NOTES AND COMMENTS

A. NOTES ON SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES

9. *Dryfesdale*

Whereas there are numerous compound stream-names of English origin in Scotland, i.e. names made up of two or more different words, the class of names whose characteristic is the formation: stem+suffix, seems to be extremely small. On the whole, it looks as if the period of formation by suffixing must have been nearly over when the Anglo-Saxons reached and settled in Scotland (cf. Nicolaisen 1956:93). This situation is not unexpected and fits into the general pattern of morphological development from the simple stem via the suffixed formation to the compound name (Nicolaisen 1957:239).

Small as this section may be, it is of considerable interest to us as it provides evidence in Scotland of a name-type which even in England is considered to be "very primitive, and the names belonging to it . . . no doubt very ancient" (Ekwall 1928:XLVIII). This, of course, only applies to names of Germanic, and in particular Anglo-Saxon, origin; amongst non-Germanic river-names, on the other hand, this type is fairly common. Here too, however, it belongs to an earlier period of hydronymic formation and, as a class, forms a comparatively small section in Scottish river-nomenclature. Only 8 per cent of all Scottish river-names marked on the Ordnance Survey maps (1 inch : 1 mile) belong to this morphological group, with the following sub-division: Gaelic names 5·3 per cent, *p*-Celtic names 1·8 per cent, pre-Celtic, but Indo-European names 0·8 per cent. (For further details see Nicolaisen 1958).

Our little Anglo-Saxon group of this type of name forms only a fraction of the remaining 0·1 per cent and apparently consists of two names. The first is the river-name *Liddel Water* ROX which, as the water-course of this name forms the border between Scotland and England before joining the River Esk, has been very satisfactorily discussed as an English river-name by Ekwall (1928:254; 1951:283). He derives it from Anglo-Saxon *Hlȳde* "the loud one"+*dæl* "a valley". This means that the name of the valley has now become the name of the river, the original name of which is represented by the first

element *Lid-* in *Liddell*. *Lid-* is identical with several names of water-courses in England which appear either as *Lyd* or *Lyde*, on modern maps (cf. Ekwall 1928:272-3). Because of its frequent occurrence, Ekwall (1951:293) thinks that it is very likely that "OE, *hlȳde* was a common noun for 'torrent'". In that case, *Liddel* < **Hlȳde-dæl* means either "the valley of the river *Hlȳde*" or "torrent valley" (cf. Williamson 1942:109).

This is by no means the only case in which the name of a valley, containing the name of the water-course that flows through it, as its first element, has replaced the original river-name. England offers various parallels of which we only cite a few compounded with the same element *dæl* as our name: †*Doverdale* (now a place-name in Worcestershire), <Celtic river-name **Dubra*+*dæl*; *Edale* (Derbyshire)→Noe, <Anglo-Saxon *ēa* "water, river"+*dæl*; *Grindle Brook* (Devonshire)→ Clyst (*on Grendel* 963 Cartularium saxonicum), <Anglo-Saxon *grēne* "green"+*dæl*; and others.

While the original name of Liddel Water is based on an adjectival noun (either after passing through the stage of a common noun or not), the second and principal name under discussion is of different formation. *Dryfe Water* is the modern name of a tributary of the River Annan in Dumfriesshire. From it are derived the valley- and parish-name *Dryfesdale*, and the place-names *Dryfehead*, *Dryfeholm* and *Dryfe Lodge*, all in its vicinity. Older forms are best preserved in records of the name of the valley and parish, Dryfesdale, which appears as *Driuesdale* in 1124 (Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis) and 1189 (Bain's Calendar), and as *Drivisdale* in 1249 (ibid.) and 1452 (Duke of Buccleuch MSS.); in 1361 it is *Dryvesdal* (Queensberry Papers). These forms and further documentation have been collected by Johnson-Ferguson (1935:23) and Williamson (1942:298). For a place or district near the present Dryfe Lodge, *Dryf* is mentioned in 1572 (Duke of Buccleuch MSS.), and the lands of *Over Driff* occur in 1372 in the MSS. of J. J. Hope Johnstone). Dryfehead is *Driuesheuyd* in 1300 (Registrum de Morton).

Of the interpretations attempted, two seem to recognise the etymological basis of the name, whereas the third is much less probable. We shall deal with the last first: Miss Williamson in her otherwise excellent Ph.D. thesis derives the parish name from an Old Norse *Drífsdalr*, based on a personal name *Drífr*, which would give it the meaning of "Drífr's valley", or something similar. She takes the river-name to be a back-formation

from the parish-name. Although such a personal name is recorded (Lind 1905-15:203) and although back-formations are quite frequent in Southern England (see Ekwall 1928: XLI-XLVI and Nicolaisen 1955:1-8), there is no reason at all why the first element in the Scottish (!) name *Dryfesdale* should be a personal name.

It is much more likely to be the name of the water-course which flows through the "dale". The genitival ending *-s* preceding *-dale* should be no obstacle to such an assumption, as Southern Scotland provides other examples in which such an ending has been added secondarily to a river-name followed by *-dale*. In *Clydesdale* and *Nithsdale* the hydronymic elements are of Celtic origin, as is also the case with *Redesdale* (Northumberland) to which Miss Williamson refers in her discussion of Nithsdale (1942:298). *Liddesdale* belongs to the same category although the history of this name is slightly different; as we have seen, the river-name already contained Anglo-Saxon *dæl* "a valley" when Middle Scots *daill* was added to it in a tautological manner. The district-name is on record as *Lidelesdale* (p) in 1278-9 (Bain's Calendar) and *Ledalisdale* in 1380 (Exchequer Rolls). The latter spelling, however, was probably already a scribal archaism at the time, for in 1380 we also find *Ledesdale* (John of Gaunt's Register), followed by *Liddesdaill* in 1389 (Duke of Buccleuch MSS.), the basis of the present form *Liddesdale* (cf. Williamson 1942:109). This proves that at least the *-l-*, but more probably the whole of the former final syllable, had been dropped by that time. Clydesdale, Nithsdale, Redesdale and Liddesdale are by no means the only examples, but they do show the pattern with which Dryfesdale, if compounded of a river-name and *daill*, would conform. For this reason, it seems to be preferable to derive the parish-name from a river-name rather than from the name of a person. It is quite possible, of course, that the first element was later identified with a Norse personal name in a folk-etymological manner, to give meaning to a word that was no longer understood.

The etymology of this river-name was hinted at by both Johnston and Mackenzie. The former first (1892:92) stated that it is probably from "O.E. *drífan*, Dan. *drive*, to drive" and later (1903:107; 1934:161) suggested a basis "N. *drífa*, 'to drive, like spray', or *drífa*, 'snow, sleet'." The latter thinks that "ON. *drífa*, to rush, to drive, seems applicable" (Mackenzie 1931:111).

We prefer the Anglo-Saxon form of the verb and connect our river-name with Old English *drīfan* "to drive, to move with force or speed, to rush". From the morphological point of view, *Dryfe* can be explained as an agent noun of this verb, formed by suffixing Old English *-e* to the verbal root. A Germanic ending *-an* was originally used in the formation of masculine agent nouns, usually in connection with the reduction grade of the root vowel and under the influence of Verner's Law, but in younger formations often without these, cf. Gothic *nuta* "fisherman" from *niutan*, Old Norse *fari* "traveller" from *fara*, Old High German *boto* "messenger" from *biotan*. Anglo-Saxon examples are *wiga* m. "fighter, warrior" from *wīgan*, and *scéaða* m. "criminal, enemy; damage" from *sciеððan* (for a fuller account see Kluge 1926:9).

It is furthermore a well-known feature of Germanic word-formation that feminine formations in *-ōn* take their place beside strong and weak masculine nouns as, for instance, Gothic *frouwa* beside *frauja*, Old High German *hĕrra-hĕrro*, and Old English *wicce* "witch" beside *wicca* (Kluge 1926:20-1). This juxtaposition of masculine forms in *-an* and feminine ones in *-ōn* is also to be found in the category of agent nouns from strong verbs, like Old Norse (poetic) *fara* f. beside *fari* m., and Old English *wand(e)-weorpe* f. "mole" from *weorpan* "to throw".

This is where our *Dryfe*<**Drīfe* f. comes in, together with several English river-names discussed by Ekwall: **Leek* (now place-name in Staffordshire, and others)<O.E. **Lece* f., from **lecan*, "the slow flowing one; the *leaker*"; †*Midwin* (now Ouse in Sussex)<O.E. **Midde-Winde* f., from *windan*, "the middle winding one; the (middle) *winder*"; ?*Ouse* [*Burn*] (Northumberlnd)<**Gēose* f., **gēosan*, "the gushing one; the *gusher*"; *Rend* [*brook*] (Gloucestershire)<**Hrinde* or **Hrinda*, from *hrindan*, "the thrusting one, the *thruster*"; *Salwarpe* (Worcestershire)<**Salu-Wearpe* f., from *weorpan*, "the throwing one, the *thrower*"; *Sheaf* (Derbysh.-Yorksh.)<**Sceaðe* (*Scheth* 14th cent.), from **sceaðan*, "the dividing one, the *divider*"; *Smite* (several)<*Smīte, from *smītan*, "the gliding one, the *glider*"; *Sway* (now place-name in Hampshire)<**Swega* or **Swege*, "the swaying one, the *swayer*" (Ekwall 1928:246-7, 291, 318, 339, 350, 360-1, 373-4, 385-6, in this order; Nicolaisen 1955:64-6).

On this evidence of the general pattern of English hydronymy, it would seem that the original meaning of our Scottish **Drīfe*, from *drīfan*, was something like "the rushing one, the

one that flows with force and speed; the *fast flower*". This semantic aspect of the name is well borne out by the peculiar characteristics of the stream. As one writer puts it: "In fair weather small and singularly limpid, it [the Dryfe] swells after heavy rain into rapid and roaring freshet, and occasionally, over breadths of rich loamy soil, cuts out a new channel" (Groome 1883:377b).

We have therefore no hesitation in assuming the first element of *Dryfesdale* to be a primary river-name *Dryfe* < Anglo-Saxon *Drīfe* f. "the rushing one", a relic of the earliest stages of Anglo-Saxon settlement in southern Scotland. It takes its place beside *Lid(del)* < **Hlȳde* as the second instance of an uncompounded Scottish stream-name of English origin, differing from it only in so far as it is of deverbative derivation, whereas the basis of **Hlȳde* is an adjective.

The modern Scottish surname *Drysdale* is derived from the place-name Dryfesdale which occurs as *Drisdaill* in 1552-3 (Calendar of Scottish Papers), thus indicating the local pronunciation of the name as we find it to-day. For early occurrences of the personal name and for further details see Black 1946:223-4.

10. *The Type* "Burn of—" *in Scottish Hydronymy*

A special variant of Scottish stream-names containing the common Anglo-Scottish element *burn* is the type *Burn of—*, in which the defining element represented by the dash is in the majority of cases the name of a place, hill, valley or loch, or a primary river-name. Of the 261 names of water-courses of the *burn of*—category which are to be found on the Scottish one-inch Ordnance Survey maps, 165, or 63·2 per cent belong to this main group (cf. Nicolaisen 1957:234-5). By far the largest sub-section is formed by names containing the name of a human settlement, with 97 examples. Fifty-four names belong to what we (*ibid.*:223-4) listed as category C.(a), i.e. names describing the surrounding terrain through which the stream flows. Only 3 names—a mere 1·15 per cent—refer to characteristics of the water or the water-course themselves. This semantic distribution suggests that the group of names under discussion is a rather recent innovation in Scottish river-nomenclature.

A few significant examples may illustrate this special name pattern. It must be borne in mind, however, that they were taken straight from the map and may therefore appear in a slightly petrified form which is no longer part of local and popular usage. The names will be arranged according to the classification outlined in *Scottish Studies* 1 (Nicolaisen 1957:216-33).

C. (a) Streams named after the *terrain* through which they flow.

Burn of Achlais STL (Gael. *achadh* "a field"); *Burn of Clashgour* MOR (Gael, *clais* "furrow, narrow valley"); *Burn of Coirebreac* BNF (Gael. *coire* "corrie"); *Burn of Drumcairn* ANG (Gael. *druim* "ridge"); *Burn of Frakkafield* SH (O.N. *fjall* "rough hill"); *Burn of Loin* ABD (Gael *lòn* "marsh, morass".); *Burn of Swartaback* ORK (O.N. *bakki* "hill, bank"): *Burn of the Boitan* SH (O.N. *botn* "bottom" > "valley").

E. Water-courses containing the NAME OF NAMED OBJECTS

(a) names of human settlements:

Burn of Birse ABD; *Burn of Deskford* BNF; *Burn of Edramucky* PER; *Burn of Geosetter* SH; *Burn of Houstry* CAI; *Burn of Laxobigging* SH; *Burn of Oldtown* ANG; *Burn of Sweenalay* ORK.

(b) hill-names

Burn of Hamarifield SH; *Burn of Longshank* ANG; *Burn of Lunklet* SH; *Burn of Melmannoch* KCD; *Burn of Monboys* KCD; *Burn of Redshank* ABD.

(c) valley-names

Burn of Crockadale SH; *Burn of Duglenny* KCD; *Burn of Glendui* ABD; *Burn of Heldale* ORK; *Burn of Laxdale* SH; *Burn of Sevdale* SH.

(d) loch-names

Burn of Marrofield-Water, Burn of Ola's Loch, Burn of Pettawater, Burn of Sandwater (all SH).

(e) primary stream-names

Burn of Allanstank ABD; *Burn of Boyne* BNF; *Burn of Brandy* ANG; *Burn of Breitoe* SH; *Burn of Brown* INV/BNF; *Burn of Cattie* ABD; *Burn of Garrol* KCD; *Burn of Turret* ANG; *Burn of Tynet* MOR/BNF.

Apart from their semantic significance, the examples cited, although not chosen with that purpose in mind, indicate a very special geographical distribution of this name-type. A closer analysis of this scatter is quite rewarding. The following is a full list of the number of names found in the various areas

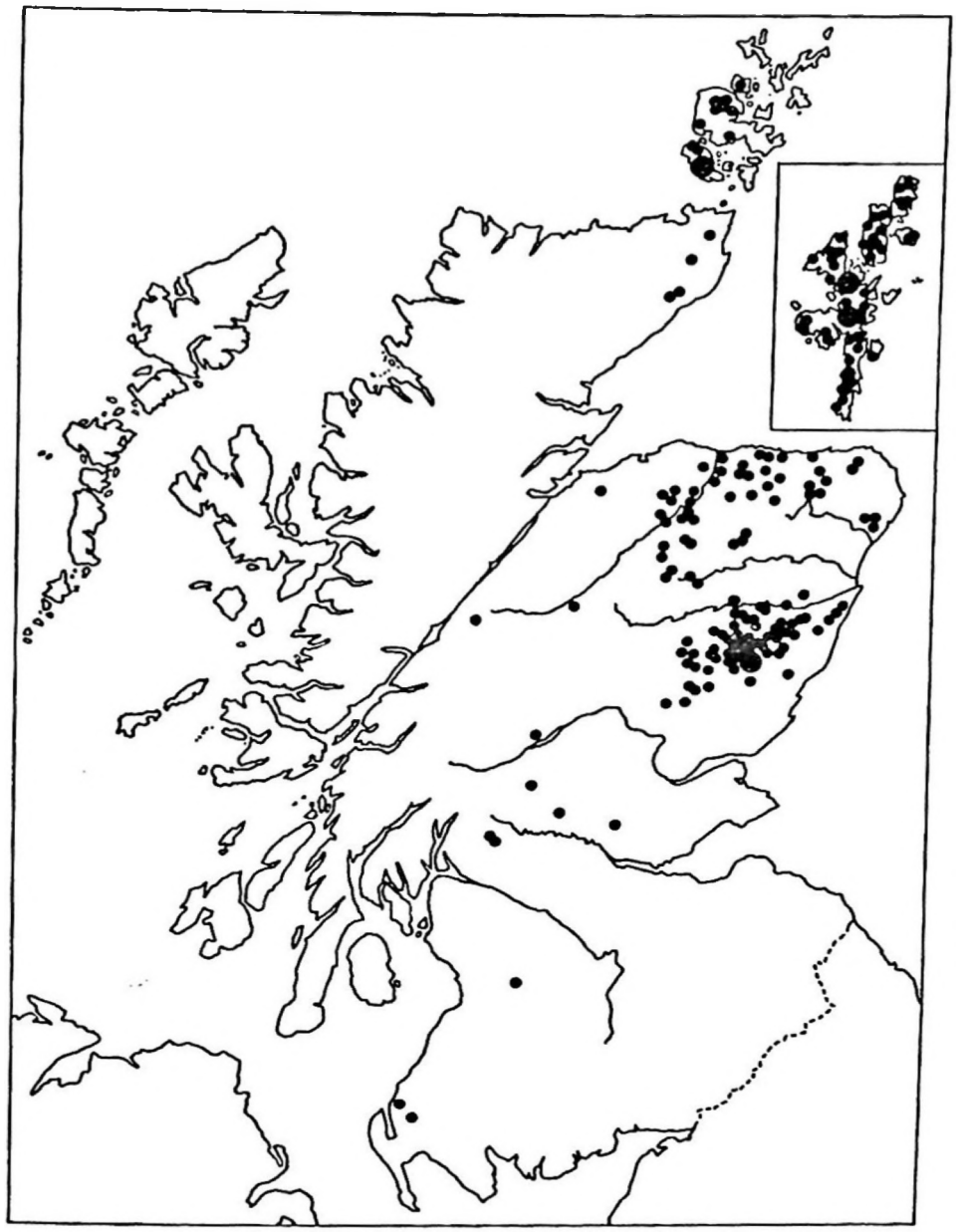
and counties, as extracted from Table II of the writer's preliminary study of Scottish hydronymy (Nicolaisen 1956).

Extreme North: Shetland 95, Orkney 20, Caithness 5
North: Sutherland, Ross-shire, North Inverness-shire, Nairnsh.: None
North-East: Moray 7, Banff 22, Aberdeen 28, Kincardine 20, Angus 54
Central: South Inverness-shire 2, Perth 3, Stirling 2, Clackmanann (1)
East: Fife, Kinross: None
West: West Inverness-shire, Argyllshire, Buteshire, Dunbartonshire: None
South (of Forth-Clyde line): None, except Ayrshire 1, Wigtownshire 1

This distribution reveals the two main strongholds of this type of name: the north-east on the one hand, and Orkney and Shetland on the other. Central Scotland has a few scattered names which belong to this category, and only two isolated strays occur in Ayr- and Wigtownshire, respectively, in an otherwise empty South of Scotland. The north, the east and the west are completely free from the *Burn of*— type, and it is of special importance to notice that there is a vast gap between the two main centres, so that any explanation based on geographical contact or proximity is out of the question.

Although this may sound like stating the obvious, it is best to commence our interpretation of this situation by saying that the sequence *Burn of*— consists of two English words and represents an English genitival construction, used and understood both lexically and grammatically in modern Scottish English. Morphologically, the compound formation of these names also points to a late stratum of Scottish hydronymy, and we have already emphasised that the semantic aspect of this group of names—preponderance of "names from names" and of defining elements describing the surroundings of the named water-course—suggests that it is a fairly recent innovation (Detailed proof in support of this argument is to be found in Nicolaisen 1957:238-9). We may, then, initially define the type *Burn of*— as a fairly recent Anglo-Scottish creation.

As a second step, examination of the negative evidence contained in the above summary of the geographical scatter of these names may be of value. Why is our name-type absent from the otherwise so thoroughly Scottish area south of the



Geographical distribution of Scottish stream-names of the type *Burn of* —. The two main clusters in Shetland and in Angus, Kincardine, and Aberdeenshire are representative of more names than can be shown on a map of this scale. It is interesting to see how few names there are in the uplands of Aberdeenshire between the Dee and the Ythan, particularly in the Don-valley. Can this be due to a different (later?) period of linguistic Scotticisation in this area?

Forth-Clyde line, especially from its southern, south-eastern and eastern parts? The answer seems to be that, although *burn* is a most prolific hydronymic element in this area in names with the normal Germanic word-order in which it is preceded by the qualifying element, *Burn of—* names do not occur because they are later than the period in which the main body of Scottish names of Germanic origin was created in this part of Scotland, and because there has never been any name pattern belonging to some other model language of sufficiently dense distribution, as to suggest and stimulate imitation by, and borrowing into, Scots. Both the time-factor and the absence of a suitable substratum have apparently contributed towards this lack of the type under discussion, from southern Scotland.

As far as Fife and Kinross are concerned— and, in a way, Clackmannan whose only example *Burn of Sorrow* shows only superficial morphological connection with our type, but is otherwise semantically quite distinct—similar circumstances appear to account for the blanks in our distribution map. It seems that names of the type *Burn of—* are not coined in the river-nomenclature of Anglo-Scottish origin unless there is a given pattern of different linguistic provenance suggesting imitation; such a pattern must have been absent or not suggestive enough when Scots reached these three counties, or it may just be that the linguistic contact between substratum and superstratum was not close enough to make either translation or adaptation of earlier name models possible.

The absence of our names from the counties along the Scottish west coast from Sutherland to Bute, and their relative scarcity in central Scotland must be explained differently. These are the parts which are either still Gaelic speaking or in which Gaelic was spoken comparatively recently. Here Gaelic was not superseded by Scots but by English, and the *Burn of—* type has never reached them. How strange this kind of name looks, even in Perthshire, is demonstrated by one of the three examples from that county, the *Burn of Edramucky*. It flows into Loch Tay from the north near *Edramucky* (parish of Kenmore), flanked in the west by *Allt a' Mhoirneas* and in the east by *Allt a Tuim Bhric*, both tributaries of the same loch.

This means that names belonging to our category are excluded from or are almost completely lacking in (a) areas which have been Anglo-Scottish ever since the Anglo-Saxons arrived in Scotland, (b) districts which were anglicised at a very early stage, (c) the Gaidhealtachd proper, in the modern

as well as in the historical sense, which has never been reached by Lowland Scots.

With this evidence in mind, we turn to those areas in which our names occur in great number, e.g. North-East Scotland on the one hand, and Orkney and Shetland, together with parts of Caithness, on the other. We examine the north-eastern group of names first. There are 131 of them altogether, forming roughly one half of the names of this type mentioned on the one-inch Ordnance Survey maps. In the great majority of cases the defining element is of Gaelic origin, and it is in the underlying Gaelic stratum that we shall have to look for the model. The most common type of Gaelic stream-name is the one in which *allt* "burn" is followed by a common noun or a proper name in the genitive preceded by the definite article. There are literally hundreds of examples to choose from, of which we only mention *Allt a' Chaoruinn* ROS "burn of the rowantree", *Allt an Lochain Duibh* INV "burn of the little black loch" (it flows out of *Loch Dubh*), *Allt an t-Sneachda* ABD "burn of the snow". *Allt an t-Sniomh* LEWIS "burn of the twist", *Allt na h-Innse Buidhe* ARG "burn of the yellow haugh", *Allt na Muic* SUT "burn of the pig". In the same category we find names in which the defining element is qualified by another noun which results in the dropping of the definite article before the first noun, according to Gaelic grammatical rules, like *Allt Bad nan Clach* SUT "burn of the clump of the trees", *Allt Creag a' Chait* NAI "burn of the craig of the cat", *Allt Uamha na Muice* ARG "burn of the cave of the pig".

The development from this original Gaelic pattern to our modern Scottish name-type happens almost in front of our eyes:

First stage: Gaelic *Allt an t-Sluic Leith* "burn of the grey hollow".

Second stage: (a) *Burn of Slock Lee*—where *Burn of* translates Gaelic *Allt* (*an*) and the Gaelic defining element is anglicised (in the nominative!). (b) The whole name is translated: *Burn of Blackpots* and *Burn of Oldtown* (both in Angus) are strongly suggestive of being full translations of Gaelic **Allt na*(*n*) *Linneacha*(*n*) *Dubh*(*a*) and **Allt an t-Sean*(*a*)*-bhaile*. They may, however, belong to stage four.

Third stage: *Burn of*, followed by any—usually anglicised —Gaelic element, if it has been part of an original

stream-name in *allt* or not, as for instance, *Burn of Knock* KCD, *Burn of Corrhatnich* MOR, *Burn of Badenhilt* ABD.

Fourth stage: *Burn of*, followed by any defining element, regardless of its linguistic origin, cf. *Burn of Berryhill* ANG, *Burn of Cauldcots* KCD, *Burn of Davidston* ABD.

This is, of course, not the only way in which Gaelic names of the *Allt an*-type are adapted when *burn* infiltrates into Gaelic river-nomenclature. In names like *Ishag Burn* PER, *Lochbroom Burn* PER, *Strath Burn* CAI, *Strone Burn* PER, the defining elements precede *burn* in their anglicised forms, and the definite article has been dropped. This word-order is extremely common amongst hybrid names of this kind.

The Gaelic name-type does, however, reveal quite clearly the source of the category of name under review. The north-eastern names of the *Burn of*— class did not come into being by spontaneous genesis, but as the result of a bilingual contact situation between outgoing Gaelic and incoming Lowland Scots. In this respect, the *burn—allt* relationship does not stand alone, and names like *Braes of*—, *Bridge of*—, *Mains of*—, *Milton of*—, and particularly *Water of*— (Gaelic *Abhainn an*—), are probably to be explained in a similar way. A detailed study of the meaning and linguistic origin of the defining elements in names involving the usage of the preposition *of*, and of the geographical distribution of these names, is still a task for the future.

Concerning a *terminus post quem*, place-names of Anglo-Saxon origin first begin to appear in charters related to the North East round about 1220, and it can be assumed that the north-eastern *Burn of*— names are later than the thirteenth century; how much later can only be shown by more detailed research into every single name and by compiling a complete list of early occurrences of this type of name in old documents.

The situation in Orkney and Shetland, although similar in some respects, differs in many ways from that in the North East. There is, first of all, the time factor. According to what we know about the settlement of these parts from the Scottish Lowlands—Fife and Kinross in particular—, *Burn of*— names cannot be earlier than the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century. This would put the beginning of the occurrence of these names a few hundred years later than that of their north-eastern counterparts, although it is more than

probable that stream-names of the *Burn of*— category were still coined in the north-east when they were first introduced into Orkney and Shetland.

The second point of difference is the absence of a Gaelic name-type which might have served as a model. These two points, in addition to the geographical separation, demand the conclusion that there is no connection between the two areas in which our type of name occurs and that polygenesis is the only possible explanation. In both cases possibilities for such a name formation were inherent in the language, only the stimulus which realised these possibilities in actual place-nomenclature, was different in each case. Whereas it is comparatively easy, however, to point to the kind of Gaelic construction which underlies the north-eastern group of names, nothing equally as tangible suggests itself, as far as Orkney and Shetland are concerned.

The evidence, as we find it on the one-inch maps, is that 95 Shetland stream-names, out of a total of 135, are of the *burn of*— variety (the others being 39 *burn-* and 1 *water*-name) and that in Orkney 20 out of 26 names of water-courses belong to this category (5 of the others ending in *burn* and one in *pow*). Five names of the same formation come from the county of Caithness, in all of which the defining element following the preposition *of* is a place-name.

Confirmation of the fact that these names are used in everyday speech is given by Marwick (1947) for Orkney and by Jakobsen (1936) for Shetland. On the island of Rousay Marwick mentions, amongst others, *The Burn of Turbitail*, which in its lower course is known as *The Burn of Gue* and *The Burn of Vacquoy* (Marwick 1947:92). It is not unknown for a stream-name to have different names for the various parts of its course, but Marwick does not state whether there is any name in use which applies to the whole length of the water-course, from its source to its mouth. Note, too, the use of the definite article. The *Burn of Oldman* in the same island was formerly known as *The Burn of Peeno*. As *Oldman*, the name of a small hill croft on the south bank of the burn, was transferred from the West-side "over a century ago" (Marwick 1947:82), the modern stream-name cannot be much older than a hundred years, probably less.

For Shetland, Jakobsen quotes evidence of a similar use of the definite article. From Fetlar he mentions *de burn o' Winja depla* and from Yell *de burn o' Winjaro* (1936:117). There are

de burn o' Hogro in Conningsburgh (*ibid.*:223), *de burn o' Kjāda* (or *Kjāda-burn*) in South Yell (*ibid.*:226), *de burn o' Krōgri* in Weisdale (*ibid.*:227), *de burn o' Mōgetū* in Sandness (*ibid.*:231), *de burn o' Rimen(a)-marta* in North Yell (*ibid.*:233), *de burn o' Laksobiggin* in Delting (*ibid.*:234), and *de burn o' Rū* and *de burn o' Arisdale* in Yell (*ibid.*:234 and 238).

In some cases *burn* may have translated and replaced a Norn *-o, -wo* <Old Norse *á* "a stream" (cf. Jakobsen 1936:6), but in other instances no such substitution of a Norn term by Lowland Scottish *burn* seems to have taken place. The construction: definite article+generic element+preposition o'+defining term, does not exclusively apply to stream-names. Other geographical features bear names like *de Hill o' de Waters* (Yell) which according to Jakobsen (1936:5) probably represents an older **Vatnahul* or **Vatnabrekk*, or *de Loch o' Cliff* in Unst (*ibid.*:221). *Hill o' Dale* (Delting) may be for an older **dals-fell* (*ibid.*:6); other Norse-Scottish hybrids are *de rigs o' Lodda* (Whalsay), as well as *de Fālds o' Fjēl* and *de Fālds o' Rū* in Unst (*ibid.*:7). Not uncommon are names in which both the generic and the defining elements are of Norse origin as, for instance, *de Hjōgs o' Taft* in Delting, *de Hjōgins o' Velli* in Fetlar (both Jakobsen 1936:8), *de Brekk o' Klōden*, in Fetlar, *de Bergens o' Lunna* in Lunnasting (*ibid.*:9), *de Klobb o' Swinin* in the same parish (*ibid.*:221), *de Kruk o' Haverswala* in Quarf, South Shetland (*ibid.*:223) and *de Muggi o' Windos* in Yell (*ibid.*: 231).

Although this list is by no means exhaustive, it becomes clear that the type (*de*) *burn o'*— is only part of a larger group of fairly modern names in which the same construction is used. Its origin lies perhaps in the translation of Norse genitival compounds, including semi-translations in which only the generic term is rendered in Lowlands Scots. From there it probably spread to other names in which only the grammatical construction was transferred into Scots, whereas the elements remained untranslated, and to new names utilising either Scots or Norse elements or both.

To summarise the contents of this note, it can be stated that in both areas in which the type (*the*) *Burn of*— occurs in Scottish hydronymy, it has no independent genesis but came into being imitating a (Gaelic) word-order pattern in North-East Scotland and translating a (Norse) grammatical relationship in Orkney and Shetland. It is a good example of different linguistic substrata influencing the same incoming language.

Thus a new name-type is added to Scottish place-nomenclature, the direct result of language contact at different times and in different places. How different this new category is from the names discussed in the previous note; more than a thousand years lie between the *Dryfe* and *The Burn of Oldman*.

COUNTY ABBREVIATIONS

These abbreviations are the same as used by the Scottish Place-Name Survey and as listed more fully in *Scottish Studies* 1 (1957) 240.

ABD	Aberdeenshire	NAI	Nairnshire
ANG	Angus	ORK	Orkney
ARG	Argyllshire	PER	Perthshire
BNF	Banffshire	ROS	Ross-shire
CAI	Caithness.	ROX	Roxburghshire
INV	Inverness-shire	SH	Shetland
KCD	Kincardineshire	STL	Stirlingshire
MOR	Morayshire	SUT	Sutherland

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B. OTHER NOTES

Book Review

The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, selected and edited by Iain Ross. 70 pp. 5s.

John Knox: Historie of the Reformation in Scotland. Selected and edited by Ralph S. Walker. 72 pp. 5s. Saltire Society Classics, 1940. Oliver and Boyd.

The place of Scottish history and literature in the curriculum of our schools is not altogether happy. For good reasons (quite apart from Scottish Education Department circulars) Scottish history is treated as a sub-department of British history and Scottish literature as a sub-department of English. A snippet or two of the Scottish Chaucerians perhaps, Burns and Scott certainly, figure: there is time for little more.

Even the teacher who would like to improve on this in the genial weeks after the Leaving Certificate examinations has been hampered in the past by the dearth of suitable texts. To remedy this deficiency, and also to encourage the common