NOTES AND COMMENTS

A. NOTES ON SCOTTISH PLACE-NAMES

14. *Avon*

A few years ago, the etymology of this river-name—so frequent in most parts of the British mainland—was one of the few undisputed results of place-name research. Identical with Welsh *afon* "river" and cognate with Cornish and Breton *auon*, Old Irish *abann*, with the same meaning, it was taken to represent a British (and also Gaulish) *Abonā whose ultimate Indo-European root is **ab*- "water, river" (Pokorny 1948: 1). Anybody dealing with the intricate problems presented to the interpreter of our river-nomenclature would heave a sigh of relief because the many Avons, at least, did not put any obstacle in the investigator's way.

Now this generally accepted explanation has at last been challenged, and we shall have to think again. The challenge comes from Professor Heinrich Wagner of Belfast who, in a paper in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* (Wagner 1958:58-75), discusses our name in the course of an investigation of linguistic material common to Indo-European and Mediterranean groups of languages, as well as to some in the Near East. The main argument of this article is based on lexicographical material from the sphere of religion, dealing particularly with the worship of gods and goddesses who are said to be frequently represented as, or given the attributes of, animals some of which appear to have been thought of as living in water-courses.

Amongst the latter, Wagner lists a divine cow which he derives from the equation of a Sumerian word *ab* "cow" with Old Irish *oub* "river", Latin *amnis*, the same (Wagner 1958: 67). He comes to the conclusion that an Indo-European feminine **ab-n*- must be regarded as an animated concept, in contrast to Greek *ὕδωρ*, English *water*, etc.: that it was, in fact, the Terra Mater. In support of this theory he quotes our British *Abonā* which is also on record as the second element in Gaulish *Equ-abonā* "horse-burn". This Gaulish name proves that, as far as our Insular Celtic and Gaulish evidence is concerned, the present meaning of "river" was the only one attributed to

Abonā at that time and that any connections with animal worship must be looked for in early Gaulish times.

This Wagner himself admits but, at the same time, points to the parallel formation of the Gaulish goddess-names *Epona* and *Damona* which to him are "the great horse" and "the great cow" respectively. He concludes from this that *-ona* is the suffix employed in the designation of feminine divine beings and that consequently *Abona*, which shows the same ending, must originally have been the name of a goddess which he interprets as "the great cow", identical in meaning therefore with *Damona*. He also doubts the existence of an Old Irish *ā*-stem *ab*<**abā*, genitive *abae* which has been postulated by Pokorny (1948: 1).

It cannot be the purpose of this relatively short note to examine the whole complexity of Wagner's argument, nor can it review the paper from all angles. We shall therefore confine ourselves to those points which have some bearing on the ultimate etymology of our Scottish Avons. The examination of these points will be critical in so far as we feel that we cannot agree with Wagner's thesis of the religious background to our names. This does not mean that we want to dispute the association of rivers with divinities or with divine animals thought to be living in water-courses, as such; our own Scottish *Don*<**Dēuonā* in Aberdeenshire, and *Dee*<**Dēuā* in Aberdeenshire and Kirkcudbrightshire (cognate with Latin *deus* "god", Old Irish *dia*, Welsh *duw*, etc.) undoubtedly imply that these rivers were regarded as having divine qualities, and the French *Marne*<*Matronā* no doubt belongs to this category.

It is, however, necessary to stress that in these three instances it is the meaning of their stems which assigns them to the sphere of worship and religion, and not the morphological make-up of the names. This is particularly borne out by the juxtaposition of **Dēuā* and **Dēuonā* where it is obvious that the suffix has no bearing on the divine qualities expressed by the name and should be regarded as being employed to form an adjective or maybe an amplicative or diminutive derivative. It must be remembered, too, that the Dee and the Don have been closely associated in the peoples' minds for a long time, because of their geographical proximity, so that onomastically one name could easily be derived from the other, in this case the latter from the former.

It can also not be denied that the names of animals, birds, fishes, etc., are frequently associated with the names of water-

courses. In an earlier volume of this journal the present writer has pointed out (Nicolaisen 1957: 226-7) that the relationship between these two categories of names can be twofold: It is either based on the observation that the animals or birds in question are plentiful in the vicinity of the stream; this normally results in a genitival construction like *Allt a' Ghobhair* SUT "burn of the goat", or *Allt na Seabhaig* ARG "burn of the hawk". The alternative is that rivers were called after animals whose peculiar qualities were so strikingly mirrored by the characteristics of the water-course that it was almost inevitable to equate the two. Examples of this kind of symbolic identification would be the *River Tarff* INV, possibly because of the wild "bull-like" strength and speed of its flow, and the *River Bran* ROS whose colour may have struck the name-givers as being "raven-black". It is unlikely, however, that in these instances the bull and the raven were taken to be living in the waters of the river. We would say this also of a name like the *River Conon* ROS which goes back to *Conona*<**K̂unonā* "dog-river" (cf. Watson 1926: 430). Here we have our suffix *-onā*, but formations like (*Allt*) *Conait* PER, taken by Watson (1926: 445) to be a Gaelic diminutive *Conaid* "little hound", or *Conglass* BNF, meaning "dog, or wolf-stream", make it most improbable that we have to assume a divine "big dog" **K̂unonā* at the back of the Ross-shire name.

It is our opinion, then, that in spite of the usage of *-onā* in goddess-names like *Epona* and *Damona*, and in spite of the identification of animal names with river-names in Scottish hydronymy, there is no justification for the assumption that *Abona* was originally the name of a goddess depicted as a cow living in a river. To substantiate this statement we shall have to turn to the evidence we have of Gaulish goddess-names showing the suffix *-onā* and also to further parallel examples of the usage of this ending in Scottish river-nomenclature.

First of all the Gaulish material. *Damona* and *Epona* are by no means the only names of Gaulish divinities formed with the suffix in question. Wolfgang Meid, in an admirable paper on the suffix *-no-* in names of divine beings (Meid 1957: 73-4, 108, 113-6), also lists the following: *Rito-na* or *Prito-na* "goddess of buying and selling" and *Nemeto-na* (from Gaulish *nemeton* "holy grove, holy place"), as well as *Alisā-nos* (cf. *alisā* "alder"), *Buxe-nus* (from Gaulish **bosco-*, *bocso-* "wood"; with *o*-grade of the thematic vowel in *Campus Buxonus*, now Camp-Buisson, cf. Meid: 115 note 50), *Molti-nus* (Gaulish **moltos*, Irish *molt*

"ram"), and *Bele-nus* (from Indo-European **bhelos* "bright, white; sheen, fire"). This list makes it quite clear that the basic suffix is not *-onā*, but *-no-* or *nā*, preceded by the stem-vowel or some modification of it, as the *e*-grade which is sometimes weakened to *-i-* as in *Molti-nus* and *Belinus*, a side-form of *Belenus*. It is also of interest to note that all these examples belong to the *-o-/-ā*=declension, and that we have masculine gods besides goddesses.

This group of names will have to be examined as a whole, and it would be unmethodical to isolate the two or three names connected with the animal world, like *Damona*, *Epona*, and *Moltinus*, treating them as something substantially different. It has also to be taken into account that, on the one hand, this formation does not only occur in Gaulish but also in other Indo-European languages, and that, on the other, our suffix *-no-/-nā* is not confined to names of divine beings but can, amongst other functions, serve to express leadership as, for example, Gothic *þiudans* "king", Old Norse *dróttinn* "lord of the band of warriors", Greek κοίρα-νος "army-leader", Latin *tribūnus* "tribune", Celtic **tegernos* (suffix *-rno-*, *-rnio-*) "lord, king; i.e., master of the house", etc. (cf. Meid 1957: 74-5). This by no means exhausts the applications of our suffix in Indo-European languages; the principle of leadership is hardly present in the tribal name *Coriono-totarum* gen. pl. (CIL. VII, No. 481) and the most satisfactory explanation is that of "people of soldiers, i.e. members of the army" (cf. Meid 1957: 78).

Consequently no argument can be based on parallel usage of the suffix alone, particularly so as the semantic implications of the latter are manifold. Theoretically *-no-/-nā* show a potential amplicative meaning in names derived from names of animals, and it is justified to translate *Damona* as "the great cow", *Epona* as "the great horse", *Moltinus* as "the great ram", and perhaps even *Alisānos* as "the great alder", but this is hardly possible with *Nemetona*, *Ritona Pritona*, *Buxenus*, and *Belenus*. Here the concept of power or charge over the holy grove, buying and selling, the wood, fire and light, is preferable as a basis of our interpretation, and this principle can be extended to our first four names so that *Damona* becomes "the goddess with power over cows", *Moltinus* "the lord of rams", etc.

In connection with the latter interpretation it is well to remember de Vries' remark (1958: 50) that anthropomorphic gods can be proved with certainty for the Indo-Europeans as

far back as the beginning of the second millennium B.C., and that the occurrence of animals in Celtic religion does not necessarily imply divine beings in the shape of animals. According to de Vries, these animals are symbols of the god or goddess with whom they are associated, exemplifying certain characteristic qualities of the divine being. This definition would presuppose the same kind of relationship between god and animal which we think existed between some of our Scottish rivers and certain animals, in the minds of the name-givers. The god was never just the animal, just as the river was never only the bull, the raven, or the hound.

In this complex situation, then, the possibility of a goddess-name *Abona* meaning "the great cow" or "goddess of cows" must be taken into account, in spite of the incorrect isolation of *Damona* and *Epona* as apparent parallels. It depends mainly on the question whether it can be proved that a word **ab-* meaning "cow" ever existed in Indo-European, and consequently in Celtic. This, however, does not mean that there is any proof at all for the hypothesis that this cow lived in a river and subsequently became equated with the river, later losing the "divine animal" aspect of its meaning and simply becoming to mean "water-course" as such. In this connection, we shall now look at another sphere in which the suffix *-no-/-nā* has been particularly productive: hydronymy. Although examples could be adduced from various countries and languages, we shall confine ourselves to our Scottish material, and especially to names showing the thematic vowel *-o-*, if this is the old stem vowel or not.

Here we can distinguish between three classes of names, according to the basis to which the ending is suffixed:

(1) The basis is a Celtic adjective or noun which is an *o*-stem:

Dēuonā*<Deiuonā*<**deiuo-s* "god, divine person", Old Irish *dia*, Welsh *duw*, Old Cornish *duy*, etc. (*Don* ABD); cf. the neighbouring *Dee*<**Dēu-ā*.

Dubonā*<dubo-* "black," Old Irish, Old Wels *dub*, etc. (*Devon* PER, *Black Devon* FIF).

Labaronā*<labaro-* "talkative", Old Irish *labar* "dto", Welsh *llafar* "language" (*Lavern Burn* DMF, *Levern Water* RNF, *Lowran Burn* and *Louran Burn* KCB); cf. the river-name **Labarā*, now, for instance, the *Burn of Aberlour* BNF.

Lemonā<**lemo-* "elm", Middle Irish *lem*, Gaulish *Lemo-*, *Limo-* (*Leven* (a) INV/ARG, (b) DNB, (c) KNR-FIF).

Līmonā<**līmo-* "flood", Welsh *llif*, Cornish *lyf* (*Lyon* PER); cf. the river-name **Līma*, now Lyme (Devon and Dorset).

(2) The basis is a Celtic word, formed with the element *-to-/-tā*, usually from a verbal root:

Brutonā<**bru-to-*, Old Irish *bruth* "glow, rage", Old Welsh *brut* "animus", Welsh *brwd* "hot", Indo-European root **bhereu-* "to boil" (*Burn of Brown* INV/BNF).

Iektonā<**iek-to-*, cf. Welsh *iaith* "language" (**jekti-*), Indo-European root **iek-* "to talk" (*Ythan* ABD).

Lektonā<**lek-to-*, Welsh *llaith*, Breton *leiz* "moist", Indo-European root **leg-* "to drip, to ooze, to dissolve" (*Leithen Water* PEB).

Nektonā<**Niktonā*<**nik-to-*, Old Irish *necht*, Sanskrit *nikta* "clean", Indo-European root **neigu-* "to wash" (*Nethan* LAN).

(3) The basis is not an *o*-stem:

Katonā,<Gaulish *Catu-*, Gaelic *cath*, Welsh *cad* "battle, fight". Here *-onā* must have been regarded as the ending, cf. *Inverhadden Burn* PER.

Kunonā<Old Irish *cu*, genitive *con* "dog, wolf", Welsh *ci*, Breton Cornish *ki*; Indo-European **kuuō(n)*, genetive **kunós*. Formed from the oblique case or from the compositional form of the stem (*Conon* ROS).

(4) The basis has not been established with certainty:

Ambonā, from the reduction grade **mbh-* of the Indo-European root **embh-/ombh-* "moist, water", as seen in Gaulish *ambe* "rivo", (*Almond* WLO and PER).

Kalonā, or possibly **Kalaunā*, frequently connected with the root **kel-* "to shout, cry, sound", found in Irish *cailech*, Welsh *ceiliog* (**kaljākos*) "cock". In this context, a nominal root is probably preferable to a verbal one, and one might think of **kal-* "hard", well evidenced in Old Irish, Middle Irish *calath*, *calad*, Welsh *caled* "hard" and in our many rivers called *Calder* (**Caleto-dubron*). Examples in Scotland are *Calneburne* ELO, *Kale Water* ROX, *Caddon Water* SLK.

**Kar(r)onā,<*kar-* "hard", Swedish dialectal *har* "stony ground". The existence of an *o*-stem **karo-* seems to be inferred by the two French river-names *Cher<Caros* and *Chiers<Carā*. In Scotland we have several *Carrons*, from Ross to Dumfriesshire.[1]

Although practically all these names, with one or two exceptions, belong to a much later period than the early Gaulish *Abona* which Wagner has in mind, their accumulative evidence is still convincing enough to invalidate the argument that *Abona* must have been a goddess-name because *Damona* and *Epona* show the same suffix. By listing other divine names of parallel formation where the suffix has a different semantic function, and by glancing at a number of other meanings of *-(o)nā*, we have already shown that this ending does not imply divinity in every single instance. Now its extensive usage in river-nomenclature in cases where it is impossible—particularly in group (2)—to ensure a divine origin of the name, makes it even more unlikely that our many *Avons* originally belonged to a religious context. Whatever the original stem formation of the root word may have been—in Old Irish *aub oub ob*, genitive *abae* fem., it behaves like an irregular *n*-stem (Thurneysen 1946: 213), in Scottish Gaelic the obsolete *abh*, genitive *abha* has been replaced by *abhainn*, genitive *aibhne*, and in Welsh the plural of *afon* is that of the *io-/iā*=stems, *avonit* and *avonoed* in the earlier language, in Modern Welsh *afonydd* (Jones 1930: 203)—, for our purposes we must start from a basis **ab-* or **abo-* "water", with *-no-/-nā*=extension. In this form, i.e. as *Abona>afon* and *auon*, the word apparently exists only in the *p*-Celtic languages, but if Pokorny is correct—and Wagner doubts this —the earlier stages of the Goidelic branch of Insular Celtic possessed in **abā*, genitive *abae* "water", the unextended *ā*-stem of our root. For the many derivatives from Gaelic *abh* see Watson (1926: 477), particularly *Loch Awe* ARG, but also *Averon<Abarona* on p. 431.

However, neither in *Abona*, nor in *Lemona*, *Līmonā*, etc. does the suffix as such mean "water-course". It would be more correct to say that in all these instances it forms adjectives and nouns which do not differ very much in meaning from the bases from which they are derived, particularly in the case of derivations from adjectives or participles. Where the name is based on a noun, abundance of whatever is depicted by the original noun, seems to be indicated.

It is our opinion, therefore, that the customary derivation of our *Avons* from an earlier *Abona* "river" still stands and that our name belongs wholly to the sphere of river-nomenclature and has no religious aspect whatsoever. A goddess of the same name never existed, and an equation of Sumerian *ab* "cow" and Old Irish *oub* "water" is more than doubtful.

15. *Names containing the preposition* of

In the last volume of this journal (Nicolaisen 1959: 92-102) we discussed the type of name represented by *Burn of Achlais* STL, *Burn of Swartaback* ORK, *Burn of Turret* ANG, and the like, i.e. the generic term *burn* followed by the preposition *of* and a defining element very often descriptive of the terrain through which the water-course flows, or deriving from the name of another geographical feature in the vicinity. We held the type *Burn of* — to be a fairly recent stratum in Scottish river-nomenclature, and found that its geographical distribution in Scotland was as limited as it was significant (Nicolaisen 1959: 95). The two main areas in which these names occur are the Scottish north-east and the Northern Isles, with a few scattered examples in Central Scotland and the south-west. We concluded that the creative impulse which brought this type of name into being, was linguistic contact, or more precisely favourable conditions for the creation of the type *Burn of* — were given whenever Scots came into contact with a substratum of either Gaelic or Norse, from the late Middle Ages onwards. There is no evidence for this kind of name both in the Lothians and the Border Counties, and in the Western Highlands and Islands, whereas there are 261 of them concentrated in the two chief strongholds.

Two major objections have since then been brought to the present writer's notice, and if they stand, the conclusions arrived at after careful examination of our *Burn of* — names may be considerably invalidated. The first criticism has been that the evidence on which the argument was based was too slender because it consisted exclusively of names of small and medium sized water-courses, showing only one generic term: *burn*. The second objection has been raised by way of an alternative explanation of the rather striking geographical scatter of these names, and it has been proposed that this may be due to the whimsies of a particular surveyor at the time when these names were first recorded by the Ordnance Survey.

We shall deal with the second of these two objections first. If this type of name was entirely due to the person responsible for the recording of names when the areas in question were first covered by the Ordnance Survey, one would not expect to find it in any other source or in genuine oral tradition. A simple check shows us that our *Burn of* — names do occur on earlier maps. We have only to consult William Roy's unpublished Military Survey of 1747-55 to discover names like *Burn of Crombie* and *Burn of Bly* in the Glenlivet area of Banffshire, and *Burn of Bogendolich* and *Burn of Bulg* in Kincardineshire, to mention only a few examples. This pre-dates our material to at least a hundred years before the first Scottish Ordnance Survey maps proper, and although Roy's map contains fewer names of water-courses than the one-inch maps from which we have extracted our names, the geographical distribution of our name-type does not seem to differ to any marked degree from the modern situation.

As to local, colloquial usage of our names, the position appears to be this: If the second element of the name is the original name of the water-course, the *Burn of* part is very often dropped. The map has *Burn of Tervie*, for instance, for a tributary of the River Livet in Banffshire but locally it is always called (*the*) *Tervie*. If, however, the defining element of the name refers to some other geographical feature in the vicinity, either by name or by description, *Burn of* — remains, with normal dialectal shortening of the preposition to *o'*. This widespread usage in the areas concerned cannot be ascribed to any map-maker, however great the influence of the map may have become even on local users of place-names, and we must regard the majority of instances of *Burn of* — on our maps as genuinely taken from oral tradition.

The other objection, the validity of which we would be the first to accept, is best dealt with by extending our enquiry to other basic elements and to names not applying to streams but to other geographical features. A glance at the section of Roy's map which contains the two Kincardineshire stream-names mentioned above, shows us that this name-type is by no means confined to the element *burn*. Here we find, amongst others, *Mill of Blackymuir*, *Kirk of Pert*, *House of Fetterkarne*, *Cotts of Newton*, and even *River of North Esk*. The last two types of formation are not to be found on the one-inch map, with *Cotts of* in some instances having been replaced by *Cotton of*, but in respect of many other generic elements this formation is quite

prolific even on the modern map, and it would be interesting to see how far their distribution coincides with that of the type *Burn of —*. As we cannot possibly examine every single one of them, we shall limit ourselves to about half a dozen and look at their geographical scatter in turn.

(a) *Water of —*

It may be convenient to start with a word which in Scottish river-nomenclature is normally applied to larger water-courses, compared with *burn*. This word is *water* which seems to take an intermediate position between *burn* and *river* although not every *burn* is smaller and not every *river* larger than a *water*. There are 47 names[2] of the type *Water of*— on the one-inch map; of these we only mention *Water of Ailnack* INV, *Water of App* AYR, *Water of Buchat* ABD, *Water of Ken*, KCB, *Water of Leith* MLO, *Water of Malzie* WIG, *Water of Tulla* ARG, and *Water of Unich* ANG.

There are two aspects of the distribution of *Water of* —which immediately strike one as showing a strong resemblance to that of *Burn of*—: (1) The thick cluster of names in the north-east, and (2) the complete absence—with one or two exceptions— of our name-type from the Lothians, the Border Counties, and the Highlands and Islands (see Fig. 1). Different on the other hand are the frequency with which this type occurs in South-West Scotland, and the complete lack of it in the Northern Isles. Whereas the two points in support of our *Burn of* — evidence do not need any explanation, the two aspects in which *Water of* —differs from it will have to be looked at more closely. There is no apparent reason why the type *Burn of*—should be so scantily represented in SW. Scotland, whereas *Water of*—names are fairly plentiful. The latter is what one would expect to see in an area in which Gaelic was gradually ousted by Scots and where there must have been prolonged contact between these two languages. However, the type *Bishop Burn*, *Kildonan Burn*, *Palnure Burn* is by far the rule in this area, and one wonders if any earlier Germanic influence—both Anglian and Scandinavian—on this part of Scotland has anything to do with it. One can only say that the picture provided by the distribution of *Water of* — is completely in accordance with our conclusions from that of *Burn of* —, and that the reasons for the development of this type are probably exactly the same: The influence of a Gaelic substratum on a top-layer of Scots.

This still leaves the absence of *Water of* — in Orkney and Shetland to be accounted for. It would be more correct to speak of the absence of *Water of* — in stream-names, for it does

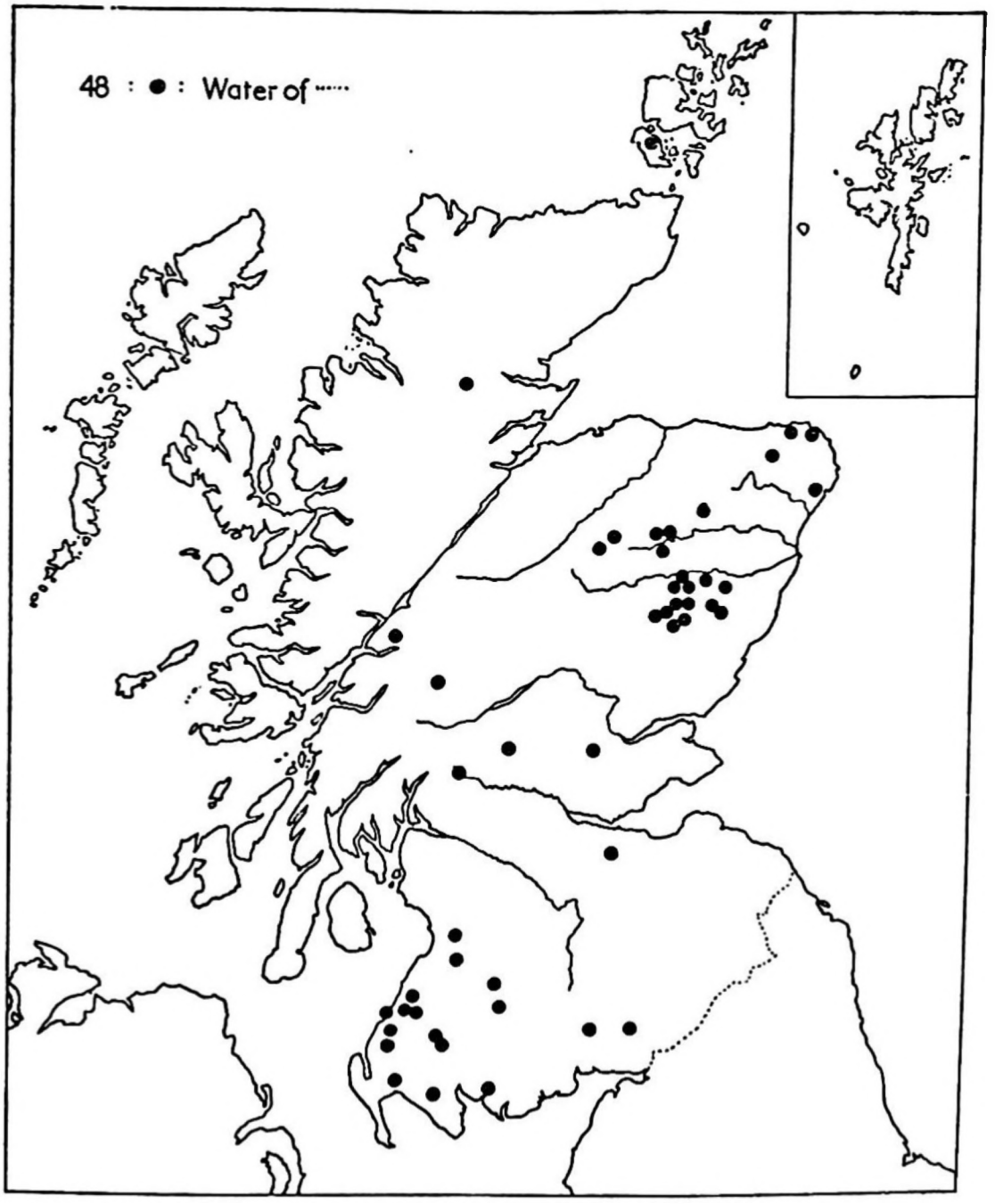

Fig. 1

occur in at least two loch-names in Hoy, the *Water of Hoy* and *Water of the Wicks*, and here we have the clue to the whole question. In the Northern Isles *water* is used in conjunction with lochs and not with streams. The pattern may have been set in this respect by Old Norse *vatn* which is probably behind both the *water-* and the *loch*-names in Orkney and Shetland.

In passing it may be mentioned that the formation *Loch of* — is fairly common in these islands. *Burn*, however, is practically the only word used to denote a course of running water.

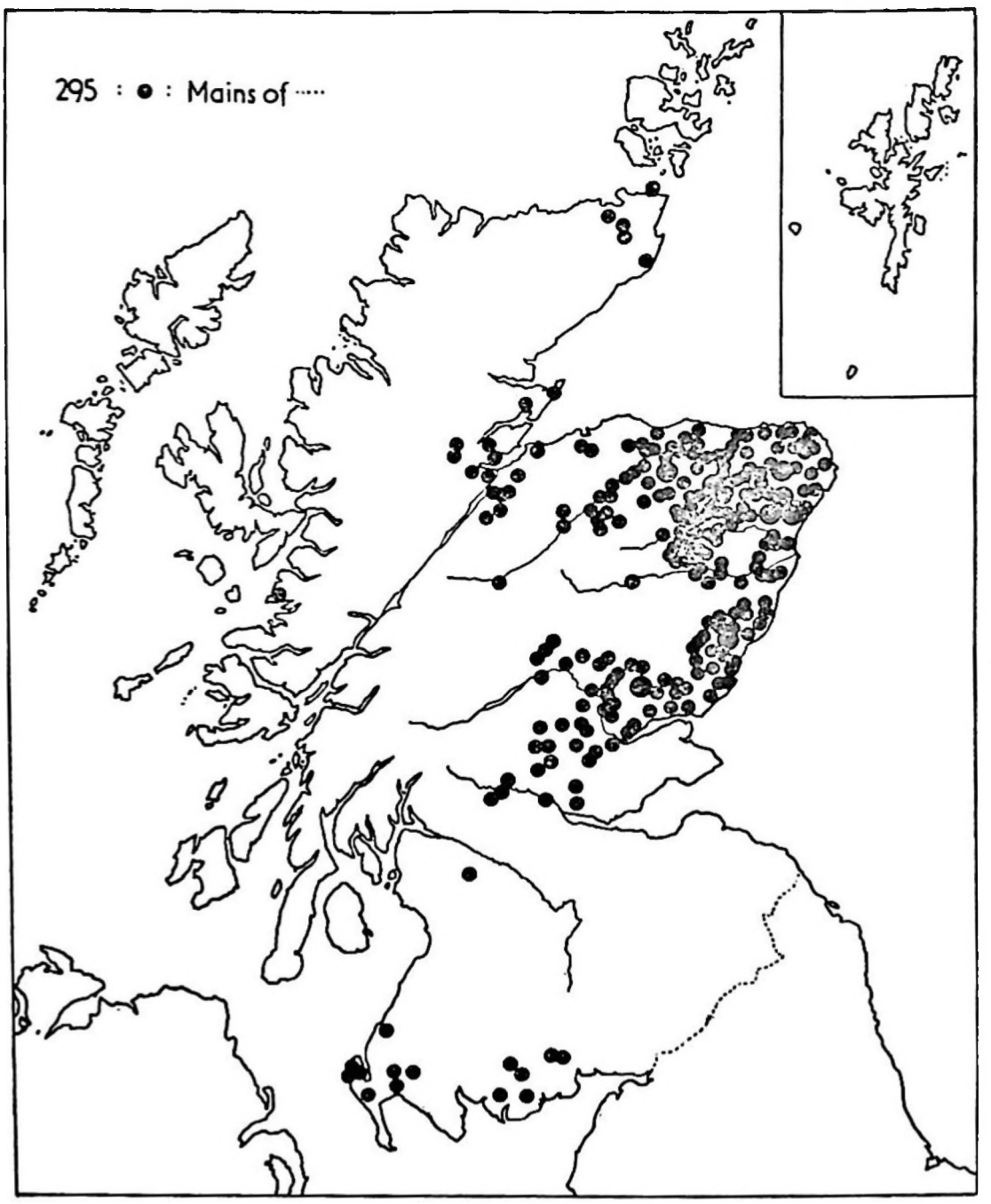

FIG. 2

(b) *Mains of* —

From smaller and medium-sized water-courses we move to human habitations, and here we shall look at the distribution of a term which, like *burn* and *water*, is not entirely confined to the areas shown on the map (see Fig. 2) but which, in conjunction with the preposition *of*, shows a similarly limited

scatter: *Mains* "originally, the home farm of a landed estate". Now, there are plenty of names containing *mains* in the Lothians and in the Borders but in all these instances the word follows the defining element, as in *Castle Mains* BWK, *Keith Mains* ELO, *Melville Mains* MLO, etc. The category of the *Mains of* — names, however, is only to be found in the two areas defined on the map, with the vast majority of them concentrated in East and North-east Scotland, from Fife to Ross and Cromarty. Here are some of them: *Mains of Auchindachy* BNF, *Mains of Balmanno* KCD, *Mains of Cairnbrock* WIG, *Mains of Callander* PER, *Mains of Dunmaglass* INV, *Mains of Keithfield* ABD, *Mains of Usan* ANG. Their total number is almost 300.

That the usage of these names may have been more widespread—in documentary evidence, anyhow—a few centuries ago, is indicated by a number of recorded forms mentioned by Macdonald (1941: 61 and 65). He has *Mains of Kincavill* in 1569 (now lost), *North Mains of Torthraven* 1571 and *The South Mains of Trattrevin* 1473 (now simply North and South Mains) in the county of West Lothian. As the shortened form of Middle English *demeyne* seems to be first on record in the second half of the fifteenth century, this may also give us a clue as to the date when our name-type developed, and we can hardly expect it much before the time of the first record of it.

It is difficult to say whether there was any underlying Gaelic for the type *Mains of* —, in the same way as *Burn of* — and *Water of* — may be said to derive, in part at least, from an earlier Gaelic genitival construction. It rather looks as if the type of name in which the preposition *of* links the generic and the defining elements, had already been established when the social and agricultural situation demanded that the concept and reality of the "home farm" had to find linguistic expression, in order to distinguish it from the "big house" itself or from the *Cotton* or *Newton* bearing the same name. The idea of the *Mains* belongs to the post-Gaelic, feudal pattern of life, rather than to the Gaelic period. The distribution of this category does, however, not clash with that of the two groups examined so far, groups that are probably much more directly linked with Gaelic name patterns.

(c) *Mill(s) of* —

It is hardly necessary to devote much space to the discussion of another basic element connected with human activities on the land, rather than with the land itself. The grain grown on

the land of the *Mains* had to be turned into flour, and although not every estate would possess its own mill, a great number of them would be required to cope with the agricultural produce.

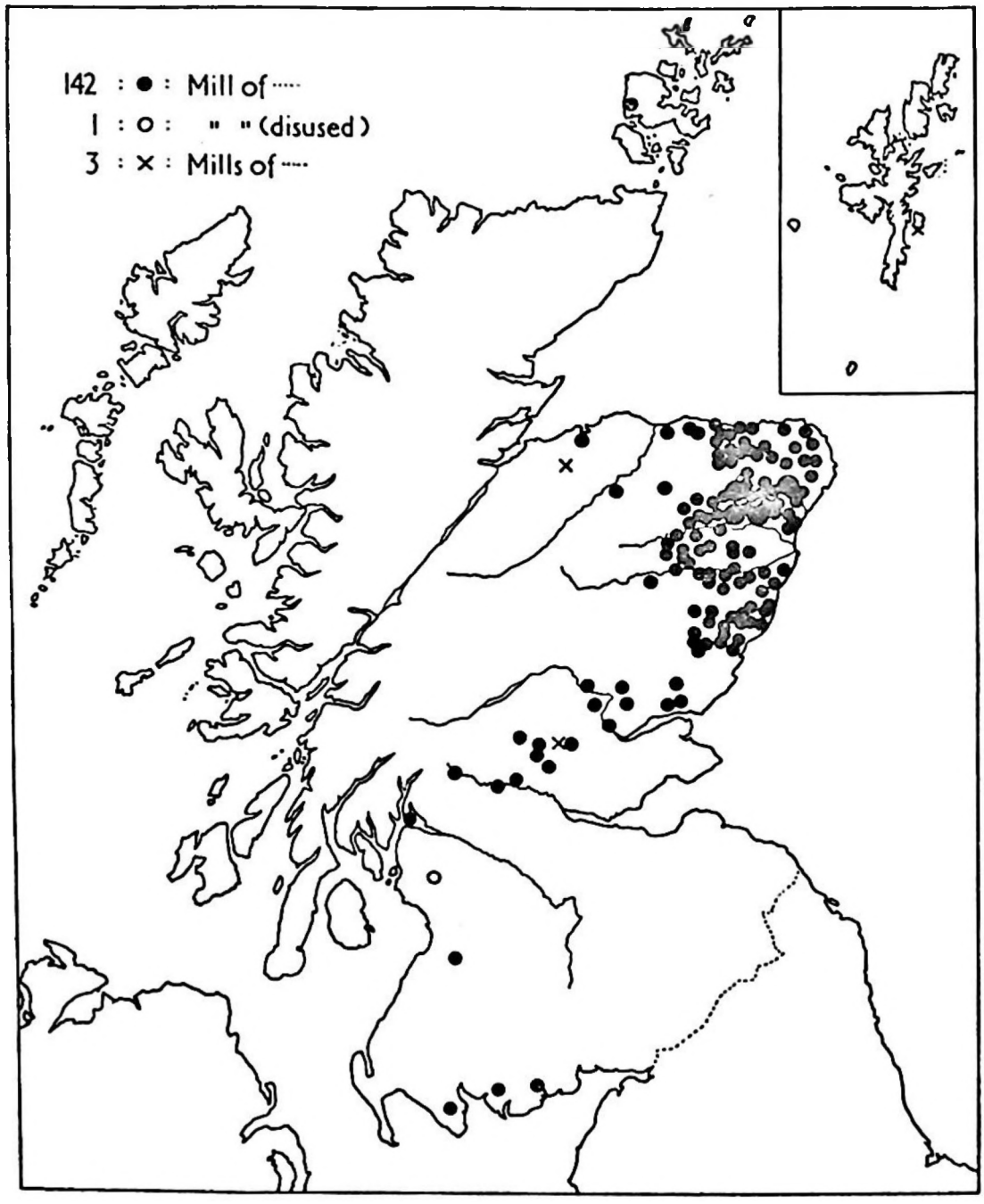

Fig. 3

In the north, therefore, the map (Fig. 3) shows a great number of names of the type *Mill of* —, and their geographical distribution does not differ to any extent from that of the group just investigated. Examples are *Mill of Camno* PER, *Mill of Knockenbaird* ABD, *Mill of Thornton* KCD, *Mill of Tommore* BNF. Unfortunately it was not possible to accommodate on

this map the 47 instances in which *Milton* is followed by *of* and the name defining the geographical location, although this element must be viewed together with simple *Mill.* It can, however, be said that every single example, on the Ordnance Survey one-inch map, of *Milton of* — is to be found within the areas covered by *Mill of* —, so that the picture created by this type is supported rather than changed. It must suffice here to give one or two examples: *Milton of Balgonie* FIF, *Milton of Buittle* KCB, *Milton of Collieston* ABD, *Milton of Larg* WIG.

It is unlikely that there was any direct Gaelic forerunner to this type, containing *muileann* or the like, but again these names appear to belong to the post-Gaelic period, making use of a pattern which had already developed in other categories of names in contact with a Gaelic speaking population.

(d) *Bridge, Braes, Braeside of* —

When one has to be selective because it is impossible to present the relevant material in its entirety, it is tempting to include in one's selection only that evidence which more or less falls into a pattern and does not require explanation of too many exceptions. While it is easy to say that this has not been the underlying principle in the choice of the material brought together in this note, it would not be so easy to prove it if every single distribution map were to conform to a suspiciously tidy pattern. The last map in this series will show, however, that the material was not selected with any preconceived idea in mind and that the result of the plotting of the various basic elements in connection with *of*, was in no case a foregone conclusion. Never were we able to say what a particular distribution was going to look like till the last name had been plotted on the map, and although certain distributional patterns became more probable than others after the first two or three maps, the task was never without surprises.

The geographical scatter of names of the type *Bridge of* — (Fig. 4) is one of them, for although the stronghold of these names is again the north-east, its much greater penetration into Central Scotland as far as the Great Glen will have to be accounted for. Names contributing to this much looser texture of the pattern are, for instance, *Bridge of Allan* STL, *Bridge of Awe* ARG, *Bridge of Coe* ARG, *Bridge of Grudie* ROS, *Bridge of Nevis* INV, *Bridge of Oich* INV, *Bridge of Weir* RNF, etc.,

whereas most of the others are found in the more "conventional" regions for this name-type.

When considering this particular problem, it is well to remember that the Gaelic prototype of this category still exists, the most instructive instance being *Drochaid Chonoglais* right beside *Bridge of Orchy* in Argyllshire. Other examples are *Drochaid Coire Roill* ROS and *Drochaid Lusa* in Skye. This means that we do not have to fall back on to any other basic element for an illustration of the linguistic contact involved in the creation of our group of names, and it can be stated with a good deal of confidence that the majority of these names on the Scottish mainland is probably due to direct translation from the original Gaelic.

Their more extensive distribution must, we feel, be ascribed to their association with means of communication, especially in those cases which occur west of the "normal" area of *of*-names. Bridges spanning water-courses which were otherwise difficult if not impossible to cross, must have been vital points in the scanty system of roads in the Highlands, and Lowland drovers and other travellers must have been well acquainted with them so that they became known far beyond their immediate neighbourhood. To us this appears to be the main reason for the distribution of our name-type as shown by our map, a reason that is completely extra-linguistic.

Of the other two elements thrown in on this map (Fig. 4) for good measure, the seven examples of *Braeside of* — do not create any particular problem; six of them occur in the extreme north-east, and one in Fife, the latter being *Braeside of Cults*. The small group of the *Braes of* — names, on the other hand, again refuses to be limited to the north-east proper and invades a good bit of the Central Highlands; the most westerly examples are *Braes of Balquhidder* PER, *Braes of Dunvornie* ROS, *Braes of Muckrach* INV, *Braes of Ullapool* ROS. An eighteenth example should have been included on this map but was unfortunately left out; it is one of the best known, the *Braes o' Lochaber* INV. Further comparison might also be made with the equivalent singular *Brae of* —, of which the Scottish one-inch maps have 24, like *Brae of Achnahaird* ROS, *Brae of Downie* ANG, *Brae of Fordyce* BNF. These two categories, i.e., the ones containing *Brae* and *Braes*, are almost as widely diffused as the type *Bridge of* —. They naturally cling to mountainous regions, and their wider scatter may partly have been caused by the fact that they normally depict fairly extensive geographical

features, although this explanation alone is, perhaps, not wholly satisfactory and there may be other reasons, which have eluded the present writer, to account for this distribution.

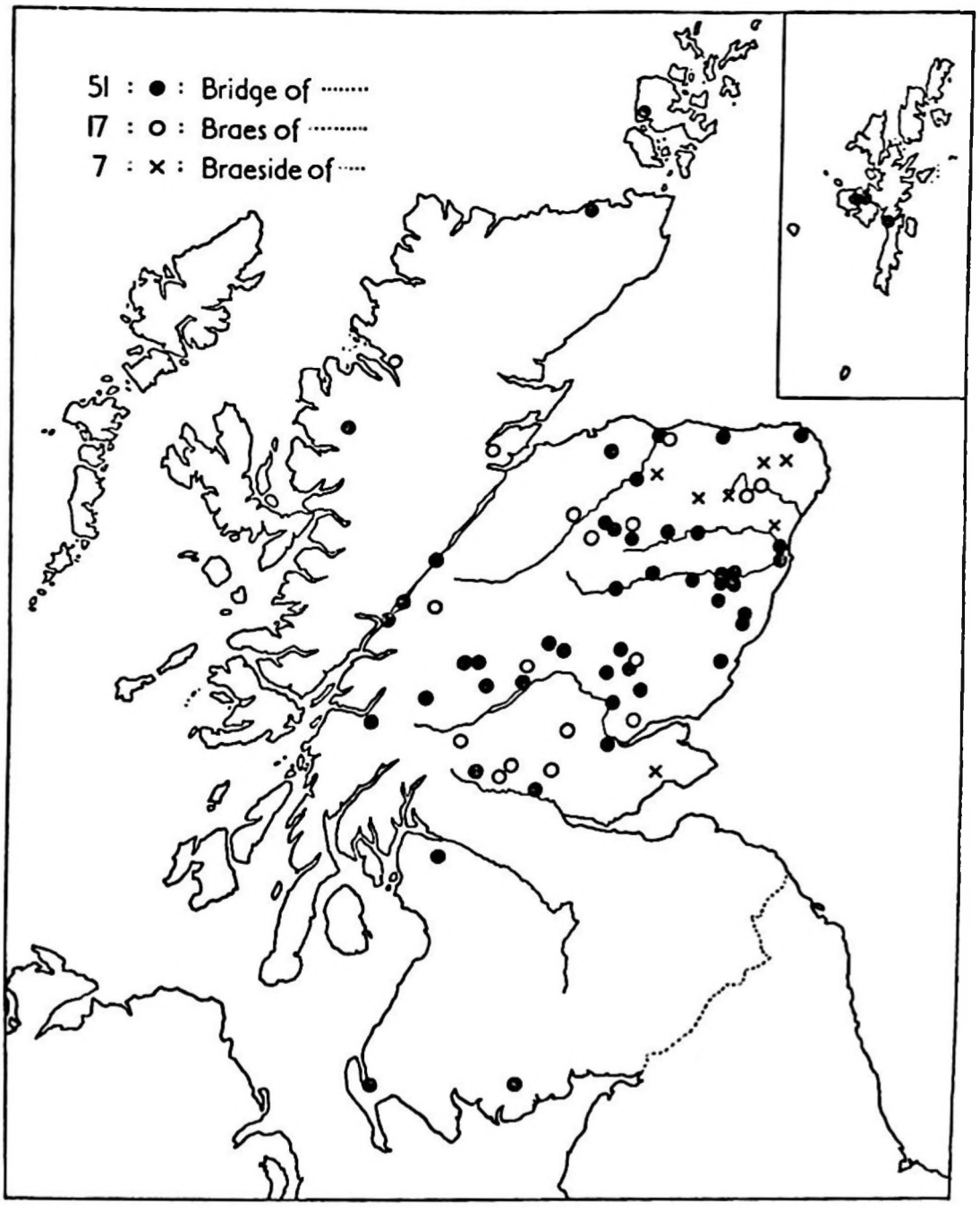

Fig. 4

Summing up all our evidence, however, it is not too much to say that the additional information presented in this note supports and strengthens the conclusions come to after the investigation of the more limited material supplied by the names of smaller water-courses of the type *Burn of* —. The origin of our group of names must be sought in the linguistic

contact of Scots with Gaelic, or in some instances with Norse dialects. The percentage of genuine original translations differs from element to element, and in some cases, as in those of *Mains of* — and *Mill* or *Milton of* —, the attractive power of the established pattern appears to have been responsible rather than imitation of Gaelic examples. It would be interesting to find out if this name-type is still creative to-day and if names can still be formed in this way.

NOTES

[1] Possible Continental equivalents of the last two names are the two French river-names *Calonne* and *Caronne*, for which see Gerhard Rohlfs, "Europäische Flussnamen und ihre historischen Probleme" in: *Reports of the VIth International Congress of Onomastic Studies* Vol. I (1960) 27 note 120. Munich.

[2] The printed distribution map (Fig. 1) has 48 names, but of these the dot in Orkney will have to be eliminated, as it was entered by mistake; it refers to the *Water of Hoy* which is a small loch.

COUNTY ABBREVIATIONS

ABD	Aberdeenshire	KNR	Kinross-shire
ANG	Angus	MLO	Midlothian
ARG	Argyllshire	ORK	Orkney
AYR	Ayrshire	PEB	Peeblesshire
BNF	Banffshire	PER	Perthshire
BWK	Berwickshire	RNF	Renfrewshire
DMF	Dumfriesshire	ROS	Ross and Cromarty
DNB	Dunbartonshire	ROX	Roxburghshire
ELO	East Lothian	SLK	Selkirkshire
FIF	Fife	STL	Stirlingshire
INV	Inverness-shire	SUT	Sutherland
KCB	Kirkcudbrightshire	WIG	Wigtownshire
KCD	Kincardineshire	WLO	West Lothian

REFERENCES

DE VRIES, JAN
1958 "Die 'Tierverehrung' in Gallien". *Saga och Sed* 1958: 48-62. Uppsala.

JONES, J. MORRIS
1930 *A Welsh Grammar*. Oxford.

MACDONALD, ANGUS
1941 *The Place-Names of West Lothian*. Edinburgh.

MEID, WOLFGANG
1957 "Das Suffix *-no-* in Götternamen". *Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 8: 72-108. Heidelberg.

NICOLAISEN, W. F. H.
1957 "The Semantic Structure of Scottish Hydronymy". *Scottish Studies* 1: 211-40. Edinburgh.
1959 "Notes on Scottish Place-Names. 10. The Type *Burn of* — in Scottish Hydronymy". *Scottish Studies* 3: 92-102. Edinburgh.

POKORNY, JULIUS
1948 *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Fascicle 1. Bern.

THURNEYSEN, RUDOLF
1946 *A Grammar of Old Irish.* Dublin.

WAGNER, HEINRICH
1958 "Indogermanisch—Vorderasiatisch—Mediterranes". *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 75: 58-75. Göttingen.

WATSON, WILLIAM J.
1926 *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland.* Edinburgh.

W. F. H. NICOLAISEN

B. OTHER NOTES

Book Reviews

Shetland Life under Earl Patrick. By Gordon Donaldson. Edinburgh, 1958. Oliver and Boyd. 149 pp. 15s.

Dr. Donaldson describes Shetland life about three hundred and fifty years ago with many interpolations as to modern conditions and some comparisons with Iceland, the Færoes and Norway. Unfortunately the basic Court Book is largely a record of law-breaking and squabbles and so the reviewer feels that thieves, slanders and the like create the impression that law-breaking was particularly prevalent in the Shetland Islands. One would like to be familiar with the Norwegian pattern at this period and also to be able to assess the significance of the illegal conversion from Norwegian to Scottish forms of tenure and law.

The section entitled "The People" has much of interest. The distribution of population is discussed together with the possible origin of the families according to their names. Individual inventories of property are given, together with the contemporary values, and show that in the north the social classes had been clearly defined while the taxation system bore heavily on the middle classes.

This volume is of value as emphasising that life was complicated by the Scottish legal concepts being harshly applied by a ruthless overlord despite assurances given a century earlier. The udal system of proprietorship had advantages in this