The Berwickshire Place-Name Resource

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The Berwickshire Place-Name Resource was launched in November 2018, and is one of the main outputs of a three-year research project funded by the Leverhulme Trust at the University of Glasgow. It offers early forms and analysis for all 1,224 Berwickshire place-names on the Ordnance Survey Landranger map series (1:50,000). The search interface offers a wide range of facilities and display options. Quick Search allows the user to look up an individual place-name or string of letters. Browse Place-Names and Element Glossary provide alternative ways to access the data, while the most flexible option is the Advanced Search. The results of all searches can be viewed in either Map or Text format. Sample searches discussed in this article illustrate the potential of the place-name evidence to throw light on topics such as the languages spoken historically in the Borders, affinities with other areas, the development of Scots, and early social structures.

A free online resource for place-names in the historical county of Berwickshire in the Scottish Borders was launched at a joint conference of the Scottish Place-Name Society and Scottish Records Association held at the Scottish Storytelling Centre, Edinburgh, on Saturday, 17 November 2018.¹ This article will outline the resource and its interactive search facilities, as well as discussing some of the types of research to which the data will contribute.

The resource is one of the main outputs of a three-year research project funded by the Leverhulme Trust at the University of Glasgow from 2016 to 2019, entitled Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: evidence from place-names (REELS). The project team includes Carole Hough (Principal Investigator), Simon Taylor (Co-Investigator) and Eila Williamson (Research Associate). All three have contributed to the online resource, which was designed by the fourth member of the team, Brian Aitken (Systems Developer). The aim of the project was to use place-name evidence to investigate the Northumbrian dialect of Old English spoken in the Borders from the seventh to eleventh centuries, and its development into Older Scots. In order to identify the relevant data, it was necessary to undertake the primary work of place-name survey, which involves the collection and analysis of historical spellings, supplemented by site visits and consultation with local informants.² This could not be accomplished for the whole of the Borders within the time frame of a three-year project, nor indeed for an entire county. We therefore decided to focus on Berwickshire, an

¹ http://www.gla.ac.uk/reels or https://berwickshire-placenames.glasgow.ac.uk.
² A detailed discussion of methodology, with particular reference to the Survey of Scottish Place-Names, is provided by S. Taylor, ‘Methodologies in Place-Name Research’, in (ed.) C. Hough with assistance from D. Izdebska, The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming (Oxford, 2016), 69–86.
important part of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria, and to take a two-
pronged approach, combining comprehensive coverage of six of Berwickshire’s
thirty-two parishes for publication as a volume within the Survey of Scottish
Place-Names, with broader coverage of the county as a whole as an online
resource with free public access. The six border parishes of Coldstream, Eccles,
Foulden, Hutton, Ladykirk and Mordington were selected for comprehensive
survey, while the online resource covers all Berwickshire place-names on the
Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 Landranger map: a total of over 1,220.

The historical parishes of Berwickshire are shown in Plate 1, the base map
used for the online resource, with three-letter parish abbreviations. The six
parishes to be covered in greater detail within the survey volume are in the
south-east, but all are included in the online resource.

The search interface offers a wide range of facilities and display options, a
selection of which will be described and illustrated below. The main routes into
the data are through Quick Search, Browse Place-Names, Element Glossary,
and Advanced Search. This article will focus on each in turn, with examples of
the approaches they support.

The Quick Search facility is on the home page, as well as in the top bar of
every page. It allows the user to search for an individual place-name, or for a
string of letters in the modern spelling of the name or in any of its component
elements. We expected this to meet the requirements of most non-specialist
users, and statistics from Google Analytics confirm that it was the most popular
type of search during the first month following the launch.
Plate 2  Quick Search – Map view.

Plate 3  Quick Search – Text view.
The results of all searches can be viewed either in Map or Text format. Plate 2 displays the result of a Quick Search for the place-name Lammermuir. It shows the default Map view, with an icon identifying Lammermuir Hills as a relief feature. Changing to Text view gives precise details of the location, including grid reference, Landranger sheet number and altitude (Plate 3), while clicking on View record leads to the definition ‘Upland moors associated with lambs’, as well as to the component elements: Old English (hereafter OE) lamb + OE mōr + Scottish Standard English hill (Plate 4). Again the user can drill further down into the data by clicking on Historical Forms, Show more detail or individual elements.

Returning to the Map view, the Menu icon towards the top left of the map allows it to be consulted in different ways (Plate 5). Instead of categorising the place-name(s) by type of feature, icons can represent start date, altitude or language, while the background can be changed to a Satellite view or Ordnance Survey map. Place-name labels can be switched on or used as a ‘hover over’ facility to avoid cluttering the screen, and parish boundaries can similarly be displayed or not. Plate 6 shows the same search with the background changed to Satellite view, and the place-name label switched on.
Plate 5  Map menu.

Plate 6  Satellite background.
As an alternative to looking up an individual place-name, Quick Search enables the user to search for a syllable or other combination of letters in the modern spelling or place-name element. Plate 7 shows the result of a Quick Search for lamb, showing the Map view with place-name labels switched on. Ten place-names are returned, and the icons identify various types of feature: Lambden (GRE), Lambden House (GRE), Lamberton Shiel (MRD, LTX) and the former parish name Lamberton are classified as settlement names; Lamberton Beach (MRD, LTX) is a coastal name; Lamberton Moor (MRD) is classified as vegetation; Lamb Hill (LMS), Lamb Rig (LAU) and Lammermuir Hills as relief features; and Lamden Burn (ECC, GRE) as a water feature. Any of these could be deselected by unchecking the box against the respective icon. Clearly not all are independent formations. Lamberton Beach, Lamberton Moor and Lamberton Shiel are derivative names based on Lamberton, while Lambden House is a derivative name based on Lambden. It might be useful to display them by start date, again via the Map menu. Plate 8 replaces the feature icons with date icons to show the century in which each name is first attested. This allows the user to work backwards by unchecking the later dates to leave only the earliest names displayed, or alternatively to focus on any time period of particular interest.

Moving on to another type of search, Plate 9 shows the Browse Place-Names option where the data are presented quantitatively. The first page shows the number of place-names beginning with each letter of the alphabet. Selecting Historical Form on the menu bar similarly shows the number of historical forms beginning with each letter of the alphabet. Start Date shows the number of place-names first recorded in individual years; Source shows the number of place-names recorded in each source used for historical forms; Parish shows the number of place-names in each parish; and Code shows the number of place-names assigned to each feature type, from Settlement (752 names) through to Ecclesiastical and Field (one each). Within each page, clicking on any of the numbers returns a list of place-names, again with full information accessible in text or map format.

Even without going beyond the numerical data, there is much of interest here. Plate 9 shows that place-names beginning with the letter B outnumber those beginning with the letter A by nearly five to one, totalling 146 and 30 respectively. These figures are thought-provoking, especially when compared with other data sets. Ekwall’s dictionary of English place-names has 20 pages of place-names beginning with the letter A and 60 beginning with the letter B. The latter thus outnumber them, but by only three to one. The main dictionary of Welsh place-names has 19 pages of place-names beginning with the letter A
Plate 7  Quick Search – letter string.

Plate 8  Map view with date icons.
and 41 beginning with the letter B: a factor of only just over two to one.\(^6\) It should of course be borne in mind that dictionary entries are of variable length, so number of pages does not correlate directly with number of place-names. However, this applies equally throughout the alphabet, and does not affect one letter more than others.

It is also worth comparing the Berwickshire data with those from other parts of Scotland. In the index to Dixon’s study of Midlothian place-names, letter A runs to two columns while letter B runs to nine-and-a-half columns, outnumbering them by nearly five to one.\(^7\) In the index to Reid’s book on Stirlingshire place-names, letter A runs to two-and-a-quarter columns while letter B runs to nine columns, outnumbering them by four to one.\(^8\) Moreover, John Garth Wilkinson kindly informs me that in the gazetteer for his forthcoming book on West Lothian place-names, letter A runs to nine pages and letter B to 39, again outnumbering them by over four to one.\(^9\) It therefore appears that B-names in these four sample Scottish counties consistently outnumber A-names

\(^6\) H. W. Owen and R. Morgan, *Dictionary of the Place-Names of Wales* (Llandysul, 2007).
\(^8\) J. Reid, *The Place Names of Falkirk and East Stirlingshire* (Falkirk, 2009).
by between four and five to one, whereas in other parts of mainland Britain, the figure is between two and three to one.

A potential explanation is related to the distribution of languages. The most obvious linguistic difference between the place-names of Scotland and those of other parts of mainland Britain is the influence of Scots vocabulary. Comparison with lexical dictionaries is illuminating. In the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, letter A extends to 76 pages, and letter B to 77: almost the same. In the *Concise Scots Dictionary*, letter A extends to 28 pages, and letter B to 59: just over twice as many. Bearing in mind that both languages derive from Old English, the discrepancy is startling. The *Dictionary of Old English* has 1,534 entries for letter A, and 2,268 for letter B. This imbalance may help to explain the preponderance of B in its daughter language Scots. But if so, why not also in its other daughter language, English?

It is well known that Scots, like many regional varieties of English, retains some Old English features that have disappeared from Standard English. Current scholarship holds that the differences between the two languages are attributable partly to the different varieties of Old English from which they develop, and partly to subsequent patterns of language contact:

What makes Scots similar to present-day English is a shared origin in the related, or ‘cognate’, Germanic language varieties introduced to the British Isles by Angle and Saxon invaders and settlers, from the fifth to the seventh centuries. What makes Scots different from present-day English is partly that it owes more to the Anglian than the Saxon variety of Old English, and partly that, over the generations, the different kinds of contact that Scots and English have engaged in with other languages (and with each other) have given them distinctive linguistic characteristics.

However, although West Saxon forms are better attested, due to the emergence of this language variety as a literary standard from the late ninth century onwards, the Anglian dialects, of which Northumbrian was one, were spoken over a wider area, and indeed the introduction to the Dictionary of the Scots Language notes that ‘Much of the native vocabulary is, of course, shared with St[andard]E[nglish], also descended from an Anglian dialect’ (my italics). It remains the case that Scots and English are differentiated by owing more to

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the Northumbrian and Mercian varieties of Anglian respectively, but it may be possible to go further, by suggesting that Scots owes more overall to Old English. There is after all greater continuity between the two languages in that the development from Old English to Older Scots was not interrupted by the Norman Conquest as was the development from Old English to Middle English. Whereas French and Latin were prestige languages in both England and Scotland during the later medieval period, the massive influence of French on the English vernacular was not paralleled in Scotland, where the languages of governance and of everyday speech remained largely distinct.\textsuperscript{15} My suggestion that this may help to explain the alphabetical imbalance identified above is speculative, and much fuller investigation would be required to support it. The point here is that even the kinds of raw figures shown in Plate 9 can lead in interesting directions.

The third route into the data is provided by the Element Glossary. This lists all place-name elements in the resource, with links to the place-name(s) in which they appear. It can be browsed alphabetically, or searched by language. This is where the preponderance of Scots can be evidenced. Selecting Scots from the drop-down box seen at the top of Plate 10 retrieves 294 elements, in comparison with 235 for Scottish Standard English, 94 for Old English, 19 for Brittonic, 9 for Gaelic, and 2 each for French and Old Norse.\textsuperscript{16} Not surprisingly, both French elements appear in a single place-name, as do the two Old Norse elements shown in Plate 10. However, neither place-name may be what it seems. Belville (ECC) is first recorded in 1812, and the entry in the resource reads as follows:

\begin{quote}
This is best seen as a (semi-humorous?) allusion to the fact that it is the home-farm of Belchester, and lies very close to the big house. It is a French pun on the name Belchester (containing Sc bell ‘a bell-shaped feature’), reinterpreting the first element as French bel(le) + French ville ‘town, etc.’.
\end{quote}

It is less self-evident that the sole Old Norse place-name, Corsbie (LEG), was not created by speakers of that language, but that may well be the case. Scandinavian settlement would be exceptional in Berwickshire, so the evidence needs to be robust. The links in Plate 10 lead to the place-name record itself, which shows

\textsuperscript{15} P. Durkin, \textit{Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English} (Oxford, 2014), 255, calculates that 39 per cent of all headword entries in the \textit{Middle English Dictionary} are from French or Latin. Loans from French into Scots are often taken to date from the later period, resulting from the Franco-Scottish Auld Alliance, although Macafee and Aitken, ‘A History of Scots to 1700’, 4.2.2.6, argue that ‘there seems no inherent reason why the Scots should not have borrowed a distinctive body of words earlier from A[nglo]-N[orman]’. Some of the most insightful recent contributions to the study of language and governance in medieval Scotland appear in (ed.) M. Hammond, \textit{New Perspectives on Medieval Scotland 1093–1286} (Woodbridge, 2013).

\textsuperscript{16} All figures are subject to change, as research is ongoing and the resource is regularly revised and updated.
that the earliest historical spellings date from the fourteenth century. Like Belville, it is a name-type rather than an independent formation. Direct parallels occur both in Ayrshire (Crosbie in Dundonald and Crosbie in West Kilbride) and in northern England, with several occurrences of Crosby in the historical counties of Cumberland, Lancashire, Westmorland and the West Riding of Yorkshire. It is therefore possible that instead of reflecting Scandinavian settlement during the early Middle Ages, it may be a later, analogical name. Fellows-Jensen has argued that

settlers looking for suitable names for new assarts in Scotland centuries after the end of the Viking Age seemed to be perfectly happy to choose a name in -bý without having any clear conception of the semantic significance of the name or of the site or sites bearing the name in England.¹⁷

Corsbie in Berwickshire may well fit this pattern.

As this example illustrates, not all place-name derivations are straightforward. Although Corsbie appears to be a Scandinavian coinage, it may not be, and similar ambiguities apply to other names. In particular, since many Scots terms derive from Old English, it is often difficult to know whether a name first recorded during the Older or Middle Scots periods was created by speakers of

Old English or of Scots. Etymologies within the resource are therefore assigned ‘certainty levels’ on a three-part scale – 1 (certain); 2 (probable); 3 (possible) – and entries include alternatives where appropriate.

As mentioned above, the REELS project will produce a volume within the Survey of Scottish Place-Names. At the same time, it has close affinities with the Survey of English Place-Names, which has been in progress since the 1920s. Famously described in James B. Johnston’s pioneering work as ‘the most English county in Scotland’, Berwickshire will contribute data to ongoing research into English place-names. An example concerns the so-called Grimston hybrids, where a Scandinavian personal name is combined with OE *tūn* ‘village’. Fellows-Jensen presents a statistical analysis of *tūn* place-names containing Scandinavian personal names in areas of Danish settlement in England, and of *tūn* place-names containing Old English personal names throughout the country. On the basis of a significantly lower percentage of personal names outside areas of Danish settlement, she argues for a different approach to naming between Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians:

I would argue that these figures reflect that the English did not often change the form of an existing place-name simply to contain the name of a lord or tenant. The Vikings, however, began buying and selling land in the tenth and eleventh centuries and Knútt’s land-grants to his Danish followers reflect the same practice in a number of southern place-names.

Fellows-Jensen’s statistics are given both as totals and as percentages for each English county for which a reliable place-name survey is available. The REELS resource now makes it possible to add Berwickshire to the mix. The Element Glossary shows a total of nineteen place-names from *tūn*, displayed in Map view in Plate 11. As the icons reveal, all are names of parishes or other settlements. Certain types of *tūn* name were excluded from Fellows-Jensen’s analysis, including *-ingtūn* formations (which may derive from earlier place-names) and those with non-English qualifiers outside the main areas of Scandinavian settlement. With these exclusions, her totals ranged from 520 (Devon) to 11 (Rutland), while the percentage containing personal names ranged from 44 (Devon) to 3 (Oxfordshire and Surrey). Applying the same exclusions to the Berwickshire *tūn* names leaves 12, of which 3 have personal names as qualifiers.

The figure of 25 per cent is closely in line with Fellows-Jensen’s table, which ‘shows that in most English counties between 15% and 25% of the *tūn*-names contain personal names’.

20 These are Manderston (DNS), Paxton (HUT) and Renton (CHM). The other nine, with qualifiers in brackets, are Ayton (Eye Water), Hilton (WHI) (OE *hyll* ‘hill’), Hutton (OE *hōh* ‘heel, promontory’), Lamberton (MRD) (OE *lamb* ‘lamb’), Langton (LGT) (OE *lōng* ‘long’), Mertoun (OE *mēr* ‘pool, wetland’), Preston (BUP) (OE *prēost* ‘priest’), Reston (CHM) (OE *hrīs* ‘brushwood’) and Swinton (OE *swĩn* ‘pig’).
In this instance, then, the Berwickshire data do not affect the overall conclusions, but they do help to provide a fuller picture. They will be able to feed into future studies alongside data from English counties.

The most flexible way of searching the resource is through the Advanced Search, shown in Plate 12. This allows the user to select and combine a range of search parameters, including date, source, location, altitude, type of feature, and language. Wildcards are available, as also for the Quick Search, making it possible to focus on the beginning, middle or end of data strings.

An example of the type of investigation facilitated by this approach is shown by a conference paper I gave on personal names in Berwickshire place-names, shortly before the official launch of the resource. In order to identify examples, I searched for personal names using the Advanced Search option. One hundred and nine results were returned: considerably in excess of the optimum number for a forty-minute paper. I considered cutting them down by selecting a particular type of feature, language or location, but instead decided to focus on the earliest names by modifying the search according to date. Plate 13 shows the result of an Advanced Search for place-names containing personal names and first recorded before 1500. This retrieved a more manageable total of thirty-four. It is no coincidence that all except one are parish or settlement names, as these

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tend to be among the oldest names. Indeed, that is why we felt confident that by basing the online resource on the 1:50,000 Landranger map, which includes a high proportion of settlement names, we would achieve broad coverage of the early place-name stratum in Berwickshire.

Individually, each of these names would repay attention. Collectively, they have one common feature: all the personal names represented are male. This contrasts with the later names in the Berwickshire resource, where more than ten per cent are female. The diachronic contrast is easy to account for in terms of

Comparing them to the comparatively recent field-name stratum, J. Field, *A History of English Field-Names* (London, 1993), xi, observes that 'the interpretation of settlement names requires a deep knowledge of old languages’. Some river-names are even older, but these are sparse, being aptly described by A. D. Mills, *A Dictionary of British Place Names*, 1st rev. edn (Oxford, 2011), xiv, as ‘few in number but the most ancient of all’. Settlement names have traditionally been prioritised in place-name surveys for this very reason, although a growing interest in later material has led to increasing coverage of field-names and minor names. Developments in this respect over the course of the last century are outlined by J. Carroll, ‘Perceiving Space Through Time: English Place-Name Studies, 1924–2013’, in (ed.) J. Carroll and D. N. Parsons, *Perceptions of Place: Twenty-First-Century Interpretations of English Place-Name Studies* (Nottingham, 2013), xiii–xxxvi, at xiii–xvi.
the increasing visibility of women through time. More surprising is a synchronic contrast with place-names from early medieval England. A corpus of Old English and Old Norse female personal names in English place-names compiled from survey volumes published up to the beginning of the twenty-first century totalled over five hundred, reflecting a significant proportion of female eponyms.24 A smaller percentage of references to women in the place-names of Scotland in comparison with those of England has previously been established from dictionary evidence.25 However, whereas those findings related to the country as a whole, and may have been impacted by the high proportion of place-names from the Celtic languages in other parts of Scotland, the Berwickshire data set represents the area closest linguistically to southern Britain. The differences are thus all the more striking.

From Fell’s groundbreaking study onwards, female names and other references to women in pre-Conquest place-names have been treated as evidence for the position of women in Anglo-Saxon society. Used alongside other sources such as law-codes and charters, they reflect a degree of legal autonomy manifested both in land-holdings and in administrative responsibilities. It is unfortunate that all surviving early laws are from the southern English kingdoms, while the only record of Northumbrian legislation is a short eleventh-century text known as *Norðleoda Laga*, ‘Law of the North People’. Substantial sections on women appear in legislation from seventh-century Kent and ninth-century Wessex, but whether or not similar laws applied in Northumbria is unknown. It is at least suggestive that not only are early female personal names absent from the REELS resource, but so too are appellatival references to women. Of the ninety-four Old English elements, six refer to people: one is a group name, while the other five are male. The contrast with the plethora of references to women in English place-names may reflect differences between the social structures of Northumbria and those of the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Again, fuller investigation is required, but the implications are intriguing.

In conclusion, the online resource presented in this article offers a number of advantages over the format of traditional place-name survey volumes. First and foremost is the flexibility of searching. Whereas published surveys characteristically organise the material by parish, with alphabetical indices of place-names and of elements, the online search interface allows a wider range of variables to be selected and combined. In order to compile the above-mentioned corpus of place-names containing female personal names, it was necessary to trawl systematically through thousands of pages in seventy-five volumes of the ongoing Survey of English Place-Names, supplemented by older surveys for other counties. This took hundreds of hours, whereas the Berwickshire data were interrogated within a matter of seconds. The greater speed and efficiency achieved through electronic searching will have a transformative impact on the research field.

Secondly, computerised searching facilities reduce the risk of human error. Following publication of the English corpus mentioned above, Judith Jesch drew attention to several apparent omissions from the section on Old Norse personal names. Although some of these had already been considered and rejected in favour of alternative etymologies, the fact remains that manual searching is less reliable than computerised searching. Human judgement is crucial to interpreting the results, but the electronic retrieval process is superior.

A third advantage is that the resource is dynamic rather than static. Early volumes of the Survey of English Place-Names are now seriously out of date, and need to be used alongside successive lists of *addenda and corrigenda* that have appeared in later volumes and in the *Journal of the English Place-Name Society*. These can be difficult to keep track of, especially as it is now over twenty years since the publication of a 125-page index. By contrast, revisions to the online resource are implemented directly, and take immediate effect. This enables it to be kept permanently up to date, and in line with current developments in scholarship.

Finally, it is important to emphasise that the Berwickshire Place-Name Resource is a work in progress. It is intended not only to provide a source of information, but to facilitate further research, which in turn will feed back into the resource. It will continue to be revised and updated as the analysis of place-names continues throughout and beyond the REELS project itself, and we welcome suggestions and feedback that may help to improve it further.

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