

(clearly an authority on navigation in Irish waters) to *The Times*, written from London dated 16th and printed 20th November 1847, that the first mention of the place outside the cartographical tradition occurs. Its name appears in the modern spelling. It is no misprint, as it crops up three times in the letter in all. The new spelling is found in Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, which must have been in preparation when the sinking took place.¹⁷ At the time of this infamous wreck, which cost 91 or 92 lives, the pelagic speck of Fastnet must have become known beyond its original area of salience and its name used by people who had no acquaintance with its traditional form. It is clear from the misprinted spelling *Fastnel* in Rees's *Cyclopaedia* that the form of the name was uncertain in the world at large in 1819.¹⁸ Whether *Fastnet*, *Fastnei* or some other spelling was intended is unclear, but the mistake evidently did not strike the proofreader.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to W. A. R. Richardson of Flinders University for his kindness and promptness in providing eleven of the spellings listed in the evidence for the name of Fastnet, only one of which duplicated one already known to me; to Professor Breandán S. Mac Aodha of University College, Galway, for help with identifying, locating and transcribing Irish map sources; to Dr Oliver Padel of the University of Cambridge for further commentary; and to Miriam L. Coates for the profiles of the Rock.

parliamentary papers, including digests of the public accounts, of 1847-53. None of all this is recorded in the official history of the lighthouses mentioned in footnote 11, which is exclusively about construction and engineering matters.

¹⁷ Samuel Lewis, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, 2 vols (London, 1849).

¹⁸ Rees, *Cyclopaedia*, XIV, s.n.

Modern Scottish Gaelic Reflexes of Two Pictish Words: *pett and *lannerc

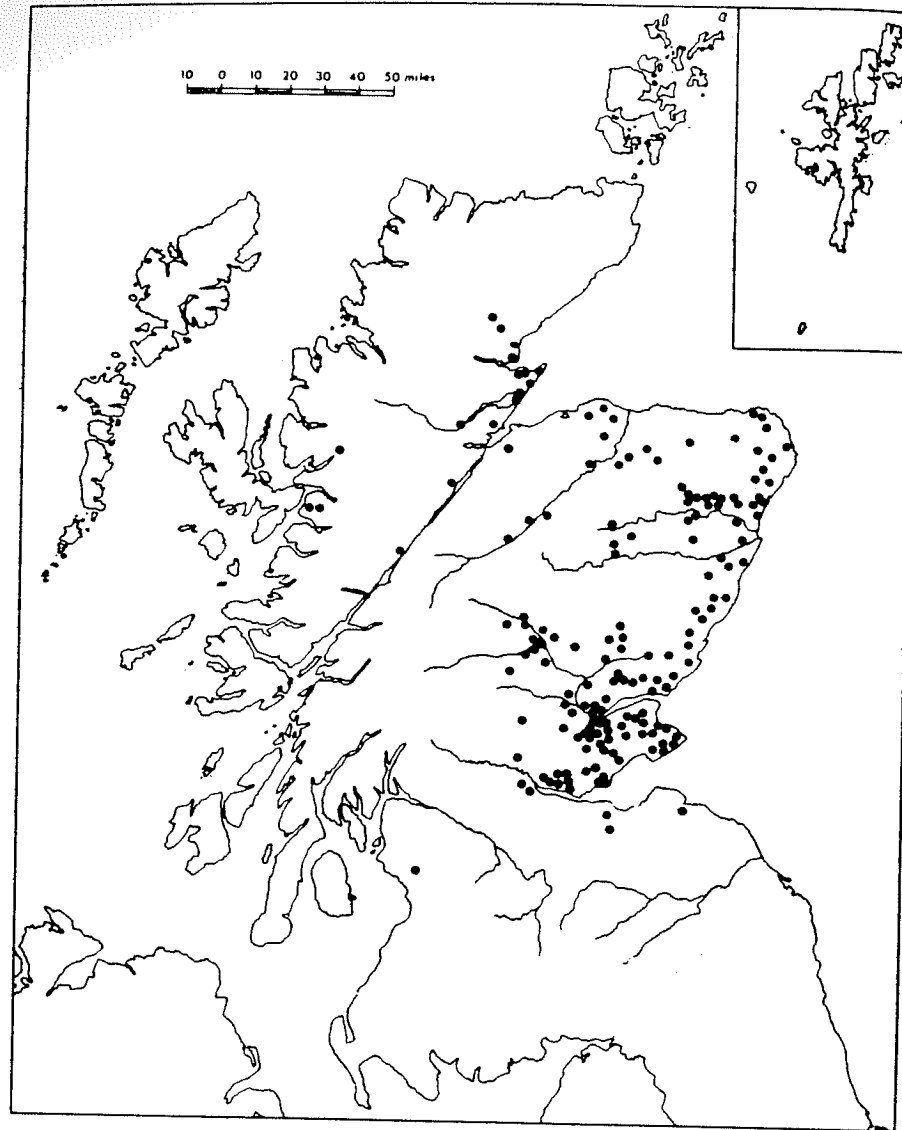
Richard A. V. Cox
University of Aberdeen

*Pett

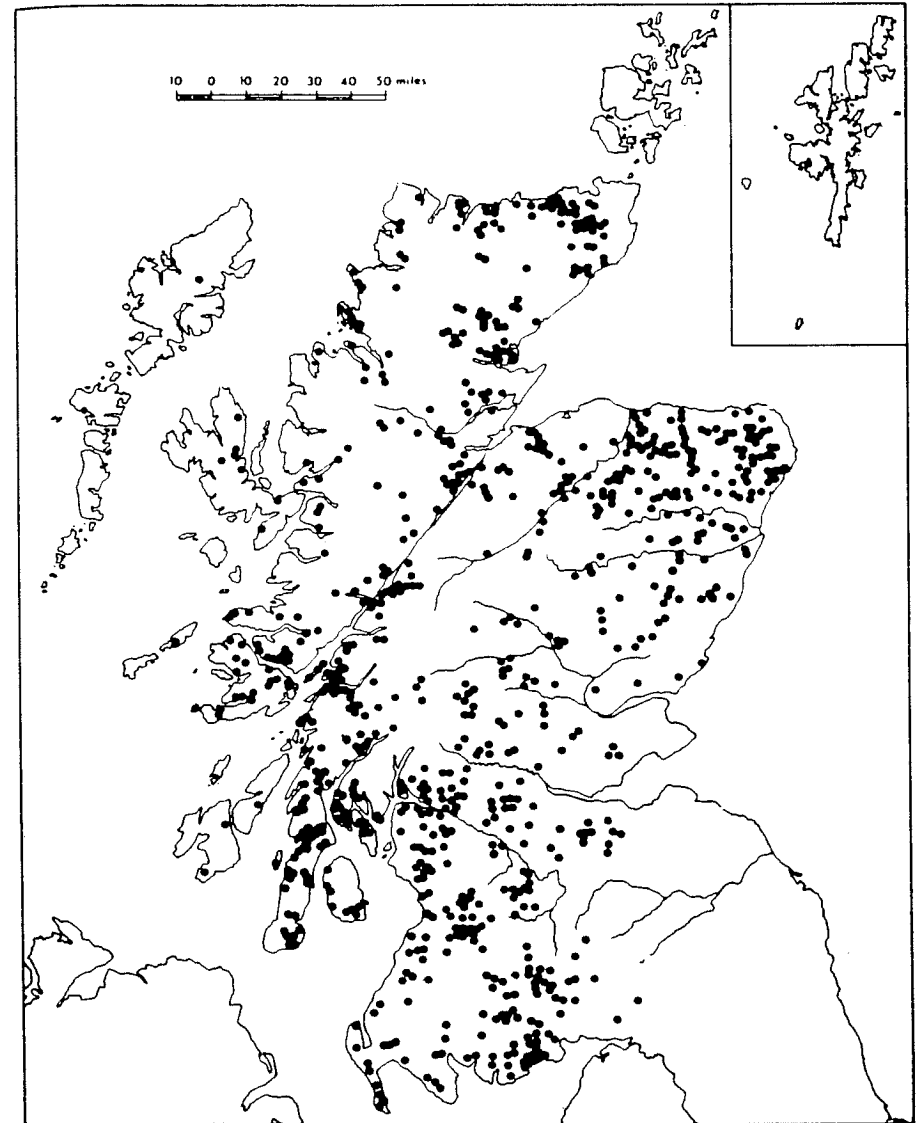
By way of background and in order to set the scene, it will be useful to look at two maps reproduced from Nicolaisen's *Scottish Place-Names*.¹ The first is a distribution map of so-called *Pit*-names and shows English or Scots name-forms containing an element with the modern form *Pit*-which ultimately derives from Pictish *pett, for example Pittenweem, Pitcarmick, Pitlochry, etc. (Map 1, p. 48). There are one or two outliers, but generally these names fall to the east of Scotland. It is this distribution and the distribution of Pictish symbol stones that are largely responsible for the definition of the term 'Pictland', an area lying roughly in eastern Scotland between the Dornoch Firth and the Firth of Forth, though extending for some purposes up to the Northern Isles.

The first Gaelic settlements of Scotland north of the Clyde-Forth line appeared in the south-west, in Argyll, Cowal and Lorne, and spread out northwards and eastwards. A distribution map of the element *achadh* (Map 2, p. 49) which means 'meadow, field' in modern Gaelic, but which in the onomasticon also meant 'farm, steading', shows virtually the fullest extent of Gaelic settlement in Scotland. This is of course a generalisation: in Caithness, the line created by virtue of the absence of *achadh*-names in the north-east represents a meeting of Norse and Gael, although there may be a case for arguing that there was at least some Gaelic settlement of the Orkneys; and the strongest Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland today are found in the Western Isles, with over 80% of the population in some places being Gaelic speakers but, paradoxically, almost no *achadh*-names.

¹ W. F. H. Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names* (London, 1972), pp. 153 and 140. This is a version of a paper given at the Tenth International Congress of Celtic Studies, Edinburgh, 1995. I am very grateful to the editor, Oliver Padel, and to Professor Colm Ó Baoill for their helpful suggestions and references regarding this paper.



Map 1: *Pit-* place-names in Scotland
(from Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 153)



Map 2: Place-names containing Gaelic *achadh* in Scotland
(from Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 140)

The Gaelic form of *Pit-* is *Peit-*, [p^heht'], and is confined, as we have seen, largely to the east of Scotland. However, in the Hebridean Isle of Lewis the form *peite* also occurs in the two place-names Peite Lèibhinn and Peite na Bròige. *Peite* here means 'patch, small piece of ground'. Peite Lèibhinn means 'the patch of the level ground', or simply 'the patch of level ground'; while Peite na Bròige means 'the patch of the shoe', i.e. it is shoe-shaped.

Peite, I suggest, derives from Pictish **pett*, cognate with Gaelic (G.) *cuid*, Welsh *peth*, and Breton *pezh*.² G. *peite* is undoubtedly a variant form of G. **peit*; compare G. *cleite* beside *cleit*, from Old Norse (ON) *klett* (accusative), and G. *còta* beside *còt* from English *coat*. (In circumstances where both variants are current, monosyllabic forms are more likely to be used before following open syllables or in utterance-final position.) Pictish geminate -*tt*, following -*e*-, has yielded palatalised preaspirated [t'], as in G. [k^hleht'] from ON *klett*.

Watson in his *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty* cites the name na Peit'chan, a contraction of **na Peiteachan*.³ Watson implies that this is a Gaelic plural of 'Pictish *pett*, a stead', with *peit* + suffix of place -*ach* + plural ending -*an*. I think it is much more likely to be a plural form of *peit(e)* with an ending -*achan*; a plural of **peiteach* might imply that the singular form had some currency and had even acquired the status of an appellative (common noun), for which there is no evidence (contrast G. *creagan* 'hill', from *creag* + suffix of place -*an*). Other plural formations might have been *na peitichean* (compare G. *ballachan*, *ballaichean* 'walls'), or simply *na peitean*. At any rate, *na Peiteachan* does not suggest a particularly old name.

In Icelandic Cleasby connects the word *petti* 'a small piece of a field' with French *petit* and English *petty*, suggesting that it was 'imported with the English trade' during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; such traders were non-settling merchants, however, and it seems more probable to suppose a connection with early Gaelic **peit(e)*.⁴

² K. H. Jackson, 'The Pictish language', in *The Problem of the Picts*, edited by F. T. Wainwright, 2nd edn (Perth, 1980; first published in 1955), pp. 129-66 (p. 148); Jackson also notes that English *piece*, via French *pièce*, is from the cognate Gaulish **petia*.

³ W. J. Watson, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty* (Inverness, 1904), p. 144.

⁴ R. Cleasby, G. Vigfusson and W. Craigie, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*,

In Lewis, the word *peite* means 'small area of ground, smaller than a *feannag* (a raised bed or lazy-bed)'. It might be an odd piece of ground, unsuitable for hay, but where a few cabbages, say, could be grown. It has also been extended to refer to the side or base-end of a lazy-bed. In eastern Scotland, however, *Pit-* in place-names denoted a comparatively large piece of land—a substantial estate, or probably about 100 acres in one instance.⁵

Contrary to Jackson's view in *The Gaelic Notes of the Book of Deer*,⁶ Pictish **pett* must have been borrowed into the Gaelic lexicon, albeit with (now) a very different sense from that seen in eastern Scotland, and Gaelic *peite* was in turn borrowed into Old West Scandinavian (i.e. Old Norse), and so into Icelandic.

In trying to establish evidence on the Pictish language, Jackson pointed out in *The Problem of the Picts* that, in addition to **pett*, other Pictish elements occur in the east of Scotland (for example, **carden* in Kincardine; **pert* in Perth; **pevr* in Strathpeffer; **aber* in Aberdeen; and **lannerc*—see below), but not exclusively north of the Clyde-Forth line, and that they were therefore also in use in Brittonic.

Of another group of words, he noted that there is potential confusion with similar Gaelic forms, for example between Pictish **cair* and Gaelic *cathair* (for example, Cardonald in Renfrewshire). Again, there are other Pictish words which were borrowed into Gaelic as

2nd edn (Oxford, 1957), p. 476. See also Þ. Víglundsson and E. Lehmann, *Islandsk-norsk Ordbok. Íslenzk-norsk Orðabók* (Bergen, 1967), p. 214: *petti*, 'strip, long narrow piece (of land), piece of ground; small area of uncut hay' ('rìpel [sic], jordstykke; liten høyflekk'). Although A. B. Magnússon, *Íslenzk Orðsifjabók* (Reykjavík, 1989), p. 708, considers a Celtic origin for *petti* conceivable, the link is mistakenly established via a comparison with the Icelandic forms *pési* and *pez*, both ultimately from French *pièce* (see note 2, above). In Faroese, *petti* means 'small piece' (E. Lehmann, *Færøysk-norsk Ordbok. Færøysk-norsk Orðabók* (Bergen, 1987), p. 240), where the more generalised meaning may have a different origin: A. Jóhannesson, *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern, 1956), p. 585, connects Icelandic '*petti* "kleines Stück Erde, Land, Raum, Gegend, kleines Stück von etwas, kleiner Haufen Heu, kleines Stück gärrn"' ('a small piece of ground, land, area, a small piece of something, a small pile of hay, a small amount of yarn') with Icelandic '*patti* m. "kleines Kind", dän. *patte*, schw. *patt*'.

⁵ K. Jackson, *The Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 118.

⁶ Jackson, *Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer*, p. 115, n. 3.

common nouns (or they may have been borrowed from Strathclyde British), such as G. *preas* (< Pictish **pres*) 'thicket' and G. *monadh* (< Pictish **monið*) 'mountain'. 'Hence', he says, 'no actual instance of one of them can be used as evidence of the presence of a P-Celtic population on that spot, since the name might always have been given by Gaelic speakers in any part of Scotland after the word had been borrowed.'⁷

Jackson's view therefore is that *Pit-* can be used as evidence for the presence of a P-Celtic population since the element is (and can only be) from Pictish, and since Pictish is P-Celtic. However, he failed in 1955 to note one thing that both he and Nicolaisen pointed out quite clearly at a later date: 'Even from a brief and superficial examination [of a limited sample of names listed] the fact emerges that, while *Pit-* (from *pett*) is undoubtedly of P-Celtic (i.e. non-Gaelic) origin, the second elements in these compound names are almost exclusively of Gaelic derivation.'⁸ For example, Pitcaple in Aberdeenshire contains G. *capall*, a 'horse'. Three possible exceptions are Pitbladdo (Fife), Pitfour (Perthshire), and Pitpointie (Angus), where no Gaelic etymology for the second parts is forthcoming. Nicolaisen goes on to say:

'Some of these Gaelic specifics may, of course, be translations of earlier Pictish elements; indeed, a few of them undoubtedly are, but the number is too large to make part-translation the only explanation. It is much more likely that the Pictish word *pett* was borrowed and applied by the incoming Gaelic population as a convenient toponymic generic while seemingly also current for a while in everyday speech.'⁹

Yes, and in my view Nicolaisen has hit the nail on the head. *Pit-* or G. *peit(e)* does derive from a P-Celtic Pictish **pett* as Jackson shows; but **pett* was borrowed into Gaelic, and the vast majority of *Pit*-names are Gaelic formations coined by Gaelic-speakers. As Watson says of

⁷ Jackson, 'The Pictish language', pp. 148-49.

⁸ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, p. 154; this was pointed out in 1972 by both Jackson, *Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer*, p. 115, and Nicolaisen, 'P-Celtic place-names in Scotland: a reappraisal', *Studia Celtica*, 7 (1972), 1-11 (p. 5). Hence Nicolaisen's description in 'Place-names, ecclesiastical', in *The Companion to Scottish Gaelic*, edited by D. S. Thomson (Oxford, 1983), pp. 228-29 (p. 228) of the names Pittentagart and Pithogarty as 'Pictish-Gaelic *peit an t-sagairt* (the priest's share)' is inappropriate.

⁹ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, pp. 154-56.

the name na Peit'chan (though for slightly different reasons), 'The formation shows how thoroughly the Pictish *pett* became a Gaelic word.'¹⁰

The linguistic evidence as it stands, therefore, is that Pictish **pett* was borrowed into Gaelic, then apparently borrowed from Gaelic into Icelandic; and that while evidence for the word in Scotland is found chiefly in place-names in the east of the country, appellative (common noun) use has survived in Lewis until recent times. However, *Pit*-names cannot be said to be representative of the Pictish language, any more than the Gaelic word *sgeir* 'skerry' (a loan from ON *sker*), which is so common in place-names of Gaelic creation on the west coast of Scotland, can be said to be representative of the Norse language there. In the east of Scotland, *Pit*-names may ultimately reflect some element of Pictish land-measurement or apportionment and indicate Pictish tradition or influence, but this is not in question here. Areas where Pictish was spoken were settled by Gaelic, Norse and/or Anglian peoples, and the question of language becomes a question of language contact. The value of the distribution-map of *Pit*-names is not as evidence for the distribution of the Pictish language; seen as such it becomes an inhibitor in our search for that evidence. On the other hand, the evidence of elements such as *peit(e)* is an important contribution to an understanding of the process of the Gaelicisation of Scotland, and adds to our knowledge of the Pictish language itself.

**Lannerc*

We now turn to the Gaelic appellative (common noun) which has the sense 'landing-place, clear passage', as in the Lewis name Laimrig na Mònach 'the landing-place of the peat' (i.e. where peat was brought ashore by boat).

There are several variant forms of this word. *Laimrig* seems to have a north-westerly distribution and occurs in Lewis, Skye,¹¹ and South Uist.¹² A closely related form, *lamraig*, with non-palatal *-r-*, is

¹⁰ Watson, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, p. 144. For two instances of G. *peit* as a common noun, meaning 'croft', see W. J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), p. 408.

¹¹ [L₁ama₁r'ik']: C. Hj. Borgstrøm, *The Dialects of Skye and Ross-shire*, A Linguistic Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland, vol. II, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, supplementary vol. II (Oslo, 1941), p. 33.

¹² A. MacDonald, *Gaelic Words and Expressions from South Uist and Eriskay*,

found in Wester Ross,¹³ and is also given by Henderson;¹⁴ it is also recorded in dictionaries along with *laimrig*.¹⁵ Forbes, in addition to the non-palatal variant *lamraig*, also cites the forms *laimbrig* (i.e. [Lāĩr'ik'] or [Lāĩð'ik']) and its non-palatal equivalent *lambraig* (i.e. [Lāũrik']).¹⁶ *Laimbrig* appears to have a more southerly distribution and, in addition to Skye, occurs in Argyllshire and the Isle of Eigg,¹⁷ but also in Berneray (between North Uist and Harris), and it is also well recorded in reference works.¹⁸ The form *lannraig* (Forbes's *lambraig* in Skye) is also recorded in Gairloch and Loch Broom.¹⁹

MacBain in his *Etymological Dictionary* derives *laimbrig* (noting also *lamraig*) from ON *blað-hamarr* 'loading-rock',²⁰ but while there are a fair number of Old Norse loan-words in Gaelic, this cannot be one of them. It is difficult to reconcile either of these forms with ON *blað-hamarr* 'pier, loading-rock', which would be more likely to yield a Gaelic form *[Lai:hāmər] or similar. While Henderson's attempt to account for final Gaelic [ik'] by suggesting an augmented ON *blað-hamarr-vik* (sic) 'pier-bay' is phonetically understandable, it cannot

edited by J. L. Campbell, 2nd edn with supplement (Oxford, 1972), p. 156.

¹³ C. M. Robertson, 'Scottish Gaelic dialects', *The Celtic Review*, 3 (1906-07), 319-32 (p. 328), 'lamarraig', showing the svarabhakti vowel.

¹⁴ G. Henderson, *The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland* (Glasgow, 1910), p. 137.

¹⁵ A. MacBain, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*, 2nd edn (Glasgow, 1911), *lamraig* (p. 222); M. MacLennan, *A Pronouncing and Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (Edinburgh, 1925), *laimrig*, *lamraig* (p. 203); E. Dwelly, *An Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary*, 9th edn (Glasgow, 1977), *laimrig* [sic] (p. 564), *lamraig* (p. 567).

¹⁶ A. R. Forbes, *Place-Names of Skye and Adjacent Islands* (Paisley, 1923), pp. 232 and 383.

¹⁷ H. C. Gillies, *The Place-Names of Argyll* (London, 1906), p. 97; C. M. Robertson, 'Topography and traditions of Eigg', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 22 (1897-98), 193-210 (p. 207), 'lamarraig', showing the svarabhakti vowel.

¹⁸ D. MacKillop, 'Rocks, skerries, shoals and islands in the sounds of Harris and Uist and around the island of Berneray', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 56 (1991), 428-502 (pp. 456 and 458); Dwelly, *Gaelic-English Dictionary*, p. 564; MacBain, *Etymological Dictionary*, p. 203; Henderson, *Norse Influence*, p. 137.

¹⁹ C. M. Robertson, 'The Gaelic of the west of Ross-shire', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 24 (1899-1901), 321-69 (p. 346).

²⁰ MacBain, *loc. cit.*; so also MacLennan, *loc. cit.*

be squared semantically and does not resolve earlier phonological objections.²¹

As a more plausible alternative, I suggest that *laimrig* and its variant forms are all derived from Pictish **lannerc*, cognate with Welsh *llannerch* 'clearing, glade'. (The cluster *rc* was retained in Pictish, as seen here, and for example in the name *Orc* 'Orcadian'.)²² The half-dozen or so names of Pictish or Cumbric origin containing or consisting of this element occur more centrally than *Pit*-names: in Perthshire, Angus, Kinross-shire, Lanarkshire, the Glasgow area and to the south in Roxburghshire.²³

There are therefore four Gaelic reflexes of the word in question: A1 *laimrig* ['Lā'māðik'], A2 *lamraig* ['Lā'mārik'], B1 *laimbrig* ['Lāĩr'ik'] or ['Lāĩðik'], and B2 *lannraig* or *lambraig* ['Lāũrik']. Forms A and B are differentiated on the one hand by the nasal and svarabhakti vowel in A and on the other by the nasalised diphthong in B. Both forms have palatalised and non-palatalised variants (1 and 2): in the case of A this affects the quality of the *r*-sound, and in the case of B the quality of the diphthong as well.

The phonological development seems to have been as follows. Original Pictish, or Cumbric in this instance, **lannerc* is mirrored in the modern Scots English name-form, Lanark, via an early Gaelic **Lannerc*. An initial development of the Gaelic reflex of the word, however, was the metathesis of *-r-*, yielding **Lannrec*, as preserved locally at Lanark (in Scots English) as 'Lainrick', and in the place-names Lendrick in Kinross-shire and Angus.²⁴ At this point there appear to have been two key developments. On the one hand the stressed vowel was diphthongised before the nasal + following consonant, and the nasal consonant itself was subsequently vocalised, yielding ['Lāũrik'], spelt *Lannraig*, the modern Gaelic name for

²¹ Henderson, *loc. cit.*, supports his derivation by also referring to ON *blað-berg* 'loading-rock' (also referred to by MacLennan, *loc. cit.*), but this does not help the case phonetically. For modern Gaelic reflexes of ON (-)berg, see R. A. V. Cox, 'Old Norse *berg* in Hebridean place-names', in *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences*, Aberdeen, 1996 (Aberdeen, 1998), pp. 59-65. W. J. Watson, *Rosg Gàidhlig*, 2nd edn (Glasgow, 1929), p. 284, appears to support Henderson's derivation, at least tentatively.

²² Jackson, 'The Pictish language', pp. 135, 148 and 164.

²³ Nicolaisen, *Scottish Place-Names*, pp. 163-64.

²⁴ Watson, *Celtic Place-Names of Scotland*, p. 356.

Lanark—though from a Gaelic orthographic point of view one could equally write **Lambraig*. The vocalisation of an original geminate nasal before certain consonants is standard in most dialects of Scottish Gaelic, e.g. G. *cunnradh* ‘bargain, covenant’, from Early Irish *cunnrad* < *cundrad*, and this development has tended to spread since the distinction between geminate and non-geminate consonants is lost; so also G. *banrigh* [‘bāūri] ‘queen’.

In the north, the early Gaelic form **lannrec* underwent a different development. On the face of it, *-nnr-* to *-mr-* is difficult to explain, but the following suggests a possible solution. In the development of **lannrec* to [‘Lāūrik’] we can envisage an intermediate stage in which the stressed vowel was lengthening, but not yet fully lengthened, and was followed by a strong nasal glide, *[‘Lā^urik’], and it is possible that this glide was interpreted as a nasal fricative, [β̃], which was subsequently delenited, yielding [m]—at which point the svarabhakti vowel would have developed as a matter of course. The development of the nasal fricative to nasal continuant is attested in nineteenth-century written forms in the Gaelic dialect of the Isle of Arran: genitive ‘samaraidh’ for [sāvri], elsewhere *sambraidh* [‘sāūri] ‘summer’, Early Irish *samraid*, and ‘geamaradh’ for [g’aⁿvərəg] or [g’avrək], elsewhere *geambradh* [‘g’āūrəg] ‘winter’, Early Irish *gemred*;²⁵ and also in the more recently recorded form [ə gamərək] for [ə gaⁿvərək], elsewhere *ag ambarc* ‘looking’;²⁶ and, indeed, Kennedy records the Arran form of our word at the end of the last century as ‘lamairic’.²⁷ Arran [Davsəg], elsewhere *dannsadh* [dāūsəg] ‘dancing’, appears to show a half-way stage in a process of development from vocalisation to nasal continuant.²⁸

²⁵ R. I. M. Black, ‘An emigrant’s letter in Arran Gaelic, 1834’, *Scottish Studies*, 31 (1993), 63–87 (pp. 72–73, 82 n. 7, and 83 n. 32); N. M. Holmer, *The Gaelic of Arran* (Dublin, 1957), pp. 36 and 44. Early Irish *samrad* (nominative) and *gemred* had lenited *-m-*.

²⁶ Holmer, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

²⁷ J. Kennedy, ‘Arran Gaelic dialect’, *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 20 (1894–96), 126–41 (p. 127): ‘eadar long is lamairic—Between the ship and the pier’ (so also Dwelly, *op. cit.*, p. 565, *lamairig*); for a similar (possibly corrupted) expression in Ulster, see C. Ó Baoill, *Contributions to a Comparative Study of Ulster Irish and Scottish Gaelic* (Belfast, 1978), pp. 163–65.

Why, however, should there have been an apparently isolated example of this process in the north-west: was the development a spontaneous one, or was there a particular cause for the change? Certainly, one would normally expect resulting vocalisation in the north-west, as in the man’s name Amhlaigh [‘āūLaj], Early Irish *Amlaib* (with lenited *-m-*), from ON *Áleif* (accusative), with nasalised [ā:]. However, the voiced nasal fricative [ṽ] became [m] in western dialects of Norway by about 1200 and the same development took place in the Faroes, in the Northern Isles and in the west of Scotland and in Man.²⁹ Consequently we have earlier creations like Tamhnaraigh [‘t^hāūnə ,raj], from ON **Hafnarøy* ‘the island of the harbour’, in the Summer Isles and off Ranish in east Lewis, but later ones such as Tamnabhagh [‘t^hā^mmānə ,vaɣ], from ON **Hamnarvág* (accusative) ‘the bay of the harbour’, in south Uig, Lewis, and **Ramraigeadh* [‘rā^mmāri ,g’ay], from ON **Hramn(a)gá* ‘raven-ravine, the ravine of the ravens’ (with ON *hramn*, earlier *hrafn*), on the west side of Lewis.³⁰ It is quite conceivable that the nasal glide of *[‘Lā^urik’] could have been treated in the same way, yielding *[‘Lāmrik’] > [‘Lā^mmārik’].

Pictish **lannerc*, then, ultimately yields Gaelic *lannraig*, *lambraig* [‘Lāūrik’], via ‘standard’ phonological development; however, in the north-west it has yielded *lamraig* [‘Lā^mmārik’], either spontaneously or, as seems more likely, under the influence of Norse phonological development. In both instances, a further development has taken place in which the medial consonant or consonant cluster has been palatalised, presumably under the influence of the quality of the final syllable. Early Gaelic **lannrec* then also yields the modern variant ‘palatal’ forms [‘Lāū^rik’] and [‘Lāū^ðik’], spelt *laimbrig* (or equally **lainnrig*; compare G. *aimbreit* [‘āiret’], a noun formed from the Early Irish adjective *aimréid* ‘rough, uneven’), and *laimrig* [‘Lā^mmā^ðik’].

On the semantic side, the sense of ‘clear space’ in Pictish **lannerc* is retained in the modern reflexes: ‘landing-place’ is the basic sense

²⁸ Holmer, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

²⁹ C. J. S. Marstrand, *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland* (Kristiania, 1915), p. 130; R. Iversen, *Norrøn grammatik* (Oslo, 1973), p. 36.

³⁰ The full name here is Geodha Ramraigeadh. The cluster *mn* has become *mr* by dissimilation; compare Lewis Gaelic [‘Lw^rruməxk] for *lomnochd* ‘naked’ (with additional metathesis).

everywhere, while in Lewis *laimrig* can also have the sense of 'clear passage through water'; however, the developed senses 'landing-rock' and 'quay' also occur.³¹

The modern reflexes of Pictish **pett* and **lanmerc*, then, are a rich source of evidence for the language contact that one can assume to have existed between speakers of Pictish and Gaelic and, indeed, Old Norse too, and represent a very different picture of the nature of that contact than the limited one drawn from the point of view of *Pit*-names.

³¹ Watson, *Rosg Gàidhlig*, p. 284, 'landing-rock'; Borgstrøm, *Dialects of Skye and Ross-shire*, p. 33, 'a rock on the shore used as a landing-place'; MacLennan, *loc. cit.*, 'landing-place, natural quay, pier'; MacBain, *loc. cit.*, 'landing-place, harbour'; MacKillop, *loc. cit.*, 'landing-place, quay'; Gillies, *loc. cit.*, 'landing-place, harbour'; Dwelly, *loc. cit.*, 'Landing-place, shore, natural landing-place on the shore. 2. Quay. 3. Harbour. 4. Ford.'

The Names of Medieval Towns in Finland

Marianne Blomqvist
University of Helsinki

Until the time of the Vikings Finland was what could be called a political no man's land, the inhabitants of which spoke Finnish, Karelian, Sami (Lappish) or Old Swedish. After the Viking period there was, for a time, a strategic and commercial vacuum on the shores of the Baltic, but during the twelfth century new powers emerged—the Swedish kingdom, Denmark, the Order of the Brothers of the Sword, and Russian Novgorod—which were supported in their thirst for expansion by the Holy See or the Orthodox Church.¹ The Swedes undertook three crusades to various parts of Finland between about 1155 and 1293, and the Novgorodians responded by attempting to capture the fortresses and trade centres which the Swedes had established. In 1318 the Novgorodians burnt down the Finnish bishop's residence near Turku, and, since most written records were kept in the episcopal archives, they were destroyed by fire. Thus the written history of Finland begins around the year 1320. From the twelfth century onwards Finland was integrated step by step into the Swedish kingdom, the Roman Catholic world and Nordic society. Before 1500 six settlements had achieved the status of towns, all of which were to be found in the south or south-west, with harbours on the Baltic Sea. They are known in the two national languages of Finland (Swedish and Finnish) as Åbo or Turku, Borgå or Porvoo,

This is a version of a paper given to the Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland at its annual conference in Durham, April 1995. Although its subject-matter falls outside the scope of papers usually published in *Nomina*, it is desirable to publish it here, both because it was an invited paper given at the annual conference, and because its subject provides a valuable parallel to situations that have occurred frequently in Britain and Ireland, and will therefore be of particular interest to many readers of *Nomina*.—Editors.

¹ For a survey of Finnish history, see Matti Klinge, *A Brief History of Finland*, 10th edn (Helsinki, 1994).