

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A. NOTES ON SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES

5. *Shin*

This name applies to a river and loch in Sutherland and also forms the second part of the place-name *Invershin* at the junction of the rivers Shin and Oykell, shortly before the latter flows into the Dornoch Firth. The map name *River Shin* is an adaptation and part translation of a Gaelic *Abhainn Sin* (Watson 1926: 474). Apart from the mention of *Shyne flu* on Speed's map of 1610, early spellings of the river-name are not known to the writer—although they would be very desirable—but, as so often, the place-name which contains the river-name provides us with early forms: *Inuerchyn*, *Innerchen* 1203-14 Reg. Epis. Morav., *Innershÿn* 1570 Ortelius' Map, *Inershin* 1610 Speed's Map, *Innerschyne* 1616 Retours, *Innersinn* 1653 Gordon's Map. In the documentation of Scottish river-names the value of such compound names with the elements *Inver-* or *Aber-* followed by the name of the stream the mouth of which they indicate, cannot be overrated, and Erskine Beveridge's collection of these names (1923) has proved to be most useful from this point of view. Some of the above forms of *Invershin* have been taken from this collection (p. 110). Johnston (1934: 294) has a spelling *Shyn* for the loch-name, of the year 1595, but as he does not indicate the source of this form, we must regard it as tentative for the time being. Similarly, the form *Chinenes* which MacBain (1922: 16) mentions as a spelling of the modern place-name *Shinness* on Loch Shin, occurring in the year 1630, requires verification as to its source. A little information about the two latter names can, however, be gleaned from some early maps of Scotland, conveniently gathered together by Shearer (1905). *Shinness* appears as *Sinenesh* on Gordon's Map of 1653, and for Loch Shin we find the following spellings: *L. Shyn* 1570 Ortelius, *L. Schin* 1583 Nicolay, *L. Shyn* 1610 Speed, *Loch Sine* 1653 Gordon. These spelling variants are, on the whole, of no great significance, as they seem to be more or less interchangeable. Speed, for instance, has *Shyne* for the river, *Shÿn* for the loch, and *-shin* as the second element of *Invershin*.

There are several explanations of this name. Two of them can be discarded without much discussion: Mackay (1897: 107)

takes Shin to be “a contraction of *Sithean*, round green mounts, or small round hills,” which is unsuitable from both the phonetic and the semantic point of view. There is every indication that Shin is an original river-name and that the name of the loch, as well as the two place-names *Invershin* and *Shinness* are derived from it. The same objections apply to Johnston’s connection of the name with Gael. *seun*, *sian* (1934: 294; and in earlier editions) from which he derives a meaning “Loch of the charm” for the loch-name. The improbability of such an explanation makes any further comment superfluous, quite apart from the fact that it is very unlikely that *Loch Shin* represents a Gaelic *Loch an t-seuna*.

A third explanation is less easily dismissed, as its phonetic basis is perfectly valid. In this instance, *Shin* is said to be identical with Gael. *sin*, genitive of *sean* “old” (so Watson 1926: 474; Mackenzie 1931: 95) and the name is compared with the Irish river-name *Shannon* which appears in Ptolemy as *Σήνου* (gen.) and in Old Irish as *Sinann* (for the old forms cf. Hogan 1910: 603). According to Watson and O’Rahilly (1946: 4-5) the nominative **Sēnos* should be read as **Senos* or **Senā* “the old one,” and Watson postulates a similar basis for our river-name *Shin*. Earlier (1905-6: 236) he had suggested the root “*si*, *sei*, ‘bend,’ as seen in *σιμος* ‘snubnosed’; *simius*, *sinus*,” for both the Shannon and the Shin, but seems to have dropped this suggestion at a later date. If Ptolemy’s *ή* may be read as *e* and if the basis of *Shannon* is Old Irish *sen* “old”—as is also implied by Connellan’s faulty analysis as “*sin* ‘old’ + *abhainn*” (1870: 455-6)—there are still semantic difficulties to overcome, for a meaning “the old one” is not as easily explained as may appear at first glance. O’Rahilly (1946: 4) equates the river-name with the name of a goddess and translates “the ancient (goddess),” but it is not at all apparent that river-worship was as common amongst the insular Celts as O’Rahilly maintains, and it is certainly not permissible to deify the Shannon on this evidence alone, unless there are other, non-linguistic, reasons for such a concept. A mere explanation as “the old (river)” which Watson seems to have in mind would be more than curious if there is no proof that the river actually changed its course (cf. Ekwall’s discussion [1928: 148] of the cognate Welsh word *hen* “old” in names like *Ennick*, etc.). This applies to both the Shannon and our Sutherland Shin.

In favour of a derivation from Gael. *sean* “old” it may be

said that the practice of naming a water-course by calling it "old" or "new" is, of course, not completely unknown in Scotland. Aberdeenshire has a *Wester* and an *Easter Shenalt*, compounded of Gaelic *sean* "old" and *allt* "burn." There is an *Allt Ur* in Inverness-shire which seems to mean the opposite, containing Gaelic *ùr* "fresh, new, etc." (but in this case a meaning "fresh burn" or "vigorous burn" is possible). The *River Noe* in Argyllshire is usually said (cf., for instance, Watson 1926: 54) to represent a Gaelic *Abhainn Nodha* "new river," and the *River Nith* in south-west Scotland has sometimes been equated with Ptolemy's *Noovios*, with the same meaning. The relationship between *Nith* and *Novios* is not at all clear, however, in spite of several attempts at linking the two. Finally, there is an *Old Burn* in Peeblesshire which would qualify here if the first element in this name were genuinely identical with English *old*. These are the examples which the one inch Ordnance Survey maps supply; there may be more not recorded on them, but although the concept of "oldness" and "newness" is present in Scottish river-nomenclature, the most convincing example being probably *Shenalt*, it is anything but common, considering that there are more than 8000 Scottish river-names marked on these maps. Moreover, the name which would represent the exact counterpart, if *Abhainn Sin* meant "old river"—*Abhainn Nodha*—proves that the use of the genitive *sin* would be at least unusual in this type of name, in which case morphological objections would make this Gaelic derivation even more improbable.

These three interpretations, the last of which has to be given serious thought as we have seen, are based on the assumption that the two names—Shin and Shannon—are of Goidelic origin. The possibility that the name of the Shannon might be non-Goidelic and even pre-Celtic was first mentioned by Pokorny (1936: 324 and 1938-9: 127-8) who took the η in $\Sigma\eta\nu\omicron\nu$ to represent *i* and, basing his argument on the early Irish and Latinised forms, postulated an original **Sinnōnā* bearing in mind the possibility of a further inflection **Sinnū*, gen. *Sinnonos*, manifested in $\Sigma\eta\nu\omicron\nu$. In a later defence of his theory against O'Rahilly (1953: 114) he considered emending the hypothetical basis to **Sinnūnā*, but the arguments supporting either of these two bases do not concern our immediate problem. What is of importance to us is that Pokorny takes up Stokes's (quoted in Watson 1905-6: 236) and Zimmer's (cf. Meyer 1913: 91 note 1) suggestion again which compares

Sanskrit *sindhu* “river.” He thinks of a new formation **sindh-n-> sinn*, from an oblique case of this *u*-stem (**sindh-u*, gen.-abl. **sindh-n-es*, loc. **sindh-n-i*) which he also finds in the Continental river-names *Sinnius* (tributary of the Po in Northern Italy), *Senne* (in Brabant) and *Sinn* (trib. of the Fränkische Saale in Germany).

The latter—evidenced as *Sinna* since 800 (Krahe 1949-50: 49)—provides an identical equivalent of our Scottish name *Shin*, and both seem to have developed from an original **Sindh-nā* “river” and are to be ascribed to a linguistic stratum that is earlier not only than the Goidelic names of Ireland and Scotland, but also than any Celtic names in the British Isles and in Western and Central Europe. Shannon and Shin are connected, as Watson pointed out (1905-6: 236; 1926: 474), but at a much earlier stage than he imagined, and it is precisely this wider context, linking *Shannon*, *Shin*, *Sinn*, *Senne*, *Sinnius*, which refutes O’Rahilly’s argument (1946: 5) that a basis “*sindh-n-* is intrinsically improbable and wholly unnecessary.” For a discussion of our river-name in this particular context of early, pre-Celtic hydronymy in the British Isles and on the Continent, see Nicolaisen 1957a: 255-6.

Summing up, we should like to suggest the following interpretation of *Shin* and the names connected with it: *Shin* is a primary pre-Celtic, Indo-European river-name, identical with *Sinn* (Germany) < **Sindh-nā* and cognate with *Shannon* (Ireland), *Sinnius* (Italy) and *Senne* (Brabant). It means simply “water-course” or “river.” The place-name *Invershin* was coined by the Gaels and denotes the junction of the Shin with the Oykell; it contains Gaelic *inbhir* “a confluence, a river-mouth,” and the already existing pre-Gaelic river-name *Shin*. In a similar way, an originally Scandinavian *nes* “a headland” was added to *Shin* when Norse or, later, English speaking settlers named the place that is now *Shinness*. In this case *Shin* is probably the loch-name, developed, as usual, from the name of the river that flows through or out of it.

6. *Tain*

This note is not intended to make an original contribution to the study of this name, but is only meant to inform the Scottish reader of the recent results of research carried out by Continental scholars, that has a bearing on the etymology of *Tain*. The name in question now denotes a town in Easter Ross-shire.

This, however, is secondary usage and it was primarily applied to the small river which flows past the town into the Dornoch Firth and still bears the same name. According to Watson (1904: 32) and others, the Gaelic name of the place is *Baile Dhubh(th)aich* "St. Duthac's town," which seems to be a definite indication that *Tain*, as a place-name, is not Gaelic. In view of the fact that there is another *Tain* in the parish of Olig in Caithness, Watson considers Norse origin, but as the latter is only a place-, not a river-name, it is by no means certain that—in spite of the modern spelling—the two names are of identical origin, and the Caithness *Tain* will have to be left aside for the time being.

Early forms are quoted, amongst others, by Watson (1904: 32), Mackenzie (1941: 101), Johnston (1934: 306) and Förster (1941: 750), none of them quoting the original source of these spellings. Förster, however, refers partly to the *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (Brichan 1855: 416) and Watson's two forms are also clearly taken from this book. There the following old spellings—mostly probably for the name of the town—are given: *Tene* 1227 Reg. Epis. Morav., *Thane* 1483 Acta Parl. Scot., *Tayne* 1487 Reg. Mag. Sig., etc., *Tayn* 1574 Book of Assignations. Watson quotes the first two of these, Mackenzie has *Tene* for 1237 and *Thayne* for 1255 and Johnston's list comprises *Tene* 1226, *Thayn* 1257 and *Tayne* c. 1375. *Tene* is obviously the same in all cases, but Mackenzie's and Johnston's other forms are completely unaccounted for. The discrepancy between *Thayne* 1255 and *Thayn* 1257, which probably mean the same early occurrence of the name, proves the necessity of a reference to the source of any place-name spelling cited.

Before we mention what we consider to be the best etymology for this name and discuss its implications, a short survey of the derivations which have been suggested so far will be necessary. We shall list them in chronological order. The first known to us occurs in the *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* (Brichan 1855: 430) and identifies *Tain* with Norse *thing* "a place of judgment," but for phonetic reasons this equation is not permissible, as both Old Norse *i* and *ng* remain in Gaelicised names (s. Watson 1904: LVII and LVIII), cf. the nearby Dingwall. A curious process of naming is implied by the explanation given by the Rev. William Taylor (1886: 9-10), who correctly thinks that the name originally belonged to the stream but holds *Eathie* to have been the old name of the burn because of the—

now practically obsolete—place-name *Inver-Eathie* at the mouth of it. According to him the Gaelic form of the latter is “Inbhir-Àthai,” which is accepted by Watson (1904: 38) who bases *àthaidh* on *àth* “a ford” and takes it to be the old name of the Tain river. If Taylor were right this would mean that the river-name Tain was younger than the Gaelic name of the water-course and that the town-name derived from the river-name was even more recent, a sequence that would be highly improbable in this form. Watson’s explanation is acceptable on the basic assumption that Tain is an original place-name, not a river-name. Although secondary river-names of this kind are not uncommon (cf. below p. 202), it looks rather as if it is the other way round in this case, and as if the second element of *Inver-Eathie*—or *Inverraithie*, as Watson has it—did not denote the water-course but the particular quality of the place at which the *inbhir* is situated, giving the whole name a meaning of “river-mouth at the ford” or “ford-mouth” or the like. Johnston (1892: 230) refers the name to Norse *thing* “a meeting,” as above, but later (1903: 279) declares this etymology to be doubtful and substitutes rather hesitantly an Old Gaelic *tàin* “water.” In the third edition of his book (1934: 306) he holds it to be Old Norse *teinn* “twig, osier” (with a cross-reference to the R. Tone in Somerset which he takes to be the same as Anglo-Saxon *tān* “twig”); this can be safely disregarded. Old Irish *tàin* “water,” however, is still in the running as a possible basis, this time backed by Mackenzie’s adoption of that etymology. According to Mackenzie (1931: 101) “*tain* is apparently a Celtic name for ‘water’ which became obsolete at an early period in history,” and he also finds it in Contin and Edderton (Ross-shire) which in his opinion mean “water-meet” (*con* “together”) and “common, or central water” (Irish *eadar* “common, between”), respectively. There does not seem to exist any evidence, however, that there ever was an Early Irish word *tàin* of this meaning, and so it is not at all surprising that “its presence in Sc. names has been ignored by Gae. etymologists,” as Mackenzie complains. Dwelly (1948: 925a) lists an obsolete Gaelic *tain*, -e f. “water,” together with *folach-tain* “water-parsnip”. Dwelly’s two words represent, as it appears, the most recent stage of a long line of copied and re-copied entries, the origin of which is traceable to at least the year 1768, although the Irish “*tain* ‘water’, *folach-tàin* ‘water-parsnip or water-sallad’ ” recorded then (O’Byrne 1768: 460b) is in all probability already based on some earlier printed

dictionary or manuscript material. The source is, however, not Lhuyd on whom O'Bryen otherwise draws, for the "Irish-English Dictionary" which forms part of the first and only volume of his *Archaeologia Britannica* (Lhuyd 1707) does not contain *tain* in this meaning. We can safely regard Gaelic *tain* "water" as a ghost-word and exclude it from the list of possible etymons for our name Tain. It seems to have been wrongly derived from the compound word which accompanies it in these entries. The majority of other Gaelic-English dictionaries have *folachdan* or *folachdain* for "water-parsnip, water-salad," instead.

In one respect Mackenzie is right, however: Tain does mean "water." This is borne out by the results of research recently carried out by Continental scholars. The important difference lies in the fact that we have to ascribe Tain to a much earlier stratum of Scottish place-nomenclature than the scholars mentioned above have done; and for this reason none of the Gaelic or Norse etymologies adduced by them has been convincing or even satisfactory. In his extensive monograph on the name of the *River Thames* and names cognate with it, Förster (1941: 750-2) derives Tain [tēn] via *Tān* from Middle English *Tain*; this represents—with early loss of the final *-e*—an Old Gaelic **Taine* < Celtic **Taniā*. This is the identical equivalent of the English river-name *Teon* in Staffordshire (Förster 1941: 745-50) whereas the Somerset *Tone* to which Johnston (1934: 304) refers is to be explained as an *ā*-stem **Tanā*, based on the same root with an *n*-extension. Besides *Tain* and *Teon*, a third example of a river-name **Taniā* is to be found in German *Zenn*, the name of a tributary of the Regnitz near Fürth. This was pointed out by Krahe, who also discussed the early spellings and the sound development of this name (Belschner-Krahe 1944: 376-7; Krahe 1949-50: 48-49). The geographical distribution of these three names—NE. Scotland, SW. England, Bavaria—does not permit any derivation from Gaelic or Norse linguistic material and points to an early Celtic or Western Indo-European stratum in the river-nomenclature of these three countries, the same stratum to which *Shin* belongs which we discussed in the preceding note.

Förster (1941: 728-9) suggests the root IE. **lā-*, *lā-*, etc. "to melt, to dissolve, to flow" as a basis and this has now been accepted by Pokorny (1957: 1054). Our names appear to be formed from an *n*-extension to that root, which is also the basis of *Water of Tanar* (Aberdeensh.), *Glentanner Water* (Selkirksh.),

as well as *Tanaro* in Northern Italy, all < **Tanaro*-/-*ā*. We already mentioned *Tone* < **Tanā*, and the Welsh river-name *Tanad* may also belong here as an original **Taneto*-. Other river-names in the British Isles and on the Continent are formed from different extensions of the same root, like *Team* (Durham), *Thame* (Oxfordsh.), *Tame* (Yorksh.), etc. < **Tamā*, *Tamar* (Cornwall) < **Tamarā*, Italian *Tammaro* < **Tamaros*, etc., or *Taw* (Devon), *Tay* (Scotland) < **Tauā*. The *Tyne* in Northumberland and its namesake in East Lothian show the same *n*-extension as our name but a different form of the root: **Tinā*. This does not exhaust the list, and we suggest (cf. also Nicolaisen 1957a: 256-63) that—for geographical reasons and because of the ancient type of stem formation and suffixes implied by these names—this hydronymic family is to be ascribed to the earliest Indo-European linguistic stratum in these islands, and that *Tain* is not only pre-Gaelic and pre-Norse, but also pre-Celtic.

7. Gaelic *lòn* in Stream-Names

This element enters into about thirty names of water-courses mentioned on the one inch Ordnance Survey maps of the Isle of Skye, with one additional example from Sutherland. These are a few of them:

- Lòn na Muice* → Varragill R. (Portree), "burn of the pig."
- Lòn Beinne Thuath* → R. Haultin (Snizort), "burn of *Beinn Tuath*."
- Lòn Loch Mhòir* → R. Hinnisdal (Snizort), "burn of *Loch Mòr*."
- Lòn an t-Sratha* → Abhainn Dhubbh (Snizort), "burn of the strath."
- Lòn Airidh-Ùige* → R. Conon (Snizort), "burn of the sheiling of *Uig*."
- Lòn Horro* → Kilmaluag R. (Kilmuir), "*Horro* burn."
- Lòn Mòr* → R. Haultin (Snizort), "big burn."
- Lòn Ruadh* → R. Hinnisdal (Snizort), "red burn."
- Lòn Glas* (1) → Kilmartin R. (Kilmuir), "green (grey, blue) burn."
- (2) → *Lòn Cleap* (Kilmuir), "do."
- Lòn a' Mhuilinn*, upper course of the latter, "burn of the mill."

In these hydronymical compounds, *lòn* always combines with Gaelic defining elements; only once it precedes an Old Norse river-name in an explicatory or pleonastic manner. This, and the significant word-order, mean that it is used in Skye river-nomenclature as a Gaelic term, and native Gaelic

speakers from other parts of the Highlands and Islands have assured the writer that it is not only part of the Skye vocabulary, in the particular meaning of “(slow moving) burn”; according to map evidence its usage in the formation of river-names seems to be restricted to that island, however, and especially to its north-eastern parts (for other examples, not necessarily on any Ordnance Survey Maps, cf. Forbes 1923: 254-8).

Now, the original meaning of Gaelic *lòn* is “marsh, mud, meadow”. This is also borne out by Skye place-nomenclature, for *Lòn Bàn*, north of Talisker, and *Lòn Buidhe*, to the north-east of Heast, are the names of swampy moorland districts, and another *Lòn Bàn* between Ceann na Beinne and An Sgùman in the south-west corner of the islands, apparently denotes both a marshy place and the small stream that flows out of it into Allt na Buaile Duibhe. In this meaning, *lòn* is probably to be connected with Early Irish *con-luan* “hounds’ excrement,” Breton *louan* “sale” (< **lut-no-* or **lou-no-*) and to be derived from an Indo-European root **leu-* “dirt, to dirty” (Pokorny 1954: 681; MacBain 1911: 232).

The semantic change from “marsh” to “water-course” may be spontaneous, as the similar development of Anglo-Saxon *brōc* “marsh” > Engl. *brook* “burn” indicates; cf. German *Bruch* which still retains the original meaning. In Skye, however, as well as in other parts of the Long Island and of the mainland, a strong Norse influence on the language and on the place-nomenclature is obvious, and Old Norse provides us with exactly the term which would fit the pronunciation and meaning of *lòn* in its Skye usage: *lōn* f. and n. “quiet water,” Norwegian *lōn* “slowly flowing water” (cf. Falk-Torp 1910: 654). For this reason, we should like to suggest that Old Norse *lōn* has at least influenced the semantic change of Gaelic *lòn*, as used in Skye, although it is quite possible that alternately Gaelic *lòn* “marsh” facilitated the incorporation of Old Norse *lōn* in the Skye vocabulary as a loan-word and that the Germanic rather than the Celtic word underlies our present hydronymic element. *Lòn* is, however—and this must be stressed again—not used in the same way as *gro* (< Old Norse *grōf* f. “brook; pit, cave”) in Lewis, i.e. as a Norse word in Norse stream-names, but rather like *grain* (< Old Norse *grein* “branch”) in southern and south-eastern Scotland, i.e. like a fully adopted loan-word in a new linguistic medium, which in the case of *lòn* would be Gaelic, in the case of *grain*, Anglo-Scottish.

There seems to be one further trace of Old Norse *lōn* in the river-nomenclature of the British Isles, apart from its localised and limited Skye usage. Ekwall (1928: 19-20) lists a name *Asland*, which apparently applies to the lower part of the Douglas, a tributary of the Ribble in Lancashire. The oldest spellings for this name are *Asklone*, *Askelone* and *Askelon* 1195-1217 (1268) in *The Chartulary of Cockersand Abbey*, and Ekwall identifies the second element *-lone*, *-lon* with Anglo-Saxon *lane*, *lone* f. "lane, passage, path" and also with Scottish dialectal *lane* "a sluggish stream of water," which occurs frequently in stream-names in Kirkcudbrightshire and Ayrshire, as well as Dumfriesshire. We should like to suggest, however, that, as *As-* (*Ask-*, *Aske-*) in *Asland* definitely stands for Old Norse *askr* "ash-tree," the second element is also of Norse derivation and is, in fact, identical with the word *lōn* discussed above. This seems to be preferable to the assumption of an Anglo-Norse hybrid name.

However great the temptation may be to include also Scottish *lane* in this word-family, it is not permissible, for phonetic reasons, to do so, unless a folk-etymological connection with English *lane* is presumed to have modified the pronunciation of the genuine product of Old Norse *lōn* in Galloway Scots.¹

8. *Lugton Water*

The river of this name flows out of Loch Libo in Renfrewshire, crosses the border into Ayrshire, and, after passing *Lugton*, *High Lugton* and two townships called *Lugtonridge*, joins the River Garnock near Kilwinning. Very early spellings of the name of the river have, apparently, not come down to us, but it is mentioned in 1578 in the *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland* (Thomas 1886: charter 2803) as *aquam de Lugdonre* which according to the index stands for *Lugdoure*. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Timothy Pont has *Ludgar fluuius* and *Lugdurr* (Dobie 1874: 23 and 5); the latter spelling was adopted by Blaeu in whose atlas (1662) the name appears as *Lugdurr fl.* A further seventeenth century reference is to be found in the "Noates and Observations of dyvers parts of the HIELANDS and Isles of SCOTLAND" which form part of *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections* (Mitchell 1907: 591) and are probably to be attributed to James Gordon, who, in his turn, seems to have copied largely from Timothy Pont. Here our river is called *Lugdoun water*.

As regards the names of settlements, *Lugton* and *High Lugton* are not mentioned on Blaeu's map of the district, but the two *Lugtonridges* appear as *Little Lugdrig* and *Luderigs*, for which Pont (Dobie 1874: 24) has *Ludgar-little* and *Ludgar meikele*. In 1791 we find *Luggtonrigge* (quoted in Evans 1878: 67).

An analysis of these forms—and the writer would be very grateful if readers could inform him of earlier occurrences of these names—shows that the spellings which contain the element *-ton* (<Anglo-Saxon *tūn* “a farmstead”) represent the latest stage in the development of the name. *Lugdoun water* of Macfarlane's Collections will probably have to be classed here, although it is not unambiguous, as the initial *d-* of *-doun* may have been influenced by the earlier forms in *-durr*, if *-doun* has not been misread for **-dour(r)* by one of the copyists anyhow. It is highly unlikely that *-doun* stands for Gaelic *dùn* “a hill, a fortress,” cognate with *tūn*.

In the RMS. form (*de*) *Lugdoure*, Blaeu's *Lugdurr fl.* and Pont's *Lugdurr* the second element has to be equated with Welsh *dwfr*, *dŵr* “water” of the well-known Celtic family Gaelic †*dobhar*, Middle Irish *dobur*, Cornish *dofer*, Breton *dour*, Gaulish (*Uerno-*)*dubrum*, <Celtic **dubron*. Pont's *Ludgar fluuius*, as well as *Ludgar-little* and *Ludgar meikele* also belong here, with obvious metathesis of the medial consonants. Here the two farms are named after the river, with the differentiating addition of *little* and *meikele*, referring to the difference in size. This distinction is also made by Blaeu, although the qualifying element occurs only in one name: *Little Lugdrig*, in opposition to *Luderigs* (plural!). In these later forms of the farm-names Scottish *rig(g)*, English *ridge* <Anglo-Saxon *hrycg* “ridge” has been added to the name of the water-course, which in these trisyllabic names with strong initial stress survives as *Lugd(r)-* and *Lude(r)-*, respectively. In both instances the final *-r* of *dwr* has been amalgamated with the initial *r-* of *rig*. In the first case, the spelling indicates that the vowel of the middle element has completely disappeared, whereas the dropping of the *-g-* in the second form is probably due to a scribal error and cannot have any phonetic significance. *Lugdrig* and *Luderig(s)*, then, stand for an older **Lug-dur-rig(s)*.

We have analysed the last two elements in this compound as Early Welsh *dwfr* < **dubron* and Scottish *rig* < *hrycg*; what, however, is the first component? *Lug-* is undoubtedly the identical equivalent of Welsh *llug* “bright” and Breton *lug*; these words are to be derived from an Early Celtic **leuko-/-ā* or

**louko-/ā* and are identical with Greek λευκός “bright, shining, white.” The Indo-European root is **leuk-* “to shine, bright; to see” (Walde 1927: 408-12; Pokorny 1954: 687ff.). This means that the earliest form of our river-name could be postulated to have been **Leuko-dubron* “bright or white water,” a form which Watson (1926: 435) assumes to be the basis of the alternative form *Lugdour* for the *River Lugar* in Ayrshire, as given twice in Macfarlane’s *Geographical Collections* (Mitchell 1907: 587 and 588). However, *Luggar* appears in the same text and on the same page as the second *Lugdour*, denoting exactly the same river, and a form *Lugar* identical with the modern spelling occurs already about 1200 in the *Liber S. Marie de Melros*, and we are quite justified in taking the basic form of *Lugar* to have been **Leukarā* or **Loukarā* (cf. Watson 1926: 433), with the *r*-extension that is so typical of Celtic and West Indo-European river-names in general. *Lugdour* (= *llug* + *dwfr*), if genuine, must be a later, secondary development, perhaps due to popular etymology and its tendency to interpret names as compounds consisting of two words, even when the second element is only a suffix. An alternative explanation is that it may be the result of elliptic shortening from **Leuk-[-aro-]dubron* (cf. Nicolaisen 1956: 62).

If we base our argumentation completely on the name-forms which have come down to us, the old name of Lugton Water has to be etymologised as an early Celtic **Leuko-dubron* “bright water,” which belongs to the same category as the many *Calders* < **Caletodubron* “hard water” or the *Fender Burn* in Perthshire, < **Uindodubron* “white water” or the Latinised Gaulish *Uernodubrum* “alder water,” mentioned above. In that case, the modern place-name Lugton is a syncopated form of **Lug-dur-ton*, with loss of the second syllable, and Lugtonridge and Lugton Water are named after the place of that name.

There is, however, another possibility, namely, that in *Lugdurr* and *Lugdoure* Early Welsh *dwfr* “water” was already an explanatory addition to the original river-name, denoting its particular hydronymic significance, just as *Lugdour* is found beside *Luggar* for the tributary of the Ayr. Another example seems to be *Allander Water*, which flows into the *River Kelvin*. In this instance, *-der* < **dubro-* was apparently added to a pre-Celtic river-name **Alaunā*, identical with *Ale Water* in *Roxburghsh.*, *Allan Water* in *Perth- and Stirlingsh.*, the older name of the *River Alness* in *Ross-sh.*, the *Northumberland*

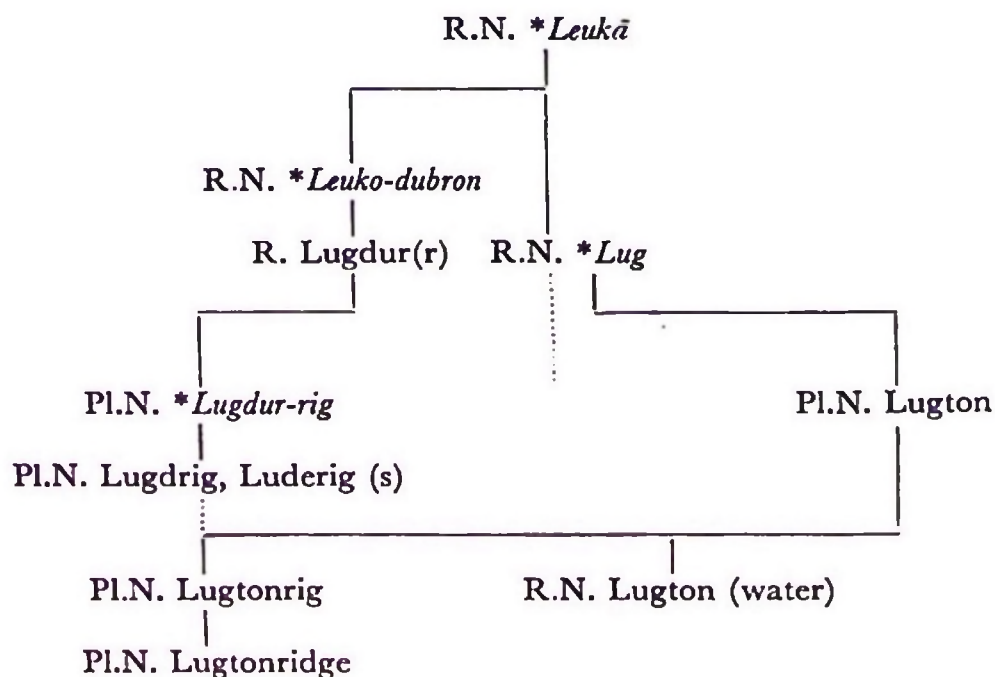
Alne, and others (cf. Nicolaisen 1957a: 226-7). Such a pleonastic usage of geographical terms meaning "water" is very common and usually occurs when a name belonging to a linguistic substratum is taken over and used by new settlers speaking a different language altogether or a different dialect of the same language. In modern Scottish river-nomenclature, *burn* and *water*, and in the Gaelic speaking areas *allt* and *abhainn* are applied in exactly the same way; cf. out of hundreds of examples some of the modern compounds containing the river-name Calder: *Allt Calder* (Inverness-sh.), *Calder Burn* (Midlothian), *Calder Water* (Lanarksh.), *River Calder* (Renfrewsh.).

As regards our name, a simple, uncompounded form **Lug* would have to be postulated to have been used alongside *Lug-dur*, and Lugton would appear to be a compound with this form. If that is so, **Lug* < **Leukā* (or **Loukā*) can be taken to be the original form of our river-name, simply meaning "the bright one." This hypothesis is supported by the fact that there are other uncompounded river-names in Scotland and in the British Isles which are to be derived from the same root. We have already mentioned Lugar (Ayrshire) < **Leuk-arā* (as an alternative, the *o*-grade **Louk-* has always to be borne in mind, as both *eu* and *ou* became *ou* in later Celtic and in Brythonic, with a later development to *u* [Jackson 1953: 305]). Then there is Lugate Water in Midlothian, a tributary of the Gala Water, which probably goes back to an original **Leuk-antī*, with *nt*-extension of the root; and Luggie Water, which flows into the Kelvin in Dunbartonshire, is supposed to represent an early **Leuk-ouiā* (Watson 1926: 443-4), sharing this derivation with the name of the river Lugg (Welsh *Llugwy*) on the Welsh-English border (cf. Ekwall 1928: 168-9, and others) and the Welsh rivers of the name of Llugwy or Lligwy (Thomas 1937: 33). There are also *Leuca* of the Ravenna Geographer (7th cent.) which Ifor Williams equates with the Welsh river Loughor (Richmond and Crawford 1949: 37), on which, according to him, stood *Leucarum* of the Antonine Itinerary (6th cent.), presupposing a river-name like **Leucara*. In that case, our Ayrshire names **Lug* < **Leukā* and *Lugar* < **Leukara* stand in the same morphological relationship to each other as *Leuca* and *Leucarum* of the ancient sources, i.e. one being a simple *ā*-stem and the other showing a characteristic *r*-extension (cf. also Jackson 1953: 38 n.3).

Because of this wealth of uncompounded *p*-Celtic river-names in the British Isles formed from the root **leuk-*, it is more

than likely that the original name of Lugton Water is to be classed amongst them, but definitive proof for this hypothesis could only be given if some early form of the river-name were to come to light which shows it in its uncompounded form. Whatever the original form of the river-name may have been, however, on the modern map and in modern usage the name of the place, containing the name of the water-course, has replaced the primary river-name. This is a substitution which is not uncommon in the make-up of the river-nomenclature of any country. On the whole, it seems to be a fairly recent development. Other examples from Scotland are, for instance, the Aberchalder Burn in Inverness-sh. (containing the river-name **Calder*), the Burn of Aberlour in Banffshire (containing **Labhar*), the Invergeldie Burn in Perthshire (containing a river-name **Geldie* < Gaelic **Gealaidh*), Inveruglas Water in Dunbartonsh. (originally **Douglas*), and others. In other cases, a place-name completely unconnected with the river-name has now come to denote the water-course as well, so that there is no trace of the primary river-name left. In this respect, our *Lugton Water* is representative of a typical modern trend in the semantic development of any hydronymy, i.e. to name a river after its—very often artificial—surroundings, rather than after qualities of the water or the water-course itself, as was the practice in earlier phases of geographical naming (cf. Nicolaisen 1957*b*: 238-9).

Diagrammatically, the genesis of our name, as we see it, would present itself as follows:



The alternative development, as mentioned above, would be to delete all references to **Leukā* and **Lug* and to start from **Leuko-dubron*, linking *Lugdur(r)* with *Lugton* as its synco-pated derivative.

NOTE

- ¹ In connection with this problem I have benefited greatly from discussing it with Mr. David Murison and Mr. A. J. Aitken, editors of *The Scottish National Dictionary* and *The Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* respectively.

REFERENCES

- BELSCHNER, MARIELOUISE, and KRAHE, HANS
1944 "Süddeutsche Flussnamen." *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 67: 371-86.
- BEVERIDGE, ERSKINE
1923 *The "Abers" and "Invers" of Scotland*. Edinburgh.
- [BRICHAN, JAMES B.]
1855 *Origines Parochiales Scotiae. Volume Second. Part 2*. Edinburgh.
- CONNELLAN, OWEN
1870 "On the Rivers of Ireland." *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 10 (No. 48): 443-58.
- DOBIE, JOHN SHEDDEN (ed.)
1874 *Cuninghame, Topographized by Timothy Pont, A.M., 1604-1608, . . .* Glasgow.
- DWELLY, EDWARD
1949 *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary* (5th edition). Glasgow.
- EKWALL, EILERT
1928 *English River-Names*. Oxford.
- EVANS, JOHN
1878 "Note on a Bronze Buckler Found on Lugtonridge Farm, in the Parish of Beith." *Archaeological and Historical Collections Relating to the Counties of Ayr and Wigton* 1: 66-73.
- FALK, H. S., and TORP, ALF
1910 *Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* 1. Band. Heidelberg.
- FÖRSTER, MAX
1941 *Der Flussname Themse*. Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Abteilung. Jahrgang 1941, Band 1. München.
- HOGAN, EDMUND
1910 *Onomasticon Goedelicum*. Dublin.
- JACKSON, KENNETH
1953 *Language and History in Early Britain*. Edinburgh.
- JOHNSTON, JAMES B.
1892 *Place-Names of Scotland*. Edinburgh.
1903 *Place-Names of Scotland*. Second Edition. Edinburgh.

- JOHNSTON, JAMES B.
1934 *Place-Names of Scotland*. Third Edition. London.
- KRAHE, HANS
1949-50 "Alteuropäische Flussnamen." *Beiträge zur Namensforschung* 1: 24-51. (The first part of an article continued throughout the first 6 volumes of the journal.)
- LHUYD, EDWARD
1707 *Archaeologia Britannica*. Vol. 1. Oxford.
- MACBAIN, ALEXANDER
1911 *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*. [Edited by Calum MacPharlain]. Stirling.
1922 *Place Names Highlands and Islands of Scotland*. Edited by William J. Watson. Stirling.
- MACKAY, JOHN
1897 "Sutherland Place-Names. Parishes of Lairg and Creich." *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 20 (1894-6): 103-25.
- MACKENZIE, W. C.
1931 *Scottish Place-Names*. London.
- MEYER, KUNO
1913 "Aus dem Nachlass Heinrich Zimmers." *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 9: 87-120.
- MITCHELL, SIR ARTHUR (ed.)
1907 *Geographical Collections Relating to Scotland Made by Walter MacFarlane*. Vol. 2. Publications of the Scottish History Society Volume 52. Edinburgh.
- NICOLAISEN, WILHELM
1956 *Studies in Scottish Hydronymy*. Thesis (typescript). Glasgow.
1957a "Die alteuropäischen Gewässernamen der britischen Hauptinsel." *Beiträge zur Namensforschung* 8: 209-68.
1957b "The Semantic Structure of Scottish Hydronymy." *Scottish Studies* 1: 211-40.
- [O'BRYEN]
1768 *Focalóir Gaoidhilge-Sax-Bhéarla or An Irish-English Dictionary*. Paris.
- O'RAHILLY, T. F.
1946 *Early Irish History and Mythology*. Dublin.
- POKORNY, JULIUS
1936 "Zur Urgeschichte der Kelten und Illyrier." *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 20: 315-52 and 489-522.
1938-39 "Zur Urgeschichte der Kelten und Illyrier." *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 21: 55-166.
1953 "Die Geographie Irlands bei Ptolemaios." *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 24: 94-120.
1954 *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 8. Lieferung. Bern.
1957 *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 11. Lieferung. Bern.
- RICHMOND, I. A., and CRAWFORD, O. G. S.
1949 "The British Section of the Ravenna Cosmography." *Archaeologia* 93: 1-50.
- SHEARER, JOHN E.
1905 *Old Maps & Map Makers of Scotland*. Stirling.

- TAYLOR, REV. WILLIAM
 1886 "Names of Places in Easter Ross." *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 2: 1-20.
- THOMAS, R. J.
 1937 "Enwau Afonydd â'r Ôliddodiad -wy." *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 8: 27-43.
- THOMSON, JOHN MAITLAND (ed.)
 1886 *The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland. A.D. 1546-1580.* Edinburgh.
- WALDE, ALOIS
 1927 *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen. 2. Band.* Herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Julius Pokorny. Berlin-Leipzig.
- WATSON, WILLIAM J.
 1904 *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty.* Inverness.
 1905-06 "Some Sutherland Names of Places." *Celtic Review* 2: 232-42. and 360-8.
 1926 *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland.* Edinburgh.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

B. OTHER NOTES

Scottish Proverbs

Review: *The James Carmichaell Collection of Proverbs in Scots.* Edited by M. L. Anderson. Edinburgh University Press. 1957. vii + 149 pp. 20s.

The popular proverb, this age-old vehicle of folklore in a pregnant sense, long cherished by the medieval preacher and teacher, gained literary respectability, chiefly through Erasmus, in the age of Humanism, when the major vernacular collections were first made all over Europe. The Elizabethan passion for proverbs is well known, and Stewart Scotland was no exception: indeed the ease with which, in the earliest Scots collection in the Bannatyne MS. (1568), 69 proverbs went into rhyming lines testifies to no ordinary wealth that could be drawn upon. The earliest separately published collection was apparently one by Archbishop James Beaton in 1610 (now lost). The earliest surviving printed collection is the 1641 edition of David Fergusson, minister of Dunfermline, who died in 1598, which by way of constant plagiarisation and re-edition became the basis of all subsequent printed Scottish collections. Curiously enough, the very earliest known collection of Scottish proverbs has been found among the papers of an Englishman, Sir Adrian Fortesque (1532), though of course many others are to