THE NORSE ELEMENT
IN
THE PLACE-NAMES OF NESS

DRAFT REPORT

RICHARD A.V. COX

August 2006

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The writer was asked to research the Norse element within the place-names contained in sound recordings and maps supplied by the Project. The sound recordings were made in 1966 and supplied on CD or casette tape, along with typed lists, with some commentary, of names occurring on them.

Two principle difficulties arose in the course of compiling this report.

The lack of maps was a constant problem, so that often the location of names has only been broadly known, if at all.

The sound quality of the recordings varies. In addition, the authenticity of the forms given was sometimes a cause for concern: at times, the interviewer reads names out loud, prompting the informant, thereby unwittingly soliciting forms; at others, the informants themselves read out names from list or from maps, thereby giving pronunciations which must be treated with circumspection because of the potential differences between spelling and spoken pronunciations; at yet other times, the interviewer prevents the informants from giving a pronunciation, explaining that a name has already been recorded; in addition, names are frequently given by one informant only, so that pronunciations are not corroborated. This last difficulty should be avoided if at all possible, if only by re-recording an informant at a later date.

OLD NORSE LOAN-WORDS
Old Norse loan-words are words which were borrowed from Norse speakers at some time in the past by Gaelic speakers who went on to use them in their own language. In the process, the sounds of the original Norse words have been largely adapted to the sound system of the target language, i.e. Gaelic.

A name such as *Sgeir nan Sgarbh* 'the skerry of the cormorants' is a wholly Gaelic name, created by Gaelic speakers, who just happen to have used words which were once borrowed from Old Norse, namely *sgeir* < ON *sker* 'skerry', and *sgarbh* < ON *skarfr* 'cormorant'.

OLD NORSE LOAN-NAMES
Old Norse loan-names are names which were created by Norse speakers and which have since been borrowed as names by Gaelic speakers. At the time they were borrowed, the names were significant only in the sense that they referred to particular features or locations – what the names meant in Old Norse was irrelevant, if known at all, when the name forms were borrowed into Gaelic. These borrowed names were then used by Gaels in the same way as names already existing within the Gaelic name-stock, i.e. new names could be created using other names as specific elements (descriptive qualifiers), e.g. *Steinn* (borrowed probably from Old Norse *Steinn(inn)* '(the) stone') could be used in the creation of a new Gaelic name, *Clach Steinn* 'the

stone of *Steinn*', without the original meaning of the Norse word, *steinn*, having any bearing at all.

Some commentators on the Norse element in Lewis have ignored the Gaelic elements of names in which Norse-originated forms occur. In a name such as *Clach Steinn*, for example, G. *clach* would be discarded as merely translating ON *steinn*, thereby expunging centuries of name development. This has been possible because of a belief that G. *clach* would have been added to the name once Norse *steinn* was no longer understood. Names do not operate on the level of lexical (dictionary) meaning, however, as is testified by Gaelic names such as *Allt a' Ghlas Allt*, (literally 'the stream of the green stream', in which both instances of *allt* refer to the same stream).

RECOMMENDATIONS

All pronunciations should be checked – in the field, and with more than one informant where possible – and locations and descriptions provided. Armed with this information, appropriate spellings of Gaelic names might be provided, suggested derivations confirmed or rejected, and some of the unresolved questions answered.

NAME FORMS

Head forms of place-names are cited as in the name lists provided.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

>>	assuming the pronunciation given is authentic, this introduces a suggested alternative spelling
?	before a word, name or pronunciation, this indicates that the word etc. is uncertain
*	otherwise unattested in this form
acc.	accusative
Cr	Cros
D/G	Dail bho Dheas and Gabhsann
dat.	dative
Dth	Dail bho Thuath
E	Eòrobaidh
EG	Early Gaelic
f., fem.	feminine
G.	Gaelic
gen.	genitive
len.	lenited
L	Lional
m., masc.	masculine
MO	from Magne Oftedal's notes
nom.	nominative
nt.	neuter
ON	Old Norse
pl.	plural
PN	Port Nis
rad.	radical
Sg	Sgiogarstaidh
sg.	singular
Su	Suaineabost
T	Tàbost
var.	variant

LIST I

OLD NORSE LOAN-WORDS

bac m. 'slope', from ON *bakka* acc. (ON *bakki* nom. masc.): 66/9 Sg *Càrnan Balach a' Bhac*, with gen.sg. of *Am Bac*, presumably referring to the Lewis village.

beirgh f. 'promontory, especially one with a narrow neck or isthmus landward', from ON *bergi* dat. nt (*berg* nom.). This occurs as a loan-word in Lewis, as in PN *A' Bheirghe*. The form in 66/9 PN *Sròin Bheirghe/ Sròn Beirghe* appears to be a loan-name.

bìrlinn f. 'galley, Hebridean galley': L *Palla na Bìrlinn*. It is traditionally thought that this word is derived from ON *byrðing* acc. m. (*byrðingr* nom.) 'merchant ship', but there are difficulties in the development that prompted Marstrander (1915, 21–22) to suggest an alternative derivation from ON *berling* 'short pole or beam under the hatch of a vessel', which is evidently closer from a phonetic point of view, although not from a semantic one. However, it seems probable that G. *bìrlinn* in fact derives from a late, dialectal form of ON *byrðing*, in which the cluster *-rð-* had fallen together with a variety of *l*, similar in sound to Gaelic *-rl-* in *bìrlinn*. While this development took place in dialectal areas traditionally termed East Norse, these included much of the western seaboard of Norway from Tronheim (formerly Nidaros) northwards.

bodha m. 'submerged rock or reef', from ON *boða* oblique case (*boði* nom. masc.): 66/14 L *Am Bodha*; 66/13 E *Bodha Ghealltaig*; 66/14 L *Bodh' a' Chaothaich*. Also found spelt *bogha* in 66/14 L *Bogha Dho'ill Bhain*; 66/15 D/G *Bogha an Tairbh*, although it should be confirmed that a sense 'bow, bend' (G. *bogha*) is not meant in these two names.

bot, *bota* m. 'valley or lake-head; basin', perhaps with extended senses; from ON *botn* m.: 66/15 D/G *Bota nam Meann*.

botan m., as above, with a Gaelic suffix of place, *-an*: 66/15 D/G *Botan a' Chlaidheimh*; 66/15 D/G *Botan na Làiridh Glais*; 66/15 D/G *Botan an t-Sluaigh*. In the case of 66/15 D/G *Boitean 'An Ruaidh an Dùin/ Botainean Ruadh 'An Duinn*, the informant did not know the name; the written form may be in error for *botan* or its plural.

brat adj. Full stress is on the final element in the name 66/9 Sg *Geò Beag Brat*, also in *Geò Brat* (recorded towards the end of 66/9), and it is possible that *brat* is a loan from the ON adjective *bratt-* (*brattr*) 'steep'.

broc (?gender) occurs in 66/17 Su *Na Brocan*. This may from an otherwise unattested loan-word *broc* from ON **brokka* f., a variant of *brekka* f. 'slope (especially one between a higher and lower plain)' (Sandnes and Stemshaug 1980, 79 and 81). ON **brokka* occurs as a final element in several loan-names in Lewis, and it would not be surprising to find that it had survived as a loan-word in Gaelic also.

campar m. '?projecting hill', from ON *kampr* m. 'projecting part of a wall' (< 'beard'): *Campar Mòr*; 66/10 T *Blàr a' Champair Siar*; 66/10 T *Blàr a' Champair Sear*; 66/10 T *Ceann Caol a' Champair* – len. gen. -[ə ˈxãũm̥pəðʲ]. In his notes from an interview with Annie Macritchie, Swanibost, taken in 1963, Magne Oftedal gives rad. [ˈŋʰǎŭmbər] (MO), i.e. *An Campar*, although preaspiration is not marked in his transcription.

cleit, *cleite* m., a loan-word from ON *kletti* dat. or *klett* acc. (*klettr* nom. '(rounded) hill'): 66/14 L *An Cleit/ Cleit*; 66/13 E *Cleit a' Mhìosgain*; 66/13 E *Cleit Alltair*; 66/13 E *Cleit an Iarainn*; 66/14 L *Cleit an t-Sealgair*; 66/14 L *Cleit Arsgaidh*; 66/13 E *Cleite Siar*; 66/13 E *Cleite Còrn*; 66/13 E *Cleite Gillean*; 66/13 E *An Cleite Dubh*; 66/14 L *Eilean Cleite Suain*; 66/14 L *An Cleite Dubh*; 66/14 L *Cleite Suain*; 66/14 L *Caolas Cleite Suain*; 66/9 Sg *Eilean Cleit' an t-Sionnaich*. The sense of *cleite* varies from area to area. In St Kilda it was used of stone storehouses, in Arran of cliffs, in the Carloway area of hills.

cnap m. 'knob, protruding clump of rock', from ON *knapp* acc. (*knappr* nom. m.): 66/15 D/G *Cnap Dubh*.

*cuith. The name 66/10 T *Tom Allt nan Cuithichean/ Tom Allt na Cuibhichean* may contain a plural form of G. *cuithe* 'pit, trench'. Alternatively, it may contain an otherwise unattested loan-word from ON *kví* f. 'fold for animals', which occurs in loan-names in Lewis such as *Cuidhseadair* (Ness), *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* (West Side), *Cuidhbhig* (West Side) etc.

doca m. 'pit; quarry', from ON *dǫkk* f. 'water-filled hollow' (Nynorsk *dokk* 'hollow'): 66/10 T *An Doca Ruadh*; 66/10 T *Doca Choimhead*; perhaps also 66/15 D/G *An Doc* (?read *An Doca*).

gàrradh m. 'dyke, wall [stone or turf]; march dyke', gen. *gàrraidh*, from ON *garð* acc. m. (*garðr* nom. 'barrier, fence; fenced field; yard, courtyard; farm' etc.);

formerly, commonly spelt *gàradh*: 66/17 Su *An Gàradh Sgitheanach*; 66/10 T *Cladach Bun a' Ghàraidh*; 66/10 T *Gàradh an Lodain/ Gàradh an Laidain*; 66/10 T *Gàradh nan Gallach*; 66/10 T *An Gàradh Goirt*; 66/10 T *Cnoc Mór a' Ghàraidh Dhuibh*; 66/14 L *Gàradh Gharstair*; 66/15 D/G *Gàradh nan Each*; 66/15 D/G *Gàradh Glac Ruairidh*; 66/15 D/G *Ceann a' Ghàraidh*; 66/15 D/G *An Gàradh Dubh*; 66/15 D/G *An Gàradh-Crìch*; 66/15 D/G *Gàrradh na Sìg'*; 66/15 D/G *An Gàradh Mór*; 66/15 D/G *Gàradh nam Brèaloch*; 66/15 D/G *An Gàradh Dubh*; 66/15 D/G *Garradh Shanndaidh/ Gàradh Thainndhealt (Shanndaigh)*; 66/16 Dth *An Gàradh Goirt*; 66/16 Dth *Gàradh Chrois*; 66/16 Dth *Gàradh-Crìch Dhail-o-Dheas*; 66/16 Dth *Gàradh nan Tom*; 66/16 Dth *An Gàradh Dubh*; 66/16 Cr *Gàradh Dho'ill 'ic Fhionnlaidh*; 66/17 Su *Seana Ghàradh*; 66/9 Sg *Geò Bun a' Ghàraidh*. The modern sense of 'garden' is relatively recent, it seems.

geàrraidh m. 'enclosure' > 'site of building', pl. *geàrrannan*, from ON *gerði* nt. 'enclosed piece of land'; in unstressed position, *geàrraidh* is frequently reduced to *gearra*: 66/13 E *Cnoc Buaile Ghearraidh Taigh*; 66/13 E *An Gearradh Mór*; 66/13 E *Càrnan a' Ghearraidh Mhóir*; 66/15 D/G *Na Càrnanan Geala/ Na Geàrranan Geala*; 66/15 D/G *Gearraidh a' Chàirn*; 66/15 D/G *Gearradh Mhic Dhomhnaill Duibh*; 66/17 Su *A' Gheàrraidh*; 66/9 Sg *Àiridh nan Geàranan*.

geodha, geò f. (earlier m., cf. 66/9 Sg *An Geò Leathann*) 'coastal ravine', by extension 'cove, inlet, small bay', from ON *gjǿ* f. 'ravine'. The Gaelic form in unstressed position is typically *geodh'* (i.e. a monosyllable, with a short or half-long vowel): 66/13 E *A' Gheò bho Dheas*; 66/13 E *A' Gheò bho Thuath*; 66/13 E *A' Gheò Ghorm*; 66/14 L *A' Gheò Ghorm*; 66/14 L *A' Gheò Ruadh*; 66/14 L *A' Gheò Ruadh*; 66/9 Sg *An Geò Leathann*; 66/9 Sg *Geò a' Bhàird*; 66/14 L *Geò a' Chruidh*; 66/13 E *Geò a' Chulla*; 66/9 Sg *Geò a' Ghamhna*; 66/14 L *Geò a' Still*; 66/10 T *Geò an Àird-dorais*; 66/13 E *Geò an Dorais/ Geò na h-Àird*; 66/9 Sg *Geò an Duilisg*; 66/13 E *Geò an Duine*; 66/9 Sg *Geò an Fhithich*; 66/9 Sg *Geò an Léigh/ Geò an Fhéidh*; 66/16 Dth *Geò an ni' Raonaill*; 66/14 L *Geò an Taisg/ Geò Taisg*; 66/13 E *Geò an Tanga*; 66/13 E *Geò an Tathaisg/ Geò Buaile*; 66/9 Sg *Geò an Treubh*; 66/9 T Geò an Tuill; 66/14 L *Geò an Ùird*; 66/9 Sg Geò Àrd a' Mhill Ghil; 66/9 Sg *Geò Àrd Guineil/ Geodha Àrd Bun Ghil*; 66/9 Sg *Geò Beag Brat*; 66/13 E *Geò Béig Sear*; 66/13 E *Geò Béig Siar*; 66/9 PN *Geò Blàth*; 66/9 Sg *Geò Bun a' Ghàraidh*; 66/10 T *Geò Caol Roistein*; 66/14 L *Geò Fhiristein/ Geò 'n t-Fhirisgean*; 66/14 L *Geò Gallda/ Geò Ghallt*; 66/9 Sg *Geò Garbh*; 66/17 Su *Geò Hó/ Geò Throdh*; 66/10 T *Geò Ho/ Geò Hóth*; 66/17 Su *Geò Hó/ Geò Throdh*; 66/13 E *Geò Ìbhicleit/ Ìobha-cleit*; 66/13 E *Geò Ithisgeir*; 66/9 Sg *Geò Làmoir/ Geò Lathamor*; 66/14 L *Geò na Clainne*; 66/13 E *Geò na h-Àtha*; 66/13 E *Geò na Morghaich*; 66/9 Sg *Geò nam Ban*; 66/9 Sg *Geò nam Mòraglaich*; 66/9 Sg *Geò nam Muc*; 66/9 Sg *Geò nan Arm*; 66/13 E *Geò nan Calman*; 66/14 L *Geò nan Calman*; 66/16 Dth *Geò nan Calman*; 66/9 Sg *Geò nan Calman*; 66/9 Sg *Geò nan Cnàmh*; 66/13 E *Geò nan Déileachan*; 66/13 E *Geò nan Each*; 66/9 Sg *Geò nan*

Gobhar; 66/13 E *Geò nan Ialtag*; 66/14 L *Geò nan Seann Daoine*; 66/9 Sg *Geò nan Sòrnachain Fosgailte*; 66/9 Sg *Geò Nead Mhic na Sgallaig*; 66/9 Sg *Geò Poll Thàiceil*; 66/9 Sg *Geò Ruadh nam Bà*; 66/14 L *Geò Sgàire*; 66/13 E *Geò Sròin a' Mhuireacain/ Geò Sròin Mhurcain*; 66/13 E *Geò Thobhanais/ Geò Thóbhanais*; 66/9 Sg *Cìrein Geò nan Gobhar.*

gil f. 'watercourse; ravine', from ON *gil* nt. 'ravine': 66/9 Sg *Taigh a' Ghil* – on the tape, this sounds like *Taigh (na) Gile*, with *na* inaudible or elided. The name *A' Ghil* occurs also (Anna NicSuain).

langa adj. It is possible that ON *lang-* (*langr*) adj. 'long' was borrowed into Gaelic, although it is no longer in use. The ON word occurs frequently in ON loan-names, e.g. 66/13 E *Langaisgeir*; 66/13 E *Slag Langainis*. If so, the loan-word *langa* may occur in the Gaelic name-forms, 66/15 D/G *Caol Langa* -[ˈʟãŋkə] and 66/13 E *Leum Langa* [ˌʟʲeˑm ˈʟãŋkə], but the potential senses 'long straits' and 'long leap', respectively, should be checked.

lèig f., from ON *løk* acc. (*løkr* m. 'brook'): 66/16 Cr *Léig Chuitheagro*; 66/10 T *An Léig Mhór*. Whether the sense of *lèig* in these names is 'brook' or , by extension, '(flat) marshy area' should be checked.

lì ?f. It is likely that some, if not all, of the following names contain a loan-word from ON *hlíð* f. 'slope, hillside': 66/16 Dth *Lì an Fhuarain*; 66/16 Cr *Lì an Taigh-Staile* [ʟʲiː]- ; 66/9 PN *Lì nan Eithear/ Lì na h-Eithear*; 66/9 Sg *Lì an Òir*; 66/9 Sg *Lì Mhór*. The form 66/15 D/G *Lighe a' Choin* [ˌʟʲi. ə ˈxõɴʲ] may also contain this element, although the generic may conceivably be G. *lighe* 'water, shallow water'.

òs m. 'outlet, mouth of river', from ON *ós* m. acc. (*óss* nom.), may occur in 66/15 D/G *An Tòs*, if this is for *An t-Òs*. The loan-word *òs* is common throughout Lewis.

palla m. 'ledge', from ON **palla* acc. m. (**palli* nom.; rather than the strong noun *pallr* m.): 66/9 PN *Palla an Taighe*; 66/9 PN *Palla Slàine*; 66/9 Sg *Pall' a' Chait*; 66/9 Sg *Am Palla Beag*.

poll m. in the sense 'pool; pool in river' from EG *poll*. However, the sense 'marine pool, fishing ground' may derive from ON *poll* acc. m. (*pollr* nom.) 'pool; little round bay, or fjord bottom'. The following appear to have the latter sense: 66/16 Cr *Poll-Braiche*; 66/14 L *Poll Spàinibhig*; 66/17 Su *Poll Gorm*; 66/9 Sg *Geò Poll Thàiceil*; 66/9 Sg *Poll Thaiceil*; 66/9 Sg *Am Poll Gorm*. The sense of the following is uncertain: 66/13 E *Poll Dhùghaill*; 66/16 Dth *An Poll Mór.*

Raghnall m., a masc. personal name from ON *Rǫgnvald* acc. m. (*Rǫgnvaldr* nom.): 66/16 Dth *Geò an ni' Raonaill.*

ròdh [ʀo·] ʀoː], gen. -[ʀoːj], m. 'promontory': 66/13 E *Ròdh A-Muigh*; 66/13 E *Ròdh A-Staigh*; 66/13 E *Toll a' Ròidh*. This is possibly a by-form of *rubha*, below, and in some instances *ròdh* and *rubha* may even be interchangeable. However, the differences between the stressed vowels in both articulation and length are not insignificant; nor do the genitives *ròidh* and *rubha* support a common derivation. Compare *An Rògh* (or *An Ròdh*) [ə ˈʀɔːɣ], gen. [ə ˈʀɔːj] – meaning unknown – in the Carloway area (Cox 2002, 353).

rubha m. 'promontory, point'. This word has been taken to derive from EG *ruba* m., a word of doubtful meaning, but also from ON *hrúga* f. or *hrùfa* f. which have similar meanings ('heap, lump; manure pile'). While long vowels are often shortened before hiatus, the Gaelic word has been recorded with a long stressed vowel in Bernera. This argues in favour of the possibility that G. *rubha* is derived indeed from Old Norse. 66/14 L *Màs an* Rubha; 66/9 PN *Loch an Rubha*; 66/9 Sg *Creag a' Rubha*; 66/9 Sg *Rubha na Cloiche Bàine*; 66/9 Sg *Rubha nan Uan*. Compare *ròdh*, above.

The form *rubhach* in 66/9 Sg *Tom Àiridh nan Rubhach/Tom Àiridh nan Rubhach* presumably refers to people from *An Rubha*, the Point area of Lewis, which has the same derivation as *rubha*.

sgeir f. 'skerry', from ON *sker* nt.: 66/15 D/G *Sgeir na Coillt'*; 66/14 L *Sgeir a' Bial Lom/ Sgeir am Beul Luinn*; 66/14 L *Sgeir an Dobhrain/ Sgeir Odhrain*; 66/17 Su *Sgeir an Tàilleir*; 66/15 D/G *Sgeir an Uaibhrich*; 66/9 PN *Sgeir Chrois*; 66/9 Sg *Sgeir Dhomhnaill a' Bhàthair/ Sgeir Dhomhnaill a' Mhàthair*; 66/14 L *Sgeir Gharstair*; 66/14 L *Sgeir Mhurchaidh/ Sgeir Mhuraidh* (or *Sgeir Mhurchaidh*); 66/10 T *Sgeir na Leuma*; 66/17 Su *Sgeir nam Biorach*; 66/13 E *Sgeir nam Faochag*; 66/9 PN *Sgeir nan Crùbag*.

Possibly with preposed specific element: 66/9 PN *A' Charaisgeir* [ə ˈxarà ʃkʲɛðʲ]; this is possibly from *a' char sgeir*, with *car* in the sense of 'turn, revolution', perhaps implying 'skerry of the whirlpools'. However, the development of a svarabhakti vowel here is questionable.

sgritheann f. 'rocky slope or hillside', perhaps from ON *skriða* f. 'landslide' + Gaelic suffix: 66/15 D/G *Cnoc na Sgrithinn*; 66/15 D/G *Cnoc nan Sgrithean*; 66/15 D/G *Allt nan Sgrithean*; 66/16 Dth *Tom Sgrithinn nan Uan*; 66/16 Cr *Druim nan Sgritheann*; 66/16 Cr *Àiridh nan Sgritheann*; 66/16 Cr *Lèana nan Sgritheann Móra*.

sloc m. 'pit, hollow', perhaps from ON *slǫkk* nt: 66/14 L *Sloc an Dòbhrain*; 66/14 L *Sloc nan Cliabh*; 66/9 Sg *Sloc a' Chapaill*; 66/9 Sg *Sloc nam Biast*.

stang, possibly a loan-word from ON *stǫng* f. 'pole' etc. (often used of peninsulas and islands): 66/16 Dth *Cìrean Ruadh a' Stanga* – -[ˈstãŋkə]. *Stang* may have been an earlier name for the promontory to which *cìrean* now applies. The informant gives the sense of *stang* as relatively unproductive land, but that may simply be a description of the land to which the name *(An) Stang* now applies – names shifting in this way is common.

starrag f. 'hooded-crow', possibly from ON *starr* adj. 'hard, obstinate' + Gaelic suffix: 66/9 Sg *Tom na Starraig.*

stiogha m. 'hill path', with the extended sense 'overhang' in 66/10 T, from ON *stig* m. acc. (*stigr* nom.): 66/16 Dth *Stiogha Roisein*; 66/17 Su *An Stiogh/ An Stioghaidh*; 66/10 T *Stiogha na Sìol*; 66/9 *Cladach Stiogha Ruadh*. Cf. *stioghaidh*, below.

stioghaidh, from G. *stiogha*, see above, + Gaelic suffix: 66/17 Su *An Stiogh/ An Stioghaidh* – [ə ˈʃtʲɪɣi]; cf. *taingeadh*.

Suain m. [suãɴʲ], a masc. personal name from ON *Svein* acc. m. (*Sveinn* nom.), possibly occurs in the names 66/14 L *Caolas Cleite Suain*; 66/14 L *Cleite Suain*; 66/14 L *Eilean Cleite Suain.*

sùlaire m. 'gannet, solan goose', fr. ON *súla* f. + Gaelic suffix: 66/10 T *Allt an t-Sùlaire.*

tanga m. 'peninsula, tongue of land', from ON *tanga* m. acc. (*tangi* nom.): 66/17 S 66/13 E *An Tanga* – [ə ˈɴᵗʰãŋkə]; 66/13 E *Geò an Tanga*. Cf. *taingeadh*, below.

taingeadh, from G. *tanga*, see above, + Gaelic suffix: 66/17 Su *An Taingeadh*; cf. *stioghaidh*.

tobha m. 'headland', from ON *hǫfða* m. (*hǫfði* nom.): 66/9 T *Tobha Corrach.*

tobhta f. 'site', by extension 'ruin', by extension 'enclosure', from ON *topt* f. 'site (of building)': 66/10 T *Tobhtaichean Riog*; 66/10 T *Tobhta Shutharlain*; 66/17 Su *Tobhta Shutharlain*; 66/16 Dth *Tobhta an Taigh-Thalmhainn.*

Torcall m., a masc. personal name from ON *Þorkel* acc. m. < *Þorketil*: 66/14 L *Leac Thorcaill.*

Tormod, masc. personal name, from ON *Þormund* acc. m. (*Þormóðr* nom.): 66/15 D/G *Tobair Thormoid Shona*; 66/16 Cr *Àirigh Tharmoid* -[ˈharàmɔtʲ].

LIST II

(a) OLD NORSE LOAN-NAMES – *generic elements*

ON *á* 'river'

> 66/15 D/G *Gàrradh Shanndaidh* – -[ˈhaũNdaJ] (after fieldworker), -[ˈhɛũNdaj];
> 66/13 E *Tràigh Shanndaidh* – [ˈhãũNtaj]; presumably from ON *Sandá* 'sandy-
> river', with stem form of *sandr* m. 'sand'.

> 66/15 D/G *Loch Gheireasaidh* – -[ˈjærə ˌsaj], potentially from ON *Gerðisá* 'the
> river of the enclosed field', with gen. sg. of *gerði* nt.

ON *bakki* m. 'slope'

> 66/15 D/G *Tòrsaigeabhac* – [ˌtʰɔːˌʂɪgʲə ˈbaʰk]. ?>> *Tòrsaig a Bac*. Such a
> name may have arisen as follows: 1. Norse name 'A' is created: ON *Þórsvík*
> '*Þórr*'s bay' (see under *vík*: *Mol Thòrsaig*). 2. Norse name 'B' is created using a
> prepositional construction, *Name A á Name B*, i.e. 'Name A *at* Name B': *Þórsvík á
> Bakka* acc. This sort of construction is common in the Northern Isles and in the
> Faroes (Cox 2004). This would allow for the particular stress pattern in this name.
> In this analysis, *á Bakka* constitutes a specific qualifier.

ON *berg* nt. 'promontory'

> 66/16 Dth *Àileabrigh* – [ˈɑːʟə ˌbri], (MO) [ˈɑːʟə ˌprʲiç] / (?) ˌpʰrʲiç] (with an ending
> apparently on the analogy of G. *bruich* 'cooked'!). This element occurs in several
> names in Lewis (Cox 1998) and was also borrowed into Gaelic (*beirgh*). >>
> *Àlabridh*.

> 66/9 PN *Sròin Bheirghe / Sròn Beirghe* – while ON *bergi* dat. (ON *berg* nt.) was
> borrowed into Gaelic as *beirgh* f. 'coastal promontory (usually with a narrow neck
> or isthmus)', on present evidence this form is likely to be a loan from an Old Norse
> name, *Bergi* (dat.). The lenition or non-lenition of the Norse element in the name
> *Srò(i)n B(h)eirghe* is likely to be dependant on local variation in usage and on the
> age of the name form.

> 66/13 E *Lìobairidh* – [ˈʟʲiː ˌbəðʲi], perhaps from ON *Hlíð-berg* 'slope-promontory',
> with stem form of *hlíð* f. 'slope, hillside'.

> 66/14 D *Uisgebridh* – [ˈɯʃkʲə ˌbðʲi]. We shouldn't exclude the possibility that this
> contains a loan from Early Gaelic *usce* (G. *uisge*) 'water'.

ON *bjórr* m. 'wedge shape; wedge-shaped piece of land; gable-end; front or partition wall'; Mod. Norwegian *bjor bjore*. This is uncertain but, potentially, the following names may contain ON *bjórr*. Although *bjórr* would normally be expected to yield a long vowel in Gaelic, the weakly-stressed position of the element in these names may account for the recorded short vowel. If these names are indeed all loan-names (i.e. created entirely in Old Norse and then borrowed into Gaelic), they are evidently examples of relatively late naming structures (Cox 2004).

66/13 E *Biorabrat*, *Geò Biorabrat* – [ˌbɪrə ˈbraʰt]; MacIver 1934, 71 Bira brat. Perhaps from ON *Bjórinn Bratta* (acc.) 'the steep *bjórr*'. >> *Biora Brat*.

66/13 E *Bior a' Mhìlleis* – [ˌbɪrə ˈvẽɪʟʲaʃ]; MacIver 1934, 71 Birra-Bheinleas. Possibly from an ON phrasal name, *Bjórinn* (acc.) *á* + place-name 'the *bjórr* by—'.

66/9 Sg *Sròin Biorathais* [ˌbərə ˈheːʃ]; MacIver 1934, 71 Piorra Hàis. Possibly from an ON phrasal name, *Bjórinn* (acc.) *á* + place-name 'the *bjórr* by—'. One possibility for the place-name in final position might be *Hálsinum* (acc.) 'the ridge': i.e. 'the *bjórr* by *Hálsinn* 'the ridge'. However, in addition to loss of the Old Norse case ending (-*inum*), which is acceptable, this would require ?recent raising of the vowel before palatal -[ʃ], and it is not certain whether -*áls* could yield a long monothong in Gaelic. ?>> *Sròin Biora Hèis*.

Cf. also MacIver 1934, 70 Birre or Piorra Bibulan; and, in the township of *Tàbost*, '*Birra Furs* or *Piurra*, a sharp rock' (p. 76).

ON *bólstaðr* m. 'farm'

66/15 D/G *Geata Baile Mhealaboist*; *Mealabost* – [ˈmjɑʟà ˌbɔst], len. gen. -[ˈvjɑʟà ˌbɔʃtʲ]. Oftedal (1954, 394) derives the identical Uig name from ON *Melbólstað* acc. 'sand-bank-farm', with stem form of *melr* m. 'sand-bank'. >> *Mealbost*.

66/17 Su *Abhainn Shuaineaboist*; *Suaineabost* – len. gen. -[ˈhuã̄ɴʲə ˌbɔʃtʲ]; (MO) [ˈsũã̄ɴʲə ˌbɔst]. This seems to represent ON *Sveinabólstað* acc. '*Sveini*'s farm', with gen. of the man's name *Sveini* (Oftedal 1954, 373).

66/9 T *Tàbost* – (MO) [ˈtʰaː ˌbɔst]. From ON *Hábólstað* acc. '[the] high farm' (Oftedal 1954, 372), with weak masc. form of *hár* 'high'.

ON *botn* m. 'lake or valley-head, basin'

66/15 D/G *Botar Guala* – Likely to have the stress on the second element. The first element is from ON *botnar*, plural of *botn* m. 'valley or lake-head'. The second element is obscure. It is, perhaps deceptively, reminiscent of the final element in

66/10 T *Druim Bhataguaille*, which contains a Norse loan-name of a similar structure. Evidently a relatively late Norse creation; see under *vatn* nt. (*Druim Bhataguaille*).

66/15 D/G *Strioganspotair* (given in an electronic version of the place-name listings as *Drioganspotair*) – [ˈstrigan ˌspɔʰtər], from a plural form -*botnar*. To be confirmed.

66/15 D/G *Feadan Bhotairgille* – len. gen. -[ˌvɔʰtər ˈɡʲiʟʲə], with plural *botnar*-, and with stress on the second element, for which compare *Botar Guala*, above. >> *Botar Gille*.

ON *bringa* f. 'chest'

66/15 D/G *Loch Raipsbrig* – if the form is authentic, it may contain a loan-name in final -*bringa* 'chest, breast', used figuratively. The same element, if correctly identified, occurs relatively frequently in coastal names in Tiree.

ON *brokka f., var. of *brekka* f. 'slope'

66/10 T *Adabroc Àrd*; 66/10 T *Adabroc Ìosal* – [ˈadə ˌbrɔʰk].

66/15 D/G *Cnoc Thorabroc*

66/16 Dth *Léineabroc* – [ˈʟʲẽːnə ˌbrɔʰk]. >> *Lèineabroc*.

66/15 D/G *Dùnasbroc* – [ˈdũːnə ˌsprɔʰk]; if there is evidence of a fort nearby – there is apparently a small dun structure on the shore here – this may contain a loan-word from EG *dún* m. 'fort': ON *Dúnsbrokka 'the slope of the fort', with gen. sg. of *dúnr m. Alternatively, the form might contain the gen. sg. of *dúnn* m. meaning '(feather) down' or *dúnn* meaning 'flock; herd'.

ON *bǿr* m. 'steading, farm'

Eòrabaidh – (?)[ˈjɔːrə ˌbi]. (MO) [ˈjɔːʀə ˌbi]. Oftedal (1954, 371) suggests ON *Jórunnarbǿr*, with gen. sg. of a woman's name, *Jórunn*. The same specific may occur in 66/9 Sg *Eòradail*.

ON *dalr* m. 'valley'

Dail – [dal]; 66/15 D/G *Abhainn Dail*; 66/16 Dth *Abhainn Dail* – -[ˈdal]; 66/15 D/G *Tràigh Dhail*; 66/16 Dth *Tràigh Dhail* – -[ɣal]; 66/13 E *Creag Mhuinntir Dhail*; 66/16 Dth *Gàradh-Crìch Dhail-o-Dheas*; 66/15 D/G *Dail-bho-Dheas* – it is argued elsewhere (Cox 1991a) that the generic in the West Side Lewis names, *Daile Mòr* and *Daile Beag* (Eng. *Dalmore* and *Dalbeg*), is a loan-word from ON

dali dat. masc. 'valley.' In the case of the Ness name, there is no evidence to suggest that *Dail* may not simply be a loan-name from ON *Dali* dat.

66/13 E *Bun Ìleadail* – gen. (?)-[ˈiːlə ˌdəl].

66/9 Sg *Eòradail* – gen. (?)-[ˈjɔːrə ˌdəl]; *Cladach Eòradail*; 66/9 Sg *Dùn Eòradail*; 66/9 Sg *Leac Eòradail*; 66/9 Sg *Slugaid Eòradail*; (MO) [ˈjɔːʀə ˌdəʟ]; perhaps with a woman's name as specific, see under ON *bǿr* m. (*Eòrabaidh*). >> *Eòradal*.

66/13 E *Cunndal A-Muigh*; 66/13 E *Cunndal A-Staigh* – [ˈkʰɔ̃ũNtɑL]

66/15 D/G *Riandail*

66/15 D/G *Cladach Dhìobadail*; 66/15 D/G *Leathad Dhìobadail*; 66/15 D/G *Loch Dhìobadail* – 66/14 D [ˈdʲiːbə ˌdəʟ], len. gen. -[ˈjiːbə ˌdəl], from ON *Djúpadal* acc. '[the] deep valley', with weak masc. form of *djúpr*.

ON *fjall* nt. 'hill, mountain'

66/17 Su *Druim Grinneabhal* – -[ˈgrĩNʲə ˌvɑL]. The same specific appears to occur in the loch name, *Grinneabhat*, in the island of *Beàrnaraigh* (which MacAulay 1972, 330 suggests means 'shallow loch' – although the phonetic development is problematic) – and in the West Side township, Siabost, which has been derived from *Grenjavatn* 'the loch of the lair' with gen. sg. of *gren* nt. 'lair, cave'. An alternative solution for these names may be a derivation with ON *grind* f. which had the basic meaning 'gate' but also the extended sense 'fold, pen'. ON *Grind-fjall* 'fold-mountain' and *Grind-vatn* 'fold-loch' might yield *Grinneabhal* and *Grinneabhat*, respectively, with the stem form of *grind*; alternatively, the names may have contained gen. pl. *grinda* or perhaps gen. sg. *grindar*. Post-stress -*nd* develops in the same way in G. *uinneag* 'window' from ON *vind-auga*, although it is retained in the loan-name *Tinndir* < ON *Tindar* 'the teeth (of sharp rocks)' (Cox 2000). According to a derivation with *grind*, the forms *Grinneabhal* and *Grinneabhat* are paralleled in Gaelic names such as *Cnoc na Buaile* 'the hill of the fold' and *Allt na Crodhadh* 'the stream of the pen'. Names such as *Cnoc na Cachaileith* 'the hill of the gate' are also well attested in Lewis.

66/13 E *Tiobhal* – [ˈtʲʰiː ˌvɑL], perhaps from ON *Híð-fjall* 'den-mountain', with stem form of *híð* nt. 'den, lair', and with back-formation of initial [h] > [tʲʰ] as in G. *tobha* < ON *hǫfði* m. 'headland'. >> *Tìobhal*.

66/14 L ?*Liarabhal*

ON *gerði* nt. 'enclosed piece of land'

66/15 D/G *Clachan Eiseagearraidh* – -[ˈeː ˌʃkʲɑʀi]. >> *Clachan Èiseagearraidh*.

66/15 D/G *Beàrn Àsameigaraidh*; 66/15 D/G *Àsameigaraidh* –

(-)[ˈaːsˤmə ˌɡʲɑʀi] 66/14 [ˈaːsmə ˌɡʲɑʀi] [ˈaːsˤmɪ ˌɡʲɑʀi]. Probably from ON *Ásmundargerði* 'Ásmundr's *gerði*', with gen. of the man's name, *Ásmundr* m., and with contraction (for which, see Oftedal 1972). >> *Àsmaigearraidh*.

66/10 T *Clach Bhàn Fhòirdseaghearraidh*; 66/10 T *Fòirdseaghearraidh* – [ˈfɔːdrɪ ˌɡʲɑʀi]

66/9 Sg *Lunndaigearraidh* – [ˈʟoũNdƏ ˌɡʲɑʀɪ], possibly from ON *Lundargerði* 'the *gerði* of the copse', with gen. sg. of *lundr* m. 'clump of trees'. [ˈʟʲẽĩNʲdʲɪ ˌɡʲɑʀɪ] was said to be the form used in a poem; whether this is a variant form or a different name is not clear.

66/16 Dth *Méisgearraidh* – [ˈmĩː ˌʃkʲɑʀɪ]

66/17 Su *Sméiligearraidh* – [ˈsmẽːlɪ ˌɡʲɑʀi], perhaps from ON *Smælingagerði* 'the *gerði* of the beggar', with gen. sg. of *smælingi* m. 'poor man, beggar'. (/ l / is a palatal consonant here, which explains why æ has not broken to / ia / .) >> *Smèiligearraidh*.

66/14 G *Fuaran Stèisgearraidh* (-)[ˈʃkʲeː ˌʃkʲɑʀi] 66/15 D/G *Cnoc Stèisgearraidh* (-)[ˈʃtʲeː ˌʃkʲɑʀi]. The first pronunciation may be a corrupted form and not a different name.

ON *gjá* f. 'ravine' – used consistently in Lewis, it seems, of marine coves. In final position, the long vowel is normally shortened, as in other areas of Lewis, but it remains half-long in a few examples, i.e. with some speakers.

66/9 PN *Geò Blàth*. This may simply be a Gaelic name with the word *blàth* 'warm'. If so, the name form is relatively old, because *geodha* is still masculine here. An alternative is that the name is really an ON loan-name, *Gjáin Blái*, with weak fem. form of *blár* 'blue; black', the equivalent of G. *a' Gheodha Ghorm* 'the dark cove'. If so, it is relatively late, given its word order (noun + adjective).

66/9 T *Baiteasga* m – (?)[ˈbaʰtɪ ˌska]

66/9 Sg *Caolas Theileiga*; *Eilean Caolas Theileiga* – -[ˈhelɪ ˌɡʲa]. Cf. *Seiligeadh* in Daile Mòr (Cox 2002, 360), from ON *Seljugjá* 'the ravine of the willow', with gen. sg. of *selja* fem.; also Oftedal 1980, 185. Any connection with *selja* would be ruled out if the radical form of the loan-name was *[ˈtʲiʰelɪ ˌɡʲa].

66/9 Sg *Cathaigeadh* – [ˈkʰa ɪ ˌɡʲa]

66/9 Sg *Crùigea* – [ˈkru ɪ ˌɡʲa] 66/13 E *Cruthaigeadh* – [ˈkʰrʉ ɪ ˌɡʲa], [ˈɡrʉ ɪ ˌɡʲa]. These may be alternative forms of the same name. There is a *Gruthaigeadh* in Siabost a Deas, but there may be no connection if the Ness name has initial [kʰ]- and not [ɡ]-.

66/9 Sg *Roirimigeadh* – [ˈʀøðʲømɪ ˌɡʲaɣ] 66/13 E *Raomaireaga* – [ˈʀømøðʲɪ ˌɡʲa], from ON *Hramn-gjá* 'raven-cove, or the cove of the ravens', with stem form of

hamn m. (< *hrafn*), cf. *Bodha Ramraigeadh* in Tolsta a' Chaolais (Cox 2002, 185). The development has been: ON *-mn-* > G. *-mr-* by dissimilation; and, in Sg, with metathesis of *-mr-* in Gaelic; there has also been a degree of regressive patalisation – hence the quality of the stressed vowel, i.e. [a] > [e] / [ø], cf. [beg] / [bøg] *beag* 'small'. >> *Raimrigeadh*.

66/16 Cr *Rosaigeadh* (?)-[ˈʀɔsɪ ˌɡʲər]

66/14 L *Sanntaigeidh – Sanndaiga* – [ˈsãũntɪ ˌɡʲa], from ON *Sand-gjá* 'sand-cove', with stem form of *sandr* m.

66/14 L *Sioltaigea* – [ˈʃiəʟ̩tɪ ˌɡʲaˑ]

66/14 L *Mucasga, Mucaisgea* – [ˈmũ̃ʰkɪ ˌʃkʲaˑ]. It might be worth considering whether this contained a loan-word from G. *muc* (EG *mucc*) f. 'whale' – an ON **Mukksgjá* 'the cove of the whale', with gen. sg. of a masc. **mukkr*, has a parallel in the Gaelic name *Geodha na Muice* 'the cove of the whale'. Although the Old Norse word for whale was *hvalr* m., EG *mucc* may have been borrowed in a more specific sense or have been borrowed merely to follow local Gaelic usage. See *Volaisgea*, below.

66/14 L *Portaigea* – [ˈpʰɔʂt̪ɪ ˌʃkʲa], perhaps from ON *Portsgjá* 'the cove of the gate', with gen. sg. of *port* nt. It is also conceivable that *port* may have acquired the sense 'landing-place' from EG *port*, although this may not be applicable in this instance.

66/14 L *Sìoraigea* – [ˈʃiːrɪ ˌɡʲa]

66/14 L *Blianaisgea* – [ˈbliãnɪ ˌʃkʲa].   Cf. *Blianais* in Tolsta a' Chaolais.

66/14 G *Volaisgea* – [ˈvɔʟɪ ˌʃkʲăɣ̃], perhaps from ON *Hvalsgjá* 'the cove of the whale', with gen. sg. of *hvalr* m.; cf. *Mucaisgea*, above.

ON *Griais*

66/16 Dth *Baile Ghriais* 'the village of *Griais*', with the East Lewis village name.

ON *gróf* f. 'stream'

ON *gróf* is a derivative of ON *grafa* 'to dig' and compares semantically with G. *feadan* m. 'stream' < 'waterpipe' (< *fead* 'whistle' + suffix *-an*), which is commonly used of moorland streams in Lewis.

66/15 D/G *Feadan Mhologro* – -[ˈvɔʟə ˌɡro]. Possibly from ON *Malargróf* 'the stream of the shingle or gravel-bank', with gen. sg. of *mǫl* f., cf. *Molanais* < ON *Malarnes* 'the promontory of the shingle' in Carloway; but the lack of nasality in the stressed vowel (if authentic) and the topography may require an alternative – perhaps *Vallar-gróf* 'the stream of the meadow', with gen. sg. of *vǫllr* m.; cf. *Bholabhig* (under *vík*). >> *Feadan Mholagro* or perhaps *Feadan Bholagro*.

66/15 D/G *Lunndagro* – (a) (?)[ˈʟɔũ̯ɴdə ˌgro], 'a-mach à Mealbost [outwith Mealbost]'; (b) (?)[ˈʟøũŋkə ˌro] [ˈl̃iŋkə ˌro], 'a-mach ghun Abhainn Dhuibh [out towards An Abhainn Dubh]'; later cited unprompted as (len. gen.) [ˈl̃ũŋkə ˌro], i.e. *Liungro*.

66/15 D/G *Loch Rumasgro* (? = *Loch a' Cheisdeir*)

66/15 D/G *Bhotagro* – [ˈbɔʰtə ˌgro] from ON *Botn-gróf* 'the stream of the valley / lake-head', with stem form of *botn* m. >> *Botagro*.

66/15 D/G *Beul Uisge Chiapagro* – [ˈkʲiaʰpə ˌgro], len. gen. -[ˈçiaʰpə ˌgro]. Probably from ON *Kjappagróf* 'the stream of the billy goat', with gen. sg. of *kjappi* m. 'he-goat'.

66/9 Sg *Allt Chasgro*; 66/9 Sg *Bun Chasgro*; 66/9 Sg *Cladach Bàn Casgro* – len. gen. -[ˈxa ˌskro], perhaps from ON *Kas-gróf* 'the stream of the mound', with stem form of *køs* f. 'heap, pile, mound', or possibly from ON *Kassgróf* 'the stream of the box or creel', with gen. sg. of *kass* m.

66/9 Sg *Allt Ocrascro* – [ˈɔʰkrə ˌskro], the informant hadn't heard the name and read it out.

66/9 Sg *Druim Thalagro* – gen. [ˈhɑʟə ˌgro], perhaps from ON *Holagróf* 'the stream of the holes', with gen. pl. of *hol* nt. 'hole, cavity, hollow'.

66/15 D/G *Feadan Amhlagro* – gen. -[ˈauʟə ˌgro] (no nasalisation detected)

66/16 Dth *Feadan Chliasgro* – len. gen. -[ˈxlia ˌskro], from ON *Kleifsgróf* 'the stream of the steep slope', with gen. sg. of **kleif* nt., rather than the attested *kleif* f. 'steep hillside, usually with a track or path'.

66/15 D/G *Feadan Grasgaro*

66/15 D/G *Feadan Mhiagro*; 66/15 D/G *Léig Mhiagro* – -[ˈṽia ˌgro], ?-[ˈvia ˌgro] -[ˈvi a ˌgro]

66/15 D/G *Feadan Rasgaro* – -[ˈʀaskə ˌro]

66/16 Cr *Léig Chuitheagro* – -[ˈxui ə ˌgro], from ON *Kvíargróf* or *Kvíagróf* 'the stream of the fold(s)', with gen. sg. of pl. of *kví* f.

66/15 D/G *Malagro* – The interviewer reads [ˈmɑʟə ˌgro], but the interviewee seems to say -[ˈvɔʟə ˌgro], or rather -[ˈβɔʟə ˌgro] (with voiceless [β]), cf. *Mholagro* (?*Bholagro*) above.

66/15 D/G *Thiadagro*; 66/15 D/G *Feadan Thiadagro* – The interviewer reads -[ˈhiatə ˌgro], but the informant responds with -[ˈçiaʰpə ˌgro], as far as I am able to make out from the tape; see *Beul Uisge Chiapagro*, above.

66/15 D/G *Beinn Idhagro* – -[ˈi a ˌgro].

ON *klettr* m. 'hill, rounded-hill; cliff'

66/9 Sg *Filiscleitir* – [ˈfili ˌskʰleʰtʲəðʲ] (of a 200ft high cliff by the sea); perhaps from ON *Fylsklettir* 'the cliffs of the foal / filly', with gen. sg. of *fyl* nt. 'foal, filly', and plural of *klettr*.

66/14 L *Filiscleitir / Gicleitir* – cf. *Filiscleitir*, above.

66/13 E 34b *Geò Ìbhicleit / Ìobha-cleit* – [ˈiːvə ˌkleʰtʲ]

ON *kross* m. 'crossroads; cross (e.g. erect stone cross)'

Cros [kʰrɔs], [kʰrɔsː] (MO), len. gen. [xrɔʃ], from ON *Kross* (or *Kros* acc.). ON *kross* m. is used in place-names in Norway in a range of senses: 1. crossroads. 2. cross for religious purposes, to mark various events, or as a boundary-marker. 3. used in reference to the shape or appearance of a natural feature.

ON *kuml* nt., side-form of *kumbl* 'burial mound, cairn'

66/17 Su *Traigh Chumail / Ceann Chumail* – len. gen. [ˈxũməl]; perhaps with a loan-name from ON *Kuml* (or *Kumlinn*, with nom. / acc. art.) 'burial mound, cairn'.

ON *kví* f. '(animal) fold'

66/13 E *Cnoc a' Chuidheir* – [ˈkʰrõʰkə ˈxʉ əðʲ] is written as though it contains the Gaelic article. I suggest this should be analysed as *Cnoc Chuidhir*, with an epenthetic vowel after *cnoc*. *Cuidhir* is a loan-name from ON *Kvíar* 'the folds', with plural of *kví*.

ON *nes* nt. 'promontory'

66/9 Sg *Àird Sgeiginnis* – gen. [ˈskʲeɡʲə ˌniʃ], perhaps from *Skegg-nes* '*Skegg*-promontory', see under ON *staðr* (*Sgiogarstaidh*).

66/13 E *Geò Thobhanais / Geò Thóbhanais* – [ˈho ə ˌniʃ]; perhaps from ON *Hǫfðanes* 'the promontory of the headland', the equivalent of Gaelic *Rubha na h-Àirde*, *Gob an Rubha* etc. >> *Geodha Thobhanais*.

66/13 E *Slag Langainis* – gen. [ˈʟãŋkə ˌniʃ], from ON *Langanes* 'long promontory', with weak neuter form of the adjective *langr*. Less likely is a derivation from ON *Langunes* the promontory of the ling', with gen. sg. of *langa* f. 'ling (fish)'.

66/13 E *Stéinis* – [ˈʃtʲě̌ː ˌniʃ]. Apparently from ON *Stein-nes* 'stone-promontory', with stem form of *steinn* m. >> *Stèinis*.

66/14 *Stathanais* – [ˈsta a ˌniʃ]; 66/13 E idem. Possibly from ON *Stafanes* 'the promontory of the –', with gen. pl. of *stafr* m. 'staff, post, stick', also used of the basaltic columns on *Stafa* and at *Stafainn*.

66/9 PN *Port Nis* – len. gen. [niʃ]; 66/9 Sg *Sròin Nis* (gen., but with lenition prevented by the preceding *n*-sound) [ˌstrõˑɴʲ ˈɴʲiʃ] – from ON *Nes* '[the] promontory'.

66/14 *Robhanais* – [ˈʀo o ˌniʃ] [ˈʀu u ˌniʃ]; *Rubha Robhanais* gen. -[ˈʀɔː ˌɴʲɪʃ] (MO). Possibly from ON *Rófunes* 'the promontory of the tail', with gen. sg. of *rófa* f. 'tail; tailbone', used figuratively of the land formation.

66/14 *Sùlaisgeir Lèibheanais* – [ˈʟʲeːvə ˌniʃ]

ON *pikkr* m. 'penis'

66/15 D/G *Peiceir / Sròn Pheiceir* 'the nose / promontory of *Peicir*' – [ˈpʰeʰkʲəðʲ]; len. gen. -[ˈfeʰkʲəðʲ]. Perhaps from ON *Pikkr* '[the] prick', of a rock formation.

ON *sker* nt. 'skerry'

66/13 E *Héisgeir* – [ˈheː ˌʃkʲəðʲ]. Possibly from ON *Heið-sker*, with stem form of *heiðr* f. which is found in island names in Norway in the sense of a 'heather-covered plateau': thus 'flat, heather-cover skerry'. The same form occurs in Loch Chàrlabhaigh. >> *Thèisgeir*.

66/14 L *Blianaisgeir / Blianais-ga*

66/16 Cr *Buaile Liadaisgeir* – len. gen. -[ˈliadə ˌʃkʲəðʲ]

66/13 E *Cladach Sgeimisgeir* – [ˈskʲɛ̆mɪ ˌʃkʲəðʲ]

66/15 D/G *Cobhaisgeir*

66/15 D/G *Eisgeir* – [ˈeː ˌʃkʲəðʲ]

66/13 E *Geò Ithisgeir*; 66/13 E *Ithisgeir* – [ˈi i ˌʃkʲəðʲ], perhaps from ON *Iðusker* 'the skerry of the eddy or whirlpool', with gen. sg. of *iða* f. Cf. *Caolas Ìsgeir*, below.

66/9 Sg *Caolas Ìsgeir*; 66/9 Sg *Eilean Caolas Ìsgeir*; 66/14 *Ìsgeir* [ˈiːʃkʲəðʲ], cf. *Ithisgeir*, above, which may be from ON *Iðusker* 'the skerry of the eddy or whirlpool', with gen. sg. of *iða* f. Earlier [ˈi i ˌʃkʲəðʲ] could possibly have developed into [ˈiːʃkʲəðʲ]; alternatively, an ON *Ið-sker*, with stem form of the specific, would yield [ˈiːʃkʲəðʲ] directly.

66/13 E *Langaisgeir* – [ˈʟãŋkə ˌʃkʲəðʲ], from ON *Langasker* 'the long skerry', with the adj. *langr*, assuming this is appropriate topographically.

66/9 Sg *Leac Chabhsgeir* – -[ˈkʰau ˌskʲəðʲ], len. gen. [ˈxau ˌskʲəðʲ]

66/13 E *Lòbaisgeir* – [ˈʟɔːbə ˌʃkʲəðʲ], perhaps from ON *Hlaup-sker* 'leap-skerry' or *Hlaupssker* 'the skerry of the leap', with the stem form or gen. sg. of *hlaup* nt.

66/14 L *Lobhaisgeir - Fulaisgeir*? / *Faoghal-sgeir (sometimes pronounced Flaosgeir)* ?? Compare *Fluthaisgeir* below.

66/9 Sg *Loch Thaidhsgeir* – [ˈhai ˌkʲɛðʲ]

66/13 E *Màsgeir A-Muigh*; 66/13 E *Màsgeir A-Staigh* – [ˈmãː ˌʃkʲeðʲ], from ON *Má-sker* 'gull-skerrry', with stem form of *már* m. 'gull'.

66/13 E *Ocaisgeir* – [ˈɔʰkə ·ʃkʲəðʲ] ˈɔʰkɪ ·ʃkʲəðʲ]; 66/14 L -[ɛðʲ]

66/9 Sg *Thealaisgeir* – [ˈhjɑʟə ˌʃkʲəðʲ], possibly from ON *Hjallssker* 'the skerry of the ledge', with gen. sg. of *hjallr* m.; cf. *Cladach Thealasaidh* (under *øy*).

66/14 L *Theiribisgeir* – [ˈhɛðʲɛ̀bɪ ˌʃkʲəðʲ], perhaps from ON *Herbergis-sker* 'the skerry of the shelter (or some such sense)', with gen. sg. of *herbergi* nt. 'lodging, shelter; room', and syncope. There is a cave in the vicinity.

66/15 D/G *Sgarbhaisgeir* – [ˈskaràvə ˌskʲəðʲ], from ON *Skarfasker* 'the skerry of the cormorants', with gen. pl. of *skarfr* m.

66/14 L *Fluthaisgeir* – [ˈfʟu ɪ ˌʃkʲɛðʲ], perhaps from ON *Flúðarsker* 'the skerry of the reef', with gen. sg. of *flúð* f. 'reef, skerry flooded at high tide', and shortening of the stressed vowel before hiatus.

66/14 *Lèisgeir* – [ˈʟʲeː ˌʃkʲəðʲ], perhaps from ON *Leið-sker* 'channel-skerry', with stem form of *leið* f. in the sense 'channel, water way'; or from ON *Hlé-sker* 'lee-skerry', with the stem form of *hlé* nt. 'lee, shelter; lee-side'.

ON *staðr* m. 'farm'

66/9 Sg *Sgiogarstaidh* – [ˈskʲigə ˌʂtaj]. Oftedal (1954, 389–90) suggests ON *Skeggárstaðir* 'the farm of *Skeggá* ['beard-river']', ruling out a man's name with *Skeggi* because of the medial consonant cluster. It is possible that there is a connection between this name and 66/9 Sg *Àird Sgeiginnis* – [ˈskʲegʲə ˌniʃ] (under *nes*). It may be that the word *skegg* nt. 'beard' was originally applied to some projection or other in the vicinity (Heggstad 1975, 375), and that it occurred as the specific element in two separate name forms, *Skegg-nes* '*Skegg*-promontory' and *Skegg-á* '*Skegg*-river'; later on, *Skegg-á* is used as the specific in a new name, *Skegg-árstaðir* '*Skegg-á* farm'. *Skegg-nes* yields G. *Sgeiginis*, with regressive palatalisation of the medial consonant, while *Skegg-árstaðir* yields G. *Sgiogarstaidh* retaining a non-palatal medial consonant. The [e i] differentiation in the stressed vowels in these names might be recent.

ON *steinn* m. 'stone, boulder; standing stone; hill'

The Gaelic reflexes of this element show a long vowel (diphthong) in stressed position, and a monothong / ɑ /, commonly reduced to / ə /, in weakly-stressed position.

66/16 Dth *Airnistean*; 66/16 Dth *Dùn Àirnistein* – gen. -[ˈɑːɲɪ ˌʃtʲən], perhaps from ON *Arn-stein* acc. 'eagle-*steinn*' or *Arnastein* 'the *steinn* of the eagles', with stem or gen. pl. of *ǫrn* m. 'eagle' – whatever the exact sense of *steinn* was. >> *Àrnaistean*.

66/14 L *Clach Steinn* – -[ˈʃtʲẽ̆ĩˑN ʲ], ultimately from ON *Steinn*, although the exact form may have been ON *Steinninn* (*Steininn* acc., *Steininum* dat.) 'the stone', with suffixed article.

66/10 T *Cladach Roistein / Roistin*; 66/10 T *Geò Caol Roistein* – [ˈRɔ ˌʃtʲən], possibly from ON *Hross-stein* acc. 'horse-stone', with stem form of *hross* nt. 'horse'. >> *Roistean*.

66/14 L *Dùn Éistean*; 66/14 L *Éistean A-Muigh / Éistean*; 66/14 L *Éistean A-Staigh* – gen. -[ˈeː ˌʃtʲan], perhaps from ON *Eiðsstein* acc. 'the *steinn* of the isthmus', with gen. sg. of *eið* nt., had there once been a bridge of land here. The elements *dùn* in the Gaelic name and *steinn* in the Norse name may have had (independently) similar senses applying to the whole rocky island in question. >> *Èistean*.

66/14 L *Firistein / Firisgean*; 66/14 L 32b *Geò Fhiristein / Geò 'n t-Fhirisgean* – [ˈfiðʲɪ ˌʃtʲan], len. gen. -[ˈiðʲɪ ˌʃtʲan]

66/16 Dth *Gearaistean* – Is this a variant form of the following?

66/16 Dth *Giristean* – Is this a variant form of the above?

66/13 E *Giodharstan*; 66/13 E *Cladach Ghiodharstan* – [ˈɡʲi ə ˈʂʈən], len. gen. [ˈʝi ə ˈʂʈən]

66/14 L *Leighearstan* – [ˈLʲə ɪ ˌʂʈən]

ON *stǫð* f. 'landing-place'

66/13 E *Stoth*; *Port Stoth* – [stoʰ], from ON *Stǫð* (or *Stǫðin*, *Stǫðina* acc., *Stǫðinn* dat. 'the landing-place', with suffixed aticle). The same name is found in Rònaigh.

ON *sund* nt. 'sound; crossing-place'

66/15 D/G *Sgoil Ghabhsainn*; 66/15 D/G *Muileann Ghabhsainn*; 66/9 PN *Allt Tràigh Ghabhsainn*; 66/15 D/G *Loidse Ghabhsainn*; *Gabhsann* – [ˈɡau ˌsəN], len. ˈɣausəN], len. gen. *Ghabhsainn* -sɪNʲ]. Oftedal (1954, 374) notes that this is also the form recorded by Borgstrøm. Oftedal, however, recorded [ˈɡɑʟsən] in Lochs. Oftedal suggests a derivation from ON *Galtsund* lit. 'hog-

crossing', with a river name + *sund*; alternatively, ON *Galtssund* 'the crossing of the hog' or with the specific used as a personal or nickname.

ON *sætr* nt. 'shieling'

66/15 D/G *Tobair 'An Shiadair* – presumably containing the man's name, *Iain Shiadair*, i.e. *Iain* from / associated with (the village of) Siadair (< ON *sætr*).

Two other names containing ON -*sætr* have alternative pronunciations due to cross-contamination:

66/9 Sg *Buailean Chaithiasiadair / Uaighean Chaithisiadair* –
[ˈxai ˌʃadər] [ˈxa ɪ ˌʃadəðʲ]

66/9 Sg *Cladach Chuthaisiadair / Eilean Chuthaisiadair / Faing Chuthaisiadair* –
[ˈxui ˌʃadər] [ˈxu ɪ ˌʃadəðʲ]

66/9 Sg *Cladach Chuitheasiadair / Cladach Chaidhsiadair*

Cox (1990) gives the following:

1. *Caidhseadar* NB5560 [ˈkhai ˌʃadər] 1848 Caithaseadair 1974 Caiashader. This may derive from an earlier *[ˈkha-i ˌʃadər], as might be inferred from the map-forms. If so, this may be from a form in ON *kofa*, gen. sg. of *kofi* m. 'hut'. For the loss of -*f*-, cf. G. *clobha* [ˈkhʟɔ ɔ] 'tongs' fr. ON *klofa* obl. case; and alternation between stressed *a* and *o* in Lewis is not uncommon. An alternative solution might be that it contains a G. loan-word, EIr. *cáe cóe* 'way, path; pass', modern G. *cadha*. Our name refers to an area between two elevations with a stream running down through a ravine to the shore.

2. *Cuidhseadar* NB5458 / 5558 [ˈkhøi ˌʃadər] 1848 Cuidhaseadair 1974 Cuiashader. Of area on moor, with cluster of shielings. No doubt from ON *Kví-sætr* 'fold-dwelling' with stem-form of *kví* f. 'fold, pen'. Or, perhaps *Kvíasætr* with gen. pl. of *kví*, in accordance with the pronunciation suggested by the map-forms. In Norway, cf. Kvivaag ON *Kvíavág* (NG X, 24) and Kvien ON *Kví* (NG XIII, 24, 26, and 65); in Lewis, *Cuidhbhig* NB2246 [ˈkhəi ˌvɪk] ON *Kví-vík* 'fold-bay'.

ON *topt* f. 'homestead; site (of building); ruin'

66/16 Cr *Tom Stéineatobhtair* – [ˈʃtʲẽːɴʲə ˌtoʰtər]; 66/17 Su *Tom Stéineatobhtair* [ˈʃtʲẽːnˌtoʰtər], from ON *Stein-toptir* 'the stone-*topt*s' or *Steinatoptir* 'the *topt*s of the stones', with the stem form or gen. pl. of *steinn* m. >> *Tom Stèineatotar*.

ON *vatn* nt. 'loch'

66/15 D/G *Loch Chearsabhat* – gen. -['kʰɑʂə ˌvaʰt], possibly from ON *Kersvatn* 'the loch of the fishtrap', with gen. sg. of *ker* nt. 'fish (salmon) trap'. >> *Cearsabhat*.

66/15 D/G *Druim / Loch Léineabhat* – gen. [ˡʟ'ẽːnə ˌvaʰt], perhaps from ON *Hleinavatn* 'the loch of the slopes', with gen. pl. of *hlein* f. 'slope, declivity'. >> *Druim / Loch Lèineabhat*.

66/15 D/G *Loch Barabhat* – len. gen. -['varə ˌvaʰt], probably from ON *Borg-vatn*, with stem form of *borg* f., or ON *Borgarvatn* 'the loch of the fort', with gen. sg. of *borg*. If so, the absence of a svarabhakti vowel (contrast *borgh* < ON *borg* f. nom. / acc.) and the lack of lengthening in the stressed vowel (contrast *geàrraidh* < ON *gerði*) suggest a relatively early date. Similarly early loan-names may include *Garrabost* (< ON *Garðabólstaðr*) in Lewis and *Gearaiseadar* (< ON *Gerðissætr*) in Skye.

66/15 D/G *Loch Drolabhat* – gen. -['drɔʟə ˌvaʰt], possibly, at least phonetically, from ON *Drollavatn 'the loch of the ?', with gen. pl. of an unattested ON *drollr m., cf. Nynorsk *droll* 'something round' and ON *dryllr*, perhaps referring to stones or boulders. An outside possible alternative is ON *Trollavatn* 'the loch of the trolls', with gen. pl. of *troll* nt. In this case, we have to assume that modern G. *Loch Drol(l)abhat* derives from an intermediate G. *Loch dTrollabhat 'the *loch* of *Trollabhat*', with historical eclipsis of the noun following *loch* (formerly neuter, now masculine), a feature of neuter nouns in Old Gaelic. Once the neuter gender began to disappear, nouns became either masculine or feminine, no doubt after a period of some confusion, as is still the case in a few examples such as (Lewis) *am muir* m. 'the sea', gen. *na mara* f. Why, however, are traces of the earlier neuter gender of *loch* not detectable in other names? We may yet discover some, but it may simply be that a name form such as *Loch dTrollabhat was used to such an extent within the oral tradition of the area that its form has been more faithfully preserved to modern times. ?>> *Loch Drollabhat*. A similar survival of eclipsis occurs in the Siabost place-name *Cnoc O Dòmod* < *Cnoc Ò dTòmod 'the hill of the descendents of *Tòmod* (from ON *Hámund* acc. m.). For other examples, see Ó Maolalaigh 1998, 19.

66/15 D/G *Loch Frasabhat* – len. gen. (?)-['rasə ˌvaʰt], gen. (?)-['frasə ˌvaʰt] (after fieldworker)

66/15 D/G *Loch Sgriachabhat* – gen. -['skðʲiaxə ˌvaʰt]

66/15 D/G *Loch Srianabhat* – gen. -['striǎnə ˌvaʰt]

66/14 L *Loch Stiapabhat* – gen. **-**['ʃtʲiaʰpə ˌvaʰt], so also (MO); perhaps from ON *Steypavatn* 'loch of the steeping'.

66/15 D/G *Tom / Loch / Lèana Shiabhat* – ?len. gen. -['hia ˌvaʰt]. The written form implies this is a lenited form of *Siabhat.

66/10 T *Druim Bhataguaille* – -[ˌvaʰtə ˈguɒʟʲə]; important for its significance for late name creation by Norse speakers, this name is one of several with generic initial structures found in the north-west of Lewis and St Kilda, and represents a relatively late Norse naming pattern that took hold in the Faroes and the Northern Isles and Caithness (Cox 2004). Most Norse loan-names consisting of two or more elements have their generic element in final position, e.g. ON *Langavatn* '[the] long loch'. However, a group of relatively late names has the generic element in initial position, as here: *Vatnit* ['the loch'] +.

66/15 D/G *Loch Reiseabhat*; 66/15 D/G *Tom Reiseabhat* – len. gen. -[ˈreʃə ˌvaʰt]

66/15 D/G – a jumble of forms given by the informant: ?*Loch Rusabhat*, ?*Loch Ruglabhat*, ?*Loch Rasabhat*, ?*Loch Rèabhat*, ?*Loch Uisteal*, all need re-recording and confirmation.

[?location] *Loch Brèibhat* (MO) – gen. -[ˈbrʲeː ˌvaʰt], possibly the original form of ?*Loch Rèabhat*, see above. From ON *Breið(a)vatn* 'the broad loch', with the stem or weak neuter form of the adj. *breiðr*. Compare *Brèibhig* (under *vík*).

[?location] *Loch Bacabhat* (MO) – gen. -[ˈbaʰkə ˌvaʰt], from ON *Bakkavatn* 'the loch of the slopes', with gen. pl. of *bakki* m.

ON *vík* f. 'inlet; bay'

66/15 D/G *Bholabhaig*; *Seann Taighean Bholabhaig*; *Leathad Bholabhaig* – (-)[ˈvoʟə ˌviʰkʲ], perhaps from ON *Vallarvík* 'the bay of the field (level ground)', with gen. sg. of *vǫllr* m.; cf. *Feadan Mholagro* (under *gróf*). >> *Bholabhig*.

66/13 E *Cladach Thinnibhig* – gen. -[ˈhiɴʲə ˌviʰkʲ], perhaps from ON *Þynnivík* 'narrow inlet', with fem. sg. weak form of the adj. *þunnr*.

66/14 L *Grodabhig* – [ˈgrɔːdə ˌviʰkʲ] [ˈgrʲɔːdə ˌviʰkʲ]. If it could be shown that the second form is more likely to be closer to the original, this may be from ON *Grjót-vík* 'gravel-bay', with stem form of *grjót* nt. 'stones, gravel', which also occurs as a loan-word in Lewis (*greòid*). ?>> *Greòdabhig*.

66/14 L *Poll Spàinibhig* – gen. -[ˈspǎːɴʲə ˌvɪʰkʲ] possibly from ON *Spán-vík* 'spoon[-shaped]-bay', with the stem form of *spánn* m., from its shape.

66/13 E *Creag an Ùigich* and 66/15 D/G *Slag nan Ùigeach* contain the genitive singular and genitive plural, respectively, of *Ùigeach* 'someone from Uig': *Ùigeach* < *Ùig* < ON *vík*.

66/55 D/G *Brèibhig* – [ˈbðʲeː ˌviʰkʲ]; 66/14 D [ˈbðʲeː ˌvikʲ], from ON *Breið(i)vík* '[the] broad bay, with the stem or weak fem. form of the adj. *breiðr*. Compare *Loch Brèibhat* (under *vatn*).

66/15 D/G *Mol Thòrsaig* [Mol Forsaig on map] – len. gen. -[ˈhɔːʂɪkʲ]; 66/14 D/G [ˈtʰɔːʂɪkʲ], apparently from ON *Þórsvík* 'Þórr's bay', with gen. of the god's name,

Þórr; but ON *Þórisvík* 'Þórir's bay', with gen. of the common man's name, *Þórir*, might also be considered. This does not account for the map form.

ON *vǫllr* m.

66/14 L *Machair Lìonail* – len. gen. -[ˈliə̃nɔl] ON *Lín-vǫll* acc. 'flax-field' (Oftedal 1954, 372); (MO) [ˈʟ̥ʲĩ̃ə̃nəʟ].

ON *øy* f. 'island; land surrounded, or almost surrounded by water'

66/13 E *Cladach Thealasaidh* – [ˈhjɑʟə ˌsaj], may contain ON *øy*, if topographically suitable; if so, perhaps from ON *Hjallsøy* 'the island of the ledge', with gen. sg. of *hjallr* m.; cf. *Thealaisgeir* (under *sker*).

(b) Old Norse loan-names – *specific elements*

SPECIFIC ELEMENT	ON NAME FORM	GAELIC NAME	GENERIC ELEMENT
Ásmundr m.	*Ásmundargerði*	*Àsmaigearraidh*	*gerði*
bakki m.	*Bakkavatn*	*Loch Bacabhat*	*vatn*
blár	*Gjáin Blái*	*Geò Blàth*	*gjá*
borg f.	*Borgarvatn*	*Loch Barabhat*	*vatn*
botn m.	*Botn-gróf*	*Bhotagro*	*gróf*
brattr	*Bjórinn Bratta* acc.	*Biora Brat*	*bjórr*
breiðr	*Breið(a)vatn*	*Brèibhat*	*vatn*
breiðr	*Breið(i)vík*	*Brèibhig*	*vík*
djúpr	*Djúpadal* acc.	*Cladach Dhìobadail*	*dalr*
*drollr m.	**Drollavatn*	*Loch Drolabhat*	*vatn*
troll nt.	*Trollavatn*		
dún (EG) *dúnn* m	**Dúnsbrokka*	*Dùnasbroc*	**brokka*
eið nt.	*Eiðsstein* acc.	*Èistean*	*steinn*
flúð f.	*Flúðarsker*	*Fluthaisgeir*	*sker*
fyl nt.	*Fylsklettir*	*Filiscleitir*	*klettr*
galtr m.	*Galt(s)sund*	*Gabhsann*	*sundr*
gerði nt.	*Gerðisá*	*Loch Gheireasaidh*	*á*
grind f.	*Grind-fjall*	*Druim Grinneabhal*	*fjall*
gren nt.	*Grenjafjall*		
grjót nt.	*Grjót-vík*	*Greòdabhig*	*vík*
hals m.	*Bjórinn á Halsinum* acc.	*Sròin Biora Hèis*	*bjórr*
hár	*Hábólstað* acc.	*Tàbost*	*bólstaðr*
heiðr f.	*Heið-sker*	*Thèisgeir*	*sker*
herbergi nt.	*Herbergis-sker*	*Theiribisgeir*	*sker*
híð nt.	*Híð-fjall*	*Tìobhal*	*fjall*
hjallr m.	*Hjallsøy*	*Cladach Thealasaidh*	*øy*
hjallr m.	*Hjallssker*	*Thealaisgeir*	*sker*

hlaup nt.	*Hlaupssker*	*Lòbaisgeir*	*sker*
hlein f.	*Hleinavatn*	*Druim / Loch Léineabhat*	*vatn*
hlíð f.	*Hlíð-berg*	*Lìobairidh*	*berg*
hofði m.	*Hǫfðanes*	*Geodha Thobhanais*	*nes*
hol nt.	*Holagróf*	*Druim Thalagro*	*gróf*
hramn m. (*hrafn*)	*Hramn-gjá*	*Roirimigeadh*	*gjá*
hross nt.	*Hross-stein* acc.	*Cladach Roistean*	*steinn*
hvalr m.	*Hvalsgjá*	*Volaisgea*	*gjá*
iða f.	*Iðusker*	*Ithisgeir*	*sker*
iða f.	*Ið-sker*	*Caolas Ìsgeir*	*sker*
Jórunn f.	*Jórunnarbǿr*	*Eòrabaidh*	*bǿr*
Jórunn f.	*Jórunnardal*	*Eòradail*	*dalr*
ker nt.	*Kersvatn*	*Loch Cearsabhat*	*vatn*
kjappi m.	*Kjappagróf*	*Ciapagro*	*gróf*
*kleif nt.	*Kleifsgróf*	*Feadan Chliasgro*	*gróf*
kofi m.	*Kofasætr*	*Caidhseadar*	*sætr*
kǫs f.	*Kas-gróf*	*Allt Chasgro*	*gróf*
kví f.	*Kvía(r)gróf*	*Léig Chuitheagro*	*gróf*
kví f.	*Kví(a)sætr*	*Cuidhseadar*	*sætr*
langr	*Langanes*	*Slag Langainis*	*nes*
langa f.	*Langunes*		
langr	*Langasker*	*Langaisgeir*	*sker*
leið f.	*Leið-sker*	*Lèisgeir*	*sker*
hlé nt.	*Hlé-sker*		
lín nt.	*Lín-vǫll* acc.	*Lìonal*	*vǫllr*
lundr m.	*Lundargerði*	*Lunndaigearraidh*	*gerði*
már m.	*Má-sker*	*Màsgeir*	*sker*
melr m.	*Melbólstað* acc.	*Mealbost*	*bólstaðr*
mǫl f.	*Malargróf*	*Feadan Mhologro*	*gróf*
vǫllr m.	*Vallar-gróf*		
mucc (EG)	**Mukksgjá*	*Mucaisgea*	*gjá*
ǫrn m.	*Arn-stein*	*Àrnaistean*	*steinn*

port nt.	*Portsgjá*	*Portaigea*	*gjá*
rófa f.	*Rófunes*	*Robhanais*	*nes*
sandr n.	*Sandá*	*Gàrradh Shanndaidh*	*á*
selja f.	*Seljugjá*	*Caolas Theileiga*	*gjá*
skarfr m.	*Skarfasker*	*Sgarbhaisgeir*	*sker*
skegg nt.	*Skegg-nes*	*Àird Sgeiginnis*	*nes*
skegg nt.	*Skeggárstaðir*	*Sgiogarstaidh*	*staðr*
smælingi m.	*Smælingagerði*	*Smèiligearraidh*	*gerði*
spánn m.	*Spán-vík*	*Poll Spàinibhig*	*vík*
stafr m.	*Stafanes*	*Stathanais*	*nes*
steinn m.	*Stein-nes*	*Stèinis*	*nes*
steinn m.	*Stein(a)toptir*	*Tom Stèineatotar*	*topt*
steypa vb	*Steypavatn*	*Loch Stiapabhat*	*vatn*
Sveini m.	*Sveinabólstað*	*Suaineabost*	*staðr*
Þórr m.	*Þórsvík*	*Mol Thòrsaig*	*vík*
Þórsvík	*Þórsvík á Bakka*	*Tòrsaig a Bac*	*vík*
þunnr	*Þynnivík*	*Cladach Thinnibhig*	*vík*
usce (EG)	*[uisge]vík*	*Uisgebridh*	*berg*
vǫllr m.	*Vallarvík*	*Bholabhaig*	*vík*

OLD NORSE LOAN-NAMES – *unresolved*

66/16	Cr	*Aidhle*	*Cùl Aidhle*?? – talamh-àitich – *Cùl Làimhe* a-réir PN.	
66/13	E	*Alltair*	*Cleit Alltair* – "bha taigh ann uaireigin"	apparently not G. altair f. (CARL 169-9)
66/15	D/G	*Aoil*	*Cnoc Aoil?* – *Cnoc Odhail* a-réir PN.	?[ˌkʰrũ̃ʰkʲ ˈɔ ɔl]
66/14	L	*Arsgaidh*	*Cleit Arsgaidh*	[ˈaʂkaj]
66/15	D/G	*Ascalan*	*Ascalan?*	cha chuala
66/16	Dth	*Baraglom*	*Baraglom* – fuaim "-obhm" aig an deireadh – *Baileglom* a-réir PN.	Baraglom Bernera [ˌbalə ˈgʟɔũ̃m]
66/13	E	*Béig*	*Geò Béig Sear*	ˈʃɛr]
66/13	E	*Béig*	*Geò Béig Siar* – "bha *distillery* a-seo, ach thuit a' gheò" – bha gloinne aige fhathast	[ˌgʲoˑ ˈbeːg ˈʃiər] [ˌgʲɔˑ ˈbeːg]
66/15	D/G	*Bhioscalan*	*Druim Bhioscalan*	-[ˈviskə ˌʟən]
66/9	Sg	*Bhorabail*	*Sròin Bhorabail*?? – *Sròin Mhuchaidh* a-réir PN.	
66/14	L	*Bial*	*Sgeir a' Bial Lom* – *Sgeir am Beul Luinn* a-réir PN.	
66/10	T	*Chair*	*Blàr a' Chair Sear*	
66/17	Su	*Chramanais*	*Allt Chramanais* – "bha tuath ann uaireigin" – tha am Puilean ag ìnnse na sgeulachd an-seo, ach a' fàgail ás am pìos mu'n each – bha e ann ri linn nan 1780an, 'nuair a chaidh na saighdearan (saighdearan	-[ˌauʟ̥t ˈkʰra ˈmãnəs]; 'nach mairg a-nochd tha dol gu doras taigh [ˌkʰra ˈmãnəs], once [ˈvãnəs]

30

Ùig) a thogail

66/13	E	*Coltra*	*Coltra – Colltrabh* a-réir PN.	['kʰoʟ̥tra]
66/13	E	*Còrn*	*Cleite Còrn*	
66/16	Dth	*Eòlam*	*Guin Eòlam / Guineolam?*	[ˌgʉ̃ɴʲ ˈjɔːʟəm]
66/14	L	*Fianais*	*Cnoc Fianais* – "cnoc beag, Bruga Fraingis, faisg air Sgoil Lìonail, far am biodh iad a' peanasachadh nan reubaltaich – ach bhitheadh MacLeòid a' toirt binn a-mach air Cnoc Fianais" [PN: "This was a hill where *local* culprits were tried and evidence was given against them. If found guilty they were taken across Allt na Comraich and whatever the sentence was it was carried out on a small hillock near the school called Brùca Frangais. (It is not on this map.) Thos on Cnoc Fianais could see clearly the punishment meted out."]	- ['fiə̃ ˌniʃ] ['fi ə ˌniʃ] Ness and Rònaigh ann an Dail Àird [['fiə̃ ˌniʃ]
66/16	Dth	*Fionail*	*Cnoc Fionail*	['fjənəʟ]
66/14	L	*Gharstair*	*Gàradh Gharstair* – "a' chrìoch eadar Còig Peighinnean agus an Cnoc Àrd - uaireigin air a roinn 'na feannagan aig na croitearan"	-['ɣɑʂʈəðʲ]
66/14	L	*Gharstair*	*Leac Gharstair*	
66/14	L	*Gharstair*	*Leac Gharstair*	
66/14	L	*Gharstair*	*Port Gharstair – Portasga (may be Port-Gasgouil; there is also a place in Port of the same name)* a-réir PN.	
66/14	L	*Gharstair*	*Sgeir Gharstair*	Garstair

66/13	E	*Ghealltaig*	*Bodha Ghealltaig*	66/14 [ˈgʲauᶫtɛkʲ]
66/13	E	*Ghealltaig*	*Gealltaig*	[ˈgʲɑᶫtɛkʲ]
66/17	Su	*Ghrodhair*	*Fuaran a' Ghrodhair –* uisge fuar math ri òl	-[ə ˈɣrɔː əðʲ] [ə ˈɣrɔː (h) að]
66/10	T	*Ghrodhair*	*Càrnan a' Ghródhair –* "bha fuaran beag ann a' sin, *spring well*, le bùrn brèagha fuar a' tighinn ás" – *Fuaran a' Ghródhair*	
66/9	Sg	*Greimeal*	*Greimeal – Gréil-mol* a-réir PN.	?[ˈgrʲeː ˌmɔʟ]
66/9	Sg	*Guineil*	*Geò Àrd Guineil – Geodha Àrd Bun Ghil* a-réir PN	
66/16	Cr	*Heògaidh*	*Cnoc Heògaidh –* am mullach air an robh eaglais na stàite	-[hjoːgi]
66/10	T	*Ho*	*Geò Ho*: féir ann an Cladach Roistein – *Geò Hóth* a-réir PN.	[ˌgʲɔˑ ˈhoʰ]
66/17	Su	*Hó*	11b *Geò Hó*?? – *Geò Throdh* a-réir PN.	-[ˈhrɔh]
66/16	Dth	*Iairseal*	*Feadan Ruadh Tom Iairseal; Tom Iairseal*	-[iəʂɑʟ]
66/9	Sg	*Idhleair*	*An Càrnan Geal –* bhos cionn Idhleair, dha Dr Wilson Dougall, *geologist*	[ˈiː ə ˈʟɑr]
66/9	Sg	*Ìdhleair*	*Cuilean Ìdhleair*	[ˈi ə ˌʟɑr]
66/17	Su	*Laingear*	*An Laingear*	[əN ˈʟɑ̃ĩŋʲgʲər]
66/9	Sg	*Làmoir*	*Geò Làmoir – Geò Lathamor* a-réir PN.	ˈʟɑ a ˌmɔr
66/9	Sg	*Leirisgidh*	*Leirisgidh*	ˈʟʲɛrɪ ˌskʲi] ʃkʲi]

66/13	E	*Listean*	PN: *Liantan (sometimes Lointean)* N.B. a-réir mar a chuala mi-fhìn an teip, cha robh 93 (*Liantan*) ann idir, ach eadar 95 (*Bun Ìleadail*) agus 96 (*Càrnan a' Ghearraidh Mhóir*) sgrìobh mi sìos "*Listean - ?Thobhainis* – "cha robh an t-ainm Listean againne"".	
66/13	E	*Miolair*	*Miolair* – "some say Mialair" a-réir PN.	[ˈmĩɔ̃Ləð̃ʲ]
66/13	E	*Neibh*	*Neibh / Neif*	[Nʲɛ̃ɣ]
66/13	E	*Òil*	*Braithr' Òil* – neo *Bràghad Òil*??	
66/10	T	*Riog*	*Leathad Riog*: man àite sin a bha na ceud dhaoine a thàinig a dh'fhuireachd a Thàbost	-[rɯʲg]. Tobhtaichean -[Rɯʲg]
66/15	D/G	*Sabhail*	*Dùn Sabhail* – cha chuala Ailean an t-ainm seo	
66/13	E	*Seaiteileas*	*Seaiteileas* – *Seadilleis* a-réir PN – "taobh siar Gheò nan Each"	[ˌʃe ˈdʲẽ̄ĩLʲaʃ] [ʃeˑ]
66/15	D/G	*Sheòrisgein*	34. *Na Càrnanan – Càrnan Sheòrisgein / Sheòiriltean* agus *Càrnan Gleann na Sìge*	steinn - [hjɔːrɪLʲ ˌtʲən], then unprompted as -[ˈhjɔːrɪ ˌʃkʲən]
66/14	L	*Shìolaig*	*Tobair Shìolaig* – *Tobar Ìleag* a-réir PN.	[ˈiːlækʲ]
66/14	L	*Still*	*Geò a' Still* – "still uabhasach ag eirigh 'nuair a tha am muir dona." [PN: "20A: *Slechd* [sic] *an Òdhrain*"]	
66/15	D/G	*Stipisdeir*	106. *Stipisdeir – Stipisdean* a-réir PN.	steinn [ˈʃtʲipə ˌʃtʲəð̃ʲ]

33

66/13	E	*Tàgaisg*	*Caolas na Tàgaisg*	
66/13	E	*Tàgaisg*	*An Tàgaisg* – cha chuala iad a-riamh mu'n ainm *Carspag*	66/14 [ə ˈɴᵗʰaːɡaʃkʲ]
66/9	Sg	*Taidhgisg*	*An Taidhgisg – An Taisgisg* a-réir PN	Read by interviewer
66/13	E	*Taireachgaidh*	*Taireachgaidh – Tòrocaidh* a-réir PN.	
66/15	D/G	*Tàsair*	*Tàsair*	[ˈtʰaːʃəð̃ʲ] - [ˈhaːʃəð̃ʲ]
66/15	D/G	*Tathraisg*	*Tathraisg* – cha chuala Ailean an t-ainm seo	
66/9	Sg	*Thàiceil*	*Geò Poll Thàiceil* – math 'son iasgaich	ˈaːkʲal] ˈhaᵗʰkʲəl
66/9	Sg	*Thàiceil*	*Poll Thaiceil*	
66/16	Cr	*Thaingeidir*	*Càrnan Thaingeidir* / + *Fuaran Th.*	-[hã̃ʲŋʲkʲə ˌdʲəð̃ʲ]; [ˈtʰ]-
66/16	Cr	*Thaingeidir*	*Fuaran Taingeidir*	-[ˈhã̃ŋʲkʲədʲəð̃ʲ]
66/13	E	*Thealair*	*Thealair*	[ˈhjɑʟər̥]
66/13	E	*Theist*	*Theist*	[hɛst]
66/15	D/G	*Thorabaigh*	*Cnoc Thorabaigh?* – *Cnoc Coragaidh* a-réir PN.	
66/15	D/G	*Thos*	*Tobar Thos*	
66/14	L	*Tìligear*	*Tìligear – Sìoraga* a-réir PN (mise ceàrr a-seo)	
66/13	E	*Tiogaididh*	*Tiogaididh – Geò an Darraig / Damhaig* eadar *Lìobairidh* agus *Tiogaididh*	[ˈtʲʰɛɡədʲi]
66/14	L	*Tiogaididh*	*Tiogaididh Beag*	
66/9	PN	*Tiogaididh*	*Tiogaididh Beag*	
66/9	PN	*Tiogaididh*	*Tiogaididh Mór*	[ˌdʲigədʲə ˈmoːr]

66/16 Dth/Cr *Balltair* – [ˈbɑuʟ̥təð̃ʲ]

66/16 Dth/Cr *Stiogha Roisein* – -[ˈrɔʃaɴʲ]

66/16 Dth/Cr *Poll Git* – -[gʲiᵗʰtʲ]

66/10 T *Allt Taragroch* – -[ˈtʰarà ˌgrɔx]

66/16 Dth/Cr *Cnoc Theògaidh* – -[ˈhjɔːɡi]

66/14 D/G *Boraigea / ?Borghgea* – (?)[ˈbɔra ˌɡʲa]
66/14 D/G *Tùrlaigean* – (?)[ˈtʰuːʎ̥iɡʲan]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cox (1998), Richard A.V., 'Old Norse *berg* in Hebridean Place-Nomenclature', *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences*, Aberdeen, August 4–11, 1996, 3 vols, edited by W.F.H. Nicolaisen, Aberdeen 1998, Vol. 2, 59–65.

Cox (2004), Richard A.V., 'The Norse Element in Scottish Place Names: Syntax as a chronological marker', *Unity in Diversity: Studies in Irish and Scottish Gaelic language, literature and history*, *Léann na Tríonóide—Trinity Irish Studies* No. 1, edited by Cathal G. Ó Háinle and Donald E. Meek, published by The School of Irish, Trinity College, Dublin, 2004, 37–49.

Cox (2000), Richard A.V., 'The Phonological Development of Scottish Gaelic *uinneag* 'window' and Related Questions', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* XX, 2000, 212–21.

Ó Maolalaigh (1998), Roibeart, 'Place-names as a Resource for the Historical Linguist', *Uses of Place-names*, edited by Simon Taylor, Edinburgh, 1998, 12–53.

Oftedal (1954), Magne, 'The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides', *Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap* XVII, 363–409.

Oftedal (1972), Magne, 'Ardroil', *Indo Celtica*, edited by Herbert Pilch and Joachim Thurow, *Commentationes Societatis Linguisticae Europaeae* II, 1972, 111–25.

Heggstad (1975), Leiv, et al., *Norrøn ordbok*, Oslo, 1975.

MacIver (1934), [Donald], *Place-names of Lewis and Harris*, Stornoway 1934.

Marstrander (1915), Carl J. S., *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i irland*, Kristiania 1915.

Sandnes, Jørn, and Stemshaug, Ola, *Norsk stadnamnleksikon*, Oslo 1980.