SAND, INNERSAND AND GARDERHOUSE PLACE-NAMES IN USE

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Introduction

As a Shetlander, now living in Edinburgh, I was keen to promote a conference in Shetland during my presidency of the Scottish Society for Northern Studies. The year 1993 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society which, as its constitution states, exists '...to provide a Scottish meeting-ground for papers and informal discussion on subjects in various fields concerned with Scandinavian and related cultures...' and it, therefore, seemed most fitting to celebrate the Society's twenty-five years in existence with a return visit to Shetland which was one of the earliest conference venues chosen by the Society shortly after its formation in 1968. The proceedings of that first Shetland conference are now sold out but are still available in libraries and merit reference (Baldwin 1978).

The Society's planned visit to Shetland in 1993 fortuitously coincided, almost to the day, with the centenary of the arrival of the philologist Jakob Jakobsen in Shetland from Faroe at the start of his intensive three-year period of place-name and dialect field work. Not surprisingly, plans were already afoot in Shetland to honour the centenary and the Scottish Society for Northern Studies was very happy to cooperate with the Shetland-based Jakob Jakobsen Centenary Committee in jointly commemorating a great 'Faroeman and scholar', as he is described by Professor Michael Barnes earlier in this volume. Many Society members were particularly pleased to be present at the launch of the reprint of Jakobsen's work on Shetland place-names (Jakobsen 1936; reprinted 1993) and to note that Dr Gillian Fellows-Jensen of the University of Copenhagen — distinguished name-scholar and Society member — had been asked to provide its new introduction and to launch it as a publication.

The original 1936 English-language version of Jakobsen's work on place-names has been unobtainable for many years and its scarcity is tribute to the fascination of its topic for Shetlanders in Shetland and elsewhere. It is of place-names that I wish to write in this post-conference article.[1] During the conference, I had the pleasure of hearing (or reading) talks by Michael Barnes, Laurence Graham, Gunnel Melchers[2] and Brian Smith, all of whom

1. I should like to thank Ronald Cant, Gillian Fellows-Jensen and Brian Smith for reading and commenting on this paper. In addition, Brian Smith supplied several references from the Shetland Archives.

2. Gunnel Melchers was unable to attend the conference due to ill health but she submitted a paper which was made available to conference members at the time and which is now printed in this volume.

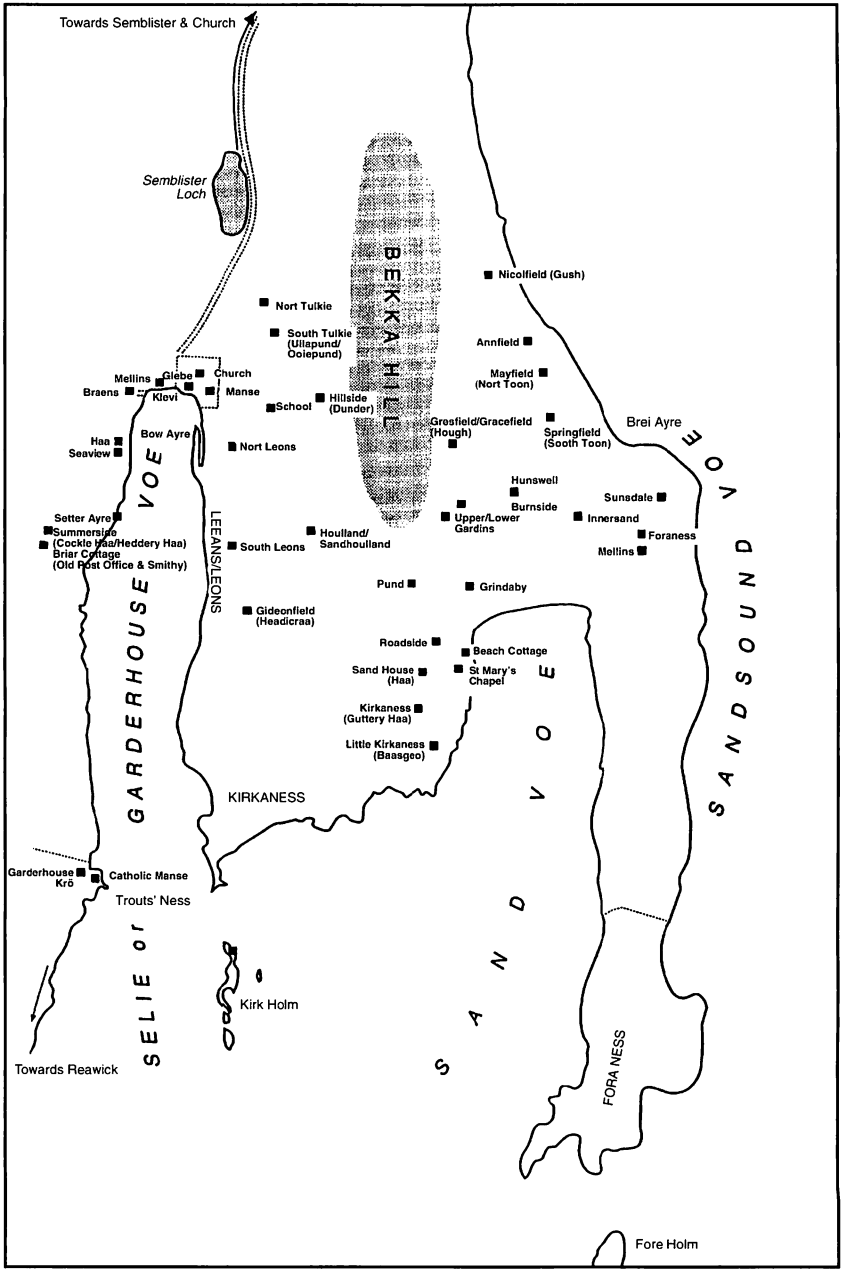

Fig. 1. Place-names in Sand, Innersand and Garderhouse.

spoke about aspects of Shetland's linguistic heritage in such a way as to draw attention to the living, working Shetland dialect and, as a result, I began to think more closely about the place-names in use in the village of Sand on the west side of Shetland where I grew up in the schoolhouse as daughter of the teacher, Williamina Laurenson. The influence of Laurence Graham and his brother, John, has, in fact, been with me since my secondary school years when I was privileged to be their pupil and, therefore, to learn to appreciate the riches of the Shetland dialect while still at school. John Graham is well known for his efforts to raise the status of Shetland dialect in public perception and his dictionary of dialect words played an important part in his campaign. I use Graham's spellings for dialect words throughout this article, and if an item is not recorded in Graham's dictionary I have modelled my spelling on his usage (Graham 1979). The spellings of place-names recorded from maps are taken from the 6 inch Ordnance Survey, Second Edition, 1902, unless otherwise specified. Hitherto unrecorded place-names are either modelled on Graham or are modelled on Jakobsen's spellings in those instances where he records other similar place-names elsewhere in Shetland.

Discussion of place-names

Until I read Shetland dialect poems and discussed dialect words in the classroom, I doubt if I had thought of the words I spoke as anything other than a means towards the end of immediate, and fairly utilitarian, communication and the same can be said of Shetland place-names, although the 'classroom' for these was the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh. Along with the bulk of the population in Sand, Innersand and Garderhouse, I certainly did not pause to consider whether or not I 'understood' the place-names I used as a child because, as W. F. H. Nicolaisen has pointed out, there is no need to understand a name in order to use it (Nicolaisen 1979-80: 106). In recent years, when studying place-names, I have accepted the commonly-held view of Shetland place-names, as expressed by Jakobsen in the introduction to his book:

> While the Norn dialect itself as such is now lost beyond recall, the predominant part of the place-names, on the other hand, is Norn, i.e. in Norn dialect; a number of original Norn names or compounds ... have been, so to speak, translated into Lowland Scottish. ... A number of names of a later date are in L. Sc. dialect, and in more recent times some names (of houses) occur in the English language (Jakobsen 1936: 2).

Jakobsen uses 'dialect' where one would expect 'language' here, but it seems reasonable to suggest that he is implying that the majority of Shetland place-names are repositories of words from the Norn language which are no longer used or understood in the everyday Scots-based dialect speech of Shetlanders.

There is, of course, truth in what Jakobsen says but, judging from the specific sample of place-names from Sand, Innersand and Garderhouse, one

could take minor issue with his statement on two counts and suggest some qualification of the claim he makes. Firstly, the Norn place-names which have survived in use are not necessarily in a 'dialect' which is 'lost beyond recall' because many of them have survived precisely because their constituent elements are understood, either in whole, because they are still used as words in the dialect, or in part, because the people who use them understand how to apply them, although understanding of a place-name in this latter sense differs from understanding of a lexical item in being impressionistic rather than clearly defined. Locals might, for instance, find it difficult to say exactly what some place-names mean in lexical terms but they would be certain where and how, in the landscape, they could or could not be used. Secondly, it is an exaggeration — at least at village level — to say that 'the predominant part of the place-names is Norn'. A very large number of the place-names which were in use in Sand, Innersand and Garderhouse in the 1950s and -60s were, in fact, of Scots origin and arose from the period when the common land was being divided up into portions for crofting purposes. The picture which emerges from a detailed study of all the place-names of an area such as Sand, Innersand and Garderhouse is of a community which uses its Scots speech in the creation of its nomenclature. Shetland dialect does, of course, have many Norn words in its vocabulary, as Gunnel Melchers points out in her contribution to this volume, but these have not been 'translated' into Scots; they are simply used as Norn words in the Shetland dialect, which is a dialect of Scots.

Some of the local place-names do contain Norn words which are now obscure, and it would be nonsensical to argue otherwise, but such place-names are in the minority in the settlement which is spread around the two arms of the sea known as Selievoe — or, as it is sometimes known, Garderhouse Voe[3] — and Sand Voe. It is, of course, fortuitous that the name Sand, itself, can be so readily understood because it derives from Old Norse *sandr* which happens to be a word which is common to all Germanic languages, including English. Many early village names elsewhere in Shetland are obscure and have survived in spite of their opacity because they have been in regular use since the time of the initial Norse settlement. Jakobsen records the following information about Sand: '... the main village, *Sand*, after which the parish (Sandsting) is named, is mentioned in a charter of 14 April 1355 (D.N. III, 1): a sande [á sandi]' (Jakobsen 1936: 125). Sand also occurs in several 16th century documents and is sometimes accompanied by reference to Garderhouse, as in the following extract: '...1½ marks land in Sand, 3 marks land in Garthishous...' (Ballantyne & Smith 1994: 67).

The original Norse settlement of Sand probably skirted the edges of Sand Voe, as the name suggests, and could have extended across the

3. Selievoe often appears in older documents as Sandselivoe, presumably to distinguish it from the other Seli Voe further west near Gruting. Probably for the same reason, Selievoe is now often referred to as Garderhouse Voe.

intervening low-lying hill to Selievoe or Garderhouse Voe. The name which has survived as the present-day parish name — Sandsting — clearly points to Norse social organisation in the area (Jakobsen 1936: 94, 125; Andersen 1984: 30; Stewart 1987: 300). The beach of fine white sand at Sand Voe would have attracted the Norse who had sailed past Fore Holm and in along Fora Ness (ON *for-hólmr* 'fore-island'; *fornes* 'a promontory') to establish settlement. Their curiosity might also have been aroused by seeing signs of building on the small island now known as Kirk Holm (ON *kirkja* 'a church' + *hólmr* 'an island') at the point of the other promontory — Kirka Ness — which bounds Sand Voe. Dating and identification of these buildings, however, is problematic. There may have been a pre-Norse monastic presence on the island Kirk Holm (Lamb 1974: 81-2) but the *kirk* which is referred to in the names Kirka Ness and Kirk Holm is more probably the medieval St Mary's Chapel which, like other churches associated with late Norse settlements, stands at the head of Sand Voe but 'just round to one side, so as not to occupy prime economic locations' (Ritchie 1985: 91). Kirk Holm has many legends attached to it, including the persistent local belief that a Spanish Armada ship was wrecked on the island having been driven north by gales after defeat at sea in 1588 and that the surviving Spaniards reached land at Innersand and sought sanctuary in St Mary's Chapel. Memory of pre-Reformation times is also preserved in the name — Da Catholic Manse — which was used by locals of a ruin to the south of Garderhouse, lying directly across the voe from Kirkholm.[4]

It is oddly difficult to define where, on the ground, Sand ends and Innersand begins, in present oral usage. The name Innersand is of considerable age, appearing in written records dating from 1597 (Ballantyne & Smith 1994: 118) and, no doubt, having been in oral use for some time before that date, just as Sand would have been. Perception of the point at which Innersand begins depends, very logically, on where one lives in Sand. People who live at the side of Selievoe (as I did) think of the watershed between Selievoe and Sand Voe as the point at which Innersand starts; and people who live on the other side of the watershed think of Innersand as a particular cluster of houses in the innermost part of their community. The former perception, however, is closer to the original application of the name because the township of Sand was valued as 36 merks of land (a big Shetland township), and was equally divided into 18 merks land of Innersand and 18 merks land of Outersand.[5] The latter is recorded as Utir Sand in 1589 and

4. John Arthur Morrison of Seaview, Garderhouse, kindly provided this information and much more relating to Garderhouse and Sand.

5. There is some evidence that the two halves had different 'pertinents' attached to them: in 1673 Laurence Umphray of Sand conveyed to Patrick Umphray the 18 merks land of Innersand and the ness thereto belonging called 'Bearer', running northward from the town to the 'air' of Saltnes (SRO, RS.45/5, f.813r.); and in 1702 Patrick Umphray of Sand sold to John Mitchell of Westshore 18 merks land in Uttersand, with the holms called Kirkholme and Foirholme and the 6 merks land of Sandshoul (SRO, RS.45/5 f.535r.).

Uttersand in 1606 (Ballantyne & Smith: 61, 198), but the name is no longer used and the opposition is now between Sand and Innersand. The distinction between Outer and Inner Sand was still remembered at the end of the 19th century when a document, dated 1871, concerning land owned by Joseph Leask, records: 'My room and lands of Sand and Innersand, otherwise called Outer and Inner Sand.' (Shetland Archives: SC. 12/53/14 fol. 96).

Garderhouse is the name which refers to the part of the community which clings to the side of the hill to the west of Selievoe (ON *selr* 'seal' + *vágr* 'voe or inlet of the sea'). The name contains ON *garðr* 'a yard, enclosure' which is one of the most popular Norse habitative terms in use in Shetland. Stewart records five examples of the compound Garderhouse from various parts of Shetland. The earliest recorded forms of the Sandsting name date from the 16th century when the name appears as: Gardishous and Gardshouss 1507; Garthishous 1524; Gardyshous 1544 (Stewart 1987: 167). The second element in the compound is ON *hús* 'a house' which, being common Germanic, is even more widespread and very difficult to identify as being Norse in origin rather than Scots except, as in this case, when compounded with another unquestionably Norse element. Old Norse *garðr* is no longer understood and the survival of the name suggests uninterrupted habitation and/or regular passage through Garderhouse from neighbouring Semblister to Reawick on foot or on horseback.

A sketch map of the commonty of Semblister and Sand, dated 1858 (SRO: RHP 3912), identifies Garderhouse as the property adjacent to the Glebe of Selievoe[6] and places the house along the side of the voe rather than at its head, seeming to indicate the ruined building known as Da Haa o Garderhouse or 'The Hall of Garderhouse' — *haa* being a Scots term which is often used with reference to the house of the local laird or other dignitary and, in this case, reputedly built for a Captain Cumming who was the son of a Sandsting minister. The croft-house beside this old ruin was also known until recently as Da Haa but it has now been de-crofted (i.e. the land is now being farmed by someone else and the house has been bought by its present occupants) and renamed Seaview. Da Haa o Garderhouse is not, of course, a building from the Norse period but, like its more recent equivalent at the side of Sand Voe, it could have replaced an earlier building or a series of buildings on the same site or it could have been built alongside existing buildings. Sand House, or Da Haa o Sand as it is known locally, is the laird's house, built in 1754 for the Mitchell family on the site of a previous building which was also occupied by the local laird.[7] Da Haa o Sand is situated on the side of the hill above St Mary's Chapel.

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6. Selievoe and Garderhouse often paid scat together but in c.1600 half of it was retained by the minister for his glebe (SRO, E.41/7).

7. The present laird, Mr Peter Hick, kindly provided me with the information about Sand House.

The name of the settlement of Semblister (Samlesetter 1605; Samlsetter 1607; Semblesetter 1609) (Ballantyne & Smith 1994: 187; 207; 240) mentioned above, which lies to the north of Garderhouse, is also of Norse origin and its meaning is obscure to present-day Shetlanders who turn to Jakobsen for its interpretation (Jakobsen 1936: 153, 115). Semblister — although now recognised as a separate settlement — is only about one mile distant from Sand[8] and when St Mary's Chapel in Sand fell into disuse in 1780 (Cant: forthcoming publication on the Churches and Chapels of Shetland), a new church was built by the shore at Semblister where it could be reached by boat and, therefore, serve a wider congregation. People could approach it from Sand and Garderhouse by foot along the side of the Loch of Semblister, or by boat from Innersand and Tresta. As they walked past the Mill Burn at the north end of the Loch of Semblister, church-goers would have seen three water-mills at regular intervals along its length; possibly one for each of the townships of Innersand, Sand and Garderhouse. The church at Semblister was in use until the early 1950s, but not for evening worship because there was no lighting.[9] A small house, situated next to the church and inhabited latterly by an elderly impoverished lady, was referred to as Da Pauper's Hoose and was in use until the early 1900s.

The church at Semblister was, in turn, supplemented in 1911 — and replaced some forty years later — by one at the head of Selievoe (Cant: forthcoming). This was built on the plot of ground where the old manse of Sand had been situated and a new manse was built adjacent to, but not adjoining, the church. It was often the case in the medieval period in Shetland that the manse and glebe, or portion of land assigned to a parish minister in addition to his stipend, were at some distance from the church itself and that was the case in Sandsting, with the church of St Mary's beside Sand Voe and the manse and glebe beside Selievoe. 'The vicarage of Sandsting' is noted in a document from 1580 (Ballantyne & Smith 1994: 2). The current farmhouse known as Da Glebe is a very old building and parts of it are believed to date back to the early 1600s. Da Glebe is still the major farm in the area, occupying prime agricultural land.

On the opposite side of Selievoe from Garderhouse, the name Da Leeans, sometimes spelt Leons (ON *hlíð* 'a hillside, slope'), is used to refer to the crofted section of the sloping hill which runs along the side of the voe. Unlike Garderhouse, however, Da Leeans is not now used as a village name in its own right. It is a description of a particular part of Sand and although local people would not be able to define its meaning precisely, they would

8. As an ancient settlement, Sand paid scat; however, Semblister did not and as a result paid a 'tulbert scat' of £2 Scots to the proprietors of Sand (SRO, RS.45/4, f.478v.).

9. I owe this information to Bertie Deyell who now lives at Semblister in a house built in 1860, sometimes called the Old Baptist Manse. Bertie has a huge fund of local knowledge which he generously shared with me when I was preparing this article.

consider it appropriate that it should be used with reference to sloping, cultivated ground and not of any other type of ground. Jakobsen does not record the Sand example but he mentions similar names elsewhere in Shetland, one of them being 'de Liens' in Sandwick, Unst (Jakobsen 1936: 78). Stewart records the Sand name as follows: 'Leeons 1821-60; Leeans 1860; Leons 1869-1954' (Stewart 1987: 134). Similarly, at the head of Selievoe, the flat ground at the top of the beach across which people walk from Sand to Garderhouse is known as Da Mellins, sometimes spelt Maillands (ON *melr* 'sand'), and locals would be aware that such a name should properly refer to the grass-covered, sandy soil at a beach head. For example, one of the croft houses on the side of the hill at Fora Ness is known as Da Mellins/Maillands and a local informant, clearly considering it to be unusual as a house name, explained that this is because the land allocated to the croft abuts on the sandy beach.[10] The croft is recorded in a transaction of 1705 when Patrick Umphray sold to James Mitchell of Girlsta '18 merks of land in Innersand, with the piece of land called the Maill lands next adjacent' (SRO, RS.45/6/2, fol. 641).

Da Mellins is not recorded as a place-name on the 6 inch Ordnance Survey map of Sand and neither is Da Klevi (ON *kleif* 'a ridge of cliffs or shelves in a mountainside') which is the steep path or *klevi* (Jakobsen 1928 (reprinted 1985): 430) leading up from Da Mellins towards a group of houses in Garderhouse known as Da Braens. The houses are named on the map but the path which leads towards them does not merit having its sections identified by name and it is unfortunate that these minor names are not recorded because, in my opinion, they are important evidence of the way in which the Scots language was sufficiently elastic to use Norn words when they fitted the situation more precisely than Scots equivalents. In his place-name volume, Jakobsen refers to other examples of the name 'de Klev' or 'de Klevi' in Shetland but does not record the Sand example (Jakobsen 1936: 66).

The use of *da*[11] — the Shetland dialect form of the English definite article *the* — with all of these names, implies that the dialect speakers who employed these descriptive terms as names were using the Norn words as part of their own dialect of Scots just as, for example, a current Gaelic speaker does not hesitate to say, 'A bheil *an càr* agad dubh?', fully incorporating the useful English word *car* into his own language and preceding it with the correct form of the Gaelic definite article. When thinking of inflected languages, such as Gaelic and Norse, it is interesting to note the common Shetland place-name ending which appears variously as *-ins/-ens/-ns*, as in

10. Patricia Alderson (née Fraser), who lives at Gracefield in Innersand, provided this comment and many others and I owe a great deal to her extensive local knowledge and to her willingness to conduct some local research on my behalf.

11. I have followed Graham (1979) in using the spelling *da*, rather than *de* which is favoured by Jakobsen (1936).

Da Mellins and Da Braens. In the case of examples of Mellens from elsewhere in Shetland, Jakobsen notes three possible meanings: '... *Mellens* may ... be either a "*meðal-heimar" or pl. of "*meðal-land", or ... def. pl. of "melr" (sand)[12]...' (Jakobsen 1936: 58), which latter possibility suggests that the same Norse inflectional ending has been added to the Scots word *brae* 'a slope' in the formation of the place-name Da Braens. The linguistic situation is, of course, further complicated by the fact that the final -s, in all names of this type, is the Scots/English plural ending which has been added to the earlier Norse plural ending.

Survival of obscure Norse elements in place-names which can be partly understood because the other elements in the names are current in the Shetland dialect can be noted in Grindaby and Da Bowayre (the first element of the latter name being pronounced [bu]). Grind (ON *grind*) and ayre (ON *eyrr*) are still commonly used for 'gate' and 'gravelly tongue of land running into the sea' respectively and it seems possible, although lack of early references inhibits precise identification, that the -by of Grindaby and Bow- of Bowayre may have the same origin in ON *boer (býr)* 'a farm'. Jakobsen records a number of Shetland farm-names ending in -by and also mentions the use of '*Bø*' in fisherman's tabu-language for certain villages which could not be named at sea, such as '*Kjorkabi* [*kirkju-bœr]' (i.e. 'church farm') (Jakobsen 1936: 32, 164). Grindaby is situated at a short distance from the gates of Da Haa o Sand and Da Bowayre is situated across the voe from Da Haa o Garderhouse on a spit of land which has a fisherman's booth or *böd* on it. This spit of land runs in along the voe towards the present church and glebe which are situated at the head of the voe on the same side as Da Bowayre. It is very likely that the situation of the priest's manse and glebe at the head of the voe gave rise to the name Da Bowayre in the medieval period.

Before leaving names which contain Norse elements, I should mention some further place-names from Sand and Innersand. Firstly, there is a croft named Houlland on the watershed between the two parts of the community. Houlland is a very common Shetland place-name, ultimately of Norse origin (ON **hó(há)-land* (referring to elevated situation)) (Jakobsen 1936: 77), and because of its common occurrence the name is usually identified more specifically on maps or in documents as Sandhoulland (Stewart 1987: 198). Secondly, there are two examples of the commonly occurring Norse place-name, Gardins, prefixed by English Upper and Lower. Jakobsen notes that Gardins derives from ON *gerði* 'a fenced patch of ground' and is frequently in the plural form with preserved definite article, as is the case in Innersand (Jakobsen 1936: 45). Thirdly, the field-name Hunswell refers to the rounded side of the hill above the crofts of Innersand. Neither Jakobsen nor Stewart records this name and early references are not available for a field which is not particularly productive. The likelihood is, however, that it contains the

12. Def. pl. of *melr: Melarnir* (nominative); *melunum* (dative).

ON elements *hundr* 'a dog' and *völlr* 'a field'. Gillian Fellows-Jensen comments, with reference to the street-name 'Hungate' that when *hundr* is used in place-names it is likely to indicate that the locality in question was 'insignificant' (Fellows-Jensen 1979: 45-46) and Hunswell would have been one of the least desirable of the surrounding fields, being on the brow of the hill. Finally, I should mention Baasgeo, which is an example of a croft being named after rocks in the sea before it. Both of the elements in this name are frequently used in Shetland dialect and the precise reference is to sunken rocks or *baas* in a steep-sided inlet of the sea or *geo*. The name of the croft is sometimes given as Little Kirkaness but it is never thus known locally. The 6 inch OS map records neither of these two names.

The place-names in the next group which I should like to discuss are largely of Scots origin and, like Baasgeo, they function as local alternatives to the place-names recorded on maps. This group of names is particularly fascinating because, if one extrapolates from the local situation in Sand, a picture of 'bilingualism' in Shetland place-naming emerges. Just as there is a Little Kirkaness on the map, locally known as Baasgeo, so is there a larger property, now vacant, officially called Kirkaness but never known as such. When the property was occupied, in the earlier years of this century, it was known either as Maggie Sandison's — after its occupant — or, more frequently, by the wonderfully evocative Scots expression Da Guttery Haa or 'The Muddy Hall'. The house was adjacent to Da Haa o Sand and local people seldom missed an opportunity to debunk. In similar vein, although less pejorative in reference, one finds Da Cockle Haa in Garderhouse, which appears on the map as Summerside. It is tempting, given the situation of Summerside on the upper edge of the community and on higher, less fertile ground, to suggest that the English name, Summerside, may hark back to an earlier Norse *sætr* 'shieling' which was used during the summer for the pasturing of animals, but there is no written evidence to support the suggestion. There is, however, some support from a hitherto unrecorded coastal name, Setter Ayre (ON *setr/sætr* 'a shieling or hill farm'+ *eyrr* 'a gravelly bank'), which is used of the stretch of beach below Summerside. A link between the beach and the house would explain the reference to shellfish in Da Cockle Haa.

Other crofts which have alternative names are Gideonfield (known as Headicraa 'somersault/head-over-heels', perhaps because of the steepness of the fields); Newhouse — as it was recorded in the 1851 Census — or Hillside (known as Dunder 'a sound like thunder', often used with reference to wind noise)[13]; Nicolfield (known either as Bekka[14] — from the hill named Bekka on

13. The croft was established in the 19th century and, therefore, I have suggested the Scots word *dunder* but it should be noted that *Dunder-* also occurs as the specific in some Norwegian place-names (Rygh 1905: 16, 146).

14. A name of Norse origin for which Jakobsen suggests ON *bekkr* in the sense of 'rounded hill' (Jakobsen 1936: 33). The top of Bekka is now known locally by the biblical name Pisgah.

the slopes of which it stood — or Gush — by the people of Sandsound who, according to local lore, saw a clifftop loch at Nicolfield cascade into the sea in the early twentieth century); Mayfield (known as Nort Toon) and Springfield (known as Sooth Toon); and, finally, Gresfield/Gracefield (known as Da Hoch/Hough — possibly Scots *haugh* 'river-meadow land', an interpretation which is supported by the spelling *Gres-* which suggests abundance of 'grass', although the specific could equally well be the personal name *Grace*, paralleling some of the other local names in *-field*, such as Annfield, Gideonfield and Nicolfield). It would seem from these examples that there was a degree of resistance to the English names which were allocated to crofts at the time of division of the commonty. For some reason, the croft named Annfield survived with its name intact.

Sometimes, of course, documents record a croft by the occupant's name and the place-name thus created is often as evanescent as the occupant if, indeed, it was ever used other than as a map or estate-plan reference. For example, one of the crofts opposite Sandsound is identified as Magnustown in the 1851 census but it is now known as Sunsdale, a name which Stewart records in 1580 as Soundsdale (Stewart 1987: 75) and for which Jakobsen suggests derivation from 'ON *sund* 'a sound' + *deild* 'a deal or portion', used commonly in Shetland as the generic in place-names in the sense of: 'patch of ground; part of field' (Jakobsen 1936: 34). The name is also recorded as Sounsdaill in a document dated 1691 (SRO, RS.45/4, fol. 488r.). One suspects that the patch of cultivated land beside the sound has been thus known since it was broken in from the hill at a time when Norn was the speech of the district and that the people farming the land, then as now, knew their stretch of beach as Da Brei Ayre (ON *breiðr* 'broad' + *eyrr* 'gravelly bank'),[15] although the name is not recorded on the 6 inch map.

Other dialect terms used in the place-nomenclature tell us about the daily activities of people in a crofting community who, for instance, put their cattle out to graze in summer in Semblister and named the park where the cows lay Da Coo Böls — *böl* being a word commonly used in Shetland dialect for a resting-place for cattle (ON *ból* 'a lying place of beasts or cattle'). The crofters also required to pen their animals from time to time, as recorded in place-names containing the Scots word *pund* 'an enclosure for animals'. There are two such names, one of which is no longer used and which has, therefore, been forgotten by almost all the inhabitants of Sand, although it is faintly remembered by a few who suggest spellings such as Ulla- or Ullipund. One of my informants, however, was able to dip into his aural memory and tell me that South Tulkie — an interesting name in its own right — was earlier known as Da Ooie Pund, which indicates that the *pund* or enclosure was used for penning sheep when they needed to be *rooed* or to

15. For another example see the Shetland village name, Brae, which Jakobsen derives from ON *breiðr* + *eið* 'an isthmus, neck of land' (Jakobsen 1936: 36).

have their *oo* (i.e. wool) plucked. The language of origin of the name Tulkie is debatable but the fact that it is used to describe two outlying crofts, one of which was situated by an earlier sheep-pen, points to Scots rather than Norn.

The other example of Scots *pund* occurs in the simplex place-name, Da Pund, which is close to Da Haa o Sand and which was, according to local tradition, a place where ponies were penned. An earlier name for another house close to Da Haa also points to ownership of horses. According to my informant, Bertie Deyell, the small house close to the gates of the laird's house once functioned as stables and was known as such, but that name in turn has been replaced by a twentieth-century English name, Roadside, which must be one of the most common house-names in Scotland. The name indicates the increasing importance of access by road to the community of people living in Innersand and Sand who, in earlier centuries, were much more dependent on the sea for their supplies, as the situation of Da Aald Shop by the sea at Sand Voe indicates. Da New Shop by the road at Grindaby, in turn, has been superseded in the process of constant change and renewal which characterises village life. Shops are now considerably more distant and assume car-ownership. Other local facilities have also disappeared, leaving nothing other than a memory of a name. I am thinking both of the school in Sand, which I attended as a child, and of Da Smiddy (now known as Briar Cottage) which was situated beside Summerside in Garderhouse and where the horses from Innersand, Sand, Garderhouse and Semblister would have been shod.

Conclusion

I think what I, personally, find so fascinating about many of the place-names mentioned above is the fact that they are so obviously living entities and should not merely be revered as icons of the dead Norn language. The overall picture is one of onomastic change and renewal in response to the changing nature of the community. The place-names discussed here also point to the necessity of consulting local people, as well as maps in the library, when conducting research, because it has been shown that the latter may not always reflect the reality of place-names in use. I have to say that, once I began to study the area in detail, I was surprised at the extent to which maps and local usage differed in the case of Sand, Innersand and Garderhouse and I have been impressed by the strength of the oral tradition in naming. Many of the place-names listed above have never been recorded on maps or in documents.

Collection of such oral material presents a challenge to the onomastician but the rewards are great, particularly when one encounters a piece of oral evidence which suddenly opens up a whole new field of possibility in terms of interpretation of place-names and what they can tell us about the present and past life of the community being studied. Lack of space has meant that I have omitted many topographical place-names and also some

of the most recent names created for new houses which have been built within the last decade, but I hope that I have conveyed a reasonably full picture of Sand, Innersand and Garderhouse, as seen through place-names.

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