APS; Liggardew(u)de, 1175-77 (c 1500) LSMM; 1175-1214 ib;

Lichardeswode, 1296 CDS; Lejartwod, c 1500 Cold.

An OE pers. n. Leodgeard, O.Nb. Leodgærd, in the ME form Ledgard, is the base of this name. In the L.OE period -dg- [dʒ] became [dʒ].

QUIXWOOD (A. St. B.): (75, 8 C):

Quykwiswod, 1509-10 RMS; Quikkiswood, 1565 HMC  
(Home).

An OE pers. n. <sup>z</sup>Cwic (cf. Cwicheard, Cwichelm  
etc.), may be the first element.

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

Spotteswode, 1296 CDS; Spottswood, 1380 HMC (Var.  
Coll. V).

An OE pers. n. <sup>z</sup>Spott must be deduced as the basis  
of these forms. It is impossible that ON Spotti,  
"piece of land", could appear as a ME genitive or  
plural in -es, although the nominative form may be  
represented in Spott, E.Lth.: (cf. PN La., 59).  
Spotsmains (Smh) and Spots Law (Esk) may have the same  
origin as Spottiswood. OE Spot occurs in Onom., also  
Spothild (f).

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

Stobbis-wod, 1509-10 RMS.

M Sc. stobb, "tree-stump", is a variant of ME  
stubb, from OE stubb, and may be derived from ON stobbi.  
Compare Stobswood Nb., (PN Nb., Du., 189).

SWINEWOOD (Ayt):

Swinewde, 1100 ESC; 1126 ib; Swyne-, 1253 CDS;  
Swynewod, c 1500 Cold.

OE swīna wadu, "wood of the swine".

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

Erschewod, 1552 RMS; Airswood, 1662 ib.

The same first element seems to appear in Aresgill Sike (Lang): Ersgillis, 1516 RMS, and Archbank (Mof): Ersbank 1542, Ersh - 1592. It might be OE ersc, "park, warren", examples of which, however, are mainly to be found in the South of England. ME ersh could be represented in M Sc. by ers, Mod. Sc. ars, arsh. Compare Airswood (6") in Eskdalemuir, which is Esshwood, Blaeu. This may simply be an attempt to replace an unknown element by a known one on the part of Timothy Pont, but it looks as if there might have been some confusion between the two places.

BLACKWOOD (Keir):

Blakwod, 1552 HMC (Drml).

"Black wood", a common name.

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

Cf. Flask, 1532 RMS, and Flaskhoome, Blaeu.

Flask represents O. Dan. flaske, ME flask, "pool, marshy place".

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

is so spelt in 1552 HMC (Drml); Halywood or

Sacri memoris (gen), 1574 RMS.

ME haly wude, "holy wood", on account of the abbey of Derconsal, "Conguall's oak-wood", which stood here (CPNS, 169). In the near neighbourhood is a stone



circle known as the Twelve Apostles, and a place called Druid's Park which indicate Celtic pagan associations (HMC (Drml), 69).

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

Keldwod, 1215 (c 1320) Kelso; -wode, 1355-6 CDS;

Keldewod, 1440-1 RMS.

ON kelda, "spring" > ME keld, "marshy place" and ME wude.

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

Preistis-wodsyde, 1517 RMS; Preestwodsyd, Blaeu.

Originally "priest's wood bank", the name lost the middle syllable. It was here, according to local tradition, that the Ruthwell Cross was washed ashore.

QUARRELWOOD (Kkm) is so spelt by Blaeu.

M Sc. quarrel is a quarry.

TORWOOD (Dryf): is so spelt in 1484 RMS.

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

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

Hartuodburne, 1504 RMS.

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

Hartwoodmyirs, Blaeu.

"Stag wood": ME hart-wude. The original

<sup>22</sup>Hartwood is lost.

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

Aikwod, 1567-8 RMS; Aickwood, Blaeu.

M Sc. aik "oak" from OE æc is the first element.

SHIELSWOOD (Ask):

Sheelswood, Blaeu.

"Wood with or by the huts", ME scheles.

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

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

A "lost" name is Handaxwod, 1492 RMS; Handeriswod, 1535 ib.

A hunting seat in the Dye valley, Bwk.

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

XXI. OE hyrst,

"wooded knoll, hillock, copse, brushwood. In South Scotland, the sense seems to be simply "wood", as it is in the Northumberland p.n's Hesleyhurst, Keyhurst, Longhurst and Moralhurst which is OE mirige-hylde-hyrst, "pleasant slope wood" (PN Nb. Du., 144), showing that hyrst in this area contained no idea of "hillock", or "knoll", since hylde would then have been unnecessary.

RXB. FERNIEHIRST CASTLE (Jed): (Sl, 3 J):

Farnihirst, 1524-5 ALC; Farnherst, 1573 CSP;

Fernyhirst, Blaeu.

It is possible that the first two spellings may refer to Ferniehirst, Midl., on the borders of Slk. Both places occupy similar situations on fairly steep wooded river-banks. Neither is on a decided knoll. The meaning is "ferny-wood".

DMF. BROCKLEHIRST (Msw):

Brokholhirst, Blaeu.

OE brocc-hol-hyrst, "badger-hole wood". There is no eminence at this point, but a wood is marked on the OS Map.

There are also Hollinhirst (Can) which must be OE holegn hyrst, "holly wood", and Ironhirst (Msw) which Watson claims as Gaelic (CPNS, 99), but which may be M.Sc.



arn hirst, "alder wood", since it stands by the Lochan  
Moss where alders might grow.

XXII. OE þyrne,

"thorn-bush". The spellings in -thern below seem to represent lowering of ME i (from OE ȳ) to e at a very early date, but these forms may be due to 16th Cent. copyists. Caistron Nb. shows endings in -thern by 1240 (PN Nb. Du., 37).

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

Nathanthern, c 1150 (16th) Dryb; Naythin-, 1150-2 ib; Neithanesthyrn, 1159 (c1320) Kelso; Naythanthirn, c 1205 Dryb; Neythantherne, 1296 CDS; Naithanthurne, 1380 ib.

The first element is a personal name, perhaps the same as that borne by Naitan, Nectan, king of the Picts in the early 8th Cent.

SLK. HAWTHORN (Cad):

Hayrtherne, 1455 Rot. Scac; Har-, 1468 RMS; Hair-, 1538 ib; Haw-, 1563 PS; Harthorne, 1571 ib.

The first element is OE hār, meaning "boundary". A tree was a common boundary-mark in the OE land charters. In the 16th Cent the name became confused with hawthorn. Compare Har(e)thorn, 13th Cent. and 1446 (PN Ess., 591).

Two other names in -thorn may contain OE þorn rather than þyrne: Jock's Thorn (Jhn) and Chapman Thorn (Blw).

XXIII. OE healh. O Nb. halh,

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

The Northumberland names in -haugh have personal names or natural features for their first elements in most cases. Beadnell, Bothal, Etal, Tughall, Brains-haugh and <sup>≠</sup>Isehaugh all contain personal names of the monothematic type which belong to an early period in OE history. With this there is nothing to compare in the Scottish names. Only the "lost" Elstaneshalche contains an OE pers. n. and it is of a later type.

None of the Scottish names except Borthaugh, <sup>≠</sup>Galtuneshalech and perhaps Lennel can be safely assigned to the OE period. The majority have the appearance of much later formations, constructed at a



time when haugh was already a dialect word.

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

RXB. BORTHAUGH (Hwk): (85, 12 A):

Bordhauch, 1526 ALC; Bort-, Blaeu.

OE bord halh, "haugh which supplies the manorial board": cf. Borthwick (No. VII).

BROADHAUGH (Tvt):

Braidhauch, Blaeu.

"Broad flat by the riverside": M.Sc. braid haugh, later anglicised.

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

Cleethaugh, 1590 CBP.

The first element might be Mod.Sc. cleite, "pent-house", of Gaelic origin (Jam., s.v.); or it might be ON klettr "cliff, rock". The latter is preferable, since the land here falls sharply to the Jed Water.

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

Crumhauch, 1511 RMS.

OE crumb, or Gael. crom, "crooked, bent", is the first element. The Slitrig Water takes a sharp bend at this point. The original <sup>3</sup>Crumhauch is now lost.

PRIESTHAUGH (Tvt):

Preesthouch, Blaeu.

"Priest haugh".

WHITHAUGH (Cst):

Wheatoughe towre, 1583 CBP; Whithaugh, 1590 ib.

This may be either "wheat haugh" or "white haugh", but the latter is the more likely as wheat is not grown to any extent in this area, and does not occur as a p.n. element.

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

Leinhal(e), 1095-1100 ESC; c 1200 (1434) Cdstr;  
Leinhah, 1243 Pont. Off. St. And.; Lenorthtun, c  
 1250 (1434) Cdstr; Laynal, c 1270 ib; Leynolf,  
 14th C. St. And.; Cf. Laindenn, Blaeu (the church  
 in L churchyard).

The first and fourth spellings point to the dative case, hale, although the others are in the nominative.

The persistence of the diphthong ei (ai) in the first element denotes either a diphthong in OE, or a ME form leæn. ON leyni, "hiding place", would give the forms above, but it is unlikely that an ON word would be coupled with OE halh.

It is possible that the first element may be a Celtic river-name, applicable to the Leet or to the part of the Tweed on which Lennel stands. Brit.

leian- leion might give OE lein-: cf. last paragraph on R. Leen (ERN, 248).

PURVISHAUGH (Earl):

Purveshanch, 1611 HMC (Wed) (n = u).

The first element is the family name, Purves.

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

Rokkel, 1526 RMS; Rocol, Blaeu.

ROCKHALL HEAD:

Rokelheid, 1637 L. Ch.

ROCKHALL MOTE (Lmb):

Moite of Rockell, 1592 CBP.

ROCKHALL SKARTH:

Rokkelskarth, 1516-17 RMS; Rowl-, Blaeu.

This seems to be OE hrōc halh, "rook haugh".

SLK. CARTERHAUGH (Slk):

Cartarehauch, 1489-90 RMS.

The occupational designation, "carter", was perhaps in use as a surname by the time that this p.n. was formed: cf. Harperwhat (No. LXXXIV).

PHILLIPHAUGH (Slk): See No. LX.

"Lost" names are:-

Elstaneshalche, 1181 LSM; Elstannes halech,

1175-99 ib, the valley of a rivulet between Whitton

and Morebattle; an OE pers. n. Æðelstān, Alfstān, or

Alđstān is the first element. Cf. Athelstaneford,

E.Lth.: Elstanesford, 1153-78 L.Ch.

Galtuneshalech, c 1156 LSM; -chalech, 1143-4 ESC,

near Gattonside (Mel); cf. Gattonside (No. V).

There are also 10 names ending in -haugh for which there are no spellings.



XXIV. OE denu,

"valley", is still in independent use as Mod. Sc. -dean, which denotes "a hollow, where the ground slopes on both sides; generally such an one as has a rivulet running through it: a small valley" (Jam., s.v.). The Northumbrian form is dene (PN Nb. Du., 227).

An unstressed form of the ending occurs as -den, which is frequently confused with -don, and -ton.

The places discussed below all lie in or beside valleys varying in conformation from narrow ravines to shallow hollows.

It is unlikely that OE denn, "pasture, especially swine pasture", is represented in any of the names. It is doubtful to what extent denn was used outside Kent and Sussex (DEPN, 135), although Dr. Macdonald claims that it occurs in West Lothian (PN W.Lth., 128).

RXB. BELLENDEN (Rbt): (85, 8 A):

Bellingdene, c 1300 (1434) Cdstr; Bellinden, 1415 LSMM; Bellenden(n), ib; Blaeu.

OE <sup>H</sup>belling, "hill", is perhaps the first element.

BLAKEDEAN (Mrb):

Blakdene, 1558 HMC (Rxb); Blagdenn, 1590 CEP.

"Black valley".

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

Bothendenam (acc), 1119-24 (c 1320) Kelso;

Botheldein, 1124-53 NMS; -den(e), 1159 Kelso; c

1160 ESC; 1165-1214 Kelso; Boulden(e), 1204 LSMM;

1204 APS; c 1220 (16th) Dryb; Bouildene, 1204

LSMM; Bolden, late 13th C. Kelso; Boudene, 1567 ib.

OE bōwl-denu, "dwelling-house valley". The first spelling exhibits a form of assimilation, l - n > n - n. For loss of medial -th-, compare the numerous English Boltons, from OE bōwl-tūn, (DEPN, 49).

DRYDEN FELL (Tvt):

Dridane, 1511 RMS.

"Dry Valley".

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

Hauden, 1165-1214 LSMM; 1190-1230 (1400) Soltre;

Hal-, c 1170 (c 1320) Kelso; Hawe-, 1214-52 LSMM;

Hawudene, 1245 CDS.

OE haga-denu, "valley where haws abound": cf.

Hawden, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 106).

HARDEN (Cst):

Hardenhead, Blaeu.

Probably OE hara denu, "hare valley". This is a common combination in the area: cf. Harden Burn (Cst), Harden Mains (Oxn), Hardenside (Can).

HASSENDEAN (Mto): (80, 14 H):

Hadestandena (P), 1124-53 APS; Halestonesden (P), 1153-65 (16th) ib; Hastanedene, 1193 C de M; Hastenesden, 1192-8 LSMM; Hatstanes-, 1195-9 ib; Hastanes-, 1221 Pat; Hassingdeane, 1304-5 CDS.

The first element is an OE pers. n. <sup>x</sup> Heaðustān, in an early Northumbrian form which exhibits no U-Mutation in the first syllable, Haðu-. This name does not occur independently in OE, but both elements appear in other compounds: e.g. Heathurīc, Heathured; Æðelstān, Wulfstān.

The second spelling is a late copy and probably corrupt.

HOLYDEAN (Bow): (80, 13 E):

Halydean, 1557-8 HMC (March); Halydem Cast., Blaeu, (m = in).

OE halig denu, "holy valley": there was a chapel here at one time (N.S.A. (Rxb), p. 38).

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

Holden, 1296 CDS; 1425 RMS; Houdene, 1511-12 ib.

Cf. rivulum de Holdene, 1206 (c 1320) Kelso, near Oxtou (Chan), and Holdene, 1204 LSMM, north of Bowden.

OE hol denu, "valley like a hole".

KIRNDEAN (Cst):

Kirdenn, Blaeu.

Mod. Sc. kirn, "churn", is the first element.



Either the valley was shaped like a churn or was famous for its churning. ON kirna no doubt supplanted the OE term in the local dialect.

LITTLEDEAN (Mxt): Littil dærnn, Blaeu ( r = i ?)

"Small valley".

MELLENDEN (Spr):

Meltondene, 1567 Kelso.

This spelling points to M.Sc. myln-toun-dene showing in later forms lowering of i (ǔ) to ě.

MUIRDEAN, EASTER and WESTER (Kso): (81, 5 D):

Merdene, 1482 RMS; Mooredenn, Blaeu.

OE mere denu, "valley containing a loch" may have been the earliest form, as there are one or two small ponds in the vicinity. There may have been a loch in the valley between Wester M<sup>o</sup> and the hill at Stodrig. Otherwise the name is OE mōr-denu, "valley on the moor", M.Sc. muir. It is doubtful whether the pronunciation was sufficiently advanced in the 13th Cent. to merit the spelling mer-.

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

Akedene, 1204 LSM.

The original site seems to have been slightly to the south of Oakendean House. It is possible that this is a recent formation and not an anglicisation of the old name which represented OE āc denu, "oak-tree valley".

PADDINGTON SIKE (Cst):

Paddowdemi, Blaeu (mi - nn ?).

Mod. Sc. paddow, "frog, toad", is from ON padda "toad": "toad valley".

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

Rauendenam (acc) c 1145 (c 1320) Kelso; Ravedena, 1159 ib; Revedenna, 1165-1214 ib; Reveden(e), late 13th, ib; 1214-49 LSMM; Ravenysden, 1275 Dryb; Ravenesden, 1310 Percy.

OE hraefna denu, "valley of the ravens".

SINGDEAN (Cst): (86, 2 E):

Singdenn, Blaeu.

Perhaps Mod. Sc. sing, "singe", is the first element: cf. Singlee (No. XVIII).

SOUTHDEAN (Sdn): (86, 3 C):

Sudhden, 1291-2 RS; Soudon (P) 1296 CDS (Seal); Souldone, 1296 CDS; Sowdon, 1444 HMC (Rxb); -dene, 1488 LSMM; -doun, 1528 RMS; Soudann K. Blaeu.

The modern spelling seems to represent the correct form: OE sūð-denu, "southerly valley". Medial -thd- was simplified to -d-. The third form is a M Sc. inverted spelling.

Unfortunately the valley at Southdean runs east and west and is blocked to the south by a shoulder of Highlee Hill. It may have received its name from the fact that one of the highways to the south runs through it.

TIMPENDEAN (Jed):

Tempindene, 1600 HMC (Rxb); Timpendein, Blaeu.

For the first element, compare Timpanheck (Hfm).

Timpan- is probably Celtic.

WOODEN (Eckf):

Wodden, 1439 RMS; Vodden, 1567 Kelso.

This is probably OE wudu denu "wooded valley";  
but cf. Wooden Nb.: Wulvesdon 1237, from OE wulfes  
dun (PN Nb. Du., 219).

BWK. BASSENDEAN (Wst): (75, 3 M):

Eastynden, c 1250 (1434) Cdstr; -dane, c 1300 ib.:

Bakestanesden, ib; Baxtanden, 1335-6 CDS;

Eaxtendene, 1336-7 ib.

"Valley where 'bakestones' were found":

cf. <sup>#</sup>Backstonerigg, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 9).

BUTTERDEAN (Cld):

Buterden, 1335-6 CDS; Butterdene, 1336-7 ib.

"Valley which yielded plenty of butter" (because  
the pasture was rich).

EDMOND'S DEAN (Ckb): (75, 8 E, F):

Edmersdun (P), c 1300 (1434) Cdstr; Edmer(i)sden,  
ib; 1335-6 CDS; Admersden, 1541 ALC.

OE Eadmæeres denu. The pers. n. was later con-  
fused with the more common Eðmund.

FOULDEN (Flā): (75, 12 J):



Fugeldene, 1095-1100 ESC; Fouwel-, 1296 CDS;

Fule-, 1299 ib; Foul-, c 1300 Cold.

OE fugol denu, "bird valley".

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

Halidene, 1567 Kelso.

"Holy valley", probably so called on account of its proximity to Old Melrose: cf. Holydean (Bow).

HALLYDOWN (Clā): (75, 12, F):

Hallyden, 1621 HMC (Wed); Halydeane, 1622 ib;  
-doun, 1632 ib.

This is almost certainly a -denu name. Although the farm stands on a hillock it overlooks a valley.

HARDENS (Lgt):

Hardens, 1573-4 HMC (March); -denn, Blaeu.

"Hare valleys": cf. Harden (supra).

HORNDEAN (Ldk): (75, 12 L):

Horuerdene, c 1100 ESC; 1198-1214 (c 1320) Kelso;

Horeuoredane, c 1118 ib; Hornerden, 1256 LSMN;

Hornedene, 1296 CDS.

The first part of this name may be identified with a lost place in the same vicinity, <sup>≠</sup>Horford, for which these are spellings:- Hor(e)ford, 1095 ESC; 1095-1100 ib.

This represents OE horh-ford, "mud, filth, ford". Horeuoredane is therefore the valley with the muddy

ford. The change from Horuer- to Horner- must be due to a scribal error.

LAMB DEN (Grn): (75, 7 N):

Lambeden(e) c 1248 LSM; late 13th C. Kelso;  
1356-7 CDS.

OE lamb-denu, "lamb valley".

LUMSDAINE (Clā): (75, 11 E):

Lum(m)esden(e), 1095-1100 ESC; 1126 ib; 1208-10  
BF; 1235 Cold; c 1300 ib.

Compare Lumley, Du., which probably contains  
O Dan. Lum or Lumi, pers. n. (PN Nb. Du.; 137). The  
same name seems to form the first element here, in a  
ME form, Lum(m) to which a genitive ending in -es has  
been attached.

MILNE GRADEN (Cāstr): (81, 11 A):

Greiden(e), 1095 (15th) ESC; 1095-1100 ib;  
Grayden(e), c 1288 HMC (Var. Coll. v.); Greydene,  
1296 CDS; -don 1296 Inst. Pub.

The first element is probably OE \*græg, "badger",  
(see Studies<sup>2</sup>, 80). "Badger's valley", is a more  
likely explanation than "grey valley".

Milne was prefixed to Graden about 1845 by David  
Milne Home (PN Bwk., 40).

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

Cnapadene, c 1100 ESC; Cnapedane, c 1118 ib;

Knapptone, 1292 CDS.

The first element is unlikely to be OE cnāþu, "top of hill, cop", as there is no pronounced hill near. It may be OE cnapa, "servant".

OXENDEAN (Duns): (75, 8 J):

Oxindene, 1479 RMS; Oxendein, 1546 HMC (Var. Coll. v.).

OE oxena denu, "valley of the oxen".

SLEGDEN (Grn): (75, 6 M):

Slegdan, 1546 ALC; Sligdene, 1567 Kelso.

The first element seems to be an earlier form of the surname Sleich found in Sligh Houses (B. & Pr.), (No. XVII). A ME form slēzh must be the root of both. This may be a dialectal variation of ME slag, "muddy, slippery with mud", found in the Norfolk Promptorium Parvulorum (NED., s. v.).

DMP. COWDENS (St. M):

the Coldanis, 1584 (15th, 16th) APS.

"Cow valleys": OE cū > ME cou, spelt in M.Sc. col (an inversion). This may be Gaelic, however: cf. CPNS, 139.

HARDENSIDE (Can):

Hardin, 1583 CBP.

Compare Harden (Cst), (supra).

SLK. DRYDEN (Ask):



Drydenn, Blaeu.

"Dry Valley": the stream which waters it may run dry in summer.

LINDEAN (Gala): (80, 12 E):

Lynden, 1153-45 (1400) Soltre; Lynnesden, 1228 ib.

OE hlynn, "torrent, waterfall", is the first element. Lindean stands on the Linn Burn, which falls 500 feet in less than two miles.

RXB. DENHOLM (Cav): (81, 1 J):

Denum, 1296 CDS; 1333-4 RS; Denhom, 1504 CDS;

Dennome, 1473 BM; Denname, 1489 ib.

OE (ǣt ḡāem) denum, "at the valleys". For a similar construction compare Whitsome (No. XVII).

"Lost" names are:

Alwardene, 1165-88 LSMM; Aluerden, c 1226 ib., in Maxton (Rxb), which is perhaps OE Alfheres denu.

Harehowedene, 1165-1214 LSMM; Har(e)hopedene, ib., near Whitton, Mrb. (Rxb), is either OE hara hol denu or hara hop denu.

XXV. OE slæd,

"low flat valley, slope, hollow"; Mod. Sc. slaid,  
 "hollow between rising grounds, especially with a  
 rivulet", (Jam., s. v.).

BWK. WHITSLAID (Leg): (81, 1 A):

Wideslade (P), 1209, 1260 CDS; Whytslade, 1371

RMS.

The first spelling suggests "wide hollow": the  
 valley broadens towards its head. But cf. Weedslade,  
 Nb.; Wideslad, 1196; Wyteslad, 1255; Whitslad, 1346;  
 which Mawer interprets as OE wiċia-slæd, "willow  
 valley".

Compare Witslede, c 1190 (c 1320) Kelso, in E.Lth.  
 on the borders of Bwk.

SLK. WHITSLAID (Ask): (80, 10 J):

Whitslaid, 1510 C-B; -sled 1609 APC.

From these forms OE hwite slæd must be deduced,  
 "white hollow", but the name might have the same  
 history as the one above.

There is also Deepslaid (Slk).

XXVI. OE dǣl,

"valley", is indistinguishable from ON dǣlr in ME and M Sc.

Beneath are those names ending in -dale which,  
 (a) have an English first element, or  
 (b) are outwith the Norse area.

RXB. RIDDELL (Llf): (80, 13 G):

Ridel (P), 1147 ESC; Ridale (P), c 1150 Glas;  
 c 1165 LSMM; Riddale (P), c 1150 (15th) ESC;  
Rydale (P) DIHS.

OE ryge dǣl, "rye valley". Since this appears consistently as a personal name, it is probable that the manor of Riddell was so called from its owners, the family of Riddell, who may have derived their name from the Ryedale Wapentake of the North Riding of Yorkshire (PN YNR., 42). Compare Ryedale Burn (Cst), and for both names see ERN, 349-50 on R. Rye.

TEVIOTDALE:

Teuegetedale, c 1117 ESC; Teuiethesdale, c 1128 Glas;  
Teuiedesdale, 1147-52 (17th-18th) ESC;  
Theuidall, 1147-50 (15th) ib; Thevietdale, 1147-52 (Morton) ib;  
Theuietdal, 1165-1214 NMS; Tevidal, 1224 (1300) HC.

Spellings for Teviot are: Teuiet(h), 1165-1214



LSMM; c 1160 (c 1320) Kelso.

The river-name Teviot is Celtic. An attempt seems to have been made in the 12th Cent. to give the original form a genitival ending before -dale, but that was soon discarded.

TWEEDDALE:

Tweddal, 1147-50 ESC; Twedall, 1360 Rot. Scac.

Tweed is: Tweda, c 1160 (c 1320) Kelso; 1165-1214 NMS;

Tweda, c 1153 (16th) Dryb.

The river-name Tweed is British (ERN, 421).

BWK. LAUDERDALE:

Lauuedderdale, 1165-1214 (1500) LSMM; Lauderdale,

c 1230 (16th) Dryb; 1562 ib.

Lauderdale is the valley of the Leader, but it has taken its name not from the stream but from the town of Lauder.

LAUDER:

Louueder, 1170 Dryb; Louueder, 1180 APS; 1296 CBS;

Lauueder, 1288 Rot. Scac; Louueder, 1288 ib.

LEADER:

Ledir, c 700 (late 9th or early 10th) Anon. L. St.

Cuth.; Leđer, c 1050 (12th) HSC; c 1156 LSMM;

1170 Dryb; Ledre, 1180 C de M.

Ekwall thinks Lauder is O Brit. Lavatres, identical with the name of a place on the Greta (Y), meaning "bath" (ERN, 266).

The River Leader has not the same name as

Lauder in spite of the similarity of the consonants.

LIDDEL WATER (Dmf & Rxb):

Liddale Water, 1552 Bullock; cf. Liddel, Cu.;

Lidl, 1165-1214 NMS; Lidel, 1216 Cl.; Lydall, 1342

RMS; Ledall (P), 1360 Rot. Scac.; Lydale (P), 1377

ib; Ledaill, c 1490 Wallace;

Liddesdale: Lidelesdale (P) 1278-9 CDS;

Ledalisdale, 1380 Rot. Scac.; Ledesdale, 1380 J.G.;

Liddesdaill, 1389 HMC (Drml); Lydalisdale, 1392

Rot. Scac.

This name is dealt with by Ekwall (ERN, 254, 273).

The first part is evidently OE hly̅de, a river-name meaning "noisy", and denoting a torrent. To this dæ̅l was added, as hly̅de-dæ̅l, "torrent valley". The modern form which has received the addition of M.Sc. dail (from ON dair or OE dæl), is tautological. A genitival ending was attached to Liddale-, Lidel-, the final syllable of which had already disappeared in the 14th Cent., giving the present form Liddesdale.

GALADALE, not now in use, was applied to the valley of the Gala: Gelchedale, 1329 Rot. Scac.

Now lost is WEDALE, which was the name given to the land lying between the Gala and the Leader:

Wedale, 1170 (16th) Dryb; 1153-65 (c 1320) Kelso;

1165-75 LSMM; 1394 Rot. Scac; Wedhale, 1184

C de M; Weddale, 1296 CDS; Wedal(1), 1529 Rot.  
Scac.

The second and third spellings point to a form in -halh, but earlier evidence is against it.

The first element is doubtful. It might be OE weōd, "weed", but from that one would expect a double medial consonant. ON ve', "heathen temple", is possible.

The late Mr Hardie believed that "Wedale.... corresponds on the whole to the modern Stow", that it was a definite place, and not just a district (Hardie, 54). If this is so, a termination in -halh is probable. OE weōd-halh, "weed-grown river-valley", may be the original form.

Wacorðail, 1552-3 CBP, shows M.Sc. dail suffixed to an OE compound (cf. No. LX).



XXVII. OE hyll,

"hill". In this category spellings are very rare for the higher and more remote hills. Early forms are found only where a manor or farm has been named from some nearby eminence, or from a slight rise in the ground which elevated it above its neighbours.

The more mountainous districts were avoided by the Anglo-Saxon settlers, and it was not until sheep-rearing became profitable in the Middle Ages that the upland districts received a sprinkling of population.

The hills were the refuge of the Celtic peoples whose earthworks are found at strategic points in great numbers throughout our area. It is not surprising that Old British terms are occasionally encountered in hill-names.

In one or two cases, the original name was a place-name, e.g. Corse, Bartann, from which a hill was named, and then a farm took its name from the new compound, as Corsehill, Bartlehill.

RXB. BARNHILLS (Anc):

Bernehillis, 1590 RPC.

OE berem, "barn", is the first element. This is a common combination in Scotland.

BEWLIE HILL (Anc):

Bewlye, 1590 RPC; Beduly, Blaeu (d - a).

The hill has been named from a place, now lost, known as beau lieu, "beautiful spot", a French name: cf. Beauly (Ross).

HUNTHILL (Jed):

le Hunthil, 1466-7 RMS; Hunthylle, 1570 Lang;  
Hundthill, Blaeu.

"Hill where the hunt took place".

MANORHILL (Mak):

Manerhill, 1541-2 RSS; 1566-7 RMS.

"Hill by the manor".

MID HILL (Rbt):

Middill, 1511 RMS.

This is the central peak of a large hill with three summits. There are thirteen examples of the name Mid Hill in Rxb., Dmf., and Slk. In many cases the central of three summits is denoted, but there are one or two examples in which the reason for the name is obscure.

SKELPHILL (Tvt): (85, 11 D):

is so spelt in 1569, RPC.

OE scelf, "rock, crag", the Anglian form of scylf, with the initial consonants influenced by Scandinavian, is the basis of this name: cf. Skelton (PH YMR., 16). Skelfhill lies under a very steep hill-face, while

Skelfhill Pen, which may be the original hill bearing the name, is abrupt and rocky.

SLAIDHILL (Tvt):

Sliadhills, Blaeu.

Probably OE slæd-hyll, "hill with a hollow in it."

STANDHILL (Llf):

Standhill, 1553 RPC; Blaeu.

Perhaps OE stān-hyll with an intrusive -d-.

STICHILL (St1): (81, 6 C):

Stichele (P), c 1170 (c 1320) Kelso; Stichill(e),

1221 C. de M.; c 1300 Cold; Sticheulle, 1253

Inst. Pub.; -hill, 15th Reg. Dnf; Stychehull, 1296

ib; -hill, c 1300 Cold.

The first spellings suggest OE \*sticēle, "steep place", formed from the adj. sticol: cf. Stittenham (PN YNR., 53-4). The ending might easily be confused with -hyll.

If, however, Sticheulle represents the earliest form of the name, the first element may be OE sticce. "sticky", in the sense of "muddy": cf. Stechford, Wo., (DEPN, 420).

STITCHEL HILL (Cst):

Stritcher Hills, Blaeu.

From the modern form, this name might be expected



to have the same origin and meaning as Stichill.

Blaeu's spelling is difficult to explain. Compare Black Stichel, near Elsdon, Nb.

TRONEYHILL (Anc):

Trannehyll, 1548-9 Ham. Pap.

The first element is obscure. ON trani, "crane", is unlikely.

BWK. BARTLEHILL (Eccl):

Bartann, Blaeu.

Perhaps OE beretūn, Mod. barton, "corn farm": (see DEPN, 27).

BLACKHILL (Clā) is so spelt in 1621 HMC (Wed).

"Black hill".

HIRSEL (Cāstr): (81, 9 B):

Herishill(e), 1165, c 1200 (1434) Cdstr; Herishill,

c 1200 ib; Hereshille, 1200 (c 1320) Kelso;

Hershill, 1246 Pont. Off. St. And.; Hersil, 1269

HMC (Home); Hershale, 1292 DIHS; Hirsale, c 1443

HMC (Home).

For the first element, cf. Horseham Hall, Ess.:

Ersham 1086; Hersham, Heresham 1253-54; which may contain OE \*herse, "hill" (PN Ess., 509).

Later the name has been associated with M.Sc.

hirsale, hirsal, "flock of sheep, ground where a flock of sheep were pastured".

LINTHILL (Eym): is so spelt in 1663 RMS.

M.Sc. lint is "flax" (< OE līn).

DMF. BIRRENS HILL (Mid): (89, 4 C):

Byrrens, Blaeu.

ME byrrens (plur.), from OE byr̄(e)an, "grave, tumulus, burial-mound", must refer to the earthworks on the hill. There are several "forts", both mediaeval and pre-English known as Birrens in Dumfriesshire.

BLAZE HILL (Wam.): (85, 1 G):

Be Bleise, 1384 (15th-16th) APS - a beacon.

Late OE blese, "blaze, torch", is bles, blese, bleise in M.Sc. There is no example of its denoting a beacon-fire before the 16th Cent. (DOST s. v.). This might be ON blesi, "blaze, white mark", which could apply to a scar on the hillside.

CLERK HILL (Esk):

Clerkhill, Blaeu.

The ecclesiastic in charge of the chapel close by may have given his name to the hill.

CORSEHILL (H & C):

Corse, 1662 RMS.

W. Cors, "bog", was the original place-name from which a hill was named.

ELBECKHILL (Wam): (85, 1 H):

Elbackhill, 1762 Com. Rec. Dmf.

Mod. Sc. elbock, "elbow", is the first element.

The place is at an elbow-bend in the road.

GREENHILL (Mof):

Grenhil(cotis), 1317 RMS; Greinhill, 1655 Reg.

Sas. Dmf.

"Green hill".

HALLIDAYHILL (Lmb):

Halidayhill (P), 1506 HMC (Drml).

Perhaps a hill to which the local people adjourned on holy days, but more probably named from its first owners: cf. Hallidayhill (Dns).

KIRKHILL (Wam) is so spelt in 1578 HMC (Jhn).

"The hill by the kirk".

NAZE HILL (Lang):

Nese, 1463-4 RMS; Nise, Blaeu.

ON nes, "projecting spur", would give nes, nese in M.Sc.

RAEHILLS (Jhn):

Rahil, 1390 HMC (Var. Coll. v); Rahillis, 1439-40

RMS; Rashill, 1484 ib.

OE rā-hyll, "roe-deer hill".

ROCKHILLFLAT (Apl):

Rokhill, 1372 HMC (Drml).

OE hrōc-hyll, "rook hill", and ON flot, ME flat.



RYEHILL (Cum):

Ryehille, 1215-45 CDS; Ryell, Blaeu.

RYEHILL (Sqr):

Ryhill, ib.

"Hill where rye was grown": cf. Linthill (supra).

STELL HILL (Esk): (85, 5 D):

Steilhill, 1569 RPC.

Mod. Sc. steil, steel, "ridge, point, tongue of land" (EDD s. v.), "projecting spur". The modern form shows confusion with Mod. Sc. stell, "animal shelter".

WINDY HILL (Clb):

Windyhills, 1542-3 RSS.

"Windy hill(s)".

SLK. BOWHILL (Slk) is so spelt in 1494, C-B, and 1529 RMS.

"Bow-shaped hill."

COSSARS HILL (Ettr):

Cossershill, 1643 C-B.

This name was substituted for Elspyhope in 1577, C-B. It has been fashioned on the surname Cossar or Crosser: cf. Jacob Crosare, 1456 HMC (Wed).

CRIBS HILL (Slk):

Cribbes, 1296 CDS.

This may be a manorial name from a pers. n. Cripp.

Mod. Sc. Crib is a "manger" or "wooden box": it may be that the hill has indentations on its surface resembling mangers in shape. Cf. Crib Law (Chan).

MID HILL (Ettr):

Middinhill bogs, Blaeu.

Middin- may represent midcill-, l - l > n - l, by dissimilation.

A "lost" name is <sup>≠</sup>Pyehills near Slethat (Rth):

Pyhillis, 1459-60 RMS; Pihyllis, 1507-8 ib.

The first element is Mod. Sc. pie, "magpie".

There are over four hundred names in -hill or Hill for which there are no early spellings. By far the largest proportion of these are purely English formations. A few include Norse or Gaelic elements. Most are of a simple type and the first element tends to be monosyllabic.

XXVIII. OE hlāw,

"rounded hill", Mod. Sc. law, is particularly common in the Border area where the hills are almost uniformly green and round. In most cases, those names for which early spellings are obtainable, are farm-names to which the hill-names have been transferred.

RXB. BLOODYLAWS (Oxn):

Bloodylawes, Blaeu.

This may have been the scene of a battle.

CLARILAW (Bow): (80, 14 F):

Clarilaw, late 13th Kelso; Claryley, 1528 RMS.

Perhaps clāefre hlāw, "clover hill": cf. Clareton, YWR (DEPN, 104).

COCKLAW (Hwk):

Koklawis(P), c 1400 (1475-1500) Wyntoun; Coklaw, 1481 (16th) APS.

There are four other examples of this combination. OE cocc must be used in the sense of "gamecock".

FALLA (Oxn): (86, 6 A):

Fallo, 1426 CDS; Faulawe, 1438 ib; Faulohill, 1497 CBP; Fallaw, 1590 ib; Fala, Blaeu.

OE fæg hlāw, "variegated hill". The hillside must have presented a mottled appearance: cf. Fawdon,



Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 82). Compare Faw Laws (How): Fales,  
Blaeu, but probably of the same origin.

There is a "lost" name, Faulawe, 1165-88 LSMN,  
in Maxton, near Rutherford; also Fawelaweleche, ib.,  
and c 1226 ib.

Fala (Midl) is Faulawe 1250 (PNS, 176).

GALALAW (Kso):

Gallowelawe, 1542 Ham. Pap.; Gallowla, Blaeu.

"Gallows hill".

GRAHAM'S LAW (Eckf): (81, 6 F):

Grymeslawe, 1296 CDS; Grymyslaw, 1440 RMS; 1456  
HMC (Rxb); Grymslo, Blaeu.

A pers. n., ON Grīmr, O. Dan. Grīm, is perhaps  
the first element, but cf. Grim's Ditch (DEPN, 196).  
The nine caves in the cliffs near Gramslaw House may  
have been suspected of supernatural origin.

HOSELAW (Int): (81, 9 D):

Horslaw, 1569 RMS; Hoislaw, 1596 CBP.

Hoselaw Loch: Hoslowelogh, 1585 Ch.

OE hōs hlāw, "bramble hill".

KIPPILAW (Bow): (80, 14 F):

Kippitlaw, 1557-8 HMC (March); tippilaw, 1567 Kelso  
(t = c); Kippelaw, 1569 RMS.

Compare Kippet Law (Lgf). A form of OE connede,  
"having the summit cut off", may have been wrongly

associated with Mod. Sc. kip, "peak". The hill at Kippilaw is in no way peaked. Compare also Kippielaw near Traprain, E.Lth.

LEMPITLAW (Spr): (81, 8 D):

Lempeclav, c 1190 (c 1320) Kelso; -lawe, ib;  
Lempetlaw(e), 1190-1220 (1400) Soltre; 1596 CBP;  
Lympeclaw, 1255-58 Soltre; Limpeclawe, c 1250  
(c 1320) Kelso.

OE lempeðu, "limpet", in the sense of "limpet-shaped", must be the first element. Compare Lempat furde, 1580 HMC (Wed) in Stirlingshire.

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

Langtounlaw, Blaeu.

It is doubtful whether Blaeu's version is trustworthy. Gael. lunndan, "marshy spot", might be the first element (CPNS, 450).

MABONLAW (Rbt):

Mabinlaw, Blaeu.

Mabon is a pers. n. of British origin.

MERVIN'S LAW (Sdn):

Mervinslaw, Blaeu.

The surname Marvin (from OE Merefin(e) < OW Merefin), is the first element. Compare the "lost" Xernwineslawe etc. (infra).

MOZIE LAW (How):

Mosyla Hill, Blaeu.

OE mōsig-hlāw, "mossy hill". To give the present form the o must have been shortened in ME and lengthened again in Mod. Sc., otherwise a form comparable to Muselee would have developed.

RAPERLAW (Llf): (80, 14 G):

Raperlau, 1147-50 (17th-18th) ESC; -law, 1147-52 (Morton) ib; Rapeslawe, 1165-1214 NMS; Raperslawe, 1278-9 CDS.

OE rābere, "rope-maker", gives a surname Raper(e) in ME which may be contained in this name.

SHARPLAW (Jed):

Shairpla, Blaeu.

"Sharp" in the sense of "peaked" or "precipitous",  
< OE scearp, scaerp.

SOFTLAW (Spr): (81, 7 E):

Softlaw (P), c 1290 (c 1520) Kelso; -lawe, 1296 CDS; Softelawe, 1292 RS; -lowe, 1511-12 CDS.

"Hill where the ground is soft or spongy":  
cf. Softley, Du. (PN Nb. Du., 185).

SUNLAWS (Rxb): Sinlawis, 1476 RMS; 1586 ib;

Syndlawis, 1493 ib.

Compare Synton (No. V), for the first element, which may be an OE pers. n. Sind. An early use of Mod. Sc. sine, sind, "to rinse, swill", might be seen



here, in the sense of "well-watered".

WHITE LAW (Mrb): Witelawe, 1222 CDS.

WHITLAW (Hwk): Whitelawe, 1547-8 CSP.

"White hill".

WILLIAM LAW (Mel):

Williamlaw, 1568 RMS.

This must be a M.Sc. formation with the pers. n. William.

BWK. BANGLAW (Oxt): is so spelt c 1535, c 1540, c 1545 etc., Dryb.

Possibly "bank law", or ON band, used in a transferred sense as "long, narrow hill". The compound may however represent Gael. beinn glo: cf. Ben y Gloe (Perth.). Compare Bangelaye, 1153-78 L.Ch., near Athelstaneford, E.Lth.

BUTTERLAW (Cld):

Bowtyr law, c 1415 Kelso.

Compare Butterlaw Nb., (PN Nb. Du., 35), "hill which yielded plenty of butter".

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

Caklaw, 1545 RMS; Cakylaw, Blaeu.

M.Sc. Cauk, from OE Cáele, with Scand. influence seen in the initial back consonant, may be the first element, although there is no trace of -u- in either spelling. The substitution of Chalkie- in the modern

form makes it probable that this was the original form.

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

Cheiklaw, 1546-7 RMS; 1572 HMC (Var. Coll. v).

Perhaps a hillside resembling a cheek: OE cēce.

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

Colilawe, 1206 (c 1320) Kelso; 1296 Inst. Pub.;

Culi-(P), 1296 CDS; Collelaw, 1571 RMS.

The first element is a pers. n. - either OE Cola or ON Kóli. Collie, "sheep-dog" (of obscure origin: DOST) might be considered.

DOWLAW (Clā): (75, 10 E):

Dowhill, 1547 RPC; Dula, 1579 HMC (March); Doula,  
Blaeu.

OE dufa, Mod.Sc. doo, "pigeon", and law.

EARNSLAW (Cāstr): (75, 8 M):

Ernislaw, 1533 RMS.

This is not a situation in which eagles are likely to be found and so the first element cannot be OE earn unless the word is used as a pers. n. Its appearance in the gen. case makes this possible.

ELWARTLAW (Grn):

Elwaldlaw, 1542 RMS.

This must be a M.Sc. formation: cf. Johannis  
Elwald, 1436; HMC. (Wod). OE Alfwald or Alcwald is

the origin of the surname.

GREENLAW (Grn): (75, 6 M):

Grenlaw (P), c 1170 (c 1320) Kelso.

"Green hill".

HARELAW (Chrn): Harelaw, c 1300 (1434) Cdstr.

HARELAW (Wst): Harlaw, Blaeu.

HARLAW (Eccl): Harelaw, Blaeu.

OE hara "hare" is probably contained in all three.

HAWKSLAW (Cdstr):

Halksla, Blaeu.

M.Sc. halk, from ME hawk, OE hafoc "hawk", is here used in the plural.

HIGHLAWS (Eym):

Hielawes, 1621 HMC (Wed).

"High laws".

HOWLAWS (Grn):

Hollawis, 1452 RMS; Howlawis, 1509-10 ib.

OE holc-hlāwas "hills with a valley" and OE hōh-hlāwas "hills with a projecting spur" are equally possible. Neither explanation seems particularly suitable to the topography, for here the ground slopes gently to the Lambden Burn.

HURDLAW (Grn): (75, 4 L):

Ordlaw, 1575 HMC (Var. Coll. v); Horālaw, 1575



HMC (March); Herdlaw, Blaeu.

OE hord "treasure", M.E. hōrd, M.Sc. huird, may be the first element. The idea of a hill covering buried treasure was common in mediaeval times.

Compare Hordlaw, 1189-99 LSM, near Whitton (Mrb).

KELLOE (Edr): (75, 10 K):

Kellaw(e), 1300 CDS; 1368 Cold; 1325 Cold;

Kelhouwe (P), 1350 ib; Kello, 1509-10 RMS.

The ending in -law has been confused with -how, from OE hōh. OE caelf-hlāw "calf-hill". Compare Kellah, Nb.; and Kelloe, Du. (PN Nb. Du., 125).

LINTLAW (B & Pr):

Lintla, Blaeu.

"Flax hill": cf. Linthill (Eym.) (supra).

RYSLAW (Fogo): (75, 8 L):

Ryselawe, c 1300 Cold; Rislaw, 1336-7 CDS; Ryis-  
1575 HMC (March).

OE hrīs-hlāw, "brushwood-covered hill".

SCAR-LAW (Lgf):

Skarlaw, Blaeu.

Perhaps OE sker, "rock, peak, cliff", but possibly Mod. Eng. scar (from Fr. escare), denoting a bare place on the hillside.

WHITELAW (Edr):

Guhitlaw, 1541 RMS.

Cf. Whitlaw (Hwk), (supra).

WOOPLAW (Me1): (80, 12 A):

Wowpla, 1606 Me1. Reg. Rec.; Vowplaw, 1654 ib;  
Wouplaw, 1680 ib.

Perhaps OE wulf-hop-hlāw, "wolf-hope hill". The -l- is vocalised and the -f- disappears before the following labial consonants. Compare Wooplaw (Sdn) and W near Oxton (PN Bwk., 52).

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

Woormerlaw, Blaeu.

OE Wulfmāer, might be the first element, becoming Wulmar, with loss of medial -f-, and then by assimilation, l - r > r - r, Wurmar, Wurmer.

WRUNK LAW (Lgf): (75, 5 H):

Wrunckley, Blaeu.

Blaeu's ending must be an error as this is plainly a hill. The first element may represent an ablaut grade of OE wrinclian, "wrinkle, twist": cf. Mod.Sc. runkle, "to rumple".

DMF. BLACKLAW (Mof):

Blaclau, 1317 RMS.

"Black hill".

CAULD LAW (Esk):

Coldla hill, Blaeu.

Mod.Sc. cauld, "cold", meaning "bleak, exposed".

HARMLAW TOWER (Can):

Harlawe, 1583 CBP; Hair(e)law(e), 1590 RPC; 1592  
CBP.

Cf. Harelaw (Chrn) etc.

TANLAWHILL (Esk):

Tandlahill, Blaeu.

ON tandr "fire", and ME law > tandlaw.

WHITLAWSIDE (Can):

Whetlesyd, 1583 CBP.

This is unlikely to be OE hwæete lean as the spelling suggests. "White law" is such a common name that it is to be expected here.

SLK. COOM LAW (Ettr): (80, 6 J):

Coumla, Blaeu.

OE cumb, "valley", is the first element. Mod. Sc. coomb, coome, in this area is "the bosom of a hill of semi-circular form" (Watson, s.v.). Coom Law forms more than one corrie to which this description applies.

SAUCHIE LAW (Ettr):

Sauquhy, 1590-1, CBP.

The hill took its name from a "lost" place, Sauchie, which may be Gael. sailech, "place where willows grow" (CPNS, 94).

TUSHIELAW (Ettr): (80, 6 J):

Tushellawe, 1371 CBP; Torschelelaw, 1455 Rot. Scac.;

Truschelaw, 1507 RMS; Tweshelaw (P), 1574 L.Ch.;



Tushilaw, 1603 HMC (Jhn).

The second spelling may point to the original form as ME tor(r)-schele-law, "rock sheiling law", but it is surprising to find the -r- disappearing so speedily. The same objection applies to M.Sc: throssil, thrussil, "thrush", which in any case was probably thrishel in the 14th Cent.

A "lost" name is Schorwinglen, 1147-50 (17th) ESC; Kernwingeslawe, 1165-1214 NMS; -lau 1325 RMS; Scherwinglawe, 1295-6 CDS; Scherwynclawe, 1296 Inst. Pub.; Scherwynlaw, c 1328, 1329, 1330 Kelso.

The place is "super aquam Jedde in saltu nemoris", (ESC, 152), and is the site of the original chapel at Jedburgh. Mr Watson believes it to be the modern Mervin's Law (Watson, Jed., 46).

There are also over 120 names in -law, Law, for which no spellings have been obtained. In these English first elements of a simple type predominate. Adjectives and names of animals or birds are most common; e.g. Black Law, Bleak Law, Scaw'd Law, Wedder Law, Todlaw, Laverock Law. Topographical features and words denoting vegetation are also found.

XXIX. OE cūn,

"hill". This ending is preserved as -don in a few modern forms, but in most cases it has been confused with -ton or -den. Some of the names in this class are very early, and many are very difficult to solve.

RXB. BROWNDEAN LAWS (Jed): (86, 6 B):

Brondoune, 1451 RMS; Broun-, 1492-3 ib; Broune-, 1515 ib.

"Brown hill". Laws is a tautological addition.

CUNZIERTON FARM (Oxn): (81, 7 J):

Cuniardon, 1468 HMC (Home); Cunyourtounerize, 1471 RMS.

O.Fr. conniniere, "rabbit-warren", gives parallel forms, cunyngar, cunninger, and cōnigar, cunnigar, in M.Sc. (DOST, s.v.). Here we have the type which omits the -n- preceding -g. This form may come direct from French, rather than through ME conynser.

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

A<sup>e</sup>ldona, 1119-24 (c 1320) Kelso; Eldune, 1145 LSM; 1166-70 BM; -coun, c 1153 (16th) Drvb; -cunum (acc) 12th SD; -cun, c 1208 BM; Elađune, c 1150 C de N.

The first part of the name may be Celtic. Eldon, Du., is Elledun, 1104-8; Eldona, 1555; from OE Ella, pers. n., (PN Nb. Du., 75), but there is no trace of double -ll- in the above spellings.

FAIRNINGTON HOUSE (Rxb): (81, 4 F):Faringdun, 1165-1214 LSM; Farning-, 1214-49(c 1280) ib; Franing-(P), 1296 CDS (seal);Farningdon (P), 1296 Inst. Pub.; Farnyng-, 1354Kelso; 1380 CDS; Ferrningtoun, 1511 RMS.

The first element is probably OE færnig, "ferny", and the first spelling must contain a minor mistake, -ing for -nig. The later spellings suggest an -ing formation based on OE færn, as OE færningsdun, "hill by the ferny place"; cf. on Farninga broce, Farningamere, innan Farninga lece (Karlström, 38), in which examples of forms in -ing or -inga have been constructed on the base fearn.

Several other names in this district, however, have "ferny" as first element:- Ferney Hill, Fernie-hirst, Fairnieside, and a "lost" name Pharniparkis, 1555, S. Trin. Edin close to Fairnington, which makes it probable that Fairnington belongs to the same type.

Færn- is a Northumbrian form of OE fearn, without breaking of æ before -rn.

GRADEN, OLD GRADEN (Lin):Graydoun (P), 1347 CDS."Badger hill": OE \*græg dūn (cf. Studies<sup>2</sup>, 80).GRINDING BURN (Mto):Grindoun b., Blaeu.



OE grēne dūn burna, "green hill burn". The Grinding Burn comes down from the Eildon Hills which are notably green.

HOWNAM (How): (81, 8 H):

Hunum, 1165-92, 1185 LSMM; 1221 C de M; Hunedun(e), 1165-74, 1185 LSMM; -doune, 1454 ib; Hundum, 1174-99 ib; Hvnum, 1174-99 ib; Honum, 1237 ib; Hownown, 1443 HMC (Rxb); -um, 1454 ib; 1509-10 RMS; Hounname, 1468 HMC (Rxb); Hunnum, 1542 RMS.

The forms in -dun(e), etc., denote an original OE Hūna dūn, "Hūna's hill": cf. Hunwick, Du., and Hunworth, Nf. (DEPN, 246). The spellings without -d-, however, look like dative plurals in -um, and are more numerous than those in -dun(e) besides giving the modern form. It is unlikely that they represent the corruption of forms in -hām in the 12th Cent.

RICCALTOUN (Oxn): (86, 6 B):

Rykelden, 1296 CDS; -doun(e) 1296 Inst. Pub.; 1336-7 CDS; Rukelton, 1296 ib; Rekildoun (P) 1318 (16th) Dryb; Rikelton, 1335-6 CDS.

An OE pers. n. Ricola, Ricel, which is the basis of Rickleton, Du., may be the first element (PN Wb. Du., 165). Compare Richeldoun, c 1150 (15th) ESC, near Lilliesleaf.

WINNINGTONRIG (Cav):

Windingtounhall, Blaeu.

This is probably OE windig-dūn, "windy hill".

BWK. DIRRINGTON GREAT AND LITTLE LAWS (Lgf): (75,  
5 J, K):

Diueringdounes, 1198-1214 (c. 1320) Kelso;

Diueringdon, 1203 (c. 1320) ib; Diuiringdon, late  
13th, ib; Deryngton, c. 1350 ib; Derington, 1478  
HMC (March); Deridoun Law, 1523 ALC.

An OE form <sup>2</sup>Divering, Diŕering may be a patronymic based on a much simplified form of Dyčāferā, Dyčāriā, but compare the River Deerness, Du.: Diuerness, c. 1200 which seems to contain the same base, which is W. dwīr seen in many other river-names (ERN, 116-9). On this, in the OE form <sup>2</sup>dyfer, an -ing construction may have been made, so that <sup>2</sup>Dyferingdūn is "the hill by the rivers".

EARLSTON (Earl): (81, 2 C):

Ercheldon, c. 1143-4 LSM; -dune, c. 1160 ESC;

Hercheldune, 1208 LSM; Erceldoun (P), 1295-6 CDS;

Decrildun (P), 1296 CDS (seal); Ercvldun, 13th

Reg. Daf; Ersildone, c. 1300 Cold; Erseldon, 1325

ib; Erssiltoun, 1489 RMS; Erlistoun, 1511 ib.

1. OE Ærcel from O. Dan. Arkil might be the first element, but this does not account for the initial e-.

Erchel- may represent an original British p.n.:

cf. ErCALL, Sa., Archelov, DB; Ercalewe 1241 (DEPN, 160); and Archenfield, He.: Arcenefeld, DB; Erchenefeld, 1138 (ib, 11).

The medial -ch- of the first spelling must represent a palatalised ç, which later became [s] before metathesis took place.

BWK. GORDON (Grā): (81, 4 A):

Gordun, 1178-88 (c 1320) Kelso; c 1250 ib; c. 1270 ib; 1289 DIHS; -doun, 1188-1200 Kelso; 15th Reg. Dnf; c 1300 Kelso; 1406 HMC (Var. Coll. v); -done, c 1300 Cold.

OE gor-dūn, "muđ hill": cf. Gorton (PN La., 35).

RUMBLETON (Grā): (75, 5 M):

Rynmyldoun, 1441 (16th) APS; Remyltoun, 1469 RMS; Remilton, 1471 HMC (Home); Ramilton, 1481 ib; Rymmiltoun, 1506 RSS; Rummiltoun, Blaeu.

Rumbleton Law: Rynn(i)ltounlaw, 1506-7 RMS; 1535 RSS; Rummildounlaw, Blaeu.

An OE fem. pers. n. Rimhild (Onom), may be the first element. By the 15th Cent. original i was an unstable vowel in N.Sc.: cf. the forms for Riccaltoun (supra).

SNANDON (Laud): (75, 1 L):

Snadown c. 1350 Dryb.

OE snāw-gūn "snow hill".



XXX. OE hōh,

"projecting ridge of land, promontory". In English place-names the meaning varies from "steep ridge" to "slight rise". In the Border area many of the places whose names contain this element stand on projecting spurs of higher ground.

In the earliest examples, the ending appears as hou, which must represent an unaccented form. In an accented form, OE hōh > M.Sc. houh, huh > Mod. Sc. heugh: (cf. the development of OE clōh).

In 1165-1214 the term appears independently as horus, (L.S.M.M.).

Rxb. CHATTO (How): (Sl, 8 J):

Chethou, 1165-92 LSM; Chatthov, 1185-99 ib;

Chathou, 1296 Inst. Pub.; Chattow, 1357-8 HMC

(Rxb).

A strong form, Caett, of the OE pers. n. Ceatta, Caetta, seen in Chatton, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 43), and Chatburn (PN La., 79) may be the first element: cf. Chatsworth Db., and Chattisham, Sf. (DEPN, 93). The Northumbrian undiphthongised form of the name is found in Chatto.

ELISHEUGH HILL (Mrb):

Ileshow, late 13th C. Kelso; Eleisheuch, 1569 RNS.

OE Ill, a strong form of Illa, seen in Elilaw, Nb.

(PN Nb. Du., 75) is the first element. In this name the Mod. Sc. accented form of OE hōh has replaced the unaccented form.

HOWAHILL (Hbk): (86, 1 C):

Hova, 1567 RPC; Howa, Blaeu.

This seems to represent OE hōge, "at the hill". It may, however, be ON haugr, "barrow, tumulus", plus OE hōh contracted to -a, as in Gretna. There are tumuli marked on the O.S. map not far from here.

KELSO (Kso): (81, 6 D):

Kelchhou, 1128 C de M; Calceho, 1128 (c 1320)

Kelso; c 1150 Glas; Kelcho(v), c 1145 Kelso;

1527 Rot. Scac.; c 1144 Kelso; 1243-54 ib; 1204

APS; 1209 C de M; 1247-8 CDS; 1329-71 LSM;:

Calceio, 1147 (15th) Cold; Chalchehoh, c 1150

Kelso; Chelchou, 1159-61 LSM; Kelkou, c 1175

(16th) Dryb; c 1330 Rot. Scac.; Kalch', 1165-1214

Kelso; Kelzho(u), early 13th C. Scal (App); 1299

Pat.; Kelzhi, c 1205 (c 1260) G.C. (M.M.);

Kel(e)show(e), 1296 CDS; 1590 Pat; Kelsou, 1296

Pipe; Calkow, c 1530 Kelso; 1590-1 RMS; Calco,

1557 HMC (Var. Coll. v); Cailsoo, Blaeu.

OE caele hōh "chalk hill": cf. the Chalkheugh. a "calcareous eminence" beside the Tweed (CPNS, 545),

which name however must belong to a more recent period.

The Welsh name for Kelso was Calcmynnyd (ib).

The Celtic form Calc [kalk] may have been used as the first element of the English compound, or the English term caelic may have been substituted, being influenced however by the Celtic form to the extent of retaining the initial back consonant .

From the spellings it can be seen that the initial c- was consistently a velar voiced stop. The forms in ch- represent merely a scribal device for this sound, used by Anglo-Normans (IPN i, 113, n. 7).

By the 13th Cent. a form with a medial spirant developed. Perhaps the pronunciation was [kɛl xou] which was written Kelshou, Kelzho. It is notable that these spellings occur first in English documents. Local scribes retained the traditional form as Kelcho, Calco until the 16th Cent., although the pronunciation must have already become [kɛlso:] by that time. Blaeu's spelling is phonetic.

KERSHEUGH (Jed):

Carisheughe, 1590 CBP.

The place was probably named from the family of Ker who held Ferniehurst Castle close by.

MINTO (Mto): (80, 14 H):

Munethov (P), 1166 CDS; Mynetowe, 1296 RS; Minthou,



1317 RMS; Myntow, 1359 Rot. Scac.; Myntehowe, 1380  
CDS.

O.W. mynnyd, "mount, hill", is allied with OE hōh  
in this name. Later the first element was associated  
with ME mintē, "mint". See Introduction: Celtic  
Names.

REDHEUGH (Cst):

Redhuche, 1388 Rot. Scac.; -hughe 1583 CBP;

Reichwitht, 1572 HMC (Drml), (tht = cht); -heuch (P)

1574 L.Ch.

"Red height": Redheugh stands on a nub of land  
projecting into the valley of the Hermitage Water.

BWK. FOGO (Fogo): (75, 8 L):

Fogko, 1159 (c 1320) Kelso; Foghou, 1165-82 LSMH;  
1296 CDS; Fogo, c 1230 (1434) Cdstr; Fog(ε)howe,  
c 1300 Colc; 1356-7 CDS.

Mod. Sc. fog, is "rough short grass growing on  
low hills", (Bwk). Compare ME fogge, a Scand. loan,  
"aftermath" etc. (PN La., 255 n). The meaning is  
different in our area.

HUME (Hume): (81, 6 B):

Hom, 1159 (c 1320) Kelso; 1165-1214 LSMH; 1296  
CDS; 13th C. Reg. Dnf; Houm, 12th LVD; Home, c  
1200 (1434) Cdstr; c 1300 Colc; 1478 HMC (Rxb);  
Holme, 1548 RS; Hum(e), 1423 HMC (Home); Hewme,

.572 CSP.

OE (ǣt | æm)hōhum, which by loss of intervocalic i- becomes \*hōum, hōm. ME hōm gives M. Sc. huim which accounts for the spellings as Hume, Heyme and the pronunciation [h | u:m].

PITTLESHEUGH (Eccl): (81, 7 A):

Pettillishugh, 1248 LSM; Pithlishouh, 1263 ib;

Pittilsewcht, 1585 HMC (Var. Coll. v); -euch, 1590

HMC (Wed); Pitlsheuch, 1666 L.Ch.

OE \*Pyttel, pers. n., is the first element. It does not occur independently, but is found in a p.n. Pyttelesford (Onom).

DMF. GREPNA (Grt): (89, 7 G):

Gretenho(u), 1215-45 CDS; 1507 Ch.; -howe, 1574-5

CDS; Greateney, 1552 Bullock; Gretnowe, 1552-3

CSP; Gretney, 1583 CBP.

OE grēoten hōh, "gravelly hill". The ending seems to have been confused with ON ey, "island, land surrounded by marsh".

WHITA HILL (Lang):

Whytowe brave, 1552 Bullock; Whyta hill, Blaeu.

OE hwīt hōh, "white hill".

SLK. FASTHEUGH (Slk):

Fastheuch, 1494 C-B; Blaeu.

Compare Fast Castle (Clā). Fast does not appe

as a p.n. element in the North of England. It may be OE fæst (adj.) in the sense of "strongly defended", but it may be a short form of fæsten, "fortress".

"Lost" names are:-

Witehou, 1165 (1434) Cdstr, which was the site of Coldstream Priory: cf. Whita Hill (Lang), (supra).

Crookhou, c 1200 LSM, near Primside; "the hill at the bend", from ME croke < ON krokr.

Ernisheuch, 1509 RMS, in Lauder; cf. Earnsclouch (Chan), (No. LXI), from OE earn "eagle".

Hesterhoh, c 1050 (12th) HSC, a hill above Yetholm. The first element is probably Celtic: cf. PM La., 179, n.

Pilheuch, 1568 (Var. Coll. v), at Ayton, contains ME pile, etc. See No. LI.

There are, further, Maxwellheugh (Kso), Millheugh (Jed), Coveyheugh (Earl), Heugh (Laud), Seaheugh Burn (Rth), Smedheugh (Slk), and Keiso Hill (Oxn).

In Northumberland and Durham there are ten names in -heugh, and sixteen in which the ending (from the oblique case) is -hoe, or has been disguised under some other termination. There are no examples in Cumberland and Westmorland.



XXXI. OE clif,

"cliff", used of the steep side of a hill, or any steep sloping ground (IPN ii, s.v.).

RXB. LILLIESLEAF (Llf): (80, 13 G):

Lyllesclefe, -cleue, 1147-52 (c 1320) Kelso;

Lilislive, c 1150 ESC; Lillesclive, 1150 Glas;

1159 (c 1320) Kelso; 1165-88 LSMN; -clufe, 1296

CDS; Lyllyscloue, 1205 Dryb.

OE Lilles clif, containing OE pers. n. Lill. The village lies under a long narrow ridge.

"Lost" names are:-

Shollesclif, 1536-7 CDS in Langton, Bwr., which seems to contain the same first element as Choicelee (No. XVIII).

Wyrmsclif, 1567-8 CDS; Wormecleif, 1451-2 RMS, in Bwr., near Wormerlaw with which there may be some connection. An OE pers. n. Wyrn, later influenced by ON Crar, seems to be the first element of this name.

Alneclive, 1165-1214 NMS, near Ancrum, must be a cliff on the R. Ale.

XXXII. OE side,

"slope of a hill or bank, especially one extending for a considerable distance" (NED). In England this element is much more common in Northumberland and Durham than in any other area.

In a few cases the ending -side may denote "by the side of", when the first element is a noun rather than an adjective: e.g. Woodside.

It is possible that in some of the names the ending is sæte, or (ge)set. Earlside, Mackside, Bemerside and Carolside may belong to this class. Compare No. X.

RXB. COMMONSIDE (Tvt):

Commonside 1511 RMS; Comonsyd; Blaeu.

"Place beside the common", which here seems to mean simply "moorland".

EARLSIDE (Cay): (85, 15 C):

Earlside, 1511 RMS; Yarlside, 1576-7 ib.

OE eorles-side, "earl's hillside", or perhaps eorles sæte, "earl's seat", as in "Earlside Nb. (PK Nb. Du., 69). OE eorles (ge)set, "earl's farmstead", is also possible.

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

Fausseyde, 1296 CDS; Falsett, 1568 RMS; Fasyde.

Blacu.

OE fāg-sīde, "many-coloured hillside". For endings in -sett, -cett compare Fawcett Forest, We., (PN Cu. We., 146), and Facit (PN La., 60).

LANGSIDE (St. B): is so spelt in 1511, RMS.

"Long slope or ridge".

LONGSIDEBRAE (Cav):

Langsyde, 1576-7 RMS.

Cf. supra. Here English o is substituted for Scots a.

MACKSIDE (Sdn): (86, 3 B):

Maksy(i)de, 1566 RMS; 1588 L.Ch; Blaeu.

The first element is the pers. n. Maccus, seen in Maxton, etc. The ending may originally have been (ae)set.

SINGINGSIDE BURN (Mrb): (81, 9 J):

Senesideside, late 15th C. Kelso.

OE sengeðe, "singed, burnt", may be the first element: "burnt hillside".

SUNWYSIDE (Mel), (Cav):

Sonnysyde, 1590 CBP.

"Sunny hillside". The spelling may apply to either place.

TEINDSIDE (Tvt): (85, 10 C):

Tenside, 1446-7 HMC (Rxb); Teneside, 1511 RMS;

-syde, 1547 ib.



Perhaps Gael. Tigh na suidhe, "house on the hillside": cf. Tenafield (PN R. & Cr., 111). The first element might be a Celtic river name: cf. Teign D., from W. taen, "sprinkling", (ERN, 597). The Teindside Burn might have had originally a Celtic name.

THICKSIDE (Jed):

Thikside, -syde, 1571 RPC; Blaeu.

A dialect form, thick, from OE þicce, "thicket", is the first element. The meaning is "hillside overgrown with brushwood". Compare Thickside (Esk).

WOODSIDE (Mrb):

Woodside, 1542 Ham. Pap.

"Wooded hill", or "place beside the wood".

BWR. BEMERSYDE (Mert): (81, 2 D):

Bemersyd, c 1220 (16th) Dryb; 1326 LSM; -side, 1406-33 LSM; Bymersyd(e), 1425 (16th) Dryb; Blaeu; Bemyrsyde, 1502 HMC (Wed).

O Nb. bemere, "trumpeter", seems to be the first element: cf. Bemersley, St., and Bemerton, W. (DEPN, 35).

BIRKENSIDE (Leg): (81, 1 A):

Birchinside, 1155-35 APS; Birkenside, 1165-77 LSM; c 1170 (16th) Dryb.

O Birchene side, "hillside grown with birch-trees". The second spelling may be due to the influence of

ON birki, "birch-grove". M.Sc. birk is derived from the Scand. form.

CALDSIDE (Hume):

Caldsyde, 1502 HMC (Wed); Cauldsydis, 1536 RSS; -syde, 1621 HMC (Wed).

"Cold hillside".

CAROLSIDE (Earl): (81, 2 A):

Carelside, 1484 HMC (Home); Carrellsyde, 1535 RSS, 1582 RPC; -sidis, 1567 Dryb; Carrilsyd, 1620 ib; Carolsyde, Blaeu.

Perhaps ON karla sáetr, "shieling of the freemen", ME karlesete, but this is doubtful. A Gael. pers. n. Cairell, may be the first element: cf. Choirell, Cairell, a 6th Cent. king of Ulster (CPNS, 151, 506, 515), and contained in Barnycarroll (Joyce, iii, 129).

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

Cirneside, 1095-1100 (15th) ESC; Chirn(e)sid(e), 1095 (15th) ib; Scyrneside, c 1270 (1434) Cástr; Chirn(e)syde, ib; c 1290 (c 1320) Kelso; 1516 ib; Chirenside, 1296 RS; Skyrnessede, c 1300 Cold; Chernesyde (P), 1516 Kelso; Chyrnesyd, c 1330 Cold.

The modern pronunciation is Shirset (SMD., xiv). The initial [ ] from OE ċ, ME Ch- [t ], is to be compared with the initial consonant of Chillingham, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 45).

This may be OE Cyrin-sīde, "hillside shaped like a churn".

FAIRNIESIDE (Ayt):

Farnesvō, 1588 HMC (Wed); Fairnysyde, Blaeu.

"Ferry hillside".

FALLSIDEHILL (Fume):

Fasethill, 1535 RSS; Fasyde Hill, Blaeu.

"Hill with a speckled side": cf. Falside (Scn).

N.Sc. fal- is an inverted spelling for faw-, from OE fæg.

FAWSIDE (Grd):

Fausyd, c 1170 (16th) Dryb; c 1350 ib; Favsyde, 1330 Rot. Scac.; Fauside, 1441 (16th) APS.

Compare the example above.

KENNETSIDEHEADS (Eccl):

Kenettsyde Hd., Blaeu.

There is no hill here, so -side may mean "stream-side". One of the small streams in the neighbourhood may have been the <sup>Æ</sup>Kennet, from OW ƿcent, "brilliant, white".

YARLSIDE (Earl): is so spelt in 1368 LSM.

Compare Earlside (Cav), (supra). This might be OE jarlssaetr, but jarl is no doubt simply a substitution for OE eorl.

BRECKON. BRECKONSIDE (Glc):



Brakensyd, 1552-3 CSP; Brekensyd, 1636 Reg. Sas.

Dmf.

"Bracken-grown hillside". The fronting of a to e in ME braken is common in this district and is to be found also in Breckenbrough (PN YNR., 275).

CAULDSIDE (Can):

Caldsyde, Blaeu.

Compare Caldside (Home).

HARDENSIDE (Can):

Hardin, 1583 CBP; Hardensyde, 1590 RPC.

For the first part of the name, compare Harden (Rbt), No. XXIV. The place is on a hillside overlooking a valley which is the "hare dean".

LANGSIDE (Wam):

Langsyde, 1555 HMC (Jhn).

Compare Langside (St.B.), (supra).

WATERSIDE (Pnp):

Wattersyde, 1543 HMC (Drml).

"Place beside the water, or stream".

"Lost" names are:-

Clortysyd, c 1170 (16th) Dryb; Clottyside, c 1350 ib, near Fawside (Grd).

Scots dialect clorty means, "dirty, muddy", but this form is confined to North Scotland. In Southern Scots the form is clarty: cf. the clairtie burne at

North Berwick (E.Lth.), 1587 Glas. The word may be clotty, from ME clott, "clod, lump".

Milchesid, 1189 LSMM; Milksideburne, c 1170 (16th) Dryb, between Blaislie and Lauder.

"Hillside of rich pasture, which produced a good yield of milk".

Heviside, 1189-99 LSMM; 1590 CBP; -syd, 1315 RMS; near Whitton (Mrb).

"Hillside where the ground is heavy", i.e. clayey or very wet.

There are 50 other names ending in -side.

XXXIII. OE stān,

M.Sc. stain, Mod. Sc. stane: very often this ending appears anglicised as -stone. In one or two cases this represents an original ending in -tūn, as in Groundstone (Llf), Blackerstone (A St. B) and Rowlestane (Eccl). Cumstone (H & C) and Inglestone (Drd) may belong to this type.

The exact meaning of OE stān is difficult to determine in many instances. In hill-names it usually refers to some outcrop of rock, but in names such as Mellerstain its exact meaning is obscure.

In a few examples stān refers to a definite landmark. Circles of standing stones account for the names of Ninestone Rig (Cst), Girdlestanes (Esk) and the Loupin Stanes (Esk), (see AHMC, Dmf., 78). The Mutiny Stones (Lgf) is a long cairn, known previously as the "Mittenfu' of Stones", corrupted to the "Meeting Stones" before assuming its present form (AHMC, Bwk., 130). Boundary stones are represented by Harestanes (Anc) and Harestanes Heights (K.J.), from OE hār-stān, "grey stone", used almost invariably of a boundary post.

RXB. GRAYSTONE Hill (Cst):

Graistounhauch, Blaeu.



The modern form is more likely to be authentic than Blaeu's, whose spelling refers to a farm at the waterside under Graystone Hill.

GRINDSTONE LAW (Oxn): (86, 8 C):

Grundisdame Law, 1598 CBP (am = ain).

Grindstones cannot have been quarried here as the hill is in an inaccessible position for transport: cf. Grindstone Law, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 96). OE grundstān, "flat paving-stone", may be the original form, as the hill is less than a mile from the Roman Road and the camp at Chew Green.

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

Sandystanis, 1499-1500 RMS; Sandestanis, 1550 ib.

"Sandy stones". The place is on a stream near two fords; the beds of which were no doubt paved with stones.

BWK. BROTHERSTONE (Mert): (81, 3 D):

Brothirstanside, c 1230 (16th) Dryb; Britherstanes, 1296 CDS; Brutherstanes, 1296 Inst. Pub.

Cf. UPPER BROTHERSTONE (Mdl) and NETHER BR. (Chan):

Brothirstanys, 1153-65 (1400) Soltre; Broderstanis, 1489 RMS.

Brother may have the meaning of "monk", since one place is near Dryburgh, and the other near Soutra. The shape of the stones may have suggested cowled

figures.

A pair of standing-stones might be known as "Brotherstones". None are marked at either place.

CRUMSTANE (Duns):

Crumstaine, Blaeu.

OE crumbe stān, "crooked stone".

MELLERSTAIN HO. (Nnt): (81, 4 B):

Melocstan, c 1200 (c 1320 Kelso; Melokestan, c 1230 ( " ) ib, late 13th ( " ) ib; Molocstan, c 1230 ( " ) ib, c 1260 ( " ) ib; Meloustan, c 1250 ( " ) ib; Melnstanes, 1335-6 CDS; Melonstanes, 1336-7 ib; Melvstanys, 1388-9 ib; Mellorstanis, 1478 HMC (Wed).

Perhaps OE meoloc stān, "milk stone". There are no examples of this compound to be found in English place-names.

An -oc derivative of a name <sup>≠</sup>Mel is possible: cf. Melkington, Nb., which may be based on a derivative of <sup>≠</sup>Mil (PN Nb. Du., 140).

THIRLESTANE (Laud): (75, 1 M):

Thirlestan, c 1150 (16th) Dryb., c 1170 ib, 1189-99 CDS; Thirlestain, 1175-1214 LSM; Thirlstane, 1509 RMS.

OE þýrel-stan, "stone with a hole through it."

WHINKERSTANES (Fogo): (75, 8 M):

Quinkerstan, 1214-49 LSM; -stanes, 1335-6 CDS;

Hinkerstan, 1296 Inst. Pub.

This may be a compound of whin, "gorse, furze" (cf. Norw. hvine), and ker, "marshland", from ON kjarr, combined with N.ME stain.

DMF. ERICSTANE (Mof): (84, 13 B):

Ayrickstane, 1309 RC; Ayrikstan, 1317 RMS;

Aryk-stane, c 1375 (c 1490) Brus, 1568 RPC.

"Eric's stone"; ON Eirikr and ON steinn or OE stan: but compare CPNS, 182, for a Gaelic derivation.

WHITESTONES (Kmh):

Quitestanis, 1569 RPC.

"White stones".

SLK. THIRLESTANE (Ettr): (80, 5 K):

Thyrlestangate, Greater Thyrlestane, C-B; Thirrlstaine,

Blaeu.

Compare Thirlestane (Laud) (supra).

There are 30 other names in -stone(s), -stane(s).

The first elements of three are names of animals:-

Yafstone Law (Cad), Buckstone Moss (Cst), Foalfoot stane (Cst). Five have adjectives of colour:-

Greystone Brae (Oxn); Redstone Bog (Sdn), Whitestone Hill (How), Blackstan Hill (Tun), Greystone rig (Jhn).

ME pike, "pointed hill" appears in Pikestone Rig (Ettr),

P~ Knowe (Yar), and P~ Hill (H & C). A few others



are fairly obvious in meaning:- Millstone Edge (Tvt), probably so called because it is serrated; Brae Dunstan (Ecc) which is OE ḡun-stān with M Sc. brae prefixed; Clatterstones Burn (Kkm) a common combination in Scotland; Holestane (Drd) which may have the same meaning as Thirlestane; and Round-stonefoot (Mof). More difficult problems requiring early spellings to point to a solution are:- Drinkstone (Hwk), Firestone Edge (Rbt), Thowliestane Hill (How), Beltedstane (Ann), Carlinstane Burn (Pnp) and Thirstane Hill (Drd).

It is noticeable that only the plainly early names are simple compounds in -stān. These are mostly names of habitations. Later names, mostly nature names, nearly all include a detached suffix:- Hill, Brae, Knowe, Rig, etc.

XXXIV. OE pæð,

N.ME peð, Mod. Nb. and Mod. Sc. peth, "a hollow or deep cutting in a road", and also "a steep road or path".

BWK. COCKBURNSPATH (Ckb): (75, 8 D):

Colbrandespaðe, c 1130 ESC, 1391 RMS; -peth, 1335-6 CDS; Colbrandspeth (P), c 1300 Cold; Cowbrandispeth, 1443 HMC (Home); Coburnspeth, c 1485 Wallace; Cokbrandispeth, 1529 RMS; Cokburnispeth, 1564

L.Ch.

The first element is Colbrand, the name of a mythological Danish giant. Cockburnspath is situated at the mouth of a deep ravine, the sides of which require the road to descend steeply and climb again. Just where it emerges on the north side, Blaeu places Pethhead.

HEXPATH (Grd): (75, 4 M):

Hextildespeth(e), 1296 Inst. Pub., 1296 CDS; Hexteldespehe, 13th C. CDS (seal); Hekkispeth, 1469 RMS; Heespeth, 1471 HMC (Home).

The first element is OE hægstald, "warrior": cf. Hexham-on-Tyne, originally a Celtic river-name corrupted to <sup>x</sup>Hestild, and in that form associated with W.S. hago-steald. It is unlikely that a Celtic

name also underlies Hexpath, which must be derived directly from the OE word.

The use of the term for "warrior", and the fact that the main road here runs very straight east and west and is protected on the north by the earthwork known as Herrit's Dyke, suggests that the Anglian population of the Merse may have had a military thoroughfare here leading to Lauderdale to meet the Roman Road from the north, along which marauding parties of Scots may have been accustomed to advance.

"Clennel Street", a mediaeval road across the Cheviots, was known as Hexpathgate (Hardie, 26).

REDPATH (Earl): (81, 2 C):

Red(e)peth(e), 1296 CDS, 1494 HMC (Var. Coll. v);

Reidpeth, 1509-10 RMS; Ridpeth, Blaeu.

Redpath lies in a deep and fairly narrow valley, which a road crosses.

SISTERPATH (Fogo): (75, 7 L):

Sisterpeth, 1335-6 CDS; Cisterpeth, 1336-7 ib;

Sestirpeth, 1451-2 RMS; Susterpeth, 1509-10 ib.

OE sweostor-pæð: cf. Brotherstones, No. XXXIII.

"Lost" names are:- Franpath, 1565 HMC (Home) in A St. B. With so little evidence, it is impossible to determine the first element.

Hailsepeth, c 1222 (16th) Dryb; Ailinisepeth, c



1230 ( " ) ib. in Lauder. ON Eilifr may be the pers. n. contained in this compound. Ailin- may represent Ailiv-. Compare Allithwaite La. (DEPN, 6); Hailiuthait c 1170.

There are three other names in -path for which no spellings have been found.

MERRYPATH RIG (Tvt) may be so named from the deep ravine in which the Wrangway Burn runs at its base. Merry in the sense of "pleasant" may have applied to a path or road crossing the ravine.

BENTPATH (Wstk) may denote a transverse crossing of the Esk at this point.

NEIDPATH HILL (Cad) is to be compared with Neidpath Castle (Pbl). In both cases the road runs in a narrow area between a hill and the river. The first element may be OE nīed, "difficulty, distress", used in compounds, chiefly poetical, denoting a road used in time of danger.

XXXV. OE carr,

"rock", belongs to the Northumbrian area. It is the first element of Carham, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 39). Its appearance in a -hām name shows that it was used at an early period. It is of Celtic origin.

BWK. HARCARSE (Swt): (75, 9 L):

Har(e)carres, 1165-1214 LSMM; 1214-49 (P) ib;  
1263 (P) C de M; 1336-7 CDS; Harcarr (P) 1214-49  
LSMM; Harecarr (P), 1214-49 ib; Harkarres, c 1230  
(1434) Cdstr; Harekare (P) 1254 CDS; Hare(c)kars,  
c 1300 Cold.

ME hāre-carr(es), "grey rock(s)".

RXB. HARKERS HILL (Oxn):

Harecar, 1165-1214 LSMM; Harecarre, 1214-49 ib.

The place <sup>fr</sup>Harecar is now lost, but the hill retains a plural or genitive form of the name.

There is a Harecarelecche recorded in 1165-1214 LSMM near Bowden.

Compare Marcus, near Eddleston (Pbl): Harkerse, 1493 HMC (Var. Coll. v); Herkerse, 1543 ib, which is the same name.

It is curious to find this combination recurring in different areas. It may be that there was a term, ME hārecarr, denoting a boundary rock, in the Border

area in mediaeval times.

Other examples of carr are to be found amongst the rocks on the Berwickshire coast:- Mawcarr Stells, Heathery Carr (Cld) and East and West Carr (Ayt).



XXXVI. OE berg,

"hill", M.Sc. berz.

The distribution of these names points to English rather than Norse origin. ON berg is probably the source of the names in N. Cumberland:- Highberries, Howberry, Berry Hill, etc.

RXB. GORRENBERRY (Cst): (85, 11 F):

Gorrumber(r)y, 1518 ALC, 1569 RPC; Goranberry,  
Blaeu.

The first element may be Gael.: cf. Cairngorm (PNS, 120).

BWK. DEANBERRY HOLE (Ckb):

Denberryholt, Blaeu.

"Hill beside a dean", and hole. Blaeu may have represented the ending correctly, from OE holt "wood".

DMF. LOWEBERRY (Hlw): Luberrie, 1637 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

This is near a small loch, so the first element may be OW luch, "lake". OE luh does occur, but it is rare.

WEE QUEENSBERRY (Clb):

Quenysbery, c 1485 Wallace.

OE cwēn, may refer to some particular queen, or may mean simply "woman".

There are also Hazelberry (Tun) and Mainberry (Smn). Several names in -burgh are probably from OE -berg:- Blackbrough Hill (How), Shereburgh (Mrb), and Windburgh Hill (Hbk).

XXXVII. OE m̄or,

"waste land, barren land", M.Sc. muir. Moor and muir are equally common in the Border area.

RXB. GREATMOOR HILL (Cav and Cst):

Grittmoore, Blaeu.

"Great, or large moor": cf. Greatmoor Hill (Tvt), three miles to the west.

WHITMUIRHAUGH (Spr):

Quhitmuirhall, 1569 RMS.

"Hall or haugh by the white moor". Water-blached grass or flowering bog-cotton might account for the adjective "white".

BWK. LAMMERMUIR:

Lombormore, c 1050 (12th) HSC; Lambremor(e), 1120,

1150 ESC; c 1160 (c 1320) Kelso; 1174 ib;

Lambermor(a), 1165-1214 LSMM; 1243-54 Kelso;

Lambirmor, 1276 APS; Lammermuir, c 1485 Wallace.

OE lambra m̄or, "moorland of the lambs". The district has always been famed for sheep-rearing.

Mb- has been assimilated to -mm- in the modern forms.

OXMUIR (Hume):

Oxmure, 1535 RSS.

"Moor or waste land where oxen were kept".

PILMUIR (Cld):

Pylemor, 1296 CDS, Pylmor, Pilmor, ib.

PILMUIR (Laud):

Pilemor, 1170 (16th) Dryb; Pilmour, 1222 ib.

There is also Pilmuir (Hwk). The first element seems to be OE pīl "pointed stake", ME pile "palisade" etc. (see No. LI - Peel). Compare Pilmuir, W.Lth., which may contain OE pyll "Pool" (PN W.Lth., 97). This would suit the Coldingham Pilmuir which is near a pond, but not the other two. OE pyll more often denotes a tidal creek, or a pool at the junction of two streams (IPN ii, s.v.): cf. Pilmour Burn, E.Lth.

SKAITHMUIR (Cdstr): (81, 10 A):

Scaith(e)mor, c 1200 (1434) Cdstr; c 1360 Scal;

Scaymor, c 1300 (1434) Cdstr; Scaythmore, 1542

Ham. Pap.; Skemore, Blaeu.

ON skeið, has not been exactly defined in its use in place-names, but it contains the idea of separation. In this case it is unlikely to mean "race-course", as the ground is not sufficiently flat. Skaithmuir is some distance from the nearest dwellings on all sides and so the sense of separation is obvious. The moor must have cut off one farm from the others in the district. Compare Skaithmuir (PN W.Lth., 7).

SLK. AKERMOOR LOCH (Krk):



Akermure L., Blaeu.

Perhaps OE aecer mōr, "moor with arable land in it".

There are 29 other names in -moor or -muir. They are almost all compounded with adjectives, e.g. Brownmoor (Slk), (Kkm), (Mid), Middle Moor (Sqr), High Muir (KF); or with common nouns denoting topographical features, e.g. Braemoor Knowe (How), Stenmuir (Hume), Rig moor (Grt). A few contain older p.n's, e.g. Weensmoor (Hbk), Libry Moor (Kcl).

XXXVIII.

Water is the name applied in the Border area of Scotland to all streams other than main rivers, and larger than burns.

The majority of the stream-names are Celtic. The oldest names are British, e.g. Allan Water, Kale Water, Eden Water, etc. In North West Dumfriesshire there is a large number of Gaelic river-names.

Only those which do not appear to be Celtic in origin are dealt with below. No mention has been made of names containing a place-name, e.g. Borthwick Water, Oxnam Water, Moffat Water.

BWK.     BLACKADDER WATER     [blák ádar]

WHITEADDER WATER     [mátadar]

The Blackadder joins the Whiteadder about seven miles above its junction with the Tweed. The part between the junction of the two streams and the Tweed was no doubt the original ðAdder:- Edre, c 1050

(12th) HSC; Edrae, 1104-8 (late 12th) SD.

BLACKADDER HO.     (75, 10K):

Blacedre, 1095-1100 ESC; Blakeder, 1296 CDS;

Blacheder, 1325 Cold; Blakedre, 1330 ib; Blacader, 1541 RMS.

WHITEADDER W.:

Withedre, 1165-1214 LSMM; Witedre, 1214-49 ib;  
Witeddre, 1231 ib; Quhitewatter, 1542 HMC (Var.  
Coll. v).

Watson derives  $\text{Æ}$ Adder from OE ædre, "vein, water-course" (CPNS, 467), but Ekwall rightly objects that the  $\text{Æ}$ Adder is too important a stream for such a name, and suggests instead OE ædre, "swift", cognate with OHG atar (ERN, 156). The O Nb. form ēdre, would give the persistent e of the early spellings. Later there was confusion with adder "snake".

EYE WATER:

Hay R., 1573 Ortelius; Y.R., Blaeu; Ey, 1664 RMS.

The earliest forms are to be found in the name Ayton (see No. V) and in the "lost" Eiford, c 1130 ESC, which suggests that the river-name is a back-formation from OE ēg-tūn.

At a late stage in pronunciation, the river-name was equated with the common noun, eye.

LEET WATER:

Let, c 1270 (1434) Cdstr; c 1300 ib; Leit, 1550 RMS.

OE (ge)læet, dial. leat, "an open water course to conduct water": O Nb. lēt, N ME lēt, gives M.Sc. leit

It is possible that Leitholm (cf. No. IV), was originally OE (ge)lēt-hām, "farm by the water-conduit",



and that the first element of the compound was transferred to the stream from which the lade was drawn.

The Leet is a small, sluggish stream, which might merit such an unassuming name.

DMF.    WATER OF MILK:    Mylk flu., 1630 Speed.

cf. Castlemilk:    Castelmilc, 1189 CDS; Castello-  
milch, c 1300 St.B.; Castell mylke, 1552 Bullock.

The river is clear, so that the sense cannot be "milky, turgid", as in Milkwell burn Nb (PN Nb. Du., 143). Perhaps ME mielch, "giving milk", is the derivation: cf. Melchbourne, Beds. (ERN, 286).

A Celtic element might be expected after Castle-, cf. Castleweary, Castle O'er (Dmf).

STENNIES WATER:

Stanhouse R., Blaeu.

This stream must have been named from a place not now in existence, OE stān-hūs, "stone house".

XXXIX. OE stream,

"rivulet, brook". This element, although common in England, is very rare in Scotland. Few, if any, examples are to be found in Northumberland. Even in other parts of England it is rare as a terminal in place-names.

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

Caldestream, c 1210 (c 1260) G.C.; early 13th Scal (App.); Cald(e)strem(e), c 1200, c 1250, c 1270 (1434) Cdstr; 1291 DIHS; 1296-7 RS; 1409 Rot. Scac.; Coldestrem, 1296 DIHS; Kaldistrem, 14th St. And.; Caudstreym, c 1485 Wallace; Cauldstreme, 1535 RMS.

"Cold stream". The name may originally have been applied to the Leet Water, or to some small streamlet in the neighbourhood, and later transferred to the settlement beside it. "Cold", is more commonly found with well, e.g. Coldwell Nb., Caldwell YNR., meaning "cold spring"; but compare Caldbeck, Cu., originally a stream-name, now a place-name (DEPN, 78; ERN, 59).

Berewiches strem, 1153-65 (c 1280) LSM is the River Tweed at Berwick: Berewyckstream, 1152 (c 1320) Kelso; Berewicstreme 1165-1214 ib. This makes it possible that the "cold stream" above was also the Tweed.

XL. OE wael,

"a deep pool in a river", survives as weel in Mod. Sc., and Northern English, with the meanings, "whirlpool, eddy; deep still part of a river" (E.D.D.). The meaning of "whirlpool" has no doubt been caused by confusion with OE hweol, "wheel".

RXB. MAXWELL (Kso): (81, 6 D):

Macch'swel, 1159 (c 1320) Kelso; Mackuswel, 1165-1214 LSMM; Maccuswelle, 1215 CDS; Maccuswel (P), 1221 Pat; Maxewelle, 1296 CDS.

The early forms in -wel point to ME wel, later confused with welle from OE wælla. The first element is the Celtic pers. n. Maccus found also in Maxton, Longformacus.

Maxwell was at one time the name of a parish, but the name now remains only in Maxwellneugh, a suburb of Kelso. "Maxwheel" is the name of a salmon cast below Kelso Bridge (Lang, p.73).

Compare the "piscaria" de Blakewel, 1217-27 (c 1320) Kelso, at Tweedmouth.



XLI. OE mere,

"lake". There are no names now ending in -mere, but two names in -moor are almost certainly from OE -mere. This change is brought about by the S.Sc. pronunciation of N.Sc. muir as [mɪr]

RXB. ALEMOOR (Rbt): (85, 9 A):

Almere, 1296 CDS; Alemere, 1511 RMS;

Alemoor Loch: Ealmoore L., Blaeu; Elmoore, ib.

Alemoor Loch must have been the original mere.

The first element is the Ale Water, which is a British river-name. Modern pronunciation is [jɛ:lme:r]

SLK. WHITMUIR (Slk): (80, 12 F):

Vithemer, c 1150 (c 1320) Kelso; Whitemer, 1159 ib.;

Whytemere, 1165-1214 ib.; Wittemer, late 13th C. ib.;

Whytmure, Blaeu.

A small unnamed pond at Whitmuir Hall must have been the original "white lake". "White" is a common adjective in place-names in this area: the reason for its use here is not obvious.

Hellmoor Loch (Krk & Rbt) is probably another mere. The first element is OE hell, "Hell", referring to the darkness of the water.

XLII. OE ford,

"a ford", e. ME fōrd, M.Sc. fuirð.

There is no trace of forth, which Mawer has found to be common in England from the 14th Cent. (PN Nb. Du., 230).

RXB. COLIFORTHILL (Cav): (85, 13 B):

Colyfordland, 1380 CDS; Collefurd, 1511 RMS;

cf. Colislinn, close by

A pers. n. OE Cola or ON Koli may be the first element, but if the same name occurs in Colislinn the genitive in -s is difficult to explain, since it would require a strong form of either name.

CRAIGSFORD (Mel):

Craiksford, Blaeu.

A family name Craik, or Craig, derived from O.Brit. \*craik, "crag", is the first element.

ECKFORD (Eckf): (81, 6 F):

Eckeforde, 1165-88 LSMM; Ek(e)ford, 1214-32 ib,

c 1320 RMS; Hekfurde (P), c 1400 (1475-1500)

Wyntoun C; Ekfurd (P), c 1400 (c 1500) Wyntoun W;

Hecfurde, 1456 HMC (Rxb).

The basis of this name may be an OE pers. n., Ecca as in Eccup, YWR (DEPN, 152), and Ecton (PN Nth., 138).

MONKSFORD (Mel):

Munkeford, c 1220 (16th) Dryb.

"Ford used by the monks". It is equidistant from Old Melrose and Dryburgh.

RUTHERFORD (Mxt): (81, 4 E):

Ruderforde, 1165-88 LSMM; Rutheford (P), 1165-1214 ib; Rutherford(e) (P) 1165-1214 ib; 1214-49 ib; Rudedford (P) 1214-49 ib; Rotherford, 1295-6 CDS; 1296 DIHS; 1296 RS; Rudyrfurd, c 1485 Wallace.

The first part, Ruther- may be a British river-name, with Brit. dubro- as second element: cf. Rother (ERN, 348). But the first element cannot be the same as in Rother: it may be Brit. roudo-s, "red".

A possibility, suggested by the form Ruded ford, is that the first part is comparable to W. rhodwydd, "ford", and that the name is a translation of the same type as Minto.

BWK. ELLEMFORD (Crn): (75, 6 H):

Hellum (P), c 1270 (1434) Cdstr; Ellom, 1296 CDS; Ellum, 13th Reg. Dnf; Ellem, 1494 HMC (Var. Coll. v).

OE (æet paem) ellenum, a side-form of ellernum, "at the elder-trees", is possible, with ellenum later contracted to ellum. Ford is a late addition.

SLK. HOWFORD (Krk): So spelt in 1494 C-B.

"Ford in a hollow".

There are twelve other names in -ford, for which no spellings have been found.



MIDDLE ENGLISH ENDINGS.XLIII. ME castel,

a loan-word from L. castellum, is used of pre-historic fortifications and mediaeval earthworks as well as of stone buildings. In place-names in this area it usually denotes a pre-English fortification.

RXB. RUECASTLE (Bdr): (81, 3 H):

Rucastel(e), 1296 CDS, and seal; Rowcastell, 1491-2, 1566 RMS; Rouch-, 1523 ib.

ME ruh castel, "rough castle": cf. Ruchester, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 169). A "fort" is marked here on the O.S. Map. "Rough" may refer to the broken appearance of the ground: cf. Rowchester, No. XIII.

BWK. BURNCASTLE (Laud): (74, 13 L):

Burn(e)castell, 1222 (16th) Dryb; 1502-3 RMS.

A "fort". "Castle by the burn".

There are also Blackcastle Hill (Ask), Horsecastle Bay (Cld), Oldcastles (Chrn), Ryecastle (Apl), Whitcastles (H & C), all of which are near "forts".

Cockburn's Castle (Yar) is the ruin of a stone building.

For Castle as a first element, compare Castlemilk (St.M.), No. XXXVIII. There are also Castle O'er (Esk) and Castlewink (Ew) which are Celtic formations.

XLIV. ME bastel(e),

from Fr. bastille: (a) "wooden siege-tower", (b) "defensive tower" (D.O.S.T. s.v.), must mean here "strong tower". The M.Sc. form is bastelze, bastellie etc., but in the following examples there is no trace of the final l-mouillé. We have here a development of the ME form, and not a return to the French, such as took place in early Mod. Eng. (see NED, s.v.).

There are no cases of the use of this word as a place-name element in Northern England.

BWK. BASTLE (Fld): (75, 12 J):

Foulenbastell, 1614 HMC (Home); Foulden Bastell, 1615 ib; Bastell, Blaeu.

"The tower at Foulden". See Foulden.(No. XXIV). It is not certain whether the structure was stone or not: cf. AHMC (Bwk) p.90, para.164.

KELLOE BASTLE (Edr): (75, 9 K):

Bastell, Blaeu.

There is now no trace of defensive works here.

Bastleridge (Ayt) may contain the term as a first element although Blaeu's spelling is Bastenrigg. The "bastel" may have been Ayton Peel. AHMC (Bwk) records a Bastel House at Carfrae in Channelkirk parish.

These structures must belong to the mid 16th Cent., when by an Act of Parliament every Border householder with £100 a year was required to provide a defensive enclosure for himself and his dependants (AHMC (Bwk), xxiii).

It is notable that the term, which came into currency at so late a date, should continue the ME form, when the M.Sc. 16th Cent. form was bastailye, and the English, bastile.



XLV. OE weorc,

N.ME werk(e), M.Sc. wark, "fort, defensive work":  
cf. Wark Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 207).

DMF. BURNSWARK (Mid): (89, 3 C):

Burniswerkhill, 1541 HMC (Drml); Burnyswarke, 1542  
Ham. Pap.; Burnswark h., Blaeu.

The first element may be a pers. n. Brūn, in a metathesised form. The name does not occur independently in OE, but is the first part of various compounds, e.g. Brūnheard. It occurs in various English place-names, e.g. Broomshawbury (PN Ess., 40), Bungdale (PN YNR., 57), etc.

These forms recall the Bruneswerc of Gaimar and the Etbrunnanwerc of S.D., referring to the site of the Battle of Brunanburh. The latter spelling and Brun(n)anburh, ASC (A), Brunanbyrig, ASC (E), and Brunandune, Ethelw., require a weak form, Brūna, although Brunesburh, H.H., and Brunfort, Bk. of Hyde, might contain the strong form. It is probable that the name was Brūna, which would be given an ending in -n in the oblique cases by southern scribes, but which in Scotland was e.ME Brune, later given a genitive ending in -s.

For the various sources quoted above see Anderson,

70. The weorc is the pre-English system of fortifications on Burnswark Hill.

See Note on the Battle of Brunanburh.

SLK. NEWARK CASTLE (Slk): (80, 10 E):

le Newerk, 1439 HMC (Rxb); Newwerk, 1489-90 RMS;

Newewark, 1547-8 CSP.

The "new wark" replaced the "old wark" in the early 15th Cent. (Tranter, 168).

Blaeu gives Castel of Newoorck, and, slightly to the east, Old-worck.

XLVI. ME bigging,

which is formed from the Scand. verb byggja, "to build", appears solely in the combination Newbigging in this area. The word is no criterion of Scand. settlement, as it was adopted into the local dialect in the ME period, and is still in current use in South Scotland. Newbigging is a common surname in E.Loathian and Berwickshire.

RXB. NEWBIGGING BIRKS and NEWBIGGING BUSH (Oxn):

(81, 6 J, 5 K):

Neubiggynge, 1315 RMS; Newbigging, Buss, the Birkis, 1571 RPC.

NEWBIGGING (Laud): is so spelt in 1533 RMS.

The name also occurs in Dmf. in the parishes of Middlebie, Wamphray and Applegarth.



XLVII. M.Sc. raw,

from OE raw, "a number of houses standing in a line".

RXB. DYKERAW (Sdn):

Dykra, Blaeu.

"Row by the dyke or ditch". Mod. Sc. dyke may represent OE dīc, "ditch", or may have the sense of "stone wall".

LANGRAW (Hbk): is so spelt in 1566 RMS.

"Long row of houses".

BWK. ANGELROW (Grn): (75, 7 M):

Angelraw, 1529 RMS; -row, Blaeu.

The site of a chapel is marked about half a mile to the east. This may have had some connection with the name.

Bagraw ford (Cst) contains Bagraw- which appears in Bagrawod, 1552-3 CSP, and the "lost" le Bagrav, 1451 HMC (Drml) in Penpont. Compare Bagraw, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 10) and Baggrow, Cu. (PN Cu. We., 9). The frequency with which this compound occurs suggests something other than Bacra's raw, for it is unlikely that the pers. name, not elsewhere instanced in the S. Scottish area, should occur more than once in the same combination. Bag- must have some topographical sense,

perhaps as "hollow". But compare Bagley, Berks.  
(DEPN, 21), in which the first element may be the name  
of an animal.

There are also Boonraw (Hwk), Netherraw (Llf)  
and Oxnam Row (Oxn).

XLVIII. ME schele.

For a discussion on the origin of this word, see Studies<sup>2</sup>, 57. The modern Sc. form is shiel, which Jamieson defines as - (1) A hut for a shepherd; (2) A shed for sheep on the hill during the night.

Most of the examples below have been formed late in the ME period, although a few contain OE personal names which must have been in use at a later time. Several have Gaelic elements:- Dronshiel (Lgt), Craigshields (Kkm), probably Elshieshields (Lmb), Tomshielburn (Cav). In Penmanshiel (Ckb), ME schele has been added to a surviving British place-name. Another British element may be preserved in Kidshiel, although this is very doubtful.

Very few of the -shiel names are compounded with the name of an animal. Most bear a personal name, or a word describing the shiel, e.g. Stoneshiel (Cld), Bruntshields (Tin).

RXB. FOULSHIELDS (Cst):

Foulsheiles, 1590 CBP.

"Foul, filthy shiels".

MIDSHIELDS (Hwk):

Myd-schelis, 1516 RMS.

"The middle shiels".



SHIELSTOCKBRAES (Mrb): (81, 7 G):

Tockesheles, 1165-1214, 1189-99 LSMM.

.....

Scheilstokbrayis, 1570, 1588 RMS.

The original form may have been ME Tocche-scheles.

One Tocce signs a charter c 1150 ESC. The name is OE Tocca. How the elements came to be inverted in order is obscure: there is no parallel case in this area. -Braes is a later addition.

STANESHIEL BURN (Cst):

Stainhill, Blaeu.

M.Sc. stain scheil, "Sheep-hut built of stone", the name of a place, not now in existence, from which the burn derived its name. For Blaeu's spelling of the terminal, compare Esshystill for Ashiestiel.

SWANSHIEL (Hbk):

Suamesheels, Blaeu (am = ain).

M.Sc. swain scheil, "herdsman's hut". Later the first element was confused with Swan, a family-name.

BWK. BEDSHIEL (Grn): (75, 5 L):

Bethschele, 1452 RMS; Betschele, 1494 ib; -scheill, 1509-10 ib.

ME Bēdschele, with e shortened before the consonant group from a form containing the OE pers. n. Bēda would give forms in Bet-, since d > t before the

voiceless fricative [ʃ]. Otherwise the first element may be Gael. beath, beith, "birch-tree", as in Beath (Fife), and Beith (Ayr).

KETTLESHIEL (Lgf):

Ketelschel, c 1269 HMC (Home); Ketilscheles, 1367-8 CDS; Kettilschele, 1492 RMS.

"The shiel belonging to Ketill", a Scand. name. In the first document quoted, the place was held by one Ketell Dudeman, who probably gave his name to it.

KIDSHIEL (Duns):

Kaitschelis, 1546-7 RMS.

The first element may be Brit. cet "wood" as in Pencaitland E.Lth. (CPNS, 355).

WINDSHIEL (Duns):

Wyneschelis, 1490 HMC (Wed); Wynsheels, Blaeu.

"Shelter from the wind": this is a very common combination:- cf. Windshield Hill (Wam), Windshiel Grain (Esk), Windshielknowe (Cst), Winshields (H & C).

DMF. BRUNTSHIEL HILL and BOG (Can): (89, 9 B):

Brintscheillhill, 1590 RPC; Brunsheillmoore, 1597 CBP.

"Burnt shiel": M.Sc. brunt, a metathesised form.

CRAIGSHIELDS (Kkm):

Cragshellis, 1463-4 RMS.

Gael. creag, M.Sc. craig "rock", is the first

element. For the intrusive d in shields, compare North and South Shields, Du. (PN Nb. Du., 176, 265).

ELSHIESHIELDS (Lmb): (88, 13 A):

Elscheschelis, 1530 RMS.

Elshie- may be O.Gael. ailech "a stony place", as in Elshies, Bnf. (CPNS, 479), or simply the common Mod. Sc. diminutive for Alexander.

WHITSHIELS (Lang):

Quhitschelis, 1532 RMS.

"White shiels".

SLK. CAULDSHIELS LOCH (Gala):

Cauldschelis, 1540 RSS.

"Cold shiels", now lost, from which the loch was named. The place was no doubt in an exposed position on the shores of the loch.

GALASHIELS (Gala): (80, 12 C):

Galuschel, c 1360 Scal; Gallowschel, 1416 LSMM;

Ga(l)loschelis, 1468 Rot. Scac., 1503 CDS.

"The shiels on the Gala Water". Spellings for Gala are:- Galche, 1143-44 ESC; Galue, 1143-44 ib; Galhe, 1180 APS; 1165-1214 LSMM; Galge, 1180 C de M; Galwe, 1214-49 LSMM; 1236 BM; Galwhe, 1236 ib.

OE galga, "gallows", is phonetically possible, but there seems to be no reason why a river should be so called. The name is most likely to be Celtic:



cf. PNS, 185.

A "lost" name, Ethebredscheillis, 1430 HMC (Rxb); Edibredschelis, 1433-4 ib; -schele, 1443 L.Ch., is close to Newark Castle (Slk). The first element is an OE pers. n. Eadberht, or AEðelberht.

There are 28 other names ending in -shiel, distributed throughout the four counties.

XLIX. M.Sc. falde, fauld,

from OE fālod, "fold, pen". The earliest usage in this area is falda, c 1170 LSMM.

BWK. STONEFOLD (Eccl):

Stamfold, Blaeu.

This spelling may represent stainfold, with m a minim mistake for in; or it may show the change nf > mf as in Stamford, L., etc., from OE stānford. The modern form has been anglicised.

DMF. MOUSWALD (Msw): (88, 13 E):

Musefaud, 1215-45 CDS; -fald c 1218 HMC (Drml);

Mosefald, 1304 ib; Musfald, 1317 RMS; Mousfald,

1446-7 HMC (Rxb).

"Mouse-infested fold": cf. Muscoates YNR (DEPN, 318). But A. H. Smith derives it from ON Músi, a pers. n. (PN YNR., 65). This is possible in Dmf.; ME \*Mūse-falde from l.OE Mūsa-fālod.

There are also Cawfaulds (Hwk) and Whitefauld Hill (Kkm) for which no early spellings have been found.

L. ME layer, lair,

"place where animals lie", from OE leger "grave, burial-place". In this area it is associated solely with the names of domestic animals, and must have denoted spots in which sheep, or cows, were accustomed to spend the night. The majority of the names belong to hills, in the hollows of which the animals must have found shelter.

BWK. WEDDERLAIRS (Lgf): (75, 2 J):

Wetherlairis, 1628 HMC (Wed).

"Wedders' lying-place". M.Sc. wedder, Eng. wether, is a ram. This is the name of a hill.

Other names are:- Coutlair Knowe (Rbt), containing Mod. Sc. cout, "colt"; Ewelair Hill (Rbt); Lamblair Edge (Jed), (Rbt); Lamblair Hill (Cst); Ewelairs Hill (Wam); Lamblair Knowe (Esk); and the "lost" Niutlairs, Blaeu, near Newcastleton, which may contain Mod. Sc. nowt "cattle", a loan from the Scand. equivalent of OE neat.



LI.

Miscellaneous endings denoting habitation.

- (a) OE croft, "small enclosed field or pasture".  
 This must be the sense of Godscroft (A St. B):  
Goddiscroft, 1589 HMC (Wed); Godscroft, Blaeu,  
 which was a piece of ground belonging to the abbey.  
 The Mod. Sc. meaning of croft is a small-holding,  
 possessing just enough land to support one family  
 independently. This is probably the sense of  
 most of the names in -croft.
- (b) ME toft, from ON topt, is used in S. Scotland to  
 denote a homestead. It occurs independently in  
 Upper and Lower Tofts (Cav): Toftes, 1296 CDS,  
Toftis, 1511 RMS. It is sometimes attached to  
 the name of a farm or manor, as in Edgerston  
 Tofts (Jed).
- (c) ME demeyne, in aphetic form gives Mod. Sc. mains,  
 "farm attached to a mansion house, home farm".  
 In later Scots, mains is used of any farm, but  
 the commonest use is with the name of some manor  
 house, e.g. <sup>z</sup>Billie Castle and Billie Mains,  
 Bewlie and Bewlie Mains. Mains appears in inde-  
 pendent use in Maines House (Chrn), Mains (Fld),

(Duns), East and West Mains (Eccl), North and South Mains (Pxt), but these instances are confined to Bwk. Rulesmains (Duns) is Rowlis Manys, 1536 RSS, Rewlismains 1587 HMC (Wed), perhaps from a pers. n., O Fr Raoul.

- (d) ME haining, a loan-word from O.Dan. hegning, is found in the dialect of N. England and Scotland. The Haining (Slk) is le Hayning, 1298-9 CDS, Haning, 1590-1 CBP: cf. Haining, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 98). The meaning is "enclosure, fenced land".
- (e) ME milne, from OE mylen, preserves the final -n only in Nethermiln (Grt). The modern form, -mill, is found in all the other examples. Boosmill (Llf): Bwismylne, 1545 RMS, Bewes Mill, Blaeu, is the mill belonging to Bevis, a 14th C. name (Ewen, 165). Fireburnmill (Cdstr): Fyreburne-mylne, 1550 RMS, may contain the name of the burn on which it stands. Perhaps the spelling represents ME feȝr-burne, "fair burn". Waulkmill (Fogo) and <sup>W</sup>Waulkmill (Laud): Walk-mylhalch, 1501 RMS, were mills where cloth was waulked or fulled. Clockmill (Duns): Clockmilne, 1730 HMC (Var. Coll. v), is to be compared with Clocksorrow Mill (PN W.Lth., 114), in which the

first syllable is M.Sc. clack, "the sound of clappers". Compare also Clackmill Close and "the mill called clakke", 1357 (PN Nth., 285). Cauldmill (Cav) was the mill at the cauld, or weir, where water was diverted for its use (D.O.S.T., s.v.).

(f) OE flōr, "floor, ground, threshing floor", in the plural, may be the derivation of Floors Castle (Kso), Floors (Pnp) and Fleurs (Cld). ME flōres

> M.Sc. fluirs, which might be written Fleurs, since the pronunciation approximated to French, fleurs. The sense of ME flores is not obvious. Perhaps varying levels are indicated: the original site may have consisted of two plateaux. An alternative etymology is ON flóm, "cow-stall", but this is not to be expected in the Kelso area. Floors Castle is le Fluris, 1490 HMC (Rxb); Fluris, 1516 RMS. Fleurs (Cld) is Flemington Flures, 1614 HMC (Wed).

(g) Mod.Sc. byre, "cow-shed", occurs in Housebyres (Mel), and Netherbyre, 1614, an alternative name for Fleurs (Cld). Three names no longer in use are found in Blaeu: Byrs, near Langton (Bwk); Langbyre on the Wrangway Burn (Dmf); and Yetbyres



near Castle O'er (Dmf).

- (h) OE gærd is seen in Ashyards (Mid).
- (i) ME grange, from Fr. grange, "granary", usually denotes a farm where corn is grown (Jam., s.v.); but there is a form from Med.Lat. granagium which denotes the place at which the tithes and rents of religious houses were paid, usually in kind. This is the source of Drygrange (cf. No.VIII). Other examples are Grange (Sdn), (Tun), (Sqr), and South Grange (Cld), all of which are names of farms.
- (j) M.Sc. girnel, "granary", is probably the derivation of Girnall (Ckb).
- (k) ME tower, from O Fr. tour, is found in Lochtower (Yth); Loughtowr, 1542 Ham. Pap., "the tower by the loch". There are also Mosstower (Eckf), and Tower (Kel).
- (l) ME (14th C) barmeken, barnekyn, a form of outer defence round a castle or tower is "of obscure origin, perhaps an alteration of barbican", (DOST, s.v.). It is the source of Bairnkine (Sdn), spelt Barmkyn in Blaeu, and of Barnkin of Craigs

(Dmf). Compare, "strengthis, barmkynniss and pelis", 1542 Ham. Pap.

(m) M.Sc. pile is seen in Peelwalls (Ayt), which commemorates the "peel" of Ayton: pyle, 1542 Ham. Pap., Pile of Ayton, ib. A peel was, in the 13th Cent., an exterior stockade thrown up round a castle enclosing an area in which there might be buildings and even meadow-land. It continued the mote and bailey tradition of the mediaeval castle. Later the term was used more loosely in the sense of "fortification". After the 16th Cent. it came to denote the plain square stone towers common to the Borders (v. Neilson - Peel, and Mackenzie, p.90 for discussion of the term). Peel occurs independently as a place-name in Peel (Cad) and (Cst). There are also Peelbrae-hope (Cav), Peelnick (Oxn), Peelrig (Duns) and Peelton (Glc).

(n) O Fr. ermitage, M.Sc. (h)ermitage, is the source of Hermitage (Cst): Ermitage, 1300 DIHS; 14th NMS; Armytage, 1583 CBP. Tradition tells of a hermit's cell established on this site before the castle.

(o) M.Sc. Spital, an aphetic form of hospital, is

seen in Spittal (Cav): Spittale, 1481 RMS. A Spital was a home for the poor and the sick, and was usually attached to a monastery. Spital Tower (Bdr) must be named from the same institution. There is also Spittalriddinghill (Ann).

- (p) Palace (Clg) commemorates the fact that a residence of the bishops of Glasgow once existed there (Vernon, 374).
- (q) Pleasants (Jed) is M.Sc. pleasaunce, "pleasure ground, garden", from O Fr. plaisance. Compare The Pleasance, Edinburgh.
- (r) Manor is contained in Hartmanor (Esk), which may be the same name as Hardmanor on the Black Lyne, Cu.
- (s) Moat (Dns) and Mote Cottage (Jhn) are named from mediaeval motes beside which they stand.
- (t) A few names consist of adjectives or adjectival phrases. Wideopen (Yth): Wyd(h)oppin, 1523 RMS, 1596 CDS, may have been so named because it was directly open to attack from England, or simply because it stood in an exposed position. Wide Open Farm, YNR., is, however, a corruption of OE Wibedstune, Wipestune (PN YNR., 17). Blythe



(Laud): Blith, 1509 RMS; Blyth, 1537 ib, is OE blīðe, "pleasant. It may have taken its name from the Blythe Water: cf. R.Blyth, Nb. (ERN, 39). Unthank (Ew) is so spelt in 1509-10.RMS. It represents OE unþances, "without leave", and may refer to a squatter's farm. (DEPN, 464); or may denote a piece of "ungrateful" soil: cf. Unthank, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 203). Selcoth (Mof) is Selcouth, 1569 RPC, from OE seld-cūð, "little known", no doubt on account of its remote position. Blink-bonny occurs in Cst., Fld., Nnt. and Hfm., as a farm-name. It is also to be found in other parts of Scotland, but not in England. The two elements seem to be Mod.Sc. \*blink; "a hurried glance, a glimpse", and bonny "pretty, fair to the view", but their order suggests a Celtic compound. The name may be a corruption of a Gaelic form.

- (u) Several place-names commemorate saints. Abbey St. Bathans (A. St. B.) is Seint Boyt(h)an, 1296 CDS; 1297 DIHS; Sci. Boithani (gen), 13th C. Reg. Dnf. A chapel here, no doubt a Celtic foundation. must have been dedicated to St. Baithene, the successor of St. Columba: cf. CPNS, 151. St. Abbs (Cld): Sanctabs, 1621 HMC (Wed), is named from Æbbe who was prioress at Coldingham

in the 9th Cent. St. Boswells, previously known as Lessudden, a Celtic name, is Sanct Boswellis, c 1620 Dryb.; St. Boswalls, 1682 L.Ch., and commemorates Boisil, a 7th Cent. prior of Old Melrose. St. Leonard's (Hwk) is St. Leonard, Blaeu. There are also St. John's (Fld), St. Ann's (Jhn) and St. Helen's (Slk).

- (v) A "manorial" name may be seen in Cavers (Cav): Caverum (acc) 1165-1214 NMS; Kaveres, 1214-49 LSMM; Cavres (P), 1290 DIHS, 1304 Ch: Kauirs, 1291 DIHS; Cavers, 1296 ib; Caverys, 1359 Rot. Scac., which is a genitive form of ME Caver (cf. Thomas Caver, "vicecomes de Roxburgh" in 1264), from OE <sup>ʰ</sup>Cāfhere: cf. Caversfield and Caversham, O., and Caverswall, St., (DEPN, 87). This name appears in several place-names in Rxb. and Slk.:-- Caverton (Eck) (see No. V), Caver's Hill and Caverslee (Krk), Cavers Carre (Bow). A "lost" <sup>ʰ</sup>Caverhill may be in Pbl.: Cawerhyll, 1422 HMC (Var. Coll. v); Cauerhill, 1475 ib; Cauir-, 1546 ib.

- (w) Belses (Anc): Belses (P), 1470-1 HMC (Rxb); 1590 RPC; Belches, 1566 RMS; Belsis, 1580 HMC (Wed); Belcheis, 1588 L.Ch.; Belshies, Blaeu, is to be

compared with Belzies (Tnw): Belsies, 1594-5 CBP.  
These may represent O Fr. belasis, "beautiful  
seat": cf. Bel(1)asis, Du. (PN Nb. Du., 16);  
Bellasize (PN YER., 245), Belsize Fm. (PN Nth.,  
232), Belsize Fm (PN Herts., 107), Belsize Park  
(PN Mx., 112). The forms for Belses with medial  
-sh-, -ch- must be due to M.Sc. substitution of  
sch- for s-.



LII. OE, ME land,

"earth, soil, estate". In the Scottish Border area this ending is most frequently plural, and has the meaning of "estate, grounds, policies". In OE charter material the first element is never a personal name, but describes the tenure or cultivation of the ground. Most of the names recorded below must belong to a later period, although it is noticeable that personal names do not occur.

RXB. BROOMLANDS (Kso):

Brumelandis, 1569 RMS.

"Lands where broom grew".

CLERKLANDS (Llf):

Clerkislande, 1406-36 LSMM; Clerkland, Blaeu.

This land belonged to the monks of Melrose:

"ecclesiastic's land".

COPLAND (Anc): (81, 3 G):

Coupland (P), c 1230 (c 1320) Kelso; 1306-29 LSMM;

c 1354 HMC (Rxb); Coupeland (P), 1354 Kelso.

ON kaupa-land, "bought land"; perhaps ME coupland; a legal term denoting land that had been purchased, rather than a Norse formation. Compare Copland Ho., Du., Coupland, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 52).

GOLDIELANDS (Hwk):

Goldelandis, 1590 RPC.

The first element may be ME gold, referring to the colour of the crops; or ME golde, "corn marigold": cf. Goldhanger, Ess. (PN Ess., 303: DEPN, 191), Goltho, L. (DEPN ib).

NEWLANDS (Mto), (Cst):

Neuland, 1321 RMS. It is not certain to which place this spelling applies.

"New estate".

WEENSLAND (Hwk): (86, 2 B):

Weyndis-landis, 1511 RMS; Wemis-landis, 1540, 1547 ib.

"Lands belonging to Weens (Hbk)". Weens may be Celtic in origin, or it may be M.Sc. wyindis, "windings", as the Rule Water makes a bend there.

BWK. PLOUGHLANDS (Eccl):

Plewland, 1509-10 RMS; -is, 1535 RSS.

"Land under plough": cf. Plewlands (KJ), and Ploughlands (Clg), (Mat).

DMF. BORELAND (H & C):

Bordland, 1555 HMC (Jhn); 1583-4 RPC.

Land which supplied the lord's table. See Borthwick (No. VII).

BORELAND (Cr1):

Bour(e)landis, 1440-1 RMS; 1517 ib; Bourlands, Blaeu.

OE būr, "cottage, dwelling", may be the first element.

BORELAND (Glc):

Boirland, Blaeu.

This is perhaps the same as the example above.

BROOMLANDS (KJ):

Bruym lands, 1551 HMC (Jhn).

Compare Broomlands (Kso) (supra).

ELLISLAND (Hlw): (88, 9 B):

Alizland, 1304 CDS; Alisland, 1335-6 ib; Alysland, 1499-1500 HMC (Drml); Aleisland, 1623 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

Perhaps a late mediaeval formation with a feminine name Alis, Alice. The initial a has been fronted to e- in the modern period.

FINGLAND (Esk): (85, 4 D):

Fingland, 1555 HMC (Jhn); Fyngland (P), 1573 ib;

Finglen b., Blaeu.

This is a very common name in Dmf.: cf. Fingland (Wam), F~ Burn (Glc), (Sqr), F~ Shoulder (Pnp). In Cu. there is Finglandrigg. The first element is ON feng, "haul, catch, booty", and the meaning of the compound must be "land taken by force".

HAPLAND (Drđ), is so spelt in Blaeu.

Perhaps OE heap, in the sense of "hill", is the first element: cf. Hapton (PN La., 80).



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

Hat(e)landhill, 1411 HMC (Drml); 1516 RMS; Hait-,  
1544 RMS; Het-, Blaeu.

The first element may be OE hæp, "wild, uncultivated country". The ending in -hill suggests that the word might be ON hetta, "hood", denoting the shape of the hill: cf. Hett, Du. (PN Nb. Du., 113).

MOSSLANDS (Jhn):

Mosland(i)s, 1550 RMS; 1551 HMC (Jhn).

"Boggy land" or "land by a moss".

NEWLAND HILL (Tun):

Newlandis, 1542 RMS.

Compare Newlands (Mto) (supra).

PLEWLANDS (KJ):

Plewlandis, 1484 RMS.

Compare Ploughlands (Eccl) (supra).

TEMPLAND (Sqr):

Tomplanmill, Blaeu.

This name nearly always indicates land held by the Knights Templars: cf. Templand (Lmb) and T<sup>~</sup>Mains (Clb).

There are 16 other names in -land(s).

SLK. SUNDERLAND (Slk): (80, 11 E):

Sonderland, 1309 RC; Sondir-, 1388-9 CDS; Sundir-  
landhall, 1474 RMS.

OE Sundor-land, "land set apart". Hall is a later addition.

LIII. ME grēne,

the adjective, used substantivally to denote "a grassy spot", or the "green" of a village.

RXB. SCHILGREEN (Mrb): (81, 10 H):

Schilgreine, 1309 RC; Schelgrene, 1315-21RMS;

Shelgrene, 1560 RMS.

Schilgreen lies under the hill called The Schil which straddles the Border. Schil may be OE scylf, with loss of final -f: cf. Shildon, Du. (PN Nb. Du., 177). That the -f may be lost even when this element is used independently is proved by Shell, Wo.: Scylfweg 956; Scelves DB (PN Wo., 138).

BWK. BOGANGREEN: (75, 11 F):

Bogane-grene, 1608 (L.Ch); Boigengrein, 1672 Reg.

Sas. Bwk.

This may be "bog-end green"; but cf. CPNS, 129, for a Gaelic derivation.

GUNSGREEN (Ayt): (75, 13 G):

Gownisgrein, 1580 RMS; Gins-, ib; Gunsgrene, 1585

HMC (Var. Coll. v); Gunnis-, 1590 RPC.

"The green belonging to Gunn", ON Gunni: cf. Gunshole, Cu. (PN Cu. We., 56).

There are also Gildiesgreen (Krk), Redfordgreen (Krk), Chew Green (Oxn), Greens (Cst), Corsegreen (Lmb), Green (Grt).

LIV. ME end(e),

"end", "place at the end of".

DMF. BANKEND (Cr1):

Bankend, 1570 CSP; Bunken, Blaeu.

"Place at the end of a bank, or ridge".

HOLMAINS (Dlt): (88, 13 D):

Holmendis, 1384 (15th-16th) APS; 1485 HMC (Drml);

1542 RMS; 1565-6 RPC; Holme ende, 1570 CSP;

Howmains, 1568 CSP; Howmains Cas., Blaeu.

"Place at the end of the holm". The plural form of end is surprising since the place could not be at more than one end of a valley. This must be a mediaeval corruption. Compare Holmend (Mof).

Most of the other names in -end are of the same type, e.g. Hewisbridge-end (Cst), Kaimend (Cav), Shankend (Cav), Stripend (Oxn), Woodend (Jed), Bridgend (Mof), Fellend (Clb), Floshend (Grt), Stepends (Pnp), (Clb).

In one or two names, -end must mean "corner, spot", e.g. Cushat End (How), Greenend (Anc), Highend (Hbk), Nestends (Eym). This usage occurs in English farm-names, often with a family name as first element, e.g. Bush End, Crook's End, Swards End (PN Ess., 40, 510, 540).



LV. ME fōt,

"foot", means usually, "place at the foot of", in place-names.

RXB. BURNFOOT (Lin):

Bornfoote, 1542 Ham. Pap.

"Place at the foot of the burn", i.e. where it enters a larger stream. There are five other examples of this name. Cf. Beckfoot (Ann), Waterfoot (Ann), and Leaderfoot (Mel) where the Leader joins the Tweed.

The other names in -foot are almost all of the same type, e.g. Deanfoot (Mto), Glebefoot (Rbt), Shankfoot (Hwk), Woodfoot (Cav), Meadowfoot (Sqr), Rigfoot (Cum), Shawfoot (Kkm).

Four cases of Townfoot are to be compared with the examples of Townhead.

BWK. WEETFOOT BOG (Grn), is Vitfute, 1567 Kelso.

The name seems to mean a swamp in crossing which <sup>one</sup> wet one's feet.

LVI. ME flat,

a loan-word from ON flot, "level piece of ground", is common in field-names in England (IPN ii, 27). It occurs throughout the Border area and is not confined to the Scandinavian districts.

RXB. RAWFLAT (Anc):

Raflett, Blaeu.

"Level piece of ground upon which a row of houses was built".

There are six other names ending in -flat in this area:- Flatt (Cst), Kaimflat (Edn), Westburnflat (Cst), Ladyflat (Lgt), Dockenflat (Mid), Rockhill flat (Apl).

"Lost" names which may refer to fields rather than to places are:-

Coteflatte, 13th C. (1434) Cdstr., in Darnchester.

Crosserigeflat, c 1220 (16th) Dryb., near Bemerside.

Strotherflat, c 1300 (1434) Cdstr.

LVII.

Miscellaneous endings denoting agricultural land, communications, divisions of land, etc.

(a) OE æcer is used only of arable land in charter material. In this area it seems to denote simply "farmland". Hardacres (Eccl): Hardaikers, 1590 RPC, 1597 HMC (March); Hardakers, Blaeu, is "hard land", in the sense of "bare, thin, soil". There are also Whitacres Hill (Cav), and Blackacre (Kkm).

(b) ME medwe from mædwe, the dative case of OE mæd, "meadow", occurs in Broadmeadows (Slk): Brademewow, 1546 Rot. Scac.; Fraïdmedowes, Blaeu (F - B). The original singular form of the ending has been made plural at a later date.

A "lost" name is Camminesmedu, c 1250 (1434) Cdstr; Cammesmedu, c 1300 ib, near Thornydykes (Laud): cf. Cambridge in the same vicinity which also seems to contain O.Brit. \*Kambo-, "crooked". There is also Fostermeadow (Dlt).

(c) ME parke, from O.Fr parc, "park", occurs in seven names for which there are no spellings. Huldies Park (Ayt) contains the name Hulde, Huldie of



1557, 1576 HMC (Wed). Newpark (Ann) was constructed by Wm. de Carleolo in the time of Robert the Bruce, HMC (Drml). A "lost" name is Levede-parc, 1186-1214 LSMM, in Lauder, probably a field-name, containing ME levedi, "lady".

- (d) Orchard (Cav) is Orchart in Blaeu. Orchard (Wam) is the first part of Orchertbek, 1590 RPC. No doubt an apple-orchard is indicated by both names: cf. Applegarth (Dmf).
- (e) OE furlang, "strip of ploughed land", is seen in the early forms of Fosterland, Blaeu, from which the present Fosterland Burn ( B & Pr) is named: Casfurlonger (P), 1296 CDS (C = F); Fastfurlange, ib; Fastfurland, 1507-8 HMC (Home); Fostirland, 1511 ib; Fastfurdeland, 1538 ib; Fastfoordland, 1758 Reg. Sas. Bwk. The meaning of fast- must be "bare, starving": for a similar usage, cf. Starveacres (PN Herts., 63, 100). "Lost" names are Haufurlangdene, 1165-1214 LSMM, and Haufurlangburne, 1214-49 ib., in Hownam.
- (f) OE ƿofl, Eng. dial. poffle, "small piece of land", is the terminal of Maxpoffle (St.B): Makispofil, 1214-49 LSMM; Makepoffel, 1296 CDS; Maxpoffle, 1296 RS; Moxpoffil, c 1564 Mel. Reg. Rec. The

first element is the pers. n. Maccus. Ekwall can offer no etymology for <sup>z</sup>pofl (DEPN, 353); McClure relates it to Sp. pueblo, W. plwf, derived from Lat. populus, in the sense of "parish" (McClure, 86n). This meaning would suit Prest-pofill, 1479 (DEPN ib).

(g) M.Sc. pendicle, though French from Med. Lat. pendiculum, is "a small piece of land attached to a larger; a small farm or croft" (Jam., s.v.), and is seen in Pinnacle (Anc): Pendickill, Blaeu. There is also Pinnacle Wood (Tun). In both cases the term has been confused with pinnacle, "turret" etc.

(h) Eng. Dial. pingle, "small enclosure or croft", (EDD, s.v.), is not recorded by Jamieson or Watson in this sense, although it appears in Border place-names. In England its use is confined to field and minor names, e.g. Swynes pyngel, 1404 (PN Nth., 268); the Pingle, 1572 (PN Mx., 202). Pingle (Mid), in Pyngille (P), 1315-21 RMS; Pyngle Bourne, 1552 Bullock; Pingle knolle, ib; Pingleknowe, 1552 CSP, must mean "croft". There is also Pinglehole (Cst).

(i) Swinnie (Jed) is Swyne (P), 1436 HMC (Wed); Swynny,

1528 RMS; Sownie, Blaeu. This may be OE swīn-hege, "swine enclosure", or ON svíðningr, "place cleared by burning": cf. Swinithwaite (PN YNR, 256).

(j) ME nesebit, "nose-bit, piece of land resembling a nose in shape" (PN Nb. Du., 147), is the source of Nisbet and West Nesbit (Clg): Nasebith, 1165-1214 NMS; Nesbyt, 1147-52 (Morton) ESC; -bit, 1330 Rot. Scac.; Nysbet, 1566 RMS. At Nisbet-hill a nose-shaped piece of land projects into the R. Teviot. Nisbet (Edr): Nesebite, 1138 ESC; -byt, 1296 RS; Nessebyte, 1253 CDS; Nesbit (P), c 1300 Cold; Nisbit, 1585 HMC (Var. Coll. v), is derived from the same source. There is a sharply-pointed spur of higher ground between Nisbet House and Nisbet Rhodes.

(k) M.Sc. cavelling, a verbal noun from cavill, "to divide, share, assign by lot" (DOST, s.v.), is seen in a "lost" name <sup>̄</sup>Cavilling near Cavers: Cauillyne, 1368 LSMM; Cavilling, 1564 RPC, 1569 ib; Kaveling, 1573 RPC. The sense is "land which has been acquired by lot", or, simply, "a share".

(l) ME stile, from OE stigel, occurs in Kirkstile (Ew):



Kirkstyl, Blaeu. This is "a commonplace in Scottish villages, referring to the houses at the gate to the church". In this case, a hamlet beside the church has received the name.

(m) A few names denote divisions of land.

Kersquarter (Spr) may be the quarter of a larger estate held by a Ker, or a quarter share of a carse or piece of alluvial land.

Third occurs in East and West Third (Smh), Third (Mrt), and Third (Kkm) which is Thrid, 1555 HMC (Jhn).

The various Farthinglands may denote quarter shares, from OE feorðung, rather than land held at a farthing's rent.

In Dmf. a large number of holdings have been named from the amount at which they were valued, probably under the "Auld Extent". Merkland occurs four times, Fourmerkland twice, and there are single examples of Two-Merkland (Glc), and Half-merk Hill (Kel). Other valuations are Pennyland (Kmh), Shillingland (Dns), Twentyshillling (Sqr), and Poundland (Glc), (Dns): Pundland, 1630 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

Such names are common also in Galloway.

Fardingjames (Keir): Fordiniames, 1523 HMC (Drml),

and Fardingallan (Pnp): Firdenalane, 1450-1 ib; Ferden- 1451 ib, are Celtic in the order of their elements. They denote the "farthinglands" of James and Allan.

(n) M.Sc. zett, Mod. Sc. yett, from O Nb. gæet, "gate", has frequently been anglicised in place-names so that it is undistinguishable in origin from ON gata, "a road". Eleven names give no indication of their origin. The Yett (How) and Yett (Jhn) plainly represent the Anglian form: cf. Yetholm. Barrasgate (Cum) is Barresyett, 1545 HMC (Jhn). This is M.Sc. barras zet, barres yet, "gate in or beside a barrier" (DOST, s.v.)

(o) M.Sc. dyke, "ditch", is from OE dīc. It can also denote "rampart", which leads to the Mod. Sc. meaning of "wall". This element is frequently applied to primitive earthworks consisting of a ditch and rampart, e.g. The Deil's Dyke in Dumfriesshire. The Scots Dike is a boundary ditch constructed between Scotland and England in the 16th Century. Most of the names ending in -dyke are near "forts" or earthworks. Broomdikes (Edr): Bromedykes, 1621 HMC (Wed) is "ditches where broom grows". Priestdykes (Lmb):

Preist(e)dikis, 1507-8 RMS, 1569 RPC, is near the Deil's Dyke. A "lost" name is <sup>z</sup>Grueldykes, near Duns: Growelldykes, 1572 HMC (Var. Coll. v); Grevel-, 1574-5 ib; Gruel-, 1585 ib. This seems to be ON gróf, "stream, hollow", OE halh, and OE dīc. Compare Grovehill: Gruuale, 1156; Grouale, 13th, and the parallel forms Grovaldyke, 1391; le Grovaldyk, 1439, referring to a stream in the vicinity of Grovehill (PN YER., 198).

- (P) ME lane, "lane, narrow road", occurs in Orange Lane (Eccl).
- (q) Mod. Sc. loan, "an opening between corn fields", through which cattle were driven to the farmstead (Jam., s.v.), is the terminal of Fairloans (Cst), (Oxn). The first element means "pleasant, beautiful".
- (r) OE brycg, "bridge", is found in the Sc. dial. form brig in Scotsbrig (Mid): Godsbrig, Blaeu; Godisbrig, 1631 Reg. Sas. Dmf; Gottisbrigg, 1691 Com. Rec. Dmf. The name has evidently been altered during the past two centuries. Cambridge (Leg) must contain Gael. cam or O.Brit. <sup>z</sup>cambo-, "crooked". Skewbridge (Msw) crosses a railway at a slanting angle and must be very recent in origin.



Stockbridge (Mid) may represent OE stoccc-brycg, "bridge made of tree-stumps".

- (s) N.Fr. caucie, Mod.Sc. causey, "causeway, paved road", occurs in the name of a mediaeval road from Teviotdale to Liddesdale: Weele Causey, 1568 CSP; Whele Causey, 1597 CBP. The first element is seen also in le Whele, 1296 CDS; Quele, 1307-8 ib; and Whelekirk, Speed. OE hweōl is quite common in p.n's, although its sense is often obscure. Here it may refer to the circular "camp" behind Wheel Church, or may be derived from the round summit of Wheelrig Head.

LVIII. M.Sc. schaw,

"small wood, copse", from OE scaga. This element is less common in Nb., Du., Cu. and We., but appears in La. in large numbers.

RXB. \*COPSHAW (the old name for the site of New-castleton, which was built in the 18th Cent.)  
Copshaw(e), 1583 CBP; Blaeu.

OE copp, "top, summit", is the first element:  
"hill-top wood".

CROOKED SHAWS (Mrb): (81, 9 G):

Crokeshaws, 1542 Ham. Pap.; Crokanshawes ib.

The first element is probably ME croke, from ON krókr, "crook, bend". The place lies in a curve of the hillside.

FRIARSHAW (Llf):

Freirschaw, 1568 RMS.

This must have been monastic property.

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

Gatschaw(e), 1454 LSMM; 1553 CSP; Gaitschaw, 1568 RMS; 1596 CBP.

"Goat wood": OE gāt, M.Sc. gait.

HANGINGSHAW HILL (Rbt):

Hanguydeschawe, 1296 CDS.

M.Sc. hangande-schawe, "wood on a hill-slope".

For this use of "hanging", compare Hanging Chadder (PN La., 53), Hanging Leaves Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 100). Some corruption is evident in the spelling.

MEADSHAW (Rbt):

Meedshaw, Blaeu.

"Wood by the meadow": OE mæed.

BWK. CRANSHAWS (Crn): (75, 5 G):

Cranshawes, 1296 RS; Craneshaunes, c 1300 Cold (un = uu); Cranessawys, 13th C. Reg. Dnf.

OE cran, "crane", must here be used for "heron" which are common in the valley of the Whiteadder. Compare Cranshaw (PN La., 107).

HEADSHAW (Chan): (74, 12 J):

Hetschaw(e), 1496 HMC (Home), 1496 RMS; Haitschaw, 1536 RMS; Hettshaw, Blaeu.

The first element might be ON hetta "hood", as was suggested for Hetlandhill (No. LII). Mawer quotes two Danish examples, both of which refer to woods (PN Nb. Du., 113).

TROTTINGSHAW (Lgf): (75, 4 H):

Trottandschaw, 1492 RMS; 1535 ib; Trottane-, 1502 RSS; Trottan-, 1542 HMC (March); Trottingshaw, 1655 L.Ch.

If this represents the present participle of the verb "to trot", the reason for the name is difficult to



find, since the place is not in a suitable position for a race-course. An -ing derivative of an OE pers. n. Trott, seen in Trottiscliffe, K., and Trottsworth, Sr., (DEPN, 458) is possible, but not very probable in such a remote position.

DMF. BIRKSHAW (St.M.):

Brokshaw, Blaeu.

Blaeu's spelling indicates M.Sc. brock schaw, "badger wood", later, in a metathesised form, confused with Mod.Sc. birk, "birch".

BLACKSHAW (Cr1):

Blackshawe, 1570 CBP; Blaikschaw, 1619 Reg. Sas.

Dmf.

"Black wood".

BONSHAW TOWER (Ann): (89, 4 E):

Boonshaw, 1544 Ham. Pap.; Boneschawe, 1552-3 CSP;

Bonshawe, 1586 CBP.

Cf. Bonchester (No. XIII). The first element may be Gael. bun, "bottom", or OE bune, "a weed". In both cases original ū becomes ō before -n.

COWSHAW (Tnw):

Cousha, Blaeu.

"Cow wood".

GILLSHAW FLOW (KF):

Gilshawmoss, Blaeu.

ON gil, "ravine", often means "stream" as Mod. Sc. gill, which must be the sense here. For Flow and Moss, see No. LXXIV.

HAZELSHAW HILL (Msw):

Hes(s)ilschaw, 1488, 1498 RMS.

OE hæsel or ON hesli is equally possible as first element.

HOLMSHAW (KJ):

Holmeschaw, 1529 RMS.

Not "wood in a holm" since the place stands high on the hillside, but "wood beside a holm".

MIDDLESCHAW (St.M.):

Myddleschaw, 1510 RMS.

"Middle Wood".

PYATSHAWS RIG (H & C):

Piotschawis, 1510 RMS; Pyetshawes, 1662 RMS.

Mod. Sc. pyot, pyat, "magpie" (Jam. s.v.) is the first element.

TURNCHAWHEAD (Cum): (89, 2 E):

Turnshawe, 1592 CBP.

This place is at a wide bend in the Annan, which may be the "turn".

SLK. HANGINGSHAW (Yar):

Hanginshawhill, Blaeu.

Compare Hangingshaw Hill (Rbt) (supra).

HEADSHAW (Ask): (80, 11 G):

Edschaw, 1553 RPC; Eidschaw, c 1590 APS; Ittsha,  
Blaeu.

These spellings must represent an original first  
el. without initial h-, probably an OE pers. n. Eada.  
The change to Head- is due to popular etymology.

There are 44 other names in -shaw, by far the  
largest proportion of which is found in Rxb. and Dmf.  
These names occur mainly in hilly districts, and very  
often -shaw is part of a hill-name, e.g. Hareshaw Hill  
(Cad), Catshawhill (Llf).

In four instances Shaw is used independently  
singular, and in three instances plural.

Compounds in -shaw are mainly English. Gaelic  
and Norse terms in use are those which had already  
been absorbed into the local dialect.

Names of animals, birds, trees are most frequent  
as first elements. Simple adjectives are common.  
There are no examples of personal names.



LIX.

Miscellaneous endings denoting woods, etc.

- (a) OE treow, M.Sc. trei, tree, is seen in the plural in Ashtrees (Sdn): Eschetreis, 1528 RMS, 1541-2 ib. OE ǣsc is the first element. ME chery is the first element of Cherrytrees (Yth): Cheritreis, 1523 RMS. Sorbietrees (Cst): Soirbytrees, Blaeu, seems to be compounded of the Norse name Sorbie (cf. No. LXXXI) and -trees, which is a very unusual combination. Cummertrees (Cum): Cumbertres, 1214-45 CDS; Cummertries, 1666 RMS, may be a Gaelic-English hybrid containing O. Gael. cumber "confluence", but an OE pers. n. Cumbra is possible: cf. Comberbach Ch. (DEPN 113). Saughtrees (Wam) and Saughtree Fell (Cst) contain Mod. Sc. saugh "willow", from OE salh. Rowantree Hill (Tvt), R~ Knowe (Cav), R~ Cove (Ew) contain Mod. Sc. rowan, "mountain ash". Bourtree Hill (Keir) is Mod. Sc. bourtree, "elder". Bosstree Hill (Wst) means "hollow-tree hill", from Mod. Sc. boss, "empty, hollow". Welltrees Hill (Pnp) and Firtree Hill (Apl) are self-explanatory.

- (b) Names in -bush are mostly of l.M Sc. origin. The

modern pronunciation is still "buss"; cf. M.Sc. busche, busse. Bush (Lmb) or (Hod) is Bushe, 1544 Ham. Pap.; Buss, Blaeu. Berrybush (Slk) is Berybus, 1455 Rot. Scac.; Berybusk, 1474 ib.

There are ten other names in -bush. A clump of trees rather than a thicket is indicated by Hollybush (Gala), Beechbush (Hod) and Roundbush (Dor).

- (c) OE fyrhō(e); "wood, wooded country", appears in Firth (Llf): Firth, 1588 L.Ch.; Blaeu.
- (d) Mod. Sc. roan, rone, "an unbroken, thickly-covered expanse of weeds" (Watson, s.v.), from ME rone, "thicket, undergrowth", may be the explanation of Roan (Mel) and R~ (Cst) which is Renn, Blaeu. Compare Roan, near Catlowely, Cu.
- (e) Stobbs (Cav) is Stobbis, 1511 RMS1 Stobs, 1574 L.Ch., from Mod. Sc. stobb, "tree-trunk".
- (f) OE grāfa, "grove, copse", is seen in Hardgrave (Dlt): Hardgrafe, 1443 HMC (Drml); Hardgra, 1452 ib.; ~ graif, 1498-9 HMC (Jhn); 1542-3 RMS. Hard may be a corruption of OE hār in the sense of "boundary": cf. Hargrave, Ch. (DEPN, 209), and Hargrave (PN Nth., 191). OE hara, harad, "wood",

might be the first element: cf. Hardres, K., (DEPN, 209).

- (g) ME ridding, "clearing, place where trees have been felled", from OE hryding, persists in dialect use in England, although not recorded for Scotland. Names in -ridding occur only in Dmf.

Bellridden (Rth): Belriðdin, Blaeu, contains OE bell, "rounded hill"; it is near a small round hillock. Spittalriddinghill (Ann) is Spittelriddin, Blaeu: "the clearing by the spital" (see No. LI (o)). Riddings (Hod): The Ryddinis, 1480 HMC (Drml) is simply "the clearings". Riddingwood (Kmh): Reddingwood, Blaeu, shows a dialect variation, seen also in Reddings (Mof), due perhaps to association with Mod. Sc. redd, vb., "to clear up". There are also Bellridding (Tor); Dockridding Wood (Rth) which may contain ME docke, a plant; Lawridding (Tun); Riddingdyke (Cum); Riddings (Mrt); and Ridding Bank (Pnp). The earliest use of the term (recorded for this area) is in a "lost" name, Batemanridding, 1275-1329 HMC (Drml), between Annan and Ruthwell.

- (h) OE hege, "hedge", is seen in the "lost" name Quikehege, 1165-1214 NMS, in the vicinity of



Jedburgh. The first element is that which occurs in "quickset", and probably denotes "hawthorn", although it may have the original meaning of "hedge grown from living slips or cuttings". Compare Swinnie (No. LVII (i)).

LX. OE hop, ME hop(e),

"small enclosed valley, and especially a smaller opening branching out from the main dale; a blind valley". On the Scottish side of the Border the term seems to be applied indiscriminately to any type of valley. It is most common in Slk., Rxb., and the upland areas of Bwk. and Dmf.

Some of the names below may belong to the OE period. The occurrence of such personal names as Ecghere, Cūberht, Aldwine, as first elements points to the l.OE or e.ME period for the formation of the compounds.

RXB. AUCHOPE (Mrb): (81, 10 H):

Aucopswire, 1597 CBP; Aikapp, Blaeu.

Blaeu's spelling suggests M Sc. aik-hope, "oak-tree valley", but it cannot be related to the 1597 spelling and the modern form. An OE pers. n. Alca would give M.Sc. Auzh-, Auch-. For swire, meaning "pass", cf. No. LXIII (a).

BILLHOPE BURN (Cst):

Billop b., Blaeu.

Perhaps "Billa's valley": cf. Patricius Bylhope, 1436 HMC (Wed).

CAPEHOPE BURN (How): (81, 8 J, K):

Caphope, 1468 HMC (Home); Cape-, 1471 RMS; Kapock,  
Blaeu.

Compare Capton, Do., and Capland, So., which contain OE <sup>ʰ</sup>Cape (cognate with OHG kapf, "look-out place"), from OE capan, "look, peer" (DEPN, 82). The dwelling of Capehope does not now exist. Blaeu's spelling is to be compared with his Kelfock B. for Kelphope Burn (Chan), where he substitutes -ock for -hope after a labial consonant. This may be a dialectal distinction in pronunciation although no other examples have appeared.

This spelling, however, makes it possible that Blaeu's form, Capock, for the farm of Cappuck may also represent Cape-hope: cf. Introduction, Roman Period.

CUTHBERTHOPE RIG (How): (81, 8 K):

Cuithbrithishope, 1185-99 LSMM; Cudbrihtes-,  
1185-99 (1500) ib; Cuthbertis-, 1471 RMS.

L.OE Cūberhtes-hop, named perhaps after St. Cuthbert to whom tradition ascribes a chapel in this vicinity.

FAWHOPE (Tvt): (85, 10 E):

Fauhope (P), 1304 CDS; Fawe-, 1380 ib.

Cf. <sup>ʰ</sup>Fauhope Burn (Mel): burna de Fauhope, 1153-65 LSMM; ... Fachope, 1165 ib., a tributary of the Leader.



ME faw < OE fāg, "multi-coloured". Cf. Fawhope Burn (Oxn).

HAYHOPE (Yth): (81, 9 F):

Hayhop, 1523 RMS; -ope, 1541-2 RSS.

"Hope where hay was grown". It might, however, be ME hez hope, "high valley".

HAZELHOPE BURN (Tvt): (85, 9 D):

E. and W. Heslihop, 1511 RMS.

The first element is ON hesli, "hazel". The spelling may apply to Hislop on the Hazelhope Burn which could be derived from this form.

HINDHOPE BURN (Oxn):

Hyndhope, 1479 HMC (Rxb).

ME hind, "female deer".

KERSHOPE (Cst): (89, 13 A):

Gressehope, 1276 CDS; Cresope, 1304 ib; Greshoppa, ib; Kyrsopp, 1583 CBP.

ME cresse-hope, "valley where cress grew", but perhaps ME gress, "grass", from OE græss is the first element. It was later associated with the family name of Ker, common in this district.

PHILHOPE (Rbt):

Phillippe, Blaeu.

Compare Philliphaugh (Slk) (infra): this may be the same.

ROWHOPE BURN (Mrb):Ruhope, c 1190 (c 1320) Kelso.

ME ruzh, "rough", in the sense of "stony", or "overgrown with brushwood", is the first element.

STENISHOPE (Cav): (85, 13 D):

Scanehushop, 1368 LSMM (c = t); Stenhoushope, 1380 CDS; Stainishope, 1576-7 RMS.

OE stān-hūs-hop, "stone-house-valley".

SUNDHOPE (Cst): (85, 12 F):Soundhoupp, Blaeu.

Cf. Sundhope (Slk) (infra).

SWEETHOPE (St1):Swethop(p)e, 1278-9 CDS; 1291 (P) DIHS.

Valley where the pasture was sweet: cf. Sweethope, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 193). The opposite meaning is seen in Sourhope (Mrb).

THORLIESHOPE TOWER (Cst): (86, 2 G):

Thorlishoip, 1569 RPC; Thirlis-, ib; Thornesope, 1583 CBP.

The first element may be a ME form <sup>x</sup>Thorli, of the ON pers. n. Þóraldr, but the spellings are too late to be of value. Cf. <sup>x</sup>Tharlesthorpe (PN YER., 25): Toraldestorp, 1190-3; Thorlesthorp, 1259, which contains 0 Dan. Þórald.

WAUCHOPE (Hbk): (86, 2 C):

Waleuhop (P), 1165-1214 LSMM; Walchop (P), 1266, 1373 Rot. Scac.; Wachop (P), 1384 ib; Wachope, Blaeu.

OE walh, "foreigner, slave", is the first element: cf. W ~ (Lang) (infra).

WHITHOPE (Rbt):

Quithope, 1409 RMS.

"White valley".

WHITTERHOPE BURN (Cst):

Whittroup, Blaeu.

M.Sc. quhettir, Mod. Sc. whither, whuther, "to buzz", or, of the wind, "to rage or bluster", from ON hviðra, may be the first element (Watson, s.v.). The wind may be noisy in this valley.

WOLFEHOPELEE (Sdn):

Wolhople, 1436 HMC (Wed); Wolfhoopelie, Blaeu.

"Wolf valley", plus OE leah.

BWK. BRUNTABURN (Wst):

Bruntupburne, Blaeu.

"Burnt hope burn".

EDGARHOPE LAW (Laud): (75, 1 K):

Egrop(e), (P), c 1170 (16th) Dryb; c 1260 ib;

1509 RMS; Egerhope, 1296 CDS; Egger-, 1455 (16th)

APS; Ygripp, Blaeu.

OE Ecg̃here or Ecg̃haerd is the first element:



cf. Egerton, Ch.: Eggerton, 1260 (DEPN, 154).

HORSEUPCLEUCH (Lgf): (75, 4 H):

Horshop(e), 1336-7 CDS; 1492 RMS; Horsopcleuch,  
1535 RMS.

"Horse valley". M.Sc. clouzh is a later addition.

KELPHOPE (Chan): (74, 13 H):

Kelfhoope, Blaeu.

K ~ Burn: Kelfock B., ib.

OE cælf-hop, "calf valley".

PHILIP BURN (the border of Bwk. and E. Lth.):

Fulhope, 1190-1203 (c 1320) Kelso.

"Muddy, filthy valley".

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

Swinhop; 1472 RMS.

"Swine valley".

DMF. HARTHOPE BURN (Mof):

Harthope, 1519 HMC (Jhn).

"Stag valley": M.Sc. harte < OE heorot.

JOCK'S HOPE (Ew):

Jhockshoop, Blaeu.

Jock is a Scots side-form of John.

WAUCHOPE (Lang): (89, 8 B):

Walghope, 1296 CDS; Walughop(dale), 1333-6 ib.

Cf. Wauchope (Sdn). (supra).

WOLFHOPE BURN (Ew):Woulfhoop, Blaeu.Cf. Wolfhopelee (Sdn) (supra).SLK. ANNELSHOPE (Ettr): (80, 6 K):Aldanhop, 1455 Rot. Scac.; Aldynnishope, 1544 RMS;Andis-, 1573 APC; Andshop, Blaeu.

The -ā- in the last two spellings must represent -el-. Anel-, is from Andel-, a metathesised form of Alden-. An OE pers. n. Aldwine may be the first element.

BOWERHOPE (Yar):Bourhop, 1455 Rot. Scac.; Baurupp, Blaeu.M.Sc. bour, "bower", must mean "foliage" here.DRYHOPE (Yar): (80, 5 G):Dryhop, 1511 RMS; Drihope, 1564 APC.

The soil here may be drier than in neighbouring valleys, or the hope may be less liable to flooding.

ELDINHOPE (Yar): (80, 6 G):Eldanehop, 1455 Rot. Scac.; Aldinhope, 1492 ALC;Eldin-, 1499 APS; Eldeen-, Blaeu.

The second spelling may show confusion with Annelshope. The first part of the compound may be Celtic.

FAULDSHOPE (Slk):Falshope, Blaeu.

"Valley with folds or sheep-pens".

HYNDHOPE (Krk):

Hyndhope, 1564 RMS; Hyind-hoop, Blaeu.

Cf. Hindhope Burn (Oxn) (supra).

EAST and WEST KERSHOPE (Yar):

Kersupp, Blaeu.

The surname Ker may be the first element, but compare K ~ (Cst) (supra).

LADHOPE (Yar): (80, 8 F):

Lawdhope, 1507 RMS; Ladupp, Blaeu.

Perhaps from ME ladde, "serving-man". The first spelling indicates pronunciation as [lɔ:d]. Mod. Sc. ā is frequently [ɔ:] in the E. Mid. Scots area (SND., xxv), and this peculiarity may have extended to Selkirkshire.

LEWENSHOPE BURN (Yar):

Lewinshooper b., Blaeu.

OE Leofwines-hop.

MIDGEHOPE (Ettr):

Mig(e)hope, 1415 LSMM.

Perhaps "midge-infested valley": cf. Midge Hall (PN La., 148).

PHAWHOPE (Ettr):

Fauhopschele, 1455 C-B; Faup, Blaeu.

Compare Fawhope (Tvt) (supra).



PHILLIPHAUGH (Slk): (80, 10 E):

Fulhope, 1265 Rot. Scac.; 1288 ib; Fulhopehalche,  
1317 RMS; Phillophauch, 1570-80 RMS.

Either Long Philip Burn or the small stream behind Philliphaugh Farm provided the original fūl hop, "foul, or muddy, valley". OE fūl hop > ME fūlop and the ū being later modified to ȳ, according to the local dialect, a form fȳlop, associated with the pers. n. Phillip, arose. The haugh is the flat ground by the side of the Ettrick.

SUNDHOPE (Yar): (80, 7 G):

Sundhop, 1433 C-B; Sandhope, 1510 RMS; Sund-hoip,  
1591 APC; Sound hoope, Blaeu.

An OE form \*Sund- must be the basis of this name, but there are no parallel examples of names employing it. Perhaps a transferred sense of OE sund, "swimming", is possible, with some relation to the Ettrick or the Sundhope Burn.

WHITEHOPE BURN (Yar):

Whytupp, Blaeu.

Compare Whithope (Rbt) (supra).

There are 23 other names in -hope in Rxb., 1 in Bwk., 14 in Dmf., and 21 in Slk. These are distributed throughout the more hilly districts, especially in the parishes of Ettrick, Yarrow, Teviothead, Castleton,

Morebattle, Hownam, Oxnam, Jedburgh, Eskdalemuir,  
Moffat and Ewes.

LXI. OE clōh,

"ravine", ME clouzh, Mod. Sc. cleuch. Cleuch is "a gorge or ravine with steep rocky sides, usually the course of a stream" (DOST, s.v.). The pronunciation is [klu:χ].

The distribution of names in -cleuch is similar to that of the names in -hope, since such names occur in the more mountainous districts.

It is difficult to determine the age of the majority of the names. A few must belong to the late OE period, but most are M.Scots formations.

The names below all denote dwellings, many of which are no longer in existence.

RXB. CAULDCLEUCH HEAD (Tvt):

Cauldcleuch, 1511 RMS.

"Cold, exposed, ravine".

COLTERSCLEUCH (Tvt):

Cauthirdscleuch, Blaeu.

OE colt-hiorde > ME coltherde > M Sc. cowtherd, "colt-herd", is the first element. This is the Scots surname Colthart, Coltart.

DOECLEUCH (Tvt):

Dockcleuch, Blaeu.

Probably the modern form is to be preferred to



Blaeu's, and the first element is doe, "female fallow deer".

GIDDENSCLEUCH (Tvt):

Guiddinscleuch, Blaeu.

The pers. n. Gideon, although Hebrew in origin, is common in the Border country.

HOWCLEUCH PLANTATION (Rbt):

Howdeuch, Blaeu (d = cl).

"Ravine in a hollow".

MARCHCLEUCH (Esk):

Mercheleuch, Blaeu (e = c).

ME Merche, "march, boundary". The parish boundary crosses the ravine.

BWK. BYRECLEUCH (Lgf):

Byreclewch, 1492 RMS; Birecleuch, 1502 RSS.

M.Sc. byre, "cowshed", is the first element.

EARNSCLEUCH (Laud): (74, 14 K):

Ernysclucht, c 1350 Dryb; Earnescleuch B., Blaeu.

OE earnescloh, "eagle's ravine".

WYLIECLEUGH (Cdstr):

Wyliecleuch, 1590 RPC.

For the first element compare Wyliehole (Tun): this may be the surname Wylie. ME wilȝ, "willow", is possible.

DMF. DUNTERCLEUCH (Sqr):

Duntercleugh, Blaeu; Dunterclewch, 1625 Reg. Sas.  
Dmf.

The first part of the word is probably Celtic:  
cf. Dunterton (PN D., 182).

FAULDINGCLEUCH (KF):

Foldingcleugh, 1768 Com. Rec. Dmf.

"The cleuch where sheep were 'folded' or placed  
in pens". For the use of the present participle,  
cf. "Then a-fauldin' let us gang" (Burns).

KIRK CLEUCH (Wstk):

Curcleugh, Blaeu.

There is no trace of a church here. In the next  
valley is Corlaw which may contain the same element.  
It seems to be a hill name; cf. The Curr (Mrb), per-  
haps a variant of OE carr "rock".

SLK. BUCCLEUCH (Ettr): (85, 7 A):

Buccluch, 1441 (16th) APS; Bukclewcht, 1501 HMC  
(Drml); Buckclugh, 1583 CBP.

"Buck cleuch": cf. Buck Cleuch which the castle  
faces.

CROSSCLEUCH (Yar):

Corsecleuch, 1564 RMS; Crascleuch, Blaeu.

The first element is probably W. cors, "bog".

DRYCLEUCH (Yar):

Drycleuch(sheill), 1564 RMS.

There is no stream in this ravine.

GAMESCLEUCH (Ettr): (85, 6 A):

Gemilliscleuche, 1591 APS; Gammilsheuch, Blaeu.

Compare Gamelspath Nb., the name for a Roman road (PN Nb. Du., 91). Mawer suggests ME Gamel, from ON gamall, "old". This must be the origin of the surname Gemmell: cf. Gamelshiel, Gemmelshiel, E.Lth.

GILMANSCLEUCH (Ettr):

Gilmyiscluche, 1455 Rot. Scac.

This may contain the name Gilmin or Guillemin, "the name given to hermits of an order founded in the 12th Cent. by disciples of St. William" (Ewen, 163): cf. Gylmyne de Fenis, c 1375 (c 1490) Brus.

RAMSEYCLEUCH (Ettr):

Ramsay-clewis, 1511 RMS; Rampshycleuch, Blaeu.

The surname Ramsay is probably the first element.

SCABCLEUCH (Ettr): (85, 4 A):

Skabocleuch, Blaeu (o - e?); Stobcleuch, 1643 C-B (t - c); Scabecleuche, 1670 ib; Strabcleughe, 1670 ib (t - c).

Scabcleuch Hill perhaps derives its name from the ravine of Scabcleuch which appears like a scar upon it. Scab- is from ON skab.

"Lost" names are:-

Edwardescloch: Edwardesclouch, Edwardesclochs, c 1190 (c 1320) Kelso, from OE Eāward;



Elnecloch, Helnclow, from OE ellen "elder-tree";

Morcloy, from OE mōr "waste ground";

Heslingcloh, perhaps ON hesli "hazel-grove";

all of which are 1165-1214 LSMM. They exhibit the early ME forms of cleuch. These are valleys in the Lammermoors. The first may be in E.Lth.

There are no examples of names ending in -clo, or -clow, in their modern forms, although names in OE -hōh frequently have present-day forms in -ho, -how: cf. Fogo, Kelso, Chatto. Forms in -heugh are to be found in names of more recent origin, therefore it must be concluded that names in -cleuch are unlikely to be pre-Middle English.

There are 22 names in -cleuch in Rxb., for which no early spellings have been found, 6 in Bwk., 25 in Dmf., and 17 in Slk.

LXII. OE hol,

as an ending, is usually coupled with the name of an animal. Brock, "badger", is the first element in Brockholes (Cld): Brokholl, 1415 Cold., Brokholes, 1426 ib; in Brocklehurst (Msw): Brokholhurst, Blaeu; in Brocklerig (St.M): Brockholrig, Blaeu. Mod.Sc. tod, "fox", occurs in Todholes (Kcl), so spelt in 1586 CBP. ON refr, also meaning "fox", is found in Raffles (Msw): Refholes, 1215-45 CDS; Roffals, Blaeu; Raffels, 1659 Reg. Sas. Dmf.: cf. Reagill, We. (DEPN, 364) and a lost field-name Refholeslac, c 1210 (PN YER., 329). In a few cases hol denotes "hollow", as in Pinglehole (Cst): Pingill Holls, Blaeu, the first element of which may be Mod. Sc. pingle, "a small pan" (Watson, s.v.), in the sense of "pot-shaped hollow"; compare, however, No. LVII (h). In Bucklerhole (Lmb): Buklerhol, Blaeu, the sense is obscure.

Other names in -hole are:- Cribbs Hole (Sdn); Muttonhole (Mxt), a common field-name in S. Scotland; Nickieshole (How); Scrathy Holes (Sdn), which may contain ON skratti, "goblin": cf. Scrathawe, 1400 (PN Nth., 264); Hawkshole (Can); Paddockhole (Tun); White Hole Burn (Esk); Wyliehole (Tun).

LXIII.

Miscellaneous endings denoting valleys, passes,  
etc.

- (a) OE swīra, "neck", gives Mod. Sc. swire, "a pass". The Redeswire Fray (Sdn), the scene of a battle, is Rusdwire, 1343 Fine (with metathesis of s and d); Redis Swyr, c 1375 (c 1490) Brus; Reidswyre, 1576 CSP (Th). The first element might be ON rauðr, "red", later equated with M.Sc. reid. There is also Swyre (Dns).
- (b) OE dor, "door", used in the sense of "pass", is the terminal of Windydoors (Cad): Windesdores, c 1155 (16th) Dryb; Wyndiduris, 1455 Rot. Scac.; Windidurris, 1510 HMC (Wed). Comparable formations are Windygates (Fife), and Wingate, Wingates, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 217).
- (c) Nick, "a hollow or pass between hills", is found in Southerly Nick (Cad), Peelnick (Oxn), and Wallacenick (Kso).
- (d) Mod. Sc. hass, "neck, throat, gap", from ON hals, "neck of land", occurs independently in Hass (Jed), (Mid). It is coupled with Celtic elements in



Guile Hass (Cst), and Mennock Hass (Sqr). There are five other examples in S.W. Rxb. and Dmf.

- (e) In three instances bottom denotes the floor of a valley:- Howe Bottom (Slk), Rotten Bottom (Mof), and Bottom (Lmb). Longbedholm (Mof) is Lang-  
bodum, 1581 RPC, and must represent OE lange botm,  
 "long valley".

LXIV. ME heved,

"head", from OE heafod, as a p.n. ending has two meanings: (a) "height, hill-top", as in Greenhead, Grubbit Law, and (b) "head of, upper extremity of", as in Burnhead, Cleuchheads. In one or two names on the Berwickshire coast, Fast Castle Head, St. Abb's Head, Horse Head, the meaning is "rocky promontory".

RXB. GREENHEAD (Spr): (81, 8 E):

Greneheved, 1296 CDS; -heid, 1600 HMC (Rxb).

"Green hill": the place stands on a small mound.

GRUBBIT LAW (Mrb): (81, 8 G):

Grubbeheved, 1165-92 LSMM; Grubes-, 1181 ib;

Grube-, c 1220 (c 1320) Kelso; Grubber-, 1332

Cold; Grubet, 1426 RMS; Blaeu.

Originally the hill was called Grubbeheved, then the name was transferred to a dwelling: cf. Blaeu's Grubethous in the valley of the Kale Water. Finally, with the addition of Law, the name once more passed to the hill, and remained attached to it when the dwelling no longer existed.

An OE pers. n. Grub(b), ME Grub(b)e, is the first element. This name is not evidenced independently in OE sources; but compare ON Grubs (Lind, 365), and the modern surname, Grubb, seen in Grubbs Hill (PN Ess., 32).

<sup>2</sup>Grub Hill, Nth., is Grobihill, 1337, which may contain an early form of the adj. grubby, "grub-infested" (PN Nth., 102).

SWINESIDE HALL (Oxn): (81, 6 J):

Swyneshede, 1335-6 CDS; Synesheved, 1336-7 ib;

Swynset, 1424 HMC (Home); Swinset, 1471 RMS;

Swinsyde, 1541-2 RSS.

OE swīnes heafod, "pig's head": cf. Swineshead, Beds. (PN Beds. Hu., 20). On -head with names of animals, v. PN Sr., 403 ff.

DMF. CLEUCHHEADS (Apl): (85, 1 K):

Cleuchheids, 1662 RMS.

The place is at the upper end of a small valley. The reason for the plural ending is not apparent: cf. Balgray Cleuchheads 1 ml. distant. "Heads" may in this case represent "hillocks, mounds".

COREHEAD (Mof):

Corheid, c 1485 Wallace; 1590 RPC.

The first element may be Gael. corr, "tapered, pointed"; cf. Core Hill (CPNS, 423). This may be a formation of the same type.

CROFTHEAD (Mof): Crofthead, 1581 RPC.

CROFTHEADS (Ann): Croft heidis, 1517 RMS.

"Hill with a croft". Note the plural form of the second example.



KELHEAD (Cum): (89, 1 F):

Kelheid, 1516-17 RMS.

Also Kelhead Flow. Sc. dial. keld, "marshy place", from ON kelda may be the first element. It is possible that the small burn unnamed on the 1" Map was the Kell Burn and Kelhead the place at the head of it.

KINNELHEAD (KJ):

Kindalheid, 1529 RMS.

Place at the head of the Kinnel Water, a Gaelic name: cf. Kinnel, Perth (CPNS, 479).

KIRTLEHEAD HILL (Tun and Mid):

Kirkleheade, 1592 CBP.

This is at the source of the Kirtle Water: Water of Kirtill, 1542 Ham. Pap., also a Celtic name.

SCARHEAD (Jhn):

Skairheid, 1630 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

ON sker, "rock, cliff", is the first element. Scarhead is at a point where a high bank overhangs the R. Annan.

WATERHEAD (H & C): (85, 3 G):

Watterheid, 1569 RPC.

This seems to mean "hill by the water", rather than "place at the head of the water", as it is not at the source of any stream, but at a point above the

junction of a tributary with the Dryfe Water.

WOODHEAD (Can):

Woodheid, 1590 RPC.

"Place at the head of the wood" or "wooded hill-top".

There are 60 other names ending in -head. Many are hill-names: Craig Head (Yar), (Cad), Knowes Head (Tvt), Broad Head (Ew), Mucklehead Knowe (Esk). The majority are hill-names transferred to farm names: Harehead (Slk); Scourhead (Slk); Bankhead (Lin); Righhead (Jhn). There are a number which denote heads of streams or valleys: Hope Head (Ettr), Burnhead (various), Teviothead (Tvt), Linhead (Ckb), Lakehead (Kkm), Sikehead (Can). These must belong to a later period than the names in which -head means "hill-top, promontory," etc.

A common farm- or hamlet-name in Dmf. is Townhead which contrasts with Townfoot. These were dwellings at the extremities of villages.

LXV. M.Sc. knowe,

from OE cnoll, "rounded top of a larger hill", is used of almost any hillock or mound in later farm-names, although in original hill-names it must have had the OE sense.

North of the Border the form is regularly knowe: in Northumberland -knowle and -knoll are to be found. This element is not common elsewhere in England except in So. and Do., where it appears as knowl(e).

RXB. ACREKNOWE (Cav): (85, 12 B):

Akarknowe, 1547-8 CSP; Akerknow, Blaeu.

Perhaps OE aecer, "cultivated land", is the first element, as "hill with a cultivated patch". Rxb. dial. aiker, "sharp, keen, pointed", applied to the face (Watson, s, v), is possible, since the hill above Acreknowe is sharply pointed to the North. Fr. aigre must be the source of this word.

HUMMELKNOWES (Cav): (85, 12 B):

Humble Knowes, 1547-8 CSP; Humilknowis, 1574 RPC.

Mod. Sc. hommyll; humble, "hornless, dodded", is used of a round hill: cf. Humbledon Hill, Du., and Humbleton Hill, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 120). For Humbleton, YER., OE \*humol, "something rounded", related to OE hamel, "maimed", is suggested (PN YER., 54).



MIDDLESKNOWES (Oxn): is so spelt in 1590, CBP.

The first element may be an OE pers. n. Middele: cf. Middlesborough and Middlesmoor, YWR (PN YNR, 160).

BWK. COWDENKNOWES (Earl): (81, 2 C):

Coldaneknollis, 1535 RSS; Coldounknowis, 1541 ALC;

Coldinknollis, 1559 LSMM; Coldenknowis, 1581 Dryb.

This may be a hybrid, Gael. colltuinn, "hazel", and M.Sc. knowe, as Professor Watson argues (CPNS, 139), but it may also be an English formation: OE col-denu, "charcoal valley", with cnolles. Compare Great Cowden: Coledun, 1086; Coldun 12th, from OE col-dūn (PN YER., 62). Cowdenknowes is in an area previously well wooded, so that charcoal may well have been produced there.

DMF. CROWDIEKNOWE HILL (Mid):

Crowdi(e)know, 1648, 1655, Reg. Sas. Dmf.

M.Sc. crowdie is a kind of cheese, but this is unlikely to be the first element of a hill-name. An OE pers. n. Crūda, as in Crowdycote, Db., is possible (DEPN, 127).

MOSSKNOW (KF):

Mouseknow, Blaeu.

Blaeu's spelling is perhaps incorrect. OE mos, M.Sc. moss, "bog, moss", may be the first element.

A "lost" name is Brunecnoh, 1165-75 LSMM, in Hownam, which is "brown hillock".

There are 154 other names in -knowe. Very few are farm-names: practically all denote hills. They are to be found in more or less equal proportions in the four counties.

LXVI. M Sc. rigg,

"long narrow hill, ridge", is a dialect form, either directly borrowed from ON hryggr, or representing OE hrycg with consonants influenced by the Scand. word. Endings in -ridge are modern substitutions.

RXB. BENRIG (St. B.):

Beene Rig, c 1400 (c 1500) Wyntoun W.

"Bean ridge": cf. Benridge, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 17).

DOD RIG (Tvt):

Dodrig, 1574 RPC; Doddrigg, Blaeu.

The ridge has a pronounced protuberance at one end, which is the dod: v. No. LXX.

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

Morric, 1165-99 LSMM; Morrige, ib.

ME m̄or-rigg > m̄orrige, "moorland ridge". The modern form suggests a palatalised ME pronunciation, since substitution of -ridge for -rigg seems unlikely in the l. ME form. Final -c for -g is not uncommon; cf. infra.

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

Stotheryke, 1542 Ham. Pap.; Statherwyk, ib.

Steidrig, 1566-7 RMS; Stodrik, 1567 Kelso; Stoddrigg, Blaeu.

The first element is OE stōd, "stud": cf. Stidriggs



(infra). -Ryke, -rik, for -rig is comparable to -ric in the example above.

For spellings with intervocalic -d- as -th- before -r, cf. Totheryg, Thotheryg, for Todrig (v. PN Nb. Du., Phon. § 29, 260).

WHITRIGGS (Cav):

Quitrik, 1511 RMS.

"White ridge".

BWK. BASTLERIDGE (Ayt): (75, 13 H):

Bastell rigge, 1542 Ham. Pap.; Bastelrig, 1596

L.Ch.; Bastal-, 1663 RMS.

There is no evidence of a fortification here, but Peelwalls Farm in the same vicinity points to the presence at one time of a defensive construction of some kind. In 1663 RMS, the place is also known as Abchester, so that -chester and bastel- may both refer to the pre-English workings at Habchester, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mls. SE of Bastleridge. For Bastle, v. No. XLIV.

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

Bouchrig, 1533 RMS; Boucht-, 1585 HMC (Var. Coll. v).

M Sc. bowcht, bucht, is a sheepfold (DOST, s. v.): cf. Bught Rig (Yar), (Ew). The term is very common in combination with -hill and -knowe on the Scottish side of the Border. It does not occur in the place-names of Northern England.

COWRIG (Grn):

Courig, Blaeu.

"Cow ridge".

CROSSRIG (Hut):

Corsrig, 1580 RMS.

Perhaps W. cors, "bog", is the first element.

CRUMRIG (Grn): is so spelt in 1533 RMS.

OE crumbe hrycg, M Sc. crumb-rigg, "crooked ridge".

The place lies in a bend of the hillside.

FERNYRIG (Eccl):

Farnerig, 1533 RMS; Farnyrige, 1542 Ham. Pap.

"Ferny ridge".

PEELRIG (Duns):

Pilrig, 1628 HMC (Wed); Filrig, Blaeu (F = P).

ME pile, "fortification". Compare Pilmuir,

No. XXXVII.

RAMRIG (Ldk): is so spelt in 1575 HMC (March).

"Ram ridge": cf. Cowrig, Oxenrig (Cdstr), Lamb Rig (Jhn), etc. The names must denote hillsides where these animals grazed.

STAINRIGG (Eccl):

Stanrig, 1533 RMS; 1568 HMC (Home).

M Sc. stain-rigg, "stone ridge".

TODRIG (Cdstr): (81, 8 A):

Todderig, c 1300 (1434) Cdstr; Totheryg, Thothe-,  
ib; Todrig, -rik, 1550 RMS.

M.Sc. tod, "fox", is the first element.

WHITRIG (Eccl):Quhitrig, 1511, 1533 RMS.Cf. Whitriggs (Cav) (supra).DMF. · AIKRIG (Mof): is so spelt in 1662 RMS. "Oak ridge".RIGG (Grt): Rig, 1532 RMS.

The place stands on a slight rise.

STIDRIGGS (H & C): (89, 4 A):Studeriggis, 1507 RMS.OE stōd, "stud" > M Sc. stuid, here spelt stude, is the first el.: cf. Stodrig (Mak).LITTLE WHITRIGGS (H & C):Quhiteriggis, 1510 RMS; Quhitriggs, 1516 ib.Cf. Whitriggs (Cav), (supra). These plural forms might refer to ploughed fields, where the crests of the furrows are known as "riggs". "White riggs" might denote ploughed fields with the turned earth whitened by the sun.There are 100 other names in -rig, and 2 in -ridge. The first element is in many cases an adjective, e.g. Black Rig (Yar), Lang Rig (Tvt), Brunt Rig (Sqr), Whinnyrig (Ann). Animal names occur, in Wolf Rig (Yar), Hartrigge (Jdb), Houndridge (Edn). Natural features or vegetation are seen in Gillrig (Kkm), Wellrig Burn (Lgt & Duns), Hazel Rig (Ettr).



The names for which no spellings have been obtained nearly all refer to actual hills, and are not farm-names.

LXVII. ME banke,

"bank, ridge or shelf of ground, slope of a hill",  
is a loan-word from Pr.N. \*banki (ON bakki).

RXB. SCAWD BANK (Cst):

Scatbanckhill, Blaeu.

Mod. Sc. scaw'd, "scabbed, scurfy", used of land,  
means "having bare brown patches".

DMF. ARCHBANK (Mof): (84, 14 D):

Ersbank, 1542 RMS; Ersh-, 1592 HMC (Jhn).

For the first el. compare Archwood (No. XX).

CORSEBANK (Kcl):

Corsbanck, Blaeu.

W. cors, "bog", or ME crose, "cross", may be the  
first element.

MARJORIEBANKS (Lmb): (88, 13 B):

Mariorybank, 1486-7 HMC (Drml); Marjoribank(s),  
1529 RMS; 1578 HMC (Drml).

It is doubtful whether the first element repre-  
sents the fem. name Marjorie or a corruption of some  
other name: cf. Margery Wood, c 1840 (PN Herts., 233).

SUPPLEBANK (Hod): (89, 3 E):

Sowplebanke, 1544 Ham. Pap.; Soupilbank, 1574 HMC  
(Jhn); -bonck, Blaeu.

This place is at a curve in the hillside above the

Mein Water. The first element might be Mod. Sc. souple, "the lower part of a flail", from some resemblance in shape. It is possible that Mod. Sc. souple (adj.), "pliant, flexible", is used in the sense of "sinuous, twisting".

SLK. ELIBANK (Cad): (80, 9 C):

Elebank alias Eleburne, 1595 RMS; Eliebank alias Elieburne, 1601 ib; Elybanck, Blaeu.

A pers. n. Eli, may be the first element.

SCROGBANK RIG (Cad): (80, 9 C):

lie Scrogbank, 1595 RMS; Scrogbar, Blaeu.

Mod. Sc. scrog is "stunted bush, brushwood", and in Rxb. is used of the crab-apple tree (Watson, s.v.). In this name, as in the previous example, -bank signifies "river-bank".

There are 33 other names in -bank, the largest proportion of which are in Dmf.

M.Sc. bynk, cognate with ME bench, benk, may be represented by BINKS (Tvt): Benks, 1596 CBP; Binks, Blaeu, a plural form. Ledges on a hillside may be indicated.



LXVIII. M.Sc. steil,

has varied meanings. Generally, it is "a precipice, rock, ridge, tongue of land" (EDD). In Liddesdale the meaning is "wooded cleugh or precipice: lower part of a ridge projecting from a hill where the ground declines on each side" (Jam.). The origin of the word is OE stīgol, "steep, precipitous".

RXB. THE STEELE (Cst): (85, 13 H):

the Steill, 1572 HMC (Jhn); Steele, 1583 CBP;  
Steell, Blaeu.

In the 16th Cent. this was the name of a house, no doubt transferred from the hill which now bears the name. It fulfils the conditions of a projecting ridge: Jamieson's definition may be based on this example.

SLK. ASHIESTEEL (Cad): (80, 10 D):

Eschesteile, 1455 Rot. Scac.; Echestele, 1479 ib;  
Esch-, 1487 ib; Esshystill, Blaeu.

Ashiesteel Hill is fairly precipitous and the name may first have applied to the side which descends sharply to the Tweed. M Sc. eschy is, "overgrown with ash-trees".

LAILAWSTIEL (Cad): (80, 10 C):

Lodlastesl, Blaeu; Laidlawsteall, 1684 Mel. Reg. Rec.

The first part of this name must have given the modern surname Laidlaw. ON hlád, "heap", may be coupled with OE hlāw, since OE (ge)lād "watercourse" does not suit the conditions of the site. Blaeu's Lod- must be a mistake for Lād-. Steil must mean "precipitous hillside".

Steil occurs also in Steel Burn (Cad), Steel Knowe (Sdn), Steelstrand (Kmh). It tends to become confused with Mod. Sc. stell (OE steall), "sheep shelter", etc.: cf. Stell Hill (Esk), which is Steil-hill, 1569. \*Berriesdalehope (Oxn) is Barrestell, 1597 CBP; Berrie steillis, 1598 ib.

Steelmoor Plantation (Mxt) is represented by Calfesetestele, etc., 1165-88 LSMM. This is the earliest recorded form of the term in our area: see No. X.

LXIX. ME nese,

"nose", applied to projecting ridges, appears as -naze, and -nize, and perhaps as -knees.

RXB. MERRY NAZE (Tvt): (89, 9 D):

Muryneis, 1547 RMS; Mirrienyse, Blaeu.

OE myrge, ME mirrie, "pleasant", may be the first element, but it is not an adjective which one might expect to be applied to a remote hill: cf. Merrypath Rig (No. XXXIV) and Merrylaw (Tvt). All three names are in the same parish, within 5 mls. of each other.

TANLAW NAZE (Tvt): (85, 9 D):

Tandilnes, 1511 RMS.

Mod. Sc. tandle, "bonfire", from ON tandr, "fire", is the first element. This hill is just across the valley of a burn from Merry Naze.

BWK. HATCHEDNIZE (Cdstr): (81, 9 B):

Haehatneis, sive Halkneis, 1550 RMS; Hatchettnisse, Blaeu.

A little hill here forms a point which may have resembled a hatchet or a hawk's beak. Haehat- must represent hachat-, from ME hachet, hatchet. Halk- is for ME hawk, from OE heafoc.

There are also Herd Naze (Pnþ), Law Kneis (Ettr), Muckle Knees (Yar & Ettr).



LXX.

Miscellaneous endings relating to hills, rocks, etc.

- (a) M.Sc. bray, from ON brā, "steep bank, hillside", Mod. Sc. brae, is seen in Redbraes Castle (Pol): Redebrays, 1532-3 HMC (March); Redbrease, 1650 ib, "red slopes". The soil is reddish in this area. Peelbraehope (Cav), is Peilbray, 1574 RPC: peil must refer to the ditch known as the "Catrail". Whita Hill (Lang) is Whytowe braye, 1552 Bullock (see No. XXX). Twenty other names end in -brae(s).
- (b) M.Sc. kaim, "long narrow ridge", is from OE camb, "crest, or ridge". Kames (Cdstr) is Camis, 1533 RMS; Kems, Blaeu. It stands on a little ridge. The Kaims (Grnl) is the local name for a ridge that may be a primitive earthwork or a natural formation. The name is usually applied to the geological formation known as a drumlin.
- (c) Many hill-names include names for parts of the body. M Sc. schank, from OE scanca, "leg", is used of a narrow spur and occurs in nine instances. Shoulder, denoting a subsidiary summit on a higher

hill appears three times. There are four examples of M.Sc. tae, "toe", in the sense of "projecting ridge". Hightae (Lmb) may contain this element, as it stands on a raised point, but the spellings point to an original ending -tah, -tag: Heghetache, 1304 CDS; Hauttesche, 1309 LSMM (French haut, represents ME heghe, "high"); Haghtache, 1360 CDS; Heytache, 1366 ib; Heghetaghe ib.

- (d) OE brū, "brow", means "projecting edge of a cliff; a slope" in place-names. It occurs in Great Brow (Esk) and Lochbrow (Jhn).
- (e) There are a few examples of the use of snout, face and horn. There is a hill called The Haunches in Glc.
- (f) Dod is very common, both as first element and as terminal. The earliest notice containing it is Brunemore super dod, 1165-75 LSMM, referring to a moor near Dod (Tvt). Dod usually signifies "a rounded hill", from OE dodd. Four hills are known as The Dod. There are also Muckle Dod (Ask), Dods (Leg), Little Dod (Ckb), Soven Dod, Wedder Dod and White Dod (Sqr).

- (g) Eight ridges are known as Edge, and three place-names end in -edge, from OE ecg.
- (h) Height(s) is a frequent ending: it is always detached, e.g. Mossbrae Height (Krk).
- (i) OE cofa, "cave, den", is found in three hill-names in Dmf. White Cove, Black Cove and Rowantree Cove are all on Arkleton Hill, and suit the definition, "a recess with precipitous sides in the steep flank of a mountain", which applies in the Lake District (DEPN, 110). Cove (KF), is on the banks of the Kirtle Water and may represent the Scots dial. meaning of "worn-out ledge on a river-bank" (Watson, s.v.).
- (j) There is no proof that any names ended in OE hlync, "hillside, bank, rising ground", but it is possible that Dunling, Blaeu, near Bigholm (Lang), is OE dūn-hlync, "hill-slope"; and that Stantling Craig (Cad) is OE stān-hlync, with an intrusive -t- between n- and -hl: cf. nl > ndl (PN Nb. Du., 265, para 55).
- (k) Pike occurs in the area most subject to Norse influence and so may be a loan from ON pík, "pointed mountain", rather than a development of



OE pic, "pointed instrument". The Pike is found in Cav., Esk., and Ettr. There are also Dand's Pike (Sdn), Unthank Pikes (Cst) and Wilson's Pike (Cst).

- (1) There is not a single example of G. beinn prefixing a hill-name east of the Nith, and only a few isolated cases in the westernmost parishes of Dmf. W. penn is fairly common throughout our area (see Introduction).

Gael. creag, Mod.Sc. craig, and Gael. carn, Mod.Sc. cairn occur on the higher ground in all four counties. These two words must very early have become part of the Southern Scottish dialect for in most instances they appear coupled with English elements. There are 27 examples of craig in the sense of "rock, cliff", as a terminal, usually detached. Gael. cnoc, Mod.Sc. knock, and Gael. druim, Mod.Sc. drum, are of frequent occurrence in Western and Northern Dumfries, e.g. Knockbrack (Clb), Drumlanrig (Drd), but are associated as a rule with Gaelic elements.

- (m) Other hill-names, for which there are spellings, but which fall into no particular category, may be noted here.

THREE BRETHREN (Cad): Thre Brethwen hill, Blaeu.

Triple cairns on the summit are probably the reason for the name.

CARLIN TOOTH (Sdn): Carlintothe, 1597 CBP.

This is a rock formation. Mod.Sc. carline, carlin is "old woman, witch" (Watson, s.v.).

Compare Carlintooth Rig (Cst) which is a very narrow ridge coming to a sharp point between two valleys.

- (n) Six place-names end in -nest, with the name of a bird for first element. Raven's Nest (H & C) is a cliff. Gledsnest (Tvt) contains Mod.Sc. gled (OE glida), "kite or hawk"; cf. Hawksnest (Mel). Piet's Nest (Sdn) contains Mod.Sc. piet "magpie". In Dmf. there are Blacknest (Mrt), and Hawknest Rig (Ew).

LXXI. ME strother,

"marsh or swamp", is derived from OE strōd, strōð, which is not found in this area (PN Nb. Du., 240).

RXB. STOCKSTRUTHER (Rxb):

Stocksturder, 1548-9 Ham. Pap.

"Marsh with tree-stumps in it": ME stocke.

BWK. BELLSTRUTHER BOG (Ckb):

Bellie Struther, 1611 HMC (Wed).

Gael. baile, "farm", is the first element. The terminal might be Gael. sruthair, "stream".

WESTRUTHER (Wst): (75, 3 L):

Weststrother, c 1300 (c 1320) Kelso; Wolstruther, 1441 (16th) APS; 1509-10 RMS; -struthir, 1506 RSS;

Wollstruther, 1678 Reg. Sas. Bwk.; Woolstruther, 1781 Com. Rec. Laud.

Alternative forms of west-strother and wolf-strother seem to have existed for this name.

There is also Williestrother Loch and Bog (Hwk) which may contain ME wiliȝ, "willow".

Lustruther (Sdn) is probably Gaelic.

A "lost" name is Harastrodar, 1159 (c 1320) Kelso, in Hume: "hare marsh".



LXXII. ME flasse, flosse,

"pool, marshy place", indicates an OE <sup>ʰ</sup>flaesc, cognate with O.Dan. flask(e). The Scots form is floss, flosh or flass.

BWK. FLASS (Wst): (75, 3 K):

Flas, 1388-9 CDS; Flass, Blaeu.

M.Sc. flas, from OE <sup>ʰ</sup>flaesc.

DMF. FLOSH (Rth): (88, 14 G):

Floshe, 1569 RPC.

ME flashe, floshe becomes Mod.Sc. flash, flosh.

Forms in final -s(s) occur on the eastern side of our area, as The Floss (Ask) and Flass Well (Lgf). Final -sh appears in Dmf., in Isle of Flosh (Dlt), an island in the moss; cf. Isle of Dalton.

The Scand. form of the word is seen in Flask Wood (Mof).

LXXIII.

THE MERSE comprises all the land "lying between the Whiteadder and Tweed, extending westward to the junction of Tweed and Teviot" (AHMC - Bwk., xviii).

Spellings are: Mersce, c 1221 (c 1320) Kelso; Merskis (gen), 1335 St. And.; del Merskys (gen), 1366 Rot. Scac; the Mers, c 1375 (c 1490) Brus; the Merss, c 1485 Wallace.

OE mersc̄, "marsh", M Sc. mers(s), (with sibilant s for OE -sc̄), gives Mod.Sc. merse, "alluvial land beside a river" (Jam. s.v.). The word has no connection with OE mearc̄, "march, boundary", as Blaeu understood it (Blaeu, 37).

The Merse (Crl) is a marshy strip at the edge of the Solway, which has perhaps provided the definition "ground gained from the sea, converted into moss" (Jam. s.v.3).

LXXIV.

Miscellaneous terms denoting moorland, wasteland, bog, etc.

- (a) OE mos, "marshy place, peat bog", is found as mussa in the 12th Cent. monastic charters, but no place-names incorporate it. There are sixteen names ending in -moss, which is usually a detached element. Lochar Moss (Dmf) is Lochyrmoss, c 1485 Wallace. The first word is Gaelic.
- (b) Mod.Sc. bog is Gaelic in origin, but all eight names containing it have English first elements. Howbog (Crn) is so spelt in 1515 RMS: "bog in a hollow", OE hol. Cowbog (Mrb) is lie Kowbog, 1570 RMS: "bog where cows pasture". Bog occurs in 1180, LSMM but not as a p.n. element.
- (c) Mod.Sc. flow, from ON floi, denotes "a bog or morass". There are three examples: Hobb's Flow (Cst), Bell's Flow (Hfm), and Moat Flow (Jhn).
- (d) Mod.Sc. hag is derived from ON hogg, "cutting in woodland", but the sense is usually "peat-bog"; or "moss-ground that has formerly been broken up" (Jam. s.v.). Hag Plantation (Jdb) is represented



by Speirmanis-landis vocat. the Hag, 1573-4 RMS.

Hag (Can) is Hagg, Blaeu. There is also Dan's

Haggs (Ew) on the shoulder of Frodaw Height.

- (e) Mod.Sc. gair, from OE gāra, or ON geiri, probably the latter, since most of the names occur in the Scandinavian area, means "a spot or strip of tender grass on a barren mountain or heath", or "a stripe or streak" (Jam. s.v.). Either might apply in Gair (KF), Broadgair Hill (Ettr), Yadgair (Tvt).
- (f) OE fenn, "fen, marsh", occurs independently in the plural as Fens (St.B). One Gylmyne de Fenis, or the Fynis, who was warden of Roxburgh Castle in 1314 must have come from here; cf. c 1375 (c 1490) Brus.
- (g) Flex (Hwk) is so spelt in 1296 Inst. Pub., but Fleckis, 1511 RMS: cf. Fleckedland, Fleckit Hill, F~ Knowe (PN Glwy., 137), containing M.Sc. fleckit, "broken, variegated land". Flecks must be "patches", probably of brokeground: cf. Flecket Hill (Mof). ON flekk, "spot" must be the origin of the term.

LXXV. ME burne,

"stream, burn", from OE burna, is the normal term for a streamlet on the Scottish Borders. The examples for which early spellings have been preserved are mainly those in which a habitation or hamlet has taken its name from the stream.

RXB. CADDROUN BURN (Cst): (86, 2 E, F):

Hellcaudron burne, 1597 CBP; Hellcadrenn b.,  
Blaeu.

The deep ravine through which the stream runs at one point was the "hell caldron": cf. The Devil's Beef Tub (Mof).

DOD BURN (Cav. & Tvt), DODBURN:

Dodburne, 1569 RPC.

The farm of Dod, and the Dod Burn take their name from the round hill facing the farm. See note on dod, No. LXX (f).

HALTER BURN (Yth): HALTERBURN: (81, 10 F):

Eltherburna, c 1050 (12th) H.S.C.; Elterburne, 1543  
Hen. VIII; Helterborne, c 1576 CSP.

The first element is obscure: cf. ERN, 189.  
An OE pers. n. Aldhere, is possible.

At a late period the first element has been associated with halter.

OTTERBURN (Mrb):Otterburne, 1569 RMS.

The small stream on which Otterburn stands must have been the original "otter burn".

RUNNINGBURN (St1):Running Burn, 1795 Stitchill.

Perhaps OE rūniende burna, "whispering burn",  
M Sc. runzande burne.

BWK. BLACKBURN: (Chrn):Blak(e)burn (P), c 1300 Cold; 1541-2 RSS.

The small stream here must have been the "black burn".

COCKBURN (Duns): (75, 7 H):Cokburne (P), 1264, 1362 Rot. Scac.; Kokeburn (P),  
1266 ib.

The original "cock burn" must have been the streamlet which comes down from Cockburn Law near Cockburn.

OTTER BURN (A.St.B., & B. & Pr): (75, 8 G):Otyrburn, c 1300 (1434) Cdstr; Oterburn (P), 1442  
Cold.; Otterburne, Blaeu.

The spellings refer to a dwelling not now in existence. Compare Otterburn (Mrb).

RAWBURN (Lgf): (75, 5 J):Rawchburn(e), c 1300 (1434) Cdstr; Raghburn, 1335-6



CDS; Raughburn, 1388-9 ib; Raburne, Blaeu.

OE rāh, "roe-deer", ME razh, M Sc. rau<sup>z</sup>h, may be the first element. The word is usually found in the compound rāh-dēor, but must occur independently here. Compare the two examples of Rae Burn in Dmf. from OE rā, "roe".

WEDDERBURN CASTLE (Duns): (75, 9 K):

Wederburn(e), 1296 CDS; c 1300 Cold; Wedir-, c 1413 HMC (Wed); Wedder-, 1535 RSS.

OE weðer, "ram", is the first element. There is no stream at the Castle, so that the original site cannot have been there.

WHITEBURN (Ckb):

Quhytburn, 1611 HMC (Wed).

"White burn".

DMF. BYRE BURN (Can): Byer bourne, 1552 Bullock.

<sup>≠</sup>Byreburn: Byreburne, 1590 RPC.

"Cow-shed burn".

HALL BURN (Can):

Hawe bourne, 1552 Bullock.

OE heall, Angl. hall, gives M Sc. haw(e), Mod.Sc. ha'.

RAEBURN (KF):

Raburn, 1194-1214 CDS.

OE rā, "roe-deer", is the first element: cf. Rae Burn (Esk).

ROWAN BURN (Can): (89, 10 D):

Rowyn bourne, 1552 Bullock.

Rowanburn: Rowanburne, 1590 RPC.

Mod.Sc. rowan is the mountain ash.

SLK. HELMBURN (Krk): (80, 9 G):

(H)elmburn, 1494 C-B; Hellmburn, 1510 C-B;

Elmeburn, Blaeu.

There is now no stream here. OE helm, "shed, cattle-shelter" etc., may be the first element. See No. XII. The initial h- seems to be organic.

HUTLERBURN (Krk): (80, 9 G):

Hottrelburne, 1609 C-B; Hotrélburne, 1643 ib;

Whitrilburne, 1672 APS.

The spellings are so late that one can only guess at an original form.

Hutlerburn stands on a stream flowing into the Etrick, but the Hutler Burn is on the other side of a watershed and runs into the Ale Water.

LONG PHILIP BURN (Slk): Philips b., Blaeu.

Probably "foul hope burn": cf. Philliphaugh, No. XXIII.

RANKLE BURN (Ettr), RANKLEBURN: (80, 7 K):

Rankilburne, 1415 LSMM; Blaeu.

The first element may be related by ablaut to OE wrinclian, "to twist".

There are 144 other names of streams or places ending in -burn. Most of these are English compounds. The first elements are mainly topographical.



LXXVI. ME leche, lache,

"a small stream". Mod. Nb. letch is used of "a long narrow swamp in which water moves slowly among rushes and grass". Mod.Sc. latch is a "dub or mire" (Jam. s.v.), described by Scott in "Guy Mannering" as "a narrow channel through which soaked, rather than flowed, a small stagnant stream". This meaning compares with the Nb. definition.

Note the use of lecch(e), 1165-1214 LSMM as a boundary, therefore almost certainly denoting a stream or drain.

RXB. EFFLEDGE (Cav): (81, 1 K):

Elfleche, 1511 RMS; Elflesche, 1576-7 ib.

ME elf-lecche, "elf swamp", perhaps so named from the "will o' the wisp" lights of marsh gas seen over a bog. No stream is marked here.

BWK. CUMLEDGE (Duns): (75, 8 J):

Cumliche, 1467 HMC (March); 1497-8 HMC (Wed);

Cumleith, 1495 ib; -lych, 1496 ib; -leiche, 1571

RPC; -lege, 1581 ib; 1610 HMC (Var. Coll. v);

-litche, 1590 RPC.

The alternation between forms of the ending in -ei-, -i- and -e-, points to a ME form lēche. This may, however, be due to the influence of the following

consonants which would tend to raise the vowel. Compare early spellings for Lechlade - Lichelad, 1194, and for Northleach - Lichia, 1127 (DEPN, 279, 278). The first element is OE cumb, "deep hollow, valley".

The second spelling shows confusion in the ending with Mod.Sc. leth, "a channel or small run of water" (Jam. s.v.).

"Lost" names are:-

Harecarlecche, 1204 LSMM, near Whitton (Mrb). For the first part of this name compare Harcarse, No. XXXV.

Threpleche, 1421 LSMM, near Redpath (Earl), contains ME thrēpen, "to dispute": cf. Threepwood, No. XX.

Witheleche, c 1250 (c 1320) Kelso, near Fans (Earl), has OE hwīt, "white", or OE wiǵig, "willow", for first element.

There are also Craiglatch (Cad) which may be an entirely Gaelic compound, and Long Latch (Cld), which is a drain on Coldingham Moor.

LXXVII. Mod. Sc. Loch,

"lake", is generally assumed to be Gaelic in origin, but the term was accepted into M.Sc. at a fairly early date. It appears for the first time, in Barbour's Bruce, c 1375, as louch.

Compounds such as Lochmaben and Loch Skeen, in which the qualifying element comes second, are plainly Celtic.

In most cases in this area, loch is a detached suffix following an earlier place-name. The majority of the lochs are named from the nearest settlement, e.g. Ashkirk Loch, Yetholm Loch. There is no necessity to cite spellings for these names, since as a rule the forms of the place-names appear long before any reference to the lochs, which for the most part are found first in Blaeu's Atlas.

A few lochs are named from their own characteristics e.g. Pot Loch, Goose Loch, Crooked Loch, Starn Loch.

The earliest spelling containing -loch is for Hoselaw Loch (Lin): Hoslowelogh, 1385 Ch. For Hose-law, see No. XXVIII. Only one place-name employs -loch as a terminal, Reedy Lock (Edr): Redelocht, 1541 HMC (Wed); Redyloch, 1584-5 ib; Reedyloch, Blaeu. No loch is there to-day and none is recorded in Blaeu,



but at one time there may have been marshy ground interspersed with reedy pools. The modern form in -Lock may be due to popular unwillingness to speak of a loch where none existed.

St. Mary's Loch and the Loch of the Lowes are Lochs of Lowis in Blaeu's map of Twed̄ia, while St. Mary's Loch is L. of Lowis in the map of Teviota. On p.33, however, the writer of the notes refers to the "lacum occidentalem vulgo the West-Mary Loh of the Lowes". It was named from St. Mary's Chapel on its shore. The two lakes were thus originally known simply as the luhes, louzhes (M.Sc), later, lowes, from O Nb. luh, "lake": cf. the \*Forest of Lowes, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 137). The larger came to be known by the name of the chapel, and the old plural form was transferred to the smaller lake.

Luh, cannot be the Gaelic form, but must be a development of the British form which is the source of W. llwch.

Two of the lochs at Lochmaben appear as Goldmur loch, and Sondsech loch, 1455 HMC (Jhn).

LXXVIII. . OE pōl,

"pool, deep place in a river". Scots dial. pool often means "a watery or marshy place, a swamp" (EDD s.v.), cf. the Pools, which defended one flank of the Scottish army at Bannockburn: the Polles, in Hemingburgh (Bannockburn, 43). See also Bannockburn Myth, 24 ff.

DMF. COCKPOOL (Rth): (88, 13 G):

Cokpule, 1487 (16th) APS; 1507-8 RMS; 1592 CBP;

Cockpole, 1570 CSP; Cockpowlle, 1581 CBP.

Cockpool is on the edge of an area of swampy land which must have been once a considerable morass. Cock- here probably denotes moorcock or other game fowl.

"Lost" are:-

Hum Pulles, 1198-1214 (c 1320) Kelso; Pullys, 1268 ib; Pollys, ib; Hunpul, c 1300 (1434) Cdstr. This denotes the marshes at Hume.

le Pullis, 1426, in Ewes, Dmf.

There are also Doorpool (Sdn); Shiningpool Moss (Lgf) and Stirkpool (Ann). The last contains Mod.Sc. stirk, "bullock between one and three years old" (Jam. s.v.).

LXXIX. O Nb. wælla,

(WS. wiella), "well, spring", gives Mod.Sc. wall, which is difficult to distinguish from wall (from Lat. vallum).

Forms in well appear quite early and may be due to a dialect tendency to front [æ] to [ɛ].

It is notable that forms in wall do not appear in North-East England although they are common in South-East Scotland. EDD gives the dialect area for wall as Scotland and the West of England from Cumberland to Shropshire.

RXB. BILLERWELL (Hbk): (86, 2 A):

Bullerwell, 1598 CBP; Blaeu; Bullarwall, 1662 Mel.

Reg. Rec.

Mod.Sc. buller may be "loud gurgling noise", or "bubbling circle or whirlpool" (SND., s.v.), denoting either a fiercely-bubbling spring or one with an eddy in it. The source of the term must be Fr. bouillir, "to boil". Compare the Bullers of Buchan (Bnf).

WELLS, OVER and NETHER (Jed):

Walls, Blaeu.

WELLS (Hbk): Welles, 1380 CDS.

The second spelling shows that a form with medial -e- was current as early as the 14th Cent.



BWK.     CRAIGSWALLS (Edr):Craigiswallis, 1621 HMC (Wed).Craig, in this case, must be a family name.HOARDWHEEL (B & Pr):     (75, 8 H):Hordwell, Blaeu.

The first element may be the same as that in Eurālaw, No. XXVIII. It is possible that the ending is OE wæel, Mod.Sc. weel, "eddy, pool", as the farm is close to a stream: cf. No. XL. The meaning may be "treasure well", or "treasure pool".

MUNGO'S WALLS (Edr):     (75, 9 K):Mungo(i)swallis, 1476 Com. Rec. Laud; 1497-8 HMC (Wed); Mungoswaes, Blaeu.

"Mungo's wells". Wells or springs were often dedicated to a saint, especially if they had a reputation for curative powers: cf. St. Mungo's well near Kingside, E.Lth., and Mungoswells near Drem, E.Lth.

NINEWELLS (Chrn):Nynewell(i)s, 1580 RMS; 1585 HMC (Var. Coll. v).

There are nine springs here (PN Bwk., 41).

PEELWALLS (Ayt):Peillwallis, 1603 HMC (Wed); Peelwaes, Blaeu.

This may be "springs by the peel", but the terminal may for once be "walls" as Blaeu's spelling suggests.

DMF.     FARTHINGWELL (Dns):     (88, 8 B):

Ferdinwoll, 1633 Reg. Sas. Dmf.; Fardein-, 1636 ib.

Either a well into which it was customary to throw farthings, or a well on a "farthing-land": cf. No. LVII (m).

A "lost" name is Mikelkeldwelle, 1275-1329 HMC (Drml). The first part is ON mikill kelda, "big spring".

LXXX.

Miscellaneous endings relating to streams, etc.

- (a) OE mūða, "mouth of a river", does not occur very often in this area. It is usually found with the name of a river as first element, e.g. Edenmouth, Kalemouth, at the point where a tributary enters a larger stream. Eyemouth (Eym) is where the Eye Water joins the sea: Aymuth, c 1300 Cold; -mouht, 1345 ib; -mouth(e), 1361 RMS; 1547 CSP (Th); Emoutht, 1585 HMC (Var. Coll. v). A "lost" name is <sup>Æ</sup>Cramsmoo at Burnmouth (Ayt): Cramesmuthe, 1095-1100 ESC; -mudhe, c 1100 ib; -mutham (acc), 1126 ib. The burn which flows into the sea here may have been the <sup>Æ</sup>Cram Burn: cf. Crambeck, YNR., which contains OE <sup>Æ</sup>cramb, "crooked", cognate with crumb, cromb (PN YNR., s.n. Crambe, 38). Burnmouth is a commonplace throughout the area.

- (b) OE sīc, ON sík, "small stream in marshy ground: gully", gives M.Sc. sike, syke, Mod.Sc. sike,  
 1. "rill or rivulet, usually dry in Summer;  
 2. marshy bottom with a small stream", (Jam, s.v.).  
Sicus, and a diminutive, siketus, are used in the Melrose chartulary in the 12th Cent. to denote



small streams, but do not occur as the terminals of place-names. Mackerel Sike (Jhn) is Makrel-syde, 1541 Ham. Pap., and may belong to the class of names in -side. The first element is the Gaelic surname Mackerrell: cf. Radulfus Makerel, 1165-1214 LSMM. There are 31 other names in -sike. They occur in Slk., in the parish of Castleton (Rxb), and in the parishes of Ewes and Eskdalemuir (Dmf). In most cases the terminal is detached and denotes a stream flowing through a narrow valley. Although these names are to be found in the area where Norse influence is felt, they are all compounded with English first elements.

(c) OE hlynn, "torrent, waterfall", is used mainly of definite falls, as Bell's Linn (Cst), Colislinn (Cav), Aird Linn (Kkm); but in a few instances it is applied to a stream in a rocky course: in this sense it is generally a first element.

(d) OE (ge)lād, "water-course", is the source of Mod. Sc. lade, "mill-canal". No place-names now in use employ it, but in the Dryburgh Chartulary is to be found Bucslade, c 1170; Butheslad, c 1260, which is described as a siketus.

- (e) OE lacu, or ON lœkr, "stream", may be the source of Lake in Altrieve Lake (Slk). The first word is Gaelic: cf. CPNS, 137. The Lake (Keir) and Lakehead (Kmh) probably employ the Norse term.
- (f) OE trōh, Mod.Sc. trow, "sluice or lade leading to a mill", is the origin of Trows (Kso): Trowis, 1511 RMS. The river here runs in narrow channels between shelves of rock, and it has been suggested that this is the meaning here.
- (g) The Stank (Yth), and Stank (Rth), are small streams. ME stank, from O Fr. estanc (mod.Fr. étang, "pond"), in M Sc. denotes a sluggish stream or open ditch. A boundary ditch at Hadden (Spr) is Hawdanstank, c 1400 (1475-1500) Wyntoun C.
- (h) Mod.Sc. dub, "muddy place, morass", is seen in Drowning Dubs (Yar), a stretch of bogland, Howdub Knowe (Ettr), and Meg's Dub (Mrd) which is a small creek on the shore. Dub in this name must have the meaning of "deep pool", seen in Dubwath Cu. (PN Cu. We., 45).
- (i) ME Croke, from ON krókr, "a bend in a river", occurs in Atterson's Crook (Cst). Four other names in -crook lie in bends of the hills.

- (j) Two names end in -tongues, and since both are at points where a spit of land is farmed between two streams, they must contain OE \*tang, \*twang, "tongs" (PN La., 18, s.v.). Gilliestongues (Jed) is Gillistoinges, 1540 RMS, perhaps representing ME giles twanges. Confusion with modern tongues is already apparent. There is also Hawklawtongues (Hbk) named from a hill.
- (k) An OE noun meaning "bend", from crumb, "crooked", must be the terminal of Ancrum: Alnecrumb(e), 1165-1214 NMS; 1262-3 CDS; Alnecrom, 1296 CDS; Allyn-, 1304 ib; Allyncrum, 1358 Rot. Scac. The first element is the Celtic river-name Ale. For this use of OE crumb, compare Cromford, Db. (DEPN, 125).



SCANDINAVIAN ENDINGS.LXXXI. ON býr, O.Dan. bý,

"farm, village, hamlet". This is quite the most common Scand. habitative suffix in England, and is to be found wherever there was Scandinavian settlement. Northumberland and Durham contain only a sprinkling of Scandinavian names, but these include nine in -by. In areas of intensive settlement such as Yorkshire, Cumberland and Westmorland, the number of by-names is very large. Ekwall states that "there is reason to believe that all or practically all English place-names in -by are Scandinavian in the strictest sense" (IPN 1, 57). The element persisted in living use in ME into the 11th and 12th Centuries: witness such names as Lockerbie, Pearsby, Dmf., and Botcherby, Cu., which are compounded with Norman personal names. Several names in Dumfriesshire seem to have been formed about this time, when -by had become an element in the local ME speech: cf. Albie, Canonbie, Mumbie, Sibbaldbie. Lindkvist notes that the term may have been in use in the Northern ME dialect, and that unless the first element of a name ending in -by is Scandinavian, the compound may well be of English formation (Lindkvist, lii, ff).

BWK. CORSBIE (Grd): (81, 3 A):

Crossebie, 1309 RC; Corsby (P), 1396 Rot. Scac.;  
1441 (16th) APS; Cros-, 1506-7 RMS; Corsbie, 1556  
HMC (March).

This may be O Dan. krossa-by, "farm of the crosses",  
although no tradition of monuments is preserved here.

DMF. ALBIE (Mid): (89, 5 D):

A(u)ldbie, 1631, 1643 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

If this is a Scand. formation it must represent  
ON Alla byr from the pers. n. Alli: cf. Alloby (Lind,  
20). It may, however, be a ME compound, alde-by,  
"old hamlet".

ALBIERIG (Can): (89, 10 C):

Albyrig, 1590 RPC; Oldby, Blaeu.

See previous example.

BOMBIE HILL (Wstk): (85, 7 J):

Bundeby, 1296 Inst. Pub.; Bomby, 1329-71 RC; 1546  
RPC; Bond-, 1500 HMC (Drml); Bonth-, 1560 RMS;  
Boun-, Blaeu.

\*Bombie does not now exist: the name is preserved  
in the hill. The first element is an ON pers. n.  
Bondi: cf. Bomby, We. (PN Cu. We., 135), and Bonby, L.  
(DEPN, 49).

CANONBIE (Can): (89, 9 D):

Canenby, 1296 DIHS; Canon-, 1296 CDS; Cana-, 1493  
CDS; Cano-, 1494 ib; 1531 CSP (Th); Cannabye, 1552

Bullock.

The present local pronunciation omits the second n. ME canon-by, "canons' village". An Augustinian priory was founded here in the 12th Cent.

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

Daneby, 1304 CDS; Dene-, 1507-8 RMS; Denvy, 1542 ib; Danbie, 1618 Reg. Sas. Dmf.; Deinbee, Blaeu.

ON Dana-byr, "settlement of Danes": cf. Danby (PN YNR., 131), Denaby, YWR., Denby, YWR., Denby, Db., (DEPN, 135).

DUNNABIE (Mid): (89, 5 B):

Duncooby, 1452 HMC (Drml); Dundonby, 1511-12 ib (n = u ?); Dundoubye, 1557-8 ib; Tundenby, c 1620 ib.

The first part of the compound is doubtful. It may represent Gael. dun dubh, "black fort", as the place looks across the valley to the earthwork on Birrens Hill.

ESBIE (Lmb): (88, 13 A):

Esseby, 1296 DIHS; Eske-, 1296 Inst. Pub.; Es-, 1530 RSS.

ON eski-byr, "ash-grove village".

GILLENBIE (Apl): (89, 2 A):

Gillonby, 1296 Inst. Pub.; Gilllenbye, 1485-6 HMC (Jhn).



Gillon- may represent a diminutive of ON Gilli (from Irish names in Gilla-, etc.: cf. Sc.&.C., 68), as Gillan. Compare Glassan, a dimin. based on Gael. glas, "grey" (ib, 69), seen in Glassonby, Cu. (DEPN, 186).

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

Gillisby, 1530 GMC (Jhn); 1590 ib; -be, 1572 ib;

Gyllsbye, 1552-3 CSP; Gillesby, 1569 RPC.

ON Gilli (supra) is the first element: cf. Gilsland, Cu. (PN Cu. We., 53; DEPN, 187).

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

Locardebi, 1194-1214 HMC (Drml); Lok(k)ertby, 1510 RMS; 1552-3 CSP.

A Norman name, Locard, is the first element, later the Scots surname Lockhart.

MIDDLEBIE (Mid): (89, 3 D):

Middelby, 1296 Inst. Pub.; Myddilby, 1517 RMS.

"Middle village". It is roughly half-way between two other names in -by, Albie and Gimmenbie, which may be the reason for the epithet. This may be a ME compound, or may represent ON me al byr.

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

Monkeby, 1552 Bullock.

MUMBIEHIRST (Can):

Monkbeirst, 1569 RPC; Mungbirstwood, Blaeu.

"Monks' farm", and "Wood at the monks' farm":  
 ME monke-by. The canons of Canonbie must have held  
 land here.

NEWBIE COTTAGES, etc. (Ann): (89, 2 H):

Neuby, 13th HMC (Drml); 1304 CDS; Newby, 1517 RMS.

The original Newbie is no longer in existence.  
 ON ny býr, or ME neue-by, "new village".

PEARSBY HALL (Tun): (89, 4 A):

Perisby, 1285 (c 1320) Kelso; c 1294 LSMM;

-behalvis, 1542 RMS; -behawes, 1555 HMC (Jhn);

Peirsbie-halls, 1662 RMS.

O Fr. Pierre, ME Pier, Peir, Pere is the first  
 element.

Hall, represents M Sc. halches, halwes, "river-  
 haughs": cf. No. XVI.

SIBBALDBIE (Apl): (85, 1 J): cf. SIBBALDBIESIDE:

Sibbilbesyd, 1648 Reg. Sas. Dmf.; Sibel-, ib.

ME Sibbald, Sibbeld from OE Sigebald is perhaps  
 the first element.

SORBIE (Ew): (85, 8 J):

Sourbi, 1426 RMS; -by, Blaeu.

ON saurr-býr, "village in the mud or swamp". The  
 place is in the river-valley which was probably boggy.  
 Compare Sowerby (PN La., 161), <sup>z</sup>Sowerby, etc. (PN YNR.,  
 128, 132, 212), Castle Sowerby, Cu., Temple Sowerby,

We. (PN Cu. We., 105, 178). A modern form in Sor- is unique, but compare Copeland Ho., Du. (PN Nb. Du., 52), and Copeland, Cu. (PN Cu. We., 37), from ON kaupa-, and the modern Scots surname Copland which omits the medial -e-.

WARMANBIE (Ann): (89, 3 F):

Weremundeby, 1194-1214 CDS; Wormonby, 1541 HMC

(Drml); Wormanbie, 1659 Com. Rec. Dmf.

ON Vermundr (Lind. 1083), is the first element.

WYSEBY (KF): (89, 4 E):

Wyisby, Blaeu.

ON \*Visi, usually found as an ending, e.g.

Guðrvisi, (Lind. 1114), may here be used as a pers. n.

There are also Barraby (Clb) and Gimmenbie Mains (Hod).

"Lost" names are:-

Godfraby, 1505 RMS, in Applegarth, containing ON

Guðfróðr, ME Godfrey.

Lamanby, 1505 ib, in Applegarth.

Millebi, 1194-1214 HMC (Drml), Melebie, 1662 RMS, near \*Newbie.

Williambi, ib.

Ouseby, 1360 CDS; Us-, 1374-5 ib; Usebyfeld,

1429-30 RMS; Usbyfield, ib, in Lochmaben, may have ON Ulfr as first element.



Schatteby, c 1300 Cold; Ska(i)tbieburn, 1578, 1604  
L.Ch.; Sketbieburne, 1638 ib., near Coldingham Priory,  
Bwk., may have ON skata, "skate", or ON Skati, pers. n.,  
as first element.

LXXXII. ON skáli,

"hut, shed, temporary building".

DMF. RAMMERSCALES (Dlt): (88, 13 D):

Ramyrscals, 1374-5 CDS; Raymorscalis, 1484 HMC  
(Drml); Rammer-, 1542 RMS; Rammirskailis, 1562  
ib.

Rammer- may represent ON hrafn-myrr or hrafn-mor,  
"raven marsh or moor".

WATSCALES (Dryfe):

Watskails, 1662 RMS. ON vað, "a ford", is the  
first element.

WEST SCALES (Grt): (89, 5 G):

West Scalis, 1512 HMC (Drml); West-skalis, 1544  
RSS; Skells, Blaeu.

This must be a ME formation.

A "lost" name is Clinkskailis, 1556 HMC (March),  
near Coldingham, Bwk., which must be the origin of the  
Scots surname Clinkscals. If the first element is  
O.Dan. klint, "rock", this must be a Danish-Norse  
hybrid made at a time when both terms had passed into  
the current Scots dialect.

LXXXIII. ON garðr,

"enclosure": cf. OE gærd.

Most of the examples show confusion with Mod.Sc. girth, "sanctuary". All may be mediaeval formations.

DMF. APPLEGARTH: (85, 1, 2 K. etc. - a parish).

Apilgirth, 1505 RMS; -gairth, 1513 RSS; -gyrth, 1543 HMC (Drml); Aplegarthe, 1586 CBP.

ME appel-garth, "apple-enclosure, orchard":  
cf. A ~ , (PN YNR., 293).

AULDGIRTH (Clb): (88, 8 A):

Algarth, 1531 RMS; Auld-, 1536-7 ib; Aldgirth,  
Blaeu.

ME ald(e) garth, "old enclosure".

There are also Cowgarth Flow (Grt), no doubt ON kú garðr, Foregirth (Kmh), Howgarth Scar (Cum).

Biggarts (KJ) is perhaps ON bygg-garðr, "barley field".

Tundergarth (Tun) has received its present ending  
by analogy: Thonergayth, 1215-45; Tonner-, c 1294  
LSMM; Tunnergath (P), 1349 HMC (Drml); -garthe, 1592  
CBP; Tolnagarth, 1510 RMS. This is probably a Gaelic  
compound: cf. Tunregaith, Ayr., (CPNS, 200).



LXXXIV. ON  $\acute{a}$ veit,

"piece of cleared land, paddock", appears in greater numbers than any other Norse element in the area: there are 21 examples.

Lindkvist notes that the majority of such names in England do not appear until the 13th and 14th Centuries (Lindkvist, 99). Although there is one "lost" example in Dmf. belonging to the end of the 12th Cent., and a few to the early 13th Cent., the greatest number is not recorded before the 15th Cent.

It is noticeable that in their modern forms the Scottish examples nearly all end in a short syllable, -that or -what, while the majority of English hveit-names retain the form -thwaite, a long syllable. Pronunciation in England however is often [θət] (IPN ii, 60). In the earliest recorded spellings, the Dmf. endings are similar to those in Cumberland and Westmorland. Compare the 13th Cent. spellings with Appelthweit, Cu., 1222; Applethwayt, We., 1271; Eastonthwait, Cu., 1303; Hermithwuaite, Cu., c 1250; Corntheit, Cornthwait, We., 1190-1220. By the 15th Cent. most Dumfriesshire examples appear in -thwat or -quhat, whilst the majority of English ones remain as -thwaite.

Shortening of the vowel or diphthong in a final unstressed syllable is normal, and the progress of ON þveit in the Scottish area must have been from [θvaɪt] in the 13th and 14th Cents., to [θwe:ɪt] and so to [θwe:t], shortened to [θwɛt] in the 15th Cent. when M. Sc. é frequently became ǎ after w-.

In the 16th Cent. the spelling was regularly -quhat representing a pronunciation [kwat] which omitted the initial t- of the consonant group thw-. Those names which now end in -what remained at this stage, but others changed in the 17th Cent. to a form in -that. The spellings for Slethat point to a return to -thwat followed by the omission of the -w-, but there is not sufficient evidence to show exactly what happened in each case.

Fourteen of the names in -þveit describe the nature of the ground or the vegetation, two contain personal names, one contains a word for a building, and one the name of an animal pastured upon the land. Twathats seems to be a M.Sc. formation.

The þveit- names in Dumfries-shire are to be found in an area further west than those in -by. It will be observed that the majority of by- names are on sheets 89 and 85 of the O.S. map, while the -þveit names are mainly on sheet 88.

1. Names in which the ending, in the modern form, retains the initial þ, but drops the v, as -that, -thet, -teth.

DMF. BRANTETH (Hfm): (89, 6 D):

Brandthwaite stile, 1516-17 RMS; Branthet, Blaeu.

ON brant (> brattr), ME brant, "steep", is the first element. Branteth is situated on the slope of a hill.

N. and S. CARTHAT (Lmb): (88, 12, 13 D):

Karthet, Blaeu; Carthat, 1637 L.Ch.

ON kjarr, "copsewood, brushwood", was used in ME of swampy ground.

HOWTHAT (Msw): (88, 13 F):

Holthwayt c 1218 HMC (Drml); Houthwate, 1446-7 ib;

-thuat, 1449 ib; Howthuat, 1516 RMS; -quhat,

1544 ib; Houthet, Blaeu.

OE or ON hol, "hollow", is perhaps the first element: cf. Hoathwaite: Holtwayt, 1272-80 (PN La., 215).

LAIRTHAT (Rth): (88, 14 G):

Lerthett, Blaeu.

ON leirr-veit, "field where clay was obtained".

MURTHAT (KJ): (84, 14 F):

Murquhat, 1550 RMS; Marthat, 1662 RMS.

ON mor-veit, "paddock by the moor".



SLETHAT (Rth): (88, 13 F):

Slachquhat, 1459-60 RMS; Slaithwait, 1516-17 ib;

Slaithwattes, 1637 L.Ch.

Compare Slaithwaite, YWR. (DEPN, 406), "clearing where sloes grew".

TWATHATS (Rth): (88, 14 F):

Twathweytes, 1304 CDS; -thtwatis, 1450 RMS;

-thwatis, 1498-9 HMC (Drml).

M Sc. twa thwaytes, "two clearings".

2. Names in which the ending was M Sc. -hwat, -quhat, Mod.Sc. -what.

BUTTERWHAT (Dlt): (88, 13 E):

Buttirthuat, 1507-8 RMS; -quhat, 1542 ib;

Butterquhat, 1645 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

Perhaps ON búðar-þveit, "dairy-farms þveit":  
cf. Butterilket, Cu. (Sc. & C., 21).

DALWHAT (Glc): (84, 3 H):

Dalquhat, c 1544 HMC (Drml).

ON dalr-þveit, "thwaite in a valley".

HARPERWHAT (Wstk): (85, 6 H):

"Harper's paddock". Harper may here be a surname. Gilbert the Harper is referred to as Gib Harpar in The Brus as if the title was then passing into a surname.

RAGGIEWHATE (Dryfe): (89, 2 B);

Ragaquhat, 1657 Com. Rec. Dmf.

The first element is obscure. It might be ON rakki, "dog", or Mod.Sc. raggy (from OE ragu, "lichen"), "mossy".

ROBIEWHAT (Msw): (88, 14 F):

Roberquhat, 1542 RMS; Robie-, 1632 Reg. Sas. Dmf.;

Robiewhat, 1737 Com. Rec. Dmf.

A Norse pers. n. Hróðbiartr or Hróðbiorg is the first element.

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

Thornythaite, 1583 CBP; -quhat, 1590 RPC.

ME Thorne thwaite, "thorny clearing".

3. Names now ending in -thwaite.

MURRAYTHWAITE HO. (Cum): (89, 1 E):

Mourithweyt, 1304 CDS; Mourythwayt, ib; Patrick

of Murray of the Morithwait, 1498-9 HMC (Jhn);

Morayquhat, 1569 RPC; Moriwhat, Blaeu; Murraywhat-

town, 1750 Com. Rec. Dmf.

ON mór, ME mōre, is the first element: cf. Moor-thwaite, Cu.: Moreqwate, 1470 (Lindkryst, 118). When the site was occupied by Patrick de Murray, More- was associated with his surname.

THORNIETHWAITE (Lmb): (88, 13 C):

Thornthuayt, c 1218 HMC (Drml); the Thorniequhat,  
1534 HMC (Jhn); Thornequhat, 1542-3 RMS.

OE or ON þorn, "thorn-bush" plus þveit:  
cf. Thorniewhats (supra).

"Lost" names are:-

Appiltretwayt, 1317 RMS; Appultrethwate, 1411 HMC  
(Drml), in Carruthers (Mid), containing ME appel-tre.

Blindethuayt, c 1218 HMC (Drml), in Lmb. or Dlt.:  
perhaps from ME blind, "dark, obscure": cf. Blindhurst,  
(PN La., 166).

Brakanepheit, 1194-1214 HMC (Drml); Brakansweit,  
post 1275 ib (near Annan), containing ME braken,  
"bracken".

Langesweit, post 1275 ib; ME lange-thwayte.

Litelsweit, post 1275 ib: Littlewhat, Blaeu, between  
Slethat and Comlongon; "little clearing".

Panthawat, 1516 RMS; Panthuat, 1516 HMC (Drml);  
Panthehill, Blaeu, near Powhillon (Rth), may contain  
O.W. pen "hill-top".

There are also Cowthat (Hod), Crawthat Cottage  
(Lmb), Heithat (H & C), Howthat Burn (Apl), Murthat  
Burn (H & C).



LXXXV. ON dalr,

"valley". As this ending is indistinguishable even in its M Sc. form from OE dāel, only those names are noted below which appear to have a Norse first element, or which occur in the Southern parishes of Dmf. where the Norse influence was strongest. Compare names in OE dāel, No. XXIX.

DMF. BUTTERDALES (Dor): (89, 4 G):

Butterdalls, Blaeu.

Probably ON bú'ir dalr, "dairy farms valley", but perhaps OE butere dāel, "valley where butter is made". Dale has been made plural at a later date.

HURKLEDALE (Cum): (89, 1 G):

Hurderdale, 1304 CDS; Hurkildale (P), 1573 HMC (Jhn); -dall, Blaeu.

Sc. dial. hurkle, "to crouch, cower", which can mean "to wrinkle into folds" (Jam., s.v.) may be the first element. The low hills beside which Hurkledale is situated may have suggested the idea of "crumpled". The first spelling however presents a difficulty, for -der- cannot be a mis-spelling of -kil-.

MEIKLEDALE BURN (Ew): ?

Mikkildale, 1426 RMS; Mekildail, 1532 ib.

ON mikill dalr, "large valley".

The valleys of most of the main rivers are known as dales. In each case this element is suffixed to the stream-name, but in certain examples a genitival ending has been interposed, as in Nithsdale, Liddesdale.

In some instances this dale must be derived from OE dæl, as the same construction is to be found in NE England in Coquetdale, Glendale, Redesdale. Mawer believes this usage to be "almost certainly, if not entirely due to Scandinavian influence" (PN Nb. Du., 227).

ANNANDALE:

Anandredalle, c 1360 Scal; Anandyrdale (P), c 1375 (c 1490) Brus; Annandredale, 1381 JG; Anandirdale, 1414 Cold; 1493 HMC (Drml); Anander-, 1501 RSS; 1504 ib; 1572-3 HMC (Drml); Annandir-, 1508-9 ib; Annander-, 1510 RMS.

Annandale was a praefectura or sheriffdom, and as such was generally known as Strath Annan, or the Valley of the Annan: Estrahanent, 1124 ESC; vallum de Anant, 1147-53 ib, etc. The spellings above denote "Qnundr's valley", ON Anundar-dalr: cf. Ennerdale Cu. (DEPN, 160).

The original Celtic river-name must have been identified by the Norsemen with a Scand. personal name.

It is strange that these forms do not appear until the 14th Cent. It may be that at that time the name

became confused with Ennerdale.

DRYFESDALE:

Driuesdale, c 1124 Glas; 1189 CDS; Drivis-, 1249 ib; 1452 HMC (Drml); Driffisdail, 1501 ib; Drysdale (P), 1541 ib; Drisdail, 1552-3 CSP.

ON Drífsdalr, from a pers. n. Drífr (Lind, 203).

The river-name must be a back-formation from this.

Dryfe is also recorded independently as a p.n.: in 1572 the lands of Over Driff are mentioned in HMC (Jhn). Dryf, 1572 HMC (Drml), is a place or district, probably in the vicinity of the present Dryfe Lodge (H & C).

The Scots surname Drysdale comes from the 16th Cent. spellings of Dryfesdale.

NITHSDALE:

Nyddisdail, c 1400 (c 1500) Wyntoun (w); Nithisdale, 1408 HMC (Jhn); Nethis-, 1440-1 RMS; 1553 HMC (Drml); Nid(d)is- 1544-5 ib; Blaeu.

Compare Redesdale, Nb., for a Celtic river-name with a genitival ending before -dale. Clydesdale is of the same type: Cliddisdaile, c 1400 (1475-1500) Wyntoun (C); Clyddysdail, c 1485 Wallace.

EWESDALE may also belong to this group:

Ewytesdale, 1296 CDS; Ewithes-, 1333-6 ib; Ewis- 1485 (16th) APS; Housdail, c 1485 Wallace; Ews-,



1552-3 CSP.

The first element is obscure.

ESKDALE:

Eschedale, 1153-65 LSMM; Heske-, 1185 C de M;  
Esce- (P), 1269 (c 1320) Kelso; Eske-, c 1375  
 (c 1490) Brus.

This may be ON eski-dalr, "ash-tree valley", from which the river-name Esk is a back-formation on the analogy of the numerous other Esks; for which see ERN, 154.

EVANDALE:

Evindail, 1592 HMC (Jhn).

A pre-English river-name plus ON dalr or OE dael:  
 cf. Coquetdale, Nb.

MOFFATDALE:

Moffetdal, 1334 Percy, a Celtic town-name with -dale is comparable to Lauderdale, No. XXVI.

LXXXVI. ON gil,

"ravine". Dial. gill can also mean "a stream".

Gil is recognised as a W. Scand. term: it does not appear in Nb. or Du., but is common in Y. In Dmf. it appears in greatest numbers in the south and in the eastern districts adjacent to Rxb., where there are several examples in the parish of Castleton.

RXB. STANYGILL BURN (Cst):

Stainygil, Blaeu.

"Burn in the stony ravine"; not an early formation.

WHISGILLS (Cst): (89, 11 B):

Whisgills, 1590 CBP; Whissgils, Blaeu.

The first element is obscure. It might be ON hvisl, "whisper".

DMF. ALMAGILL (Dlt): (88, 14 D):

Almygill, 1590 RPC; Amy-, Blaeu; Almi-, 1648 Reg.

Sas. Dmf.

Perhaps ON almenni, "common land" is the first element, but this is very doubtful.

ARESGILL SIKE (Lang): (89, 6 A):

Ersgillis, 1516 RMS.

OE ersc, "pasture, stubble", may be represented: cf. Archwood, No. XX.

CADGILL (Hfm):

Catgill(e), 1552 Bullock; 1590 RPC; Blaeu.

ON katt-gil, "wild cat ravine". Note t voiced to d before g.

CARLESGILL (Wstk):

Cairlsgill b., Blaeu.

ON karl, "freeman", is the first element.

CASSOCK HILL (Esk), also Over and Nether

Cassock: (85, 4 D):

Cowsowgill, 1481-2 HMC (Drml); Coschogill, 1526, 1538 HMC (Drml); 1590 RPC; 1619 HMC (Var. Coll. v);

Cashogill, Blaeu; Cowshogill, 1646 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

M Sc. cow-schaw-gil, became Coshog-hill, and by popular etymology, Cassockhill. From this the farms of Cassock took their name.

EFFGILL (Wstk): (85, 6 H):

Eggill, Blaeu.

ON efja, "mud, ooze", may be the first element.

The sides of the ravine, on which the place stands, were no doubt swampy.

GARROGILL (Wam):

Gerarogille, 1372 HMC (Drml).

Either ON Geirarðr (Lind. 312), or mediaeval Gerard, is the pers. n. in this compound.



HAREGILLS (Hod):Hairgills, 1637 L.Ch.

The modern form seems to be literally correct:  
"gills frequented by hares".

HOGHILL (Ew):      HOWGILL (Wam):Howgill, 1532 RMS; Blaeu; Hou-, 1578 HMC (Drml).

"Gill in a hollow". For the introduction of -h-  
after the initial g- of gill compare Cassockhill.

RAEGILL BURN and RIG (Can):      (89, 9 B):Ragill, 1552 Bullock; Rey-, 1597 CBP; Rea-, ib;  
Re-, Blaeu.

Probably M Sc. rae gill, "roe-deer gill":  
cf. Raegill Bogs (Cst).

There are also four names in -gill in Rxb., all  
of which have an English first element which shows that  
they were mediaeval or later dialect formations. In  
Dumfries there are twenty-four other examples many of  
which are no doubt of fairly recent origin.

LXXXVII. ON slakki,

"shallow valley".

DMF. GATESLACK (Drd): (84, 7 E):

Gaitslake, 1638 Reg. Sas. Dmf.; -slacht, 1658 ib.

ON geit-slakki, "goat valley".

MITCHELLSLACKS (Clb):

Michalslacks, 1655 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

The first element seems to be an earlier form of the surname Mitchell.

There are also 4 names in -slack in Slk., 3 in Rxb., and 3 in Dmf. They do not appear to belong to the Norse period.

Slack is not found in Bwk., Nb. or Du., in place-names, although it is contained in the dialect of Northumberland. It occurs frequently in the place-names of Y., La., Cu. and We.

LXXXVIII. ON holmr,

1.OE holm, "a piece of dry land in a fen, a piece of land surrounded by streams" (DEPN, 235). Dial. holm, "a piece of low-lying ground by a river or stream" (IPN ii, s.v.). This is usually the sense in Dmf. and Rxb.: cf. "the dowie houms o' Yarrow".

RXB. BAHOLM TOWER (Cst):

Bourhooms, Blaeu.

If Blaeu's spelling is authentic, M.Sc. bour, perhaps in the sense of "place overgrown with foliage", is the first element.

DEMAINHOLM (Cst): (89, 11 B):

Demayne Holme, 1583 CBP; Damain Hoo, Blaeu.

"Holm with an estate in it": ME demeyne from O Fr. demeine.

DMF. BEARHOLMS (KJ):

Beirholme, 1630 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

Perhaps "barley holm", from OE bere; but perhaps beir- represents M.Sc. bair, bare, "bare".

BIGHOLM (Lang): (89, 7 B):

Bygams, 1583 CBP; Biggiemms, Blaeu.

Perhaps ON bygg-holmr, "barley holm".

BILLHOLM (Wstk):

Billum, Blaeu.



ON Bili, pers. n., may be the first element, as Bila-holmr.

BROOMHOLM (Lang):

Brumholme, 1532 RMS; Brume-, 1569 RPC.

"Broom valley".

CALVERTS HOLM (KF): (89, 6 F):

Caversholme, 1509 RMS; Cavarthoom, Blaeu;

Cavetholm, 1662 RMS.

The first spelling may be merely an attempt to equate the first element with a known name. Cavart- is seen again in Glencartholm and is probably Gaelic. In this case the name has finally been associated with the surname Calvert.

ENZIE HOLM (Wstk): (85, 6 H):

Eynze, 1532 RMS; Aynze, 1532 ib; Ainziehoom,

Blaeu.

Watson claims Enzie- as Gaelic, from eang, "nook, triangular piece of land" (CPNS, 180). This fits the topography of the site.

ERKINHOLME (Lang): (89, 8 A):

Arkinholme, 1532 RMS; Erkinhoom, Blaeu.

Perhaps from ON Arnkell > ME Arkel > Arken by dissimilation. M.Sc. Erkin- is an inverted spelling.

GLENCARTHOLM (Can):

Glencavartisholme, 1590 RPC.

Glencawart must have been the original p.n. to which -holm was added.

KINGHOLM QUAY (Dmf): (88, 10 E):

Kyngesholm, 1355-6 CDS; Kingisholme, 1528 RSS.

"King's holm" or perhaps "holm belonging to a person with the surname King".

LANGHOLM (Lang): (89, 8 A):

Langholme, 1532 RMS.

"Long holm", perhaps originally what is now the grounds of Langholm Lodge which form a long strip of low-lying ground beside the River Esk.

LYNEHOLM (Wstk): (85, 5 H):

Lymholm, 1532 RMS (m - nn?); Lynumm, Blaeu.

Perhaps OE hlynn, "waterfall, torrent" and holm.

MEIKLEHOLM (Kkm): Mikkilholme, 1439-40 RMS.

MEIKLEHOLMSIDE (Mof): Meikle Holmside, 1309 RC;

Mikylholmesyde, 1317 RMS.

ON mikill holmr, "big river-valley".

MURTHOLM (Lang):

Murthumhooime, Blaeu.

Blaeu's spelling suggests a form Murthum, a dat. plur., to which -holm has been added. An OE \*murtum, from \*murt, meaning "stump" (cf. MHG murz), might be a p.n. forming the base of the compound: cf. Morteheoe, D. (DEPN, 316).

"Lost" names are Bellisholme, 1590 RPC, perhaps represented by Bell's Flow, with a family name for the first element.

Dimpleholm, Wyneholm, Caldholm, Cassieholm, Black-dubholm, occur in 1662 RMS.



LXXXIX. ON grein,

"fork, branch", used of a small valley opening from another. It is unlikely that any of these names belong to an early period. They are all nature-names, and must have been constructed at a time when grain had become an element in the current local speech.

RXB. HAREGRAIN RIG (Cst):

Haregrame, Blaeu (am = ain).

M Sc. hare, hair, "hare" is the first element.

DMF. GRAINS (Hod):

Graines, 1635 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

The place commands a view of one or two small valleys.

SLK. BLACK GRAIN (Ettr); Blakgrane, 1510 RMS.

BLACK GRAIN RIG (Yar): Blackgrams, Blaeu (am - ain).

There are also nine names in -grain in Rxb. (in the parishes of Cst. and Tvt.), sixteen in Dmf., and eleven in Slk. In most cases the first element is English. There are no obviously Norse compounds, although -grain appears exclusively in the W. Scand. area. There are no instances of its use in Bwk., Tweeddale, Nb. (except in upper Tynedale) or Du., but it is to be found in Y., La., Cu. and We. In South Scotland it does not occur as the first element of compounds.

XC. ON bekk, r,

"stream".

DMF. ALLERBECK (KF): (89, 4 E):

Elrebec, c 1218 HMC (Drml); Ellirbek, 1517 RMS;

Ellerbeck, Blaeu; Aller-, 1637 L.Ch.

ON elri bekk, "alder-grove stream": cf. Ellerbeck (PN YNR., 212). Mod. Sc. aller has been substituted later.

ARCHER BECK (Can): (89, 10 C): is so spelt, 1552, Bullock.

Archer may be a surname: cf. Patrick le Archer, a Scot, 1292 H.C. Compare Archer Cleugh on the Kielder Burn, Nb.

BODESBECK (Mof): (85, 1 C):

Bodsbeck, 1457 HMC (Jhn); Bodisbek, 1535 ib; -byke,

1581 RPC; -beik, 1590 ib; Bodsbek, 1658 Reg. Sas.

Dmf.

Mod. Sc. bod, "person of small size" (SND, s.v.), perhaps in the sense of "brownie, gnome", may be the first element: cf. Gael. bodach, "old man". Hogg's tale of the Brownie may have been based on a very old tradition.

WINTERSEUGH (Cum): (89, 2 F):

Winterbech scok, 1194-1214 HMC (Drml).

Scok is ON skógr, "wood". The "winter beck" would be a watercourse, full only in winter: cf. the numerous Winterbournes in England (DEPN, 500).

"Lost" names are:-

Aykesbec, 1194-1214 CDS, which falls into the Sark. The first element may be ON eik, "oak", although the genitive ending is unusual.

Blakebec, c 1218 HMC (Drml) near Howthat; "black burn".

Bochardbech, 1306-29 ib; the first element is the Norman name Bochard seen in Botcherby, Cu. (DEPN, 51).

Castelbec, 1275-1306 ib; ME castel, "castle, fortification", plus bekkr.

Gillemartinebech, 1194-1214 ib. Gael. Gillamartain (Sc. & C., 69), pers. n., is the first element.

There is one other name in -beck in Rxb., and there are nine in Dmf. Muckle Hind Beck (Cst), Mere Beck (Mof), Muirbeck (Cum), Trout Beck (H & C) and Water Beck (Mid) are almost certainly dialect formations. Fishbeck (Apl) and Greenbeck (Jhn) may have been originally fisk-bekkr and grōen bekkr. Beck (Dryf) and Becks (Lang) may belong to the Norse period. Craigbeck (Mof) contains a Gael. element.

Beck does not appear in Bwk., Slk. or the greater part of Rxb. There are no examples recorded for Nb.



and Du. The single Rxb. name is in Castleton parish, while the Dmf. names are mostly in the east and south. The distribution of this element is very similar to that of ON gil.

XCI. ON vað,

"a ford", is the terminal in SOLWAY, the name now applied to the firth, but originally to a ford across the mouth of the Esk (Neilson - Annals, 256-261).

Sulewad, 1218 CDS; -wat, 1249 APS; -waht, c 1275 ib; Solewathe, 1274-80 CDS; 1315-20 ib; Sulwat, 1292 DIHS; -wath, 1300 Neilson; -waythe, 1340 CDS; -way, c 1485 Wallace; 1510 RMS; Soulwadz, 1307 CDS.

The ON form seems to have had a short vowel in the first element. This might have been due to e.ME Shortening before a consonant group: Súlvað > Sǔlwath, in which case Ekwall's suggestion of ON súl, or súla, can be upheld (DEPN, 410). If the original vowel was short, however, an ON \*sǔl-r, an ablant grade of a term cognate with OE sol, "muddy, pool", may be postulated. A derivative of ON sulla, "to swill", is also possible: the inrush of the Solway tides might suggest the idea of "flushing"; cf. a stream-name, Swilgate, Gl., which contains the same basic idea although the name is English and probably denoted a floodgate (ERN, 387). The various Swales belong to the same root (ib, 385).

It is possible that the name was originally English,

as OE sol-wæd, later Scandinavianised.

A "lost" name is <sup>z</sup>Blaatwood, which is placed near Torduff Point (Grt) in Blaeu's map of Annandale. It is described as a fishing. According to the Register of Holme Cultram, the fishing at Blawath was in the water of Esk, but a charter of Robert Bruce, c 1190, makes a grant of land "inter piscariam de Blawad et aquam de Hesch", which indicates that it was beyond the mouth of the river.

Blawath, 1175-1214 (15th) R. St. B; 1194-1200 (1300) HC; -wad, c 1190 HMC (Drml); -wat (P), 1573 ib; Blawetwod (P), 1552-3 CSP; Blawatwod, 1583 RPC; Blaat-, Blaeu; Blaet-, 1630 Reg. Sas. Dmf.

ON blá vað, "blue or grey ford": cf. Blawath Beck (PN YNR., 82).

Stragglingswath Plantation (Rth) may also contain vað.



XCII. ON myrr,

"swampy moorland".

BWK. BILLIEMIRE BURN (Chrn. and Cld.): (75, 10, 11 H):

Bilymyre, 1383 CDS.

The p.n. Billie (cf. Billie Castle), is the first element. The origin may be Gael. baile, "farm"; but compare Billy Mill, Nb., which is molendinum de Billing, 1320 (PN Nb. Du., 22).

WHITEMIRE (Edr): (75, 10 J):

Whytmyre, 1621 HMC (Wed).

"White bog".

SLK. HARTWOODMYRES (Slk):

Hartwoodmyrs; cf. No. XX.

A "lost" name is The Carsmyir, 1535 Dryb., in A. St. B. This may be Gael. cars, M.Sc. carse, "ground in a river-valley" and mire.

There are four other names in -mire:-

Foulmire Heights (Cst), Queen's Mire (Cst), Drake-mire (B & Pr) which has a parallel in Cu. near Catlowdy, and Skipmyre (Tnw).

None of these names is likely to belong to the ON period. They are all M.Sc. formations, made when mire was already an element in the S.Scots speech.

XCIII.

Miscellaneous terms for hills, rocks, etc.

- (a) ON fjall, "fell, hill", occurs sixteen times, but there are no early spellings. It is coupled with diverse first elements. Capell Fell (Ettr & Dmf) contains ME kapall, "horse" a Norse loan from Irish. Loch Fell (Esk) and Craig Fell (Wam) are Gaelic. English terms appear in Dod Fell (Cst) and (Wstk), Black Fell (Mof) and perhaps Cowan Fell (H & C). Scaw'd Fell (Wam) contains a Scots dial. word, Norse in origin: see No. XXXI. Several first elements now English may have been Norse words anglicised:- Berryfell (Cav) from ON berg, Birny Fell (Cst) from ON brynja, Pike Fell (Hbk) and (Ew) from ON pik, Hart Fell (Mof) and (H & C) from ON hjörtr, and Wind Fell (Ettr) from ON vindr. All may nevertheless be simply dialect formations. Swatte Fell (Mof) might contain ON svæði, "open, exposed space".

Names in Fell occur south and east of the Teviot in Rxb., in the southern part of Slk., and east of the Annan in Dmf. The few examples in

Nb. are in Upper Tynedale. The term is in most common use in Cu. and We. It is also found in La., Y. and Shetland.

(b) ON brekka, "a slope", is the terminal of Torbeck-hill (Mid):- Thorbrek, 1194-1214 HMC (Drml); Torbrack hilles, 1552 Bullock; Torbok hill, Torbackhills, Blaeu. Gael. torr, "rock", as in Torthorwald, may be the first element: both exhibit spellings with initial th-. But cf. Tarbock, La: Torboc DB; Thorbok, 1243; originally Thorn-brook (PN La. 113, 263), which makes þorn a possible first element here.

(c) ON hreysi, "cairn", "heap of stones", is probably the latter element of Clenries (Sqr), Stenries (Cum) and Stenrieshill Ho. (Wam). Clenries is Clenry, Blaeu, and may have some other etymology. Stenries is Steinreis(bech), 1194-1214 HMC (Drml); Stanrase, 1446-7 ib; Stanyris, 1450 RMS; Stane-reis, 1544 ib, from ON stein-hreysi "cairn of stones".

(d) ON sker, "rock, cliff", appears as the ending of six names for which there are no early forms. Redscar Law (Cad) may have scar (from Fr. escare),



in the sense of "gash", as may Red Scar (Glc).

The other examples may be Norse compounds:-

Kidd's Scar (Rbt) from ON kið "kid", Berryscaur (H & C) from ON berg, and Hallscar (Pnp) from ON hallr "slope", or "big stone". Whan Scar (Dor) is a rock on a sandbank in the Solway: the first element is perhaps ON hvammr, "marshy hollow", in which case the rock must have taken its name from a place on the shore. There are several "lost" names in -scar denoting rocks in the Solway. "A low-lying rock cluster which rises and no more than rises above the level of the sands is always called a scar" (Neilson - Annals, 266). Compare Clutesker, c 1304 HMC (Drml); Brewin Skar, 1516 HMC (Drml); Halskar, 1565 ib.

(e) ON gnipa, "hill, peak", must occur in High Knypes (Kel).

(f) ON skarð, "notch, cleft, mountain pass", seems to be the second element of Hartsgarth (Cst), Rxb: Harskarth, 1583 CBP; Harth scarth, 1590 RPC. The first element may be ON hjørtr, "stag", M Sc. harte. Rokkelskarth, 1516-17 RMS, and Rowlskarth, Blaeu, seem to mark a small stream-valley at Rock Hall (Msw): cf. No. XXIII.

- (g) ON vra, "nook, corner", is used of a remote or secluded spot. Breconrae (Msw) is Brakanwra, 1309 RC; Bracanewra, 1532 RMS; Brakinwra, c 1560 RMS; Brecken-wrae, Blaeu, from ME braken wra, "bracken-grown spot". The a of braken is fronted to e in several names in this area: cf. Breckenrig (Lmb), Breckenshank (Ew), Breckenny Knowe (Lang), Breckonside (Glc). Wrae (Ew), is Wra, 1532 RMS, "nook, secluded place". There is also Greenwrae (Hfm).
- (h) ON leikr, originally "sport, play", came to mean "a place for sport". Cocklicks (Rth): Coklakis, 1507-8 RMS; 1509 APS; Cocklaikes, 1637 L.Ch., may be a place where cock-fighting was carried on, or simply a place where wild fowl disported themselves. Compare Cockplay (Rbt), and C ~ Hill (Cst), (Ew), which may have the same meaning.

XCIV.

Miscellaneous terms denoting streams, springs, etc.

- (a) ON á, "river, stream", is no doubt the base of the Water of Ae, although there are no early forms to prove it.
- (b) The Scar Water (Pnp and Tyn), is Scharre, 1374 HMC (Drml); Scair, 1554 ib; Water of Skar, 1581 ib., which is perhaps ON sker, "rock". The river may have been named from some outstanding rock in its course.
- (c) ON kelda, "spring", is the terminal in Springkell Kell (KF): Springkayl(1), 1485 HMC (Jhn). For a similar construction compare Blaeu's Springkells for Springfield (Grt).
- (d) ON eyrr, "sandbank", seems to be the second part of Woodcock Air, a hill on the banks of the Annan near Hoddom Castle: Wodecok Heyr, 1333-4 RS; Wodecokheir, 1360 CDS; Wodcokkar(e), 1504 RSS; 1508-9 ib. The first element is English. There are, however, no sandbanks in the river at this point.



XCV.

## Miscellaneous Norse Names.

TINWALD (Tnw): (88, 11 B):Tynwald, 1335-6 CDS.ON Þing-vollr, "field where the assembly meets".

The presence of such a name indicates a large Norse population in the immediate vicinity, and to the persistence of Norse customs and speech for a considerable period. Cf. Tingwall (PN Sh., 125), Dingwall, Ross (PNS., 156), Tynwald (PN I.O.M., 416), Thingwall (PN La., 112), Thingwall, Ch. (DEPN, 444).

BROATS (KF): (89, 5 F):Brotis, 1543 RPS; Brottis, 1619 Reg. Sas. Dmf.;Broits, 1662.RMS.

ME brotes, "clearings", from ON bróti, "heap of trees felled in a wood": cf. Broates (PN YNR., 86).

HODDOM (Cum): (89, 2 E):

This is a difficult problem, and is as likely to be Celtic as Norse. I include it here as a Norse solution seems the most plausible.

Holdelm, 12th C. Vita Kentig; Hodelm(e), c 1124(12th) Glas; 1189, 1199 CDS; 1194-1214 HC; -elmla, 1179,CDS; c 1190 HMC (Drml); -olm(e), 1194-1212 CDS;1296 ib; -olmla, 1194-1212 ib; -almla, ib;

-holm(e), 1215-41 HC; c 1294 LSMM; 1296 CDS;  
1317 RMS; 1544 Ham. Pap.; Odoum, 1210 CDS.

The ending may be ON hjálmr, "helmet", or perhaps, in the transferred sense, "hay-rick". The first element may possibly be an ON poetic term hodd, usually meaning "hoard, treasure", but used on one recorded occasion to denote "holy place, temple, sanctuary" (C-V, s.v., 2). Hjálmr might refer to the shape of the hill behind Hoddom Castle, and the meaning of the compound hodd-hjálmr could be "temple beside the helmet-shaped hill".

XCVI."INVERSION COMPOUNDS"

Ekwall devotes the greater part of his work "Scandinavians and Celts in North-West England" to the discussion of this type of compound. There are only a handful of examples in our area, but they are worth noting.

These names are modelled on the common Celtic type, both Gaelic and British, which abound in the Border Counties, in which the second element determines the first, e.g. Glendinning, Carruthers, Kilblain, Dumbretton. In the Inversion Compounds, however, the first element is usually Norse, and the second may be Norse also. The terminal is most often a personal name denoting an early owner of the site, or a saint to whom a church is dedicated. It is supposed that these names were formed by Norse settlers on the analogy of the Celtic names they found already in existence. At first Celtic-Norse hybrids appeared but later all-Norse compounds were formed and so we have examples of names in N.W. England such as Becsnari (Sc. & C., 18), Butterilket (ib, 21), and Chelduspat (ib, 21).

The Scottish Inversion Compounds are to be found



almost solely in Dumfries and Galloway. The commonest type is that composed of kirk- followed by the name of the saint to whom the church was dedicated. In such names, Kirk- is plainly ON kirkja. In some of the names this sometimes exchanges with Kil-, which shows that these compounds were equally acceptable to Norse and Gaelic speakers.

Similar in form is the "lost" <sup>Æ</sup>Rainpatrick, which is marked on Blaeu's Atlas on Redkirk Point (Grt). Spellings are: Renpatric, 1165-1214 LSMM; Rein- 1214 ib; Reyn-, Raynpatrik, 1304 CDS; Royn-, c 1305 HMC (Drml), to which can be added Ekwall's Rein-, Raynpatrik, Reyn-, Rainpatrick, c 1200 (Sc. & C., 92-3). These forms indicate a long vowel or diphthong in the first element which does not agree with Watson's derivation from O.Brit. <sup>Æ</sup>rindo, W. rhynn, "promontory" (CPNS., 496), and makes Ekwall's suggestion of O.Ir. rainn, "part, share", preferable. This term must have been brought from Ireland by the Norse settlers, unless the whole formation is Irish, and has merely been transplanted in Dumfries.

Torthorwald may be another construction of the same type: Torthorald, 1214-18 LSMM; 1215-45 CDS; Thor-, 1215-45 CDS, from O.Celt. <sup>Æ</sup>torr, "rock", and the ON pers. n. Toraldr: cf. Torvean, Inverness, a

Gaelic formation from torr Beathain (PNS., 313).

A possible example is Watcarrick (Esk) (85, 4 G):

Weitkerroc, 1165-1214 LSMM; Weid-, ib; Wat-, 1214-49 ib;

Watkerroch, ib; Wathkerrock, 1249-96 ib. The first

element is ON veiðr, "place for fishing or hunting",

later confused with ON vað. The terminal seems to be

O Ir. carric, OW carrecc, "rock", for which cf. Blind-

crake, Cu: Blankeryk, 1237 (Sc. & C., 105).

There is only one example of two Norse words combining to form an Inversion Compound in this area,

Westerkirk, the name of a parish in Dumfries: Wester-

kerk, 1298 (probably a late copy) DIHS; Wathstirkir,

1304 LSMM; Wastirker, 1309 ib, Wadsterker, 1316 ib;

Westirker, c 1316 ib; Wathstirker(e), 1319 CDS; 1347

RS. Ekwall interprets this satisfactorily as ON vað,

"ford" and the pers. n. Styrkarr (Sc. & C., 59). ME

vaðst- > M.Sc. wast- with loss of medial ð, and this

was equated with M.Sc. wast for ME west. Westerker

Rig (Wstk) retains the original ending which was early

associated with -kirk.

Compounds with Kirk- plus a personal name:-

KIRKBLAIN (Cr1): Kirkeblan, 1264-6 Rot. Scac.

The ruins of an ancient church here are known as Kilblain: Kilblein, Blaeu, which shows that the Celtic form of the name was equally common. Compare Kilblane

(Kmh). For Blaán who is commemorated in the name, see Watson (CPNS, 164-5).

KIRKBRIDE (Keir): Kirkbridis, 1556 HMC (Drml).

Church of St. Bride: cf. Kirkbride, Cu. (Sc. & C., 54).

KIRKCONNEL (Kcl), (Hod) or (Tyn): Kirconnel, 1296 CDS; Kirk Coneval, 1303-4 ib; Kirkconevel, 1304 ib; Kirkconwel, 1335-6 ib.

Church of St. Convallus: cf. CPNS., 169.

NETHER KIRKCUDBRIGHT (Glc): Kirkcudbrecht, 1549 RMS.

Church of St. Cuthbert, OE Cūðberht.

KIRKMAHOE (Kmh): Kirkemaho, 1257 (c 1500) LSMM; -mogho, 1319 CDS; K. Maho, Blaeu.

Church of St. Mochoe: cf. CPNS., 162.

KIRKMICHAEL (Kkm): Kernyghkel, 1296 CDS.

Church of St. Michael.

KIRKPATRICK (K.F.): Kirkepatric, 1189 CDS;

Kilpatrick, 1296 CDS; Kyrkepatrik, 1306-29 HMC (Drml).

Church of St. Patrick. Note that the Celtic prefix Kil- interchanges with the Norse Kirke-. This is seen in the double form of the surname to-day.



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The first element may be the same as appears in Bonjedward (No. VI). OE bune, "dogweed", may also be considered: cf. Bumpstead (PN ESS., 508) and Bonwick (PN YER, 80). Bonchester Hill bears a large pre-English earthwork.

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

Chesterr, Blaeu.

There are several "forts" within a mile.

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

Haychester, Blaeu.

The hill has a "fort" upon it. The first element is probably ME heigh, "high".

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

Rughechestre, 1165-1214 NMS; 1325 RMS; Ruhcestr'  
(P) c 1228 (c 1320) Kelso.

"Rough castle", so named probably from the type of ground at the "fort". Compare Rowchester (Grn).

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

Quhitchestire, 1511 RMS.

"White camp": there is a "fort" on the hill above.

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

Belchester, c 1269 HMC (Home); 1533 RMS.

The first element is perhaps OE belle, "bell", in the transferred sense of "bell-shaped hill". Compare, however, Bellister, Nb. (PN Nb. Du., 17) and