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Gilbert Márkus, 'From *Goill* to *Gall-Ghàidheil*: place-names and Scandinavian settlement on Bute' in Anna Ritchie (ed.), *Historic Bute: Land and People* (Edinburgh, 2012), 1-16

At the end of the eighth century the shores of Britain and Ireland experienced a new threat to life and prosperity when the first wave of Viking attacks took place. In some areas the violence was so severe in its character, and so sustained, that native society – whether Pictish or Gaelic – seems to have disappeared. The complete lack of any pre-Norse place-names in Orkney, for example (apart from the name Orkney itself), suggests an effective ethnic cleansing of the area.

But Viking raiders did not have a uniform impact in all the areas which they assailed. It may be that in some places the violence was never anything more than occasional raiding, while in other places the initial assault and taking of spoil was followed eventually by expropriation of land and resources, and by permanent settlement by Scandinavians (*goill* 'foreigners' in Gaelic, as in the title of this article). Nor should we assume that where such settlement took place it always followed the same lines of establishment and development, whether social, cultural or political.

The problem for the historian seeking to give an account of this process of settlement – how it took place, when, and in what form – is that there is so little documentary evidence from that period. What evidence there is is generally either fragmentary or late and unreliable – or both. This means that the study of place-names in the areas of Scandinavian raiding and settlement becomes all the more important. But a particlar set of place-name data is capable of more than one interpretation and can lead to diametrically opposed conclusions. In the following pages I will identify one such set of data which has been interpreted in two very different ways; I will argue in support of one of those interpretations, and I will examine the place-names of Bute and show patterns of Scandinavian place-names tend to confirm that interpretation.

Place-names – topographical and habitative
The set of data which I am going to discuss was clearly outlined by Nicolaisen in 1976. He noticed what he believed to be a significant difference between two distribution maps of Scottish place-names coined in Old Norse (hereafter ON): one map showed names which might be called 'topographical', containing ON *dalr* 'valley'. The other distribution map shows settlement-names containing 'habitative' elements such as *bólstaðr*, *staðir* and *setr*, all of which are words referring to farming settlements, to places where people actually lived. The two maps below (derived from Nicolaisen 1976, 93 and 95) show how a striking difference between the distributions of these two types of name. Of areas where *dalr* is fairly common, there are no *bólstaðr* names at all on Kintyre or Knapdale, nor in Bute and Arran. A long stretch of the west coast of mainland Scotland also has a significant numbers of *dalr* names, but on most of that stretch there are no *bólstaðr* names at all. How do we explain the fact that there are areas of Scotland where ON *dalr* is common but ON *bólstaðr* is entirely absent?

Fig 1: place-names in ON *dalr*, after Nicolaisen 1976
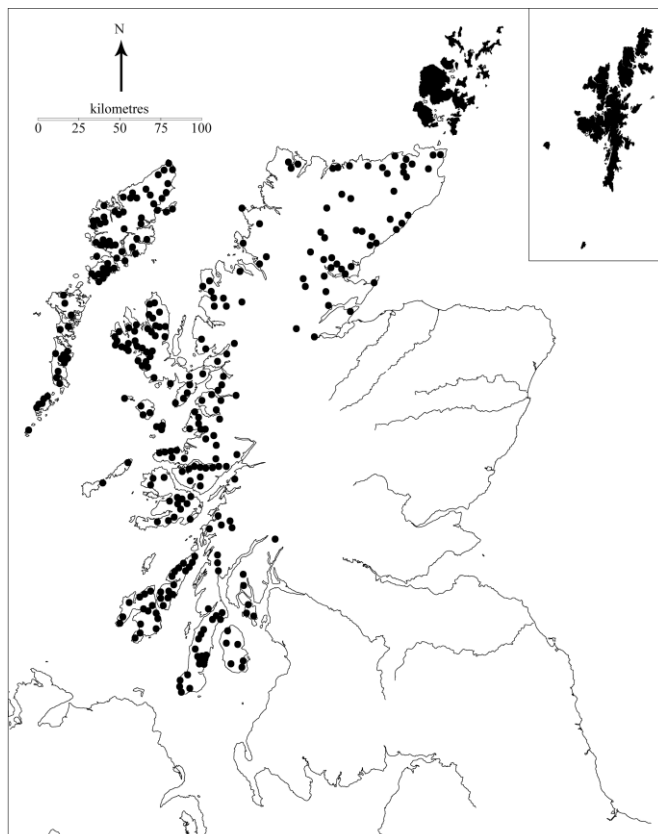
Fig. 2: Place-names in *bólstaðr*, after Nicolaisen 1976
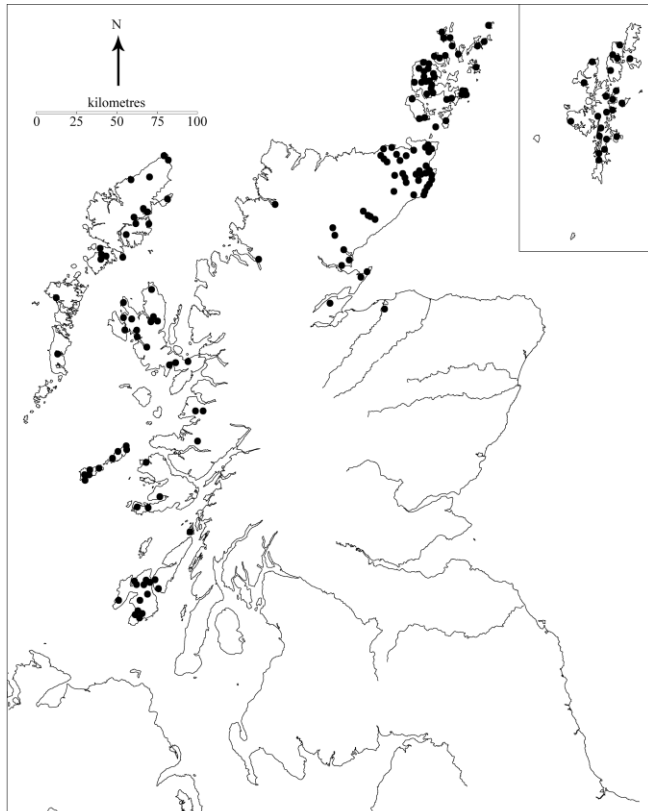
Nicolaisen explained the difference between the two maps by arguing that place-names containing *dalr* were not indicators of Scandinavian settlement at all. While place-names containing habitative elements such as *bólstaðr* clearly denote actual Scandinavian settlement (and the distribution of place-names in *staðir* and *setr* is very similar to that of *bólstaðr*), place-names containing *dalr* (and *vík* 'bay', *nes* 'headland') should not be understood to denote settlement at all. He writes:

> ... names in *dalr* – apart from being found wherever *staðir*, *setr* and *bólstaðr* are at home – occur in large numbers in other areas, especially on the mainland, which ... cannot be said to be part of the Norse settlement area proper. In this respect it must be remembered that *dalr* refers to natural features, although the name of a valley was quite often, at a later date, transferred to a settlement situated in it. A distribution map of *dalr*-names is therefore not a map of permanent Norse settlement but rather of the sphere of Norse influence. It includes those areas adjacent to permanent settlements in which seasonal exploits such as hunting and fishing and summer grazing were carried out, and probably the odd military raid or friendly visit (1976, 94-5).

Thus the distribution of ON place-names containing topographical names do not, for Nicolaisen, indicate the extent of Norse settlement in Scotland. In a later article, discussing the lack of ON habitative elements in the place-names of Arran, where there are nevertheless several place-names containing the 'topographical' *dalr*, he employs an effective and attractive image for these names. He calls them 'onomastic graffiti' (1992, 8), the gift to the island of occasional visitors who left their mark on a landscape in which they never actually settled. This view has had some influence among later toponymists such as Ian Fraser (1999, 59).

Alternative explanations

We can imagine various other ways of explaining the data described above, however. For example one might propose in some areas where *dalr* thrives but *bólstaðr* is now absent, that there had once been names containing *bólstaðr*, but that before they were entered into any of our surviving records these names were replaced by a new layer of Gaelic settlement-toponymy. I don't think this is likely: Gaelic clearly revived perfectly well in the islands too, but *bólstaðr* has survived there in significant numbers. The replacement of original *bólstaðr*-names by later Gaelic place-names is not convincing as a general explanation of the pattern.

But there are serious problems with Nicolaisen's explanation of the data. First of all it is hard to believe that a *dalr*-name given by visiting Norse-speakers to a valley on Gaelic-speaking Bute would displace the original Gaelic name of that valley among the native population living in and around that valley. Why would people in a local Gaelic-speaking community accept and perpetuate a name for a significant feature in their own landscape which had been coined in a language other than their own by people who only visited their island occasionally?

Another problem with Nicolaisen's explanation is his assumption that '*dalr* refers to natural features'. Certainly the word *dalr* means 'valley', a natural feature. But *dalr* in place-names functions in a different way from *dalr* in ordinary speech. Nicolaisen's remark that 'the name of a valley was quite often, at a later date, transferred to a settlement situated in it' merely assumes that place-names containing *dalr* were originally the names of valleys. But this is not necessarily true. Of settlement-names coined in ON, many of the earliest, and many of the most important, are coined in topographical elements such as *dalr* and *vík*. It does not follow from the existence of a settlement on Arran called Brodick (from *breið-vík* 'broad bay') that the name first attached to the bay and was then 'at a later date transferred to the settlement'. It is just as likely that the settlement was the first referent of the name, distinguished from other settlements by being the one by the broad bay. They may never have been called *breið-vík* except as a descriptor of the location of the settlement. It might be illuminating to consider a parallel in a Pictish context: Aberdour in Fife is a Pictish name, containing **aber* 'outflow, burn-mouth, river-mouth' and **duvr* 'water, burn, river'. Now according to Nicolaisen's principle, we should regard this as a topographical name later applied to the settlement (the town and parish). But this would be a problematic name for a topographical feature. The function of a name is to distinguish a particular object from a number of others to which a speaker might be referring. But how would the name 'Aberdour' serve to distinguish this burn-mouth from any of the other burn-mouths on this stretch of coastline? As a settlement-name, however, it would work perfectly well: this settlement is distinguished from others as the one beside the mouth of the burn (in this case the Dour Burn). The name is surely not a topographical one later transferred to a settlement, but a name originally coined as a settlement name, describing that settlement in terms of its significant topographical feature.

We cannot say that this has been the pattern in all cases; there may be settlement-names with topographical elements which were originally coined as the names of hills, valleys, bays etc., and later transferred to settlements, but the pattern of naming settlements directly with topographical elements is well established. It also seems that many primary settlements (the earliest and most important) have names coined in topographical elements (Crawford 1987, 111), while secondary settlements created by subdivision of those original lands, or by bringing peripheral lands into cultivation or other use, are more likely to have names coined in habitative elements. This means that we cannot treat the distribution map of *dalr* 'valley' as if it were a

map of topographical-names, i.e. names for valleys. It might be a map of settlement-names which were created by their ON-speaking occupants by *reference* to local topographical features (as opposed to being existing names transferred from local topographical features).

Primary and secondary – Norse and Gaelic
Andrew Jennings and Arne Kruse have argued in various contexts that in an 'outer zone' where ON place-names use both topographical elements like *dalr* and habitative elements like *bólstaðr*, this is the result of Norse settlement in the ninth century which continued as ON-speaking occupation throughout the ninth century and later during the period when secondary settlements were being established. The word *bólstaðr* seems to have been productive of place-names from around the end of the ninth century (Gammetloft 2001), about a hundred years after the first arrival of Viking raiders. For Jennings and Kruse the 'inner zone', where we find *dalr*-names but no *bólstaðr*-names, lacks these *bólstaðr*-names not because they lacked secondary settlements, but because by the time these secondary settlements were being established and given names the people creating them were speaking Gaelic (Jennings 2004; Kruse 2005; Jennings & Kruse 2009, 2009a). Far from indicating a lack of Norse settlement in the 'inner zone', the *dalr* place-names indicate settlement at an early stage, while the lack of *bólstaðr* place-names (and those containing other habitative elements) indicates that the original Norse settlers had settled very thoroughly. The explanation of the difference between the inner and outer zones is not one of different degrees of Norse settlement, but one involving the different political circumstances in which that settlement took place. In the inner zone, the Norse settlers became Gaelicised early because they were incorporated fairly rapidly into the native structures of Gaelic lordship and its concomitants – fiscal, cultural and probably religious too.

Jennings and Kruse have argued that this scenario is supported by the place-name evidence in the 'inner zone', such as that of the Carradale area of Kintyre. In this area all the major settlements have names containing as their generic element Old ON *dalr*, while smaller secondary settlements contain no ON habitative elements, but are coined in Gaelic elements such as *achadh* 'field, small farm', *peighinn* 'pennyland', *lethpheighinn* 'half-penny land' (Jennings 2004; Jennings & Kruse 2009, 95-6).

We may now turn to Bute, an island in the same part of the 'inner zone' as eastern Kintyre. Borrowing the methodology of Jennings and Kruse we will examine the place-names of this island to see if a similar pattern might be apparent. Much of what I say about Bute place-names in the following pages represents data and analysis drawn from a larger work my own *The Place-Names of Bute*, shortly to be published (Márkus, forthcoming), very much abbreviated for the purposes of this article.

Before looking for the pattern of ON primary settlement-names and Gaelic secondary settlement-names, we should note that there are several place-names in Bute that point towards a Scandinavian presence on the island but which are not immediately relevant for illustrating this pattern. One, albeit one coined in Gaelic, is Dunagoil near Kingarth at the south end of Bute. The name appears to represent *dùn nan gall* 'fort of the foreigners', or perhaps *dùn a'ghoill* 'fort of the foreigner' (singular), and it should be noted that Gaelic *gall* 'foreigner' very commonly applies to Scandinavians in medieval sources. Though this interpretation of the name cannot be regarded as certain, it is corroborated by aspects of the archaeology of the site such as the remains of two buildings nearby which have been interpreted as Viking type

long-houses, while a bronze weight of Scandinavian character (*c.*900 AD) has been found there too (NMRS NS05SE 30; Geddes & Hale 2010, 30).

Other place-names appear to be coined in ON. Here are a few of them, identified by their grid references, with very brief discussion and selected early forms – for more detail, and references to the sources of early forms, see Márkus forthcoming.

SHALUNT NS048711
Schowlunt 1440,
Scheulont 1449
Schowlunt 1450
Schalowont 1496
Scha<u>land 1506
Schauland 1507
Schawland 1527
Schaluint 1617
Shallunt 1681
Shalunt 1705

The name seems to contain ON *sjár* and ON *lund* and means 'sea wood'. It on the shore in the forested northern part of Bute.

ROTHESAY NS086637
Rothyrsay 1283 x 1286
Rothir' 1295
Rothersay 1321
Rothisay 1370s
Rothysay
Roth<er>say 1376
Roth<er>isay 1380
Rothissay 1391
Rosay 1390 x 1406
Rothesay 1408
Rothyrsay 1409
Rothirsay 1409
Rothyrsay 1445
Rothissay 1489

I argue that the name contains ON *ey* 'island' and the personal name *Ruðri*, a Norse name subsequently adopted by Gaelic-speakers as *Ruairidh* (Márkus, forthcoming). The name is now that of the main urban settlement of Bute, but was probably originally the name of the island itself.

ROSELAND NS094641
Roisland 1588
Rosland 1591
Rosland 1610 x 1615
Rosland 1654
Rossland 1655
Rosland 1662

Rosland 1670
Rossland 1689
Rossland 1759
Rosslin 1759

ON *hrossa* 'horse' + *land* 'land, farm'. The place is now a caravan site in Rothesay, but in the medieval period it was a small farm on the hill above the town. When Rothesay occupied by ON-speakers, this was presumably were horses were kept for the use of the occupants of the settlement below, which was presumably on the site of the later medieval castle whose visible remains now do not pre-date the thirteenth century.

       If my interpretation of the name is correct, this name should be regarded as an ON settlement-name, not a topographical one. It is hard to imagine circumstances where 'horse-land' could be applied to any feature other than a farm where horses were kept or bred (see Rixson 2010, 136-7, for the suggestion that ON *land* should be seen as a 'habitative' element).

DUMBURGADALE NS062660
     Dunburgadale 1864
     Dumburgadale 1869

The name (now obsolete) is Gaelic as it now stands, *dùn* 'fort' and the existing name *Borgadale. But that existing name itself is clearly an ON one, and must refer to the broad valley lying north of Dumburgadale itself. It must contain *borg* 'fort, dome-shaped hill' and *dalr* 'valley'. In the vicinity are two potential referents for the *borg*: the first is the hill-top fort at Dunburgadale itself, overlooking the presumed valley of *Borgadale; the second is the dramatic mound in the middle of the valley now called Cnoc an Rath (a name which means 'hillock of the fort') which is still something of a puzzle to archaeologists. It may be a fort, a moot-hill, or something else entirely.

CORVAL HILL NR996729
     Corval Hill 1780 x 1782
     Corval Hill 1869

The name was coined in Scots or Scottish Standard English, but contains the existing name Corval, which was probably the name of the same hill. It seems to contain ON *fjall* 'hill, mountain'.

The preceding place-names on Bute are not the names of large primary farms which might have been subject to subdivision in some secondary development, so they cannot be used to test the thesis of Jennings and Kruse about ON primary and Gaelic secondary settlement-names. They do nevertheless suggest a convincing degree of Norse settlement on the island. The following names also point towards Norse settlement of Bute, but are grouped together here because they all appear to be ON names of primary settlements, large farms, which were subsequently divided and whose divisions were given Gaelic names.

ASCOG NS104630
     Ascok 1427

Ascok 1459
Ascok 1503 x 1504
Ascok 1510
Eskek 1545 x 1546
Askok 1546
Askok 1554
Ascoks 1564
Eskoks 1576
Ovir Askoke 1578
Nadir Askoke 1578
Askogis 1585
Askokis 1585
Myde Askok 1588

The name probably represents ON *askr* + ON *vík* 'ash-tree bay'. For the realisation of *vík* in the Clyde with final *–ok* compare for example Sannox on Arran, a plural form of the name which appears in singular form as *Sennock* 1654, and as *Sannokes* 1548, *Sannocks* 1685, and *Sannox* 1661.

Ascog had a value of £3 or 4½ merks in Old Extent. When it was subdivided it formed various smaller units: Kerrycroy and Kerrycrusach, both containing Gaelic *ceathreamh* 'quarter', and *Over Ascog, *Nether Ascog and *Mid Ascog, employing Scots affixes. Scots appears in the place-names of Bute rather earlier than might be expected of an island in this position, and this is probably explained in part by the fact that centuries of royal, shrieval and burgal administration were centred at Rothesay and brought a strong influence of Scots to bear in what was otherwise a Gaelic-speaking environment.

In any case, Ascog corresponds to the 'Kintyre pattern': primary settlement named in ON with a name formed from a topographical element *vík*, subsequent secondary settlements named in Gaelic and Scots.

BIRGIDALE NS07 59
Brethadale 1440
Brigadile 1449
Byrgadill 1450
Brigadill 1506
Brigadilknok 1506
Bargadill Knok 1507
Brigadell 1512
Brigadell 1512
Birgadulknok 1517
Brigadull 1540 x 1542
Brigydulcrok 1547
Briggadilknok 1552 x 1553
Birgadaleknok 1557
Birgadilchrif 1563
Brigadouleknok 1588
Birgadillcraif 1632
Birgadilknok 1637

The second element, the generic, is ON *dalr*. The 1440 form suggests that the specific element might be *breiðr* 'broad', but later forms point to another word: perhaps *bryggja* 'pier, bridge'; or *berg* 'rock, boulder, precipice'; or *byrgi* 'enclosure, fence'. It is impossible to be certain which of these forms the specific, largely because the spelling of the first element in the forms until the sixteenth century varies so often between the *brig-* and *brig-* forms.

The lands of Birgidale were valued at £5 in Old Extent, and they were already divided into two parts when it first appears in the record in 1440. These two divisoins of Birgidale were eventually called Birgidale Crieff (Gaelic *craobh* 'tree') and Birgidale Knock (Gaelic *cnoc* 'hill, hillock'). This is therefore a substantial primary settlement with a Norse name whose subdivisions were named in Gaelic, albeit in this case with names containing the existing ON name Birgidale.

LANGAL NS 08 56
> *Langil* 1440
> *Langill* 1449
> *Langil* 1450
> *Langilculcathla* 1506
> *Langilculcreich* 1506
> *Langilwenach* 1506
> *Langilculcathla* 1507
> *Langwilculcreich* 1507
> *Languilbenach* 1507
> *Langulchulchoich* 1540
> *Langull* 1540 x 1542
> *Langulbunnag* 1546 x 1552
> *Langilbunnage* 1555
> *Langillculquhi* 1595 x 1601
> *Mid Langill* vocat. *Langill-culchoy* 1610 x 1615
> *Langill-culchoy* 1610 x 1615
> *Langil-cuilchlachlane* 1632 ['alias *Langil-cord*']
> *Langrewinnag* 1654
> *Langrechoulchych* 1654
> *Langre choul na cachaly* 1654
> *Lagreineclachland* 1655 ['otherwise *Lagil<c>ord*']
> *Lagil<c>cord* 1655

This name probably contains ON *langr* 'long' and ON *völlr* 'field'. ON *gil* 'ravine, gully' would be formally possible, given the early forms, but there is no obvious 'long ravine' in the area for this to refer to.

If we are to understand ON *völlr* in the narrow sense of 'field' it should really be regarded as a 'habitative' element, reflecting Scandinavian settlement, since 'a field suggests permanence' (Rixson 2010, 135). But ON *völlr* might simply mean 'level ground' in some contexts, without necessarily reflecting enclosure or farming of the ground, so it may be unwise to make too large a claim on the basis of this name.

Langal as a whole was valued at £8 in Old Extent, but was already divided into four equal parts when it first appears in the record (1440), each worth 40 shillings. By 1507 one of the four parts of Langal had been renamed as Culevine (*Couleyng*) which name it still possesses. The other three parts had been renamed with

affixes -*culcathla*, -*culcreich* and -*benach*. The word-order and orthography of early forms of these affixes strongly suggests a Gaelic origin; however the spellings of the the names of these subdivisions undergo such severe mangling that it is hard to say what Gaelic elements they represent. If it can be accepted that they are Gaelic in origin, however, we can say that Langal also exemplifies the pattern observed by Jennings and Kruse in Kintyre.

*ROSCADALE NS03 63

> *Ardrossigille* 1319 x 1321
> *Ardrossigille* 1475
> *Ardrossigille* 1475
> *Ardrossigelle* 1475
> *Ardroskedellis* 1573
> *Ardroskedillis* 1577
> *Nethir Ardroskedillis* 1577
> *Ovir Ardroskedillis* 1577
> *Ardrosgedill* 1592
> *Ardroskitillis* 1623
> *Arolroskedel* 1654
> *Ardroskidull Uachterach* 1661
> *Ardroscidell* 1662
> *Ardroskadill* 1662
> 2 *Ardros-Kittallis* 1670
> *Uper Ardroskitall* 1672
> *Nether Ardroskitall* 1672
> *Laigh Ardroskadale c.*1753
> *Upper Ardroskadale c.*1753
> *N<ether> Ardrosadale* 1797
> *Upper Ardrosadale* 1797

This name survives only as incorporated into the Gaelic name Ardroscadale, which is composed of *àird* 'height, promontory' (or perhaps *àrd* 'high') and the existing name *Roscadale. Between 1475 and 1573 a significant change appears in the spelling of the name, which makes it difficult to be sure of what the original meaning of *Roscadale was. The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century forms point towards ON *hrossagil* 'ravine of the horses', but forms from the sixteenth century onwards look more as if they represent a name containing ON *dalr*. If *Roscadale does contain *dalr* 'valley' as its second element, the name must have referred to the valley which lies immediately east of Ardroscadale, since Ardroscadale itself is a ridge of high ground forming a promontory. In that case *Roscadale was the valley farm later called Dunalunt, which in turn was subsequently subdivided into four farms: Dunalunt, Ballycurrie, Ballicaul and Ballianlay. The most likely sequence of events then would be that there was a settlement called *Roscadale whose centre was in the valley. That farm was subsequently divided into *Roscadale and Ardroscadale (each of these farms having a value of 12 merks or £8 in Old Extent), and *Roscadale subsequently renamed in Gaelic as Dunalunt, which in turn was subdivided into four farms of 3 merks of £2 each, all with names in Gaelic.

> If Ardroscadale is understood to contain *dalr* it will therefore fit the pattern we are looking for: primary settlement of a large farm with a name in ON; secondary settlements by subdivision created with Gaelic names.

A third possible interpretation of this name is possible, however. It might be understod as being a Gaelic name incorporating *àird* and the ON personal name Hrossketil: 'Hrossketil's promontory'. This name, attested elsewhere in the insular Norse world, would make sense both of the sixteenth-century and later forms, and also the earlier ones since the *ketill* element of the name was regularly reduced by the eleventh or twelfth century to *Hroskell*. The main difficulty with this suggestion lies in explaining why the earliest forms of Ardroscadale show what would be the later (reduced) form of Hrossketill, while the later forms of the place-names show the earlier (unreduced) form of the personal name. The vagaries of the recording and survival of written and oral versions of place-names may explain this anomaly, however, and if so we might have here not an example of a Norse primary settlement being subdivided into Gaelic secondary settlements, but rather a farm named in Gaelic (*àird*) after a Scandinavian owner, Hrossketill.

SCOULAG NS101599
> *Sculogmor* 1440
> *Scoullogmore* 1444
> *Scowlogmore* 1449
> *Skologmore* 1450
> *Skulogmore* 1453
> *Scologmore* 1456
> *Scologmore* 1457
> *Skowloch* 1505
> *Mydskowlok* 1528
> *Nederskowlok* 1528
> *Scolok* 1537 x 1539
> *Scowlokis* 1590 x 1601
> *Scoulock* 1654
> *Scoulock Meanack* 1654
> *Scoulak* 1667
> *Upper Scoulack c.*1753

The origin of name is obscure, but the most likely generic element here is ON *vík* 'bay'. The first element may be *skjól* 'shelter, cover, protection', a word which appears to have been loaned into Gaelic as *sgúl* (MacLennan 1925, s.v. *sgùl*). It is possible, however, that the name was coined in Gaelic *sgùl* with –*ag* suffix, hence 'shelter-place'.

The estate of Scoulag first appears in 1440 already divided into parts, here with the largest part designated by Gaelic *mòr* 'large', being valued at 5 merks. This division was later re-named Kerrylamont. The remainder of Scoulag was subdivided into four other parts, *Nether Scoulag, *Middle Scoulag,, *Kerrymoran and *Kerryniven, each of them valued at 4 merks, the first two named in Scots, the last two named in Gaelic *ceathramh* 'quarter'.

If the ON explanation of Scoulag given above as 'shelter-bay' is accepted, we have another instance here of a large estate (21 merks in Old Extent) with an ON name later subdivided into five parts with names coined in Gaelic and Scots.

The Gall-Ghàidheil of Bute
The place-names of Bute seem not only to show clear evidence of Scandinavian settlement, but also to conform in several cases to the pattern observed by Jennings

and Kruse in the Carradale area of Kintyre: large primary settlements with names coined in ON, smaller secondary settlements with names coined in Gaelic (or in some cases Scots). There are no farm-names on Bute coined in ON *bólstaðr*, *setr* or *staðir*, which suggests that by *circa* 900, when place-names with those elements were being coined elsewhere, the descendants of Scandinavian settlers had ceased to speak ON and were now speaking Gaelic. An alternative explanation is conceivable, namely that the settlers had been removed from the island by Gaels before they got a chance to create or name their secondary settlements. But the fact that Bute (like Arran) was part of the diocese of Sodor makes any notion of the ejection of the Scandinavian settlers implausible: Sodor was merely the ecclesiastical expression of the secular territory of the Isles *circa* 1100 AD whose rulers – at least in theory – owed obedience and tax to Norwegian overkings.

Around the middle of the ninth century a new ethnic or political group comes into view in the Irish annals, the *Gall-Ghàidheil*, literally 'the foreign Gaels'. They are Gaels, but they are regarded as foreign in some respects, as Scandinavians (Clancy 2008; Jennings and Kruse 2009a). They first appear in the annals with a leader called by the Scandinavian name Ketill, though Ketill has the Gaelic by-name *Find* 'fair, white'. The earliest evidence we have for a possible location for this newly emerging group is, remarkably enough, on Bute itself. As Clancy has shown, the feast of St Blane is mentioned in the Martyrology of Tallaght as celebrated on 10 August. His entry proclaims *Blaani episcopi Cind Garad i nGallgaedelaib*, '(feast of) Blane bishop of Kingarth in Gall-Ghàidheil' in this text which probably dates to the mid- or late ninth century (Clancy 2008, 30). Kingarth on Bute is 'in the Gall-Ghàidheil' as far as the writer was concerned. The evidence of place-names on Bute and Kintyre – and perhaps in other areas of the 'inner zone' discussed above – is that Scandinavians settled here during the ninth century in sufficient numbers and with sufficient strength to be able to form important farming and/or fishing settlements which they named in their own language, but that during the ninth century these settlers were assimilated into a Gaelic-speaking culture (Clancy 2008, Jennings and Kruse 2009a).

If Ardroscadale on Bute does not contain an existing *dalr*-name, but is rather *àird-Hrossketill* 'Hrossketill's promontory' as suggested as a possibility above, it would provide a nice glimpse of this process of Gaelicisation: the *gall* or 'foreigner' Hrossketill (or his family or neighbours) gave his farm a Gaelic name. If so we might be able to suggest a date for the coining of the name, when the *Goill* were becoming *Gall-Ghàidheil*, during the ninth century.

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